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VISCOUNT MOUNTCASHEL,
LEADER OF THE IRISH BRIGADE IN FRANCE.

ILLUSTRIOUS EXILES;

OR,

Military Memoirs

OF

THE IRISH RACE ABROAD.

BY

J. EDWARD KELLY.



“O Erin! in thine hour of need,
Thy warriors wander o'er the earth;
For others' liberties they bleed,
Nor guard the land that gave them birth:
In foreign fields it is their doom
To seek their fame—to find their tomb.”—JOHN DALTON.

“Scattered over all Europe were to be found brave Irish generals, dexterous Irish diplomatists, Irish counts, Irish barons, Irish Knights of St. Louis and of St. Leopold, of the White Eagle and of the Golden Fleece.”—THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY.

“All these true Irishmen were lost to their own country, and were forced to shed their blood for the stranger, while their kindred at home so much needed their counsels and their swords.”—JOHN MITCHEL.

Sydney:

J. G. O'CONNOR, 19, JAMIESON STREET.

1875.

TO THE MEMORY

OF

JOHN MITCHEL,

ONE OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS EXILES OF THE PRESENT
CENTURY,

THESE PAGES

Are Respectfully Inscribed

BY

AN EXILED FELLOW-COUNTRYMAN.

PREFACE.

THE compiler of the following pages is hopeful that the task he has undertaken will not be without its reward in the approval of his countrymen and of all interested in the career of men who, forced to abandon their homes, attained distinction in foreign lands. Desiring not to fall into the error of exaggeration imputed to certain enthusiastic narrators of Irish exploits (*par parenthèse*, a graver charge might be brought against some authors for having wilfully suppressed or slurred over all mention of what was due to the Irish), the writer has used every endeavor to give, so far as the assigned space will permit, an accurate record of the actions of the exiled sons of Ireland, the radiance of whose achievements would only become dim by the laying on of extra color. In order, then, to treat the subject-matter carefully, all available authorities bearing on the occurrences in which the exiles took part have been diligently consulted and compared, and the best authenticated narratives alone made use of. Among the principal works whose stores have been utilized, and to which the compiler is greatly indebted, are John C. O'Callaghan's "History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France;" "*Nouvelle Biographie Générale*;" and "The Irish Brigade and its Campaigns," by Captain D. P. Conyngham, U.S.A.

In treating of opposing armies, hardly two accounts agree, as a rule, in their estimate of the numbers on

both sides, though the conclusions arrived at may have been honestly recorded by the chroniclers. This discrepancy may arise from ignorance of the numerical strength of a battalion or squadron, which differs considerably in most armies; or from the fact that the battalion or squadron, as the case may be, on going into action, was short of its complement, or in excess of it. Most official reports only state the number of bodies of horse or infantry engaged. It therefore necessitates a little more research to ascertain the strength of the different corps. Accordingly, in all those battles in which the Irish Brigade of France took part, preference is given in this book to the numbers set down by O'Callaghan, as his diligent investigations during a period of twenty-five years, and his evident conscientiousness, entitle his statements to consideration.

The present publication, in its biographical structure, and in its comprehensiveness,—embracing, as it does, the career of the most eminent of those Irish exiles who wielded the sword throughout the world from the latter part of the seventeenth century to the present day,—differs from all others on the subject of the exploits of the Irish abroad. It can hardly fail to prove useful as a text-book of Irish heroism, and may inculcate some valuable lessons; such, for instance, as the fact that, when Irishmen are able to perform such good service for other lands, it is in their power to do the like for their own.

J. E. K.

SYDNEY, N.S.W.,
July, 1875.

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ILLUSTRIOUS EXILES.

INTRODUCTION.

“Our strong men lavish their blood for others;
Our prophets and wise men are heard no more;
Our young men give a last kiss to their mothers,
Then sail away for a foreign shore.”—LADY WILDE.

At the present day, the Irish people, it is computed, number about twenty millions. Not much more than five millions inhabit their native land. The rest are scattered over every other part of the habitable world. Compelled to seek refuge from oppressive laws, vast numbers have, from time to time, fled to distant lands, and, wherever their natural abilities found scope, attained eminence in all the walks of life. They have also acquired, in their new homes, a political influence by no means insignificant, which may yet cause England to curse the policy that drove them into exile, as George II. is said to have done upon receiving intelligence of his son's defeat at Fontenoy.

The portraits drawn by History show the Irish to have been morally superior to all other races, equal to any of them in martial courage, and behind none in the pursuit of knowledge. No nation at any time has displayed such susceptibility to the divine influence of Christianity as Ireland. When St. Patrick stood before our heathen fathers, and preached Christ to them, they listened reverently to his exposition of the new religion, and their hearts bowed down in faith. In those days Intolerance had not reared its hideous head in the land,

and no man suffered martyrdom or was persecuted for professing such doctrines as he chose. The rapid spread of the gospel was wonderful; and Ireland, becoming famed as the seat of learning and piety, was styled the Island of Saints. Thirsting for knowledge, men flocked from all parts of Europe to sit at the feet of the learned Irish doctors, and hear the words of wisdom and truth that flowed from their lips; and Irish missionaries, with souls yearning for the reclamation of mankind, travelled far and wide to assist in the enlightenment of a barbarous world, leaving behind them names that are treasured to this day in the lands where they sojourned.

But, despite the precepts of Christianity, internal feuds were as frequent, perhaps, among the Irish as among any other people of the time. To gratify personal ambition or to avenge affronts, the princes and chiefs took up arms against one another, and sacrificed the lives of their too faithful followers in senseless strife; and, when a foreign enemy made his appearance, some were too much occupied with private quarrels to heed his intrusion, and others shamelessly availed themselves of his assistance to wreak their vengeance on a more powerful neighbor.

While roaming the seas on their piratical quests, the Northern sea-kings, whose ravages filled Europe with terror, were attracted by the beauty and fertility of Erin. They made several descents upon the coast, and at length, through the lack of unanimity among the Irish in resisting the invasion, established themselves in Dublin and other seaports. Resolving on the conquest of the whole island, the King of Norway despatched against it, in the year 1014, a powerful fleet under Brodar, one of the fiercest and most famous of those terrible vikings of the North. Disembarking at Clontarf, in Dublin Bay, Brodar was encountered by Brian Borumha (or Boroimhe), the aged King of Ireland. Under the wise and firm rule of Brian, the people were nearly all united in a bond of amity; so that, when he took the field and called upon them to resist the invasion, they hastened to his standard from all parts of the

country. The Norsemen were assisted by the Danes occupying Dublin, and by Maelmordha MacMurchadh (or MacMurrough), the recreant Prince of Leinster, who sought revenge for an insult received at the court of King Brian. A desperate battle was fought between the opposing hosts, resulting in the complete discomfiture of the invaders. The victorious Irish, however, had to mourn the loss of their aged monarch, his son Morough, and the principal chiefs. This signal defeat caused the Danes to give up all hope of subduing Ireland; but, the next century, another enemy, more formidable, more cunning, more cruel, made his appearance.

The twelfth century was the beginning of a long period of disaster for unfortunate Ireland. Through the treachery of the infamous Diarmid MacMurrough, Prince of Leinster, a Christian nation, more potential for evil than the heathens of the North, secured a footing on its sacred soil.

“ Like rivers which, o’er valleys rich,
Bring ruin in their water,
On native land a native hand
Flung foreign fraud and slaughter.”

By fraudulent and treacherous practices, and by fostering dissensions among the inhabitants, the English slowly, but surely, gained possession of the whole island.

As the subjugation of Ireland was gradually effected, it became apparent to England that she could not maintain peaceable possession without the utter extinction of the Irish race. Her policy was accordingly adapted to the accomplishment of this end. Lands were confiscated wholesale on pleas that would hold good with none but the despoilers themselves, and not even with them if others than those in their power were concerned. The estates thus acquired were awarded to English adventurers, that they might aid in rooting out the owners of the soil. Many of the English settlers thus endowed, however, formed alliances and identified themselves so much with the natives, that they were stigmatized by their countrymen as being “more Irish than the Irish

themselves."* To prevent the extension of this very reprehensible behavior, whereby Englishmen might be lured by the brave and generous character of the Irish to make common cause with them against injustice, laws were enacted interdicting intermarriages with the native Irish. The faithful dwellers within the Pale were warned not to defile themselves by the customs of the Irish, and all neighborly intercourse was prohibited.

Enactments were further framed against the Irish language, education, religion; endeavors were made to compel the Irish to adopt Anglo-Saxon names; and their very existence became illegal. It was laudable to kill a mere Irishman as one would kill a wolf. He who was arraigned for such sport *pro formá* was honorably acquitted as having killed one who "was a mere Irishman, and not of free blood."

Under James I., the whole of Ireland was first admitted to a participation in the "benefits" of British law; and that monarch gratified large numbers of his English and Scotch subjects by extensive grants of land in Ireland, of which he obtained possession by the most iniquitous means, while he hunted the owners to death or exile. It would appear that, though every thing was done for them that "could be done in reason," the Irish were as discontented then as now, and unable to appreciate the "blessings" of British law. An Irish deputation, having been graciously admitted to an audience of King James, preferred complaints against the abuses of the administration in Ireland, and prayed his majesty for relief. The "British Solomon," flying into a kingly rage, rated the deputies soundly for their presumption in finding fault with his government, and told them it was as perfect as could be desired, "unless they would have the kingdom of Ireland like unto the kingdom of Heaven!"

Then arose Oliver Cromwell, a great man and a mighty. He saw that the land was an exceeding good

* "Degenerate Normans" is the designation insolently applied to them by Baron Macaulay.

land,* and he went up against it, and smote the inhabitants thereof with the edge of the sword. Nevertheless, many were spared and made hewers of wood and drawers of water, and a great multitude were sent across the sea in ships towards the going down of the sun. And he took possession of the land, and gave it as an inheritance to the children of his people.

As England became more enlightened, and Ireland—scourged by the wars of Cromwell and William—more tractable, the penal laws increased in number and severity, and confiscations were facilitated; thousands of the people being thus obliged to seek in other countries the privileges denied them at home. This expatriation was observed with complacency by the English, as it saved the risk attending other methods connected with the disposal of troublesome neighbors.

We find some of the Irish, as far back as the time of Henry VIII., leaving Ireland, and entering the service of continental powers. One of the principal of those early exiles was Garret or Gerald Fitzgerald, brother of Thomas na Reida (Silken Thomas), Earl of Kildare. On the imprisonment of the Lord Deputy of Ireland (Garret Oge, Earl of Kildare) in the Tower of London, in 1534,—accused of furthering his own interests rather than the king's,—the earl's son, Thomas na Reida, led to believe that his father had been put to death, took up arms to avenge him; and, despite treachery and desertions, maintained a determined stand against the king's forces until August, 1535, when, being hard pressed and receiving assurances of pardon, he surrendered himself to his brother-in-law, Lord Leonard Grey. King Henry ratified the promise made in his name, after a manner not unusual with princes, by causing the earl to be brought to London and confined in the Tower, where his father had died

* When Cromwell beheld the fertility of the Golden Vale, which stretches along the foot of the Galtees into the county of Limerick, he exclaimed, in the fulness of his lust, "This is, indeed, a land worth fighting for!"

the previous year. Silken Thomas was conducted from the dungeon to the scaffold, and executed, in company with his five uncles, at Tyburn, on the 3rd of February, 1537. But Henry's thirst for vengeance was only to be slaked by the destruction of the whole family of Kildare; and, by his command, every effort was made to secure the persons of Garret and Edward Fitzgerald, brothers of Thomas na Reida. Edward, an infant, was secretly conveyed to England, and there kept in concealment by his mother. Garret, who was about twelve years old and had now become the head of the family, was hunted from place to place in Ireland; large rewards being offered for his apprehension by the tyrant, who threatened with dire punishment all who might give him shelter or assistance. Several battles were fought on young Fitzgerald's account, and large tracts of country were laid waste. In 1540, he left Ireland, by the advice of his friends, and went to Paris. The vengeance of Henry still pursued him. His person was demanded by the English ambassador, and he was advised to quit France. Wandering over Europe, he was finally received with hospitality at the court of Cosmo de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who gave him an appointment in the ducal guards; and the superior qualifications of the young exile soon secured for him the command of the Tuscan cavalry. On the accession of Edward VI. to the English throne, Garret's estates were restored to him, and he returned to Ireland with his brother Edward in 1553.

The bravery of the Irish in the sanguinary wars of Elizabeth's reign availed little against the superior means and cunning of the enemy; and the way was paved for the rule of all Ireland by James I., who at once set about measures for depriving the people of all chance of resisting English authority. To escape the machinations of that monarch to compass their destruction, the great northern chieftains, Aodh (Hugh) O'Neill and Roderic O'Donnell, with their families, fled from Ireland in 1607, and sought an asylum in Rome, where they, with other members of their families, died and

were buried. O'Neill's sons, Henry and John, became colonels in the Spanish army. The former was strangled at Brussels. His murder is ascribed to English dread of his power and influence as chief of the O'Neills. John was killed while fighting in Catalonia in 1641, and was succeeded as the O'Neill by his cousin Owen Roe (Eoghan Ruadh), son of Art, Aodh O'Neill's youngest brother. Owen Roe O'Neill was then a major-general in the service of Spain, and had just made himself famous by the very gallant, though unsuccessful, defence of Arras against the French. The descendants of Roderic O'Donnell rose to eminence in the service of Spain and Austria; and both countries, at this day, number members of that illustrious family among their men of rank.

Hundreds of the Irish flocked to France, Spain, and other countries, during the reign of James I., to avoid the ruin with which they were threatened at home. While many earned for themselves eminence in religion and learning, as Irishmen had so often done before, the great majority followed the soldier's trade, and took part in the wars then convulsing the continent. Among the most distinguished of those who chose the latter calling were the two brothers, James and Walter Butler, members of the Ormond family, who, having protested against the partition of their estates by the King of England, were compelled to flee to avoid his malignity. Taking refuge in Germany, the brothers became soldiers of the empire, and took an active part in the Thirty Years' War under those famous generals, the Count de Tilly and the great Waldstein (commonly called Wallenstein), and each obtained command of an Irish regiment in the imperial army. James became colonel of dragoons; and Walter, colonel of musketeers. In 1631, Walter Butler (the younger brother), at the head of his Irish battalion, behaved with such determined bravery in the defence of the weakest part of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, when attacked by Gustavus Adolphus, the warrior King of Sweden, that the latter was constrained to relinquish the attempt to force an entrance there,

and, assaulting a stronger quarter, defended by the Germans, broke through the town, and took it. When the conquerors sat down to a banquet that night, Gustavus declared he would not eat a morsel until he had seen the brave Irish soldier of whom he had heard so much. Butler, who was covered with wounds, was conveyed to the king's presence on a litter of pikes. The royal Swede, who had conceived an antipathy against James Butler for some unknown cause, expressed his delight that Walter* was before him, and not James, as he had resolved to plunge his sword through the body of the latter had he been his prisoner; and then, with the feeling of a true soldier, he highly complimented the wounded colonel on his bravery, and ordered his own physicians to attend him, promising that nothing should be left undone to administer to his comfort. On his recovery, Butler was set at liberty. The jealousy and mortification of the imperial generals engaged in the defence of Frankfort caused them to circulate the report that its loss was occasioned through remissness of duty, if nothing worse, on Butler's part. Appealing to the King of Sweden to protect his honor, Butler received a written paper, in which the following declaration was made: "If the imperial generals, instead of acting like poltroons, had performed but a fifth part of what this gallant Irishman had done, we should never have been master of Frankfort, but after an obstinate siege alone." This honorable testimony to the fidelity and valor of Butler was signed by the king and his principal officers. Having traced the origin of the slanderous report to a Colonel Behem, Butler challenged him to mortal combat; but Behem evaded the challenge by making ample apology, and signing a full retraction of the slander. We hear of Walter Butler again particularly distinguishing himself in the

* Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, who admits, in his "Life of Wallenstein," that the Irish were "said to have fought with peculiar gallantry" at Frankfort, makes a slight mistake when he confounds "the infamous Walter Butler" with his brother.

imperial victory over the Swedish army at Nordlingen, in 1634, which was mainly owing to his gallant conduct. He and his regiment, we are informed, maintained their ground for twenty-three hours, under a continual fire, without giving way one inch. His death occurred shortly after.*

James Butler had also won high reputation as a soldier, and had, moreover, gained the confidence of the Emperor Ferdinand II. To him that sovereign intrusted the dangerous (but by no means honorable) commission of removing from his path Waldstein, who had become possessed of enormous power, and had grown formidable in consequence. About the end of 1634, the dictator of Germany—Albrecht, Count of Waldstein and Duke of Friedland—was assassinated at his Castle of Eger in Bohemia; and the emperor, “remembering the services he had formerly rendered to him, had three thousand Masses said for the peace of his soul.” Colonel James Butler, who was the principal agent of the emperor in this business (perhaps as justifiable as any other “political expediency”), was created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, loaded with decorations and honors, and presented with vast estates in Bohemia, where a descendant of his still flourishes, or did so lately, under the title of Baron Bütler. Walter Butler was in no way concerned in the death of Waldstein.

In Spain an Irish legion was formed about the same period,—the precursor of the brigades which, as distinctively Irish, signalized themselves so much in the wars of Europe. A document, prepared about the year

* Filled with admiration for the soldierly qualities displayed by the Irish in his army, Waldstein was anxious to increase his stock of such material, and offered to place as much as £32,000 out of his own resources at the disposal of Walter Butler, if he would go back to Ireland, and obtain more recruits from that country. But Butler declined to do so, saying, “Poor old Ireland has been drained too much of her men already.” So runs an anecdote told to Harte in Vienna.

1640, and preserved in the English State-Paper Office, mentions by name a list of the Irish who had acquired distinction by land and sea in the service of the principal countries of Europe at that time. The compiler of that document was evidently watchful of England's interests, and his testimony proves that the exiles had not forgotten Ireland. He says: "These Irish soldiers and pensioners do stay their resolutions until they see whether England makes peace or war with Spain. If peace, they have practised already with other sovereign princes, from whom they have received hopes of assistance; if war do ensue, they are confident of greater aid. They have long been providing of arms for any attempt against Ireland, and had in readiness five or six thousand arms laid up in Antwerp for that purpose, bought out of the deduction of their monthly pay, as will be proved; and it is thought they have now doubled that proportion by those means."

Owen Roe O'Neill and others returned to Ireland, in 1642, to aid their countrymen in the endeavor to force Charles I. to concede them simple justice. Owen Roe got the chief command of the Irish confederate forces. He maintained the reputation he had earned abroad, and taught the English at Benburb and other places that they had a consummate soldier to cope with. King Charles was compelled to enter into negotiations with the Irish, and desired to concede their full demands; but his agents only negotiated to gain time, while some of the leaders of the confederacy fell off. Meanwhile, the king's own downfall was hastened by the rebellion of his English subjects, and the way paved for Oliver Cromwell, who—whatever praise he may be entitled to, according to his admirers, for his conduct in his own country—proved himself but a cold-blooded fiend in his treatment of the Irish people, and his memory is deservedly held by their descendants in utter detestation. Just as Cromwell made his appearance in Ireland, the gallant Owen Roe—one of the ablest generals that ever took up arms in that country's cause—died. It was popularly believed that his death was the

result of poison,* administered by his enemies; "but nothing could have been falser," says the Rev. Mr. Meehan, "since his physicians pronounced his disease acute gout."

Cromwell's career in Ireland was marked by indiscriminate massacres of both sexes, from the child at the breast to helpless old age. He affected to deem it praiseworthy to break faith with the papistical Irish; and, when perpetrating wholesale enormities, he impiously prayed the Divine Being to accept the glory at his hands. At the massacre of Drogheda, the wretch exceeded himself and any thing ever before heard of (according to the Marquis of Ormond) "in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity." Thus he attempted to carry out the true policy of his country with regard to Ireland,—the extermination of the Irish. But slaughter in cold blood grew tiresome even to that inhuman monster; and he devised other means, when the country lay at his feet, by which to get rid of the people. Vast numbers of the destitute and helpless were deported to the West India Islands, that they might die or thrive in those pestiferous climes as they could; while over thirty thousand of those fit to bear arms were banished to the continent, where they readily obtained employment in the armies of France, Spain, Austria, and Venice, which countries had already learned to set a high value on the soldierly excellence of the Irish.

The accession of Charles II. brought no tranquillity to Ireland, the people being as rigorously persecuted as ever. The misgovernment of Charles paved the way for the dethronement of his weak-minded, yet arbitrary, brother and successor, James II., who, as a Roman Catholic, made himself odious to the greater part of his English subjects, and materially contributed to his own downfall by his ill advised and self-willed conduct. Having resolved to get rid of their king, the English tendered the crown to William, Prince of Orange and

* "Did they dare, did they dare to slay Owen Roe O'Neill?
Yes, they slew with poison him they feared to meet with steel."

Nassau, who accepted the proffered gift with alacrity. In Ireland the cause of James was heartily supported; but the troops raised were ill provided and poorly disciplined. On application by James to Louis XIV., King of France, for some well trained soldiers, during the war in Ireland against the Dutch prince, that monarch sent him 6,000 Frenchmen, but demanded an equal number of Irishmen in exchange, as he needed all the men he could get to prosecute his own wars against the confederate powers of Europe. Accordingly, James sent nearly the same number of Irishmen to France under Lord Mountcashel.

On the termination of the struggle in Ireland, by the capitulation of Limerick, in October, 1691, most of the Irish forces elected to take service in France and elsewhere, rather than trust to the mercies of English rule, of which they had had but bitter experience. Their suspicions of "Saxon" faith were fully justified; for, almost immediately, the terms of the treaty drawn up with the Irish were foully dishonored by William's government.

Of those who availed themselves of the opportunity to pass over into France, the number is set down at 19,509. They were organized, upon their arrival in that country, into two troops of horse guards, two regiments of horse, two regiments of dragoons *à pied*, eight regiments of infantry, and three independent companies. With the accessions it gained by subsequent arrivals from Ireland, the Irish Brigade in France comprised, from 1692 till its reorganization in 1698, thirteen regiments of infantry, two regiments of horse, two troops of horse guards, and three independent companies; from 1698 to 1699, seven regiments of infantry and one of cavalry; from 1699 to 1714, eight regiments of infantry and one of cavalry; 1714 to 1744, five regiments of infantry and one of cavalry; 1744 to 1762, six regiments of infantry and one of cavalry; 1762 to 1775, five regiments of infantry; and from 1775 to 1791, three regiments of infantry. By a decree of the National Assembly, on the breaking

out of the Revolution, all foreigners, with the exception of the Swiss, were amalgamated with the ordinary troops; and the Irish Brigade ceased to exist as a distinctive corps in France till near the close of 1803, when Napoleon, then first consul, issued a decree for the formation of an Irish Legion. At his coronation as emperor (the following year), Napoleon presented the legion with colors and an eagle,—an honor which he never conferred on any other foreign corps. This legion served France well; and the names of many of its members who attained rank as general officers—such as Myles Byrne (a compatriot of Robert Emmet), MacSheehy, Corbet, Lawless, O'Mara, Ware, Allen—are regarded with esteem in the country of their birth and in that of their adoption. Soon after the battle of Waterloo, Louis XVIII., through the pressure of English influence, disbanded the legion, which has not since been resuscitated.

All the fair pledges of the treaty of Limerick were remorselessly broken by the faithless English government; and renewed persecutions compelled the people to fly from Ireland in large numbers. Their departure was fancifully termed the “flight of the wild geese.” They sought employment in foreign lands, and they got it. Plenty of work was found for them on the field of battle, and they did it well. France absorbed the greater number of these exiles, who served her so faithfully that, from 1691 to 1745,—according to the War Office records, as we are informed by the Abbé MacGeoghegan,—more than 450,000 died to uphold her honor on the battle-fields of Europe. It is computed by another writer (M. de la Ponce), whose calculations are derived from the same source, that more than 750,000 Irishmen “were mowed down by the sword or the bullet” (*avaient été moissonnés par le fer ou le boulet*), while fighting for France, between the years 1650 and 1800.

“It was not alone in the French service,” says John Mitchel, “that our military exiles won renown. The O'Donnells, O'Neills, and O'Reillys, with the relics

of the Ulster clans, preferred to fight under the Spanish flag; and, in the War of the Spanish Succession, Spain had five Irish regiments in her army, whose commanders were O'Reillys, O'Garas, Lacys, Wogans, and Lawlesses. For several generations a succession of Irish soldiers of rank and distinction were always to be found under the Spanish standard; and in that kingdom those who had been chiefs in their own land were always recognized as *grandees*, the equals of the proudest nobles of Castile,—hence the many noble families of Irish race and name still to be found in Spain at this day. The Peninsular War, in the beginning of the present century, found a Blake generalissimo of the Spanish armies; while an O'Neill commanded the troops of Aragon, and O'Donnells and O'Reillys held high grades as general officers. All these true Irishmen were lost to their own country, and were forced to shed their blood for the stranger, while their kindred at home so much needed their counsels and their swords; but it was the settled policy of England and the English colony, now and for long after, to make it impossible for men of spirit and ambition to live in Ireland, so that the remaining masses of abject people might be the more helpless in the hands of their enemies."

Ample testimony is borne to the bravery and fidelity of the exiles in the service of their adopted countries, for Europe resounded with the noise of their exploits. Those under whom they fought were charmed with their intrepidity. They were esteemed above all other troops by the Duc de Vendome, who, in allusion to the terrible earnestness with which they engaged the enemy, designated them "the butchers of the army." Francis I., Emperor of Germany, left among his papers this passage: "The more Irish officers in the Austrian service, the better: our troops will always be disciplined. An Irish coward is an uncommon character; and what the natives of Ireland even dislike from principle, they generally perform through a desire of glory." Boswell, the biographer of Dr. Johnson, says:

“Whatever may be the rough jokes of wealthy insolence, or the envious sarcasm of needy jealousy, the Irish have ever been, and will continue to be, highly regarded upon the continent.”* “Were it not for the great actions of the Irish on the continent,” said a noble Spaniard, “the cause of King James III. would be quite forgotten in Europe.” When Spain attempted to recover Sardinia and other places, of which she had been deprived by the treaty of Utrecht, she had in her army at least eight regiments of Irishmen, concerning whom a hostile writer of that day observes that they were held in as high esteem by the court of Spain, “upon account of their eminent services,” as their countrymen were by France. Even Lord Macaulay,—“who, of all modern historians,” says Mitchel, “has uniformly exhibited the most inveterate malignity against the Irish nation,”—in his “History of England,” after complacently showing that, following the surrender of Limerick, Ireland was completely cowed by “the memory of past defeats, the habit of daily enduring insult and oppression,” admits:—

“There were, indeed, Irish Roman Catholics of great ability, energy, and ambition; but they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland,—at Versailles and at San Ildefonso, in the armies of Frederick and in the armies of Maria Theresa. One exile [the Earl of Thomond] became a marshal of France. Another [General Wall] became Prime Minister of Spain. If he had staid in his native land, he would have

* This remark is induced by an anecdote which he relates in his “Account of Corsica” concerning the conduct of an Irish officer named Carew, in the service of Naples, at the siege of Tortona. Carew was selected by the general in command to lead his detachment to a particular spot, where certain death awaited him and his men; his superior confidentially imparting to him this pleasant intelligence: “I place you there to make the enemy spring a mine below you!” Convinced of the expediency of this arrangement, Carew bowed to the general, and proceeded undauntedly to his post, where, having received a draught of wine from one of his soldiers, he cried, “I drink to all those who bravely fall in battle!” Fortunately Tortona capitulated at that instant, and the doomed band escaped.

been regarded as an inferior by all the ignorant and worthless squireens who had signed the Declaration against Transubstantiation. In his palace at Madrid, he had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassador of George II., and of bidding defiance in high terms to the ambassador of George III. Scattered over all Europe were to be found brave Irish generals, dexterous Irish diplomatists, Irish counts, Irish barons, Irish Knights of St. Louis and of St. Leopold, of the White Eagle and of the Golden Fleece, who, if they had remained in the house of bondage, could not have been ensigns of marching regiments or freemen of petty corporations."

In refutation of an aspersion cast by a pensioned libeller on the courage of the Irish Brigade, that his employers' pangs of envy might be assuaged or their malice gratified, Forman (a loyal English Williamite) says: "*Whether they [the Irish] had courage or not, they always had the good fortune to distinguish themselves; and it may be said to their eternal honor, that, from the time they entered into the service of France to this hour, they have never made the least false step or have had the least blot on their scutcheon.*" Forman seems to have been thoroughly acquainted with the movements of the Irish. In a letter to Sir Robert Sutton, in 1727,—in which he urges that the English government should exert its influence with the courts of France and Spain to disband the Irish, so that they might not be turned to account against England in time of war,—he thus speaks of the conduct of the exiles:—

"They are seasoned to dangers, and so perfected in the art of war, that not only the sergeants and corporals, but even the private men, can make very good officers upon occasion. In what part of the army soever they have been placed, they have always met with success, and, upon several occasions, won honor where the French themselves, warlike as they are, have received an affront. To their valor, in a great measure, France owes not only most of what trophies she gained in the late war, but even her own preservation. And, in King William's reign, the Duke of Savoy had a fatal proof of their courage under the conduct of the brave Lord Mountcashel, so well known in the court of King Charles II. by the name of Justin MacCarthy. They wrested Cremona out of the hands of the great Eugene when, by surprise, he had made himself master of all the town, except the Irish quarters,

and saw the Marshal Duke de Villeroi his prisoner, who was taken by Colonel [Captain] MacDonnell, an Irishman in the emperor's service. By that action, hardly to be paralleled in history, they saved the whole French army on that side of the Alps. At Spirebach, if my memory does not fail me, Major-General Nugent's regiment of horse, by a brave charge upon two regiments of cuirassiers, brought a complete victory to an army upon which Fortune was just turning her back. At Ramillies, the allies lost but one pair of colors, which the Royal Irish in the service of France took from a German regiment.* At Toulon, Lieutenant-General Dillon distinguished himself, and chiefly contributed to the preservation of that important place. To the Irish regiments, also, under the conduct of that intrepid and experienced officer, Count Medavi himself very generously attributed his victory over the imperialists in Italy. And the poor Catalans will for ever have reason to remember the name of Mr. Dillon for the great share he had in the famous siege of Barcelona, so fatal to their nation. Sir Andrew Lee, lieutenant-general and one of the Great Crosses of the Order of St. Louis, showed likewise how consummate a soldier he was when he defended Lille, under the Marshal Duke de Boufflers, against those thunderbolts of war, the Prince of Savoy and our own invincible Duke of Marlborough. And Lieutenant-General Roth has, by several memorable actions,—particularly his conduct, under the Marshal Duke de Berwick, in the late war between France and Spain,—acquired an immortal reputation, and shown himself not inferior to any of the best of the Irish generals abroad. In short, sir, the Irish troops did the allies the most considerable damage which they received in the last war, and will do so again if another war should happen while they continue regimented."

As America held out the prospect of relief from the restrictions on trade, from the religious disabilities imposed on all who did not acknowledge the supremacy of the English Church, and from the odious system of rackrent, numbers from the north of Ireland passed over to that country; and the great tide of emigration, which has continued to flow westward from Ireland ever since, commenced after the peace of Paris, in 1763, and helped to people America with a race

* *Two* regiments on the side of the allies lost their colors, as the Benedictine convent at Ypres, in Belgium, long testified. One was Churchill's English regiment, and the other a Scotch regiment in the service of Holland. The colors of both were taken by Lord Clare's infantry.

inimical to old-world tyranny. History shows us that among the most forward to take part in the noble and successful struggle for the achievement of American independence were the Irish colonists; and still we find Irishmen and the sons of Irishmen among the most prominent citizens of America, eminent in her councils and distinguished on her battle-fields.

Bancroft, in his "History of the United States," avers that the great republic is mainly indebted for its independence to the colonists from the north of Ireland ("Scotch-Irish" he calls them), who were the leading spirits of the Revolution.* In a letter, published not long ago in the "New York Herald," the Hon. W. E. Robertson, of Brooklyn, N.Y., reminds the public that the Irish were more concerned in the promotion of the American Revolution than the natives of any other country. "As early as

* The gentler sex were not excelled by the men in devotion to the cause of liberty. See the sketch of Andrew Jackson in this work for the noble conduct of his mother. Lossing, in his "Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution," records this instance of womanly patriotism: The Wilsons were all stanch Irish and sturdy republicans. Robert Wilson and seven of his sons were fighting on the side of the revolutionists when Lord Cornwallis, in his retreat, halted and quartered himself and his staff at the residence of the absent patriot. Mrs. Wilson treated her unbidden guests with extreme courtesy; and Cornwallis, pleased by her attentions and impressed with the belief of her usefulness as a lady of social position and influence, endeavored to win her over to the side of the royalists by fair speech and all the arguments at his command. He was at length convinced of the hopelessness of his endeavors when Mrs. Wilson said, "I have seven sons, who are now, or have been, bearing arms. Indeed, my seventh son, Zaccheus, who is only fifteen years old, I, yesterday, assisted to go and join his brothers in Sumter's army. Now, sooner than see one of my family turn back from the glorious enterprise, I would take these boys [pointing to three small sons], and would with them myself enlist under Sumter's standard, and show my husband and sons how to fight and, if necessary, to die for their country." "Ah, general!" said the cruel Tarleton, "I think you have got into a hornet's nest." "Never mind," returned Cornwallis, "when we get to Camden, I'll take good care that old Robin Wilson never gets back."

1728," he says, respecting Pennsylvania, "nine-tenths of the immigrants to that province were Irish. It was much the same in Virginia, in the Carolinas, in New York, and in New England." Among those Irishmen and sons of Irishmen he enumerates as being renowned in American story are the following: Charles Thompson, of Maghera, "the guiding spirit of the Congress and Convention that adopted our Declaration of Independence and framed our constitution;"* General Richard Montgomery, of Donegal, the first to fall in command of a revolutionary army; John Barry, of Wexford, first commodore of the American navy; General Henry Knox, first Secretary of War; General Stephen Moylan, of Cork; General Richard Butler; General Edward Hand; George Latimer, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly; Colonel Francis Nichols; General Thomas Robinson; General Walter Stewart, known as "the Boy Colonel;" General William Thompson; and General Anthony Wayne. Of those eminent in the service of the United States at the present day, he instances Lieutenant-General Sheridan, holding the highest military rank but one in the land; and Admirals Porter and Rowan, the first and second in command of the navy.

The revolt of the American colonies, and the fear of the growing power of the Irish abroad, induced England, at length, to relax the severity of her penal code in Ireland. The unhappy Irish breathed. Gaining strength and confidence by the union of the people, Ireland, pointing to her armed citizens, demanded the right to make laws for herself without direct English interference. England, in a tremor, conceded that right. Meanwhile, certain Irishmen, fully alive to

* The famous Declaration of American Independence was signed by Charles Thompson in his official capacity as secretary. Of the other signers, three were Irish; viz., George Taylor, James Smith, and Matthew Thornton. Four were of Irish parentage,—Edward Rutledge, Thomas M'Kean, George Read, and Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. The grandfather of the latter emigrated to America as far back as 1689.

English perfidy, conceived the idea of making Ireland independent of England altogether, and proclaiming a republic. But having succeeded, through cajolery, in procuring the disbandment of the Irish Volunteers, evoked by the spirit of Irish freedom, England recovered her boldness, and, in revenge for the mortification put upon her by being forced to yield to just demands, perpetrated fresh cruelties on the Irish people. Then, by diabolical craft, she extinguished the Irish Parliament altogether, and arrogated to herself the exclusive right of making laws for Ireland, granting the Irish the farcical privilege of sending representatives to the London Parliament, where, in the minority, they could be of precious little use to their country. In vain, Tone, Emmet, Fitzgerald, Mitchel, O'Brien, and other illustrious sons of Ireland strove to rescue her from the tyranny of her masters. Repeated efforts failed; and numbers paid the penalty of devotion to their native land by death or transportation. Even now, some pine in prison cells, or wander in banishment over the face of the earth, for the same cause.

To justify their conduct in depriving Ireland of internal government, which is accorded to all the rest of their dominions, English statesmen give utterance to sentiments like the following. The Irish (say they) are a loyal, warm-hearted people, simple in virtue, and unaffectedly pious according to their lights; but then they are highly imaginative and impressionable, and are thus rendered susceptible to the influence of designing knaves, who draw gorgeously colored pictures of what Ireland might be if she were *free*,—that is, independent of us. Thus the misguided people are easily led into the commission of serious crimes, which, much to our regret, render occasional severe enactments imperative. Now, Ireland *is* free. Laws have been specially made for her by the wisest and most conscientious legislators of England. True, those legislators were human, and liable to err; but the trivial mistakes they did make really afford no justifi-

able ground for complaint, and, in course of time, those little mistakes will be rectified to the satisfaction of the most captious. There are other people, not Irishmen, who think, absurdly enough, that we should, as a matter of common justice, let the Irish legislate for themselves. We regard our countrymen* of the sister isle with the greatest possible esteem and affection; and it is purely owing to Christian motives that we could not permit them to take upon themselves the onerous responsibility of self-government. The history of the country is comprised in one word,—disunion. In all they undertake, this fatal defect characterizes the Irish people. They would never get on if left to themselves. No party of them could meet on any occasion and agree on one plan of action. If they should have a government of their own to-morrow, all would be anarchy. Riot and bloodshed would be the order of the day. In all Christian charity, therefore, to prevent such a deplorable contingency, we simply govern Ireland for the people's own sakes; and we hold it because it was transmitted to us from our fathers, over whose actions we had no control. And no doubt it was a special Providence that directed them in the subjugation of Ireland, in order that the people might be rescued from the ignorance and barbarism in which they had so long wallowed, and be educated to the standard of civilization; and that the prosperity of the country might be promoted under British rule.

That the want of union prevailed to a great extent among the Irish, through the folly of their chiefs, is but too true; for unanimity of action would have prevented the English from obtaining a foothold in their country. But disunion is not *peculiar* to the Irish, nor are they one whit more criminal in that respect than others, as every one of common knowledge is

* On two or three occasions, Mr. Gladstone, ex-Prime Minister of England, when in a gushing mood, has affectionately termed us his "fellow-countrymen."

aware; but it suits the purpose of interested parties to make it appear otherwise by citing their history and ignoring that of other nations. The crime of disunion is equally the characteristic of every other race, the Anglo-Saxon included. There were times in the history of all nations when they were divided into petty families and tribes, who were constantly at variance; and our own day shows that, among the most advanced nations of the earth, civil war—where brother is armed against brother, and the parent against his child—is not yet a thing of the past. Perhaps, above all races in the world, the historical character of the English will not bear favorable comparison with that of the race they malign and affect to despise, but really hate, because they have worked it monstrous wrong;* and regard with fear, because they are in constant dread of retribution.

All schemes for the annihilation of the Irish race have proved of no avail; and, to the chagrin of their enemies, they are ever ready to renew the contest for supremacy in their own land, and may yet adjust the question of the government of Ireland to the satisfaction of the Froudes and the Gladstones. Passionately loving the dear old home, and proud of his ancient race, every true son of Ireland regards it as a sacred duty to retrieve the errors of the past by which a foreigner was permitted to usurp and retain possession of his country; and, wherever in the wide world he has cast his lot, this is the burthen of his song:—

“In sadness and in sorrow I shall still be true,
And cling with wild fondness round my Roisin Dubh.†

* * * * *

“The mountains high and misty through the moors must go,
The rivers shall run backward and the lakes overflow,
And the wild waves of old ocean wear a crimson hue,
Ere the world sees the ruin of my Roisin Dubh.”

* In a speech before the Catholic Board, in 1813, O'Connell declared, with perfect truth, “The English do not dislike us as Catholics; *they simply hate us as Irish.*”

† Little Black Rose,—an allegorical name of Ireland.

JUSTIN MACCARTHY,

LORD MOUNTCASHEL,

LEADER OF THE IRISH BRIGADE IN FRANCE.

WHEN William, Prince of Orange, seized upon the abandoned throne of James II. of England, the Irish people upheld the cause of the latter prince. In those days the subversion of existing governments was professedly regarded with horror. The execution of Charles I. had, indeed, taken place at a comparatively recent date; but it had been subsequently declared, in legal form, an unrighteous act, and the memory of the perpetrators and their abettors was held up to execration. It was therefore necessary to conduct all future revolutions with as much decorum as possible. The "divine right" of kings was not to be rudely set aside.

James II. was a Catholic. That was a crime not to be tolerated by most Protestants; so he must be got rid of,—constitutionally, of course. A son and heir was born to James, which son would perpetuate the Catholic succession. The prince was pronounced illegitimate by the king's enemies; and, by invitation, William, Prince of Orange and Nassau and Stadtholder of the United Provinces of Holland, as interested in the succession, went over to England with a Dutch army and fleet to institute the necessary inquiries as to the young heir's legitimacy.

William had married his cousin Mary, the eldest daughter of James II. He had the reputation of being a stanch Protestant, and was the head and soul of the League of Augsburg, organized by the sove-

reigns of Europe to crush or humiliate Louis XIV., whose growing power had excited their jealousy. This confederation embraced the Emperor of Germany, the Electors of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brandenburg, the Elector Palatine, the Kings of Spain, Sweden, and Denmark, the Duke of Savoy, Pope Innocent XI., and the Dutch Republic. When William became King of England, that country, of course, joined the league.

Upon the arrival of William in England, James fled to France. William convened a meeting of his partisans, and the flight of James was duly declared an abdication; but the claims of the infant Prince of Wales were altogether overlooked, though the question of his legitimacy was not again mooted. The convention desired to raise Mary to the throne, and make her husband regent; but William refused to become his wife's subject, and matters were settled by crowning them conjointly King and Queen of England. They were acknowledged by a few in Ireland; but the greater part of the people—whose right to make their own choice was unquestionable—resolved to support James, who, in common with all his family, was totally unworthy of the sacrifices made for him, though equally worthy, perhaps, with any English ruler.

Among the distinguished Irishmen who devotedly adhered to the cause of James was the Honorable JUSTIN MACCARTHY. He was the youngest son of Donough MacCarthy,* Earl of Clancarty and Viscount Muskerry, General of the forces in Munster in the

* Donough MacCarthy, Earl of Clancarty and Viscount Muskerry, by his wife, the Lady Ellen Butler, eldest sister of James, first Duke of Ormond, had three sons,—Cormac, Callaghan, and Justin. Cormac died before his father, and the title devolved on Callaghan, who was succeeded, on his decease, by his son Donough. The latter died abroad in 1734, and left a son Robert, the last who bore the title of Clancarty. Robert, Earl of Clancarty, died at Boulogne in 1770, leaving two sons, who never assumed the title. The MacCarthys owe their origin to Eoghan, elder son of Oilíoll-Olum, King of Munster in the beginning of the third century.

reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. At an early age, Justin entered the army, and, by his courage and talent, rose to the rank of lieutenant-general.

When the insurrection broke out in Munster in 1689 in favor of the Prince of Orange, General Justin MacCarthy adopted immediate measures for its suppression, and succeeded in restoring tranquillity to that part of the country. James II., deriving hope from the exertions made in his behalf by the Irish, hastened to Ireland from France. On landing at Kinsale, on the 22nd of March,* he was received by General MacCarthy and his nephew, the Earl of Clancarty. The king commissioned MacCarthy to strengthen Kinsale, and to organize and arm all levies in the province, and placed under his orders M. de Boisseleau (maréchal-de-camp and captain of Louis XIV.'s Guards), who, with other French officers, had accompanied James to Ireland.

At the opening of the Irish Parliament in Dublin, in May, General MacCarthy, in conjunction with Sir Richard Nagle, Attorney-General for Ireland, sat for the county of Cork. The following month he was created Viscount Mountcashel and Baron of Castle-Inchy in the county of Cork, and took his seat in the House of Lords as a Peer of Ireland. Soon after, he was despatched to undertake the reduction of Enniskillen, which had declared for William.

The force committed to Mountcashel's charge consisted of 3,600 horse and foot, with eight pieces of artillery. On the 7th of August, he appeared before the Castle of Crom, in the county of Fermanagh, some nine miles south-east of Enniskillen. In two days he had carried the intrenchments about the castle, and was making preparations for a general assault, when he learned that Colonel Wolseley was advancing against him from Enniskillen. On receipt of

* March 12, O.S. Unless otherwise specified, the dates throughout this work will be assimilated to the new (or present) style.

this intelligence, he sent Colonel Anthony Hamilton,* with a regiment of dragoons, to occupy a pass which was on the road to Lisnaskea, and could be easily held against the attack of a greatly superior force. Hamilton was encountered by Lieutenant-Colonel Berry with a party of Enniskillen horse and foot. The latter retreated. Hamilton followed, and, disregarding the orders which forbade him to go beyond the pass, permitted himself to be lured by Berry into an ambuscade in a boggy defile flanked by underwood. In the engagement that ensued, Hamilton's party was worsted, and he was wounded in the thigh. He gave orders at once that his troops should be wheeled out of the line of fire. Captain Lavallin, in misapprehension of the command, gave the word to "face about." The result of the latter order was a total rout, in which 230 men were lost.†

This disaster considerably diminished Mountcashel's cavalry; and, with his force now numbering but 2,987 men, he resolved upon a retreat. Colonel Wolseley, with a body of 2,700 horse and foot and a large number of volunteers, followed hard at his heels. Checking Wolseley's advance, Mountcashel found time to burn Newtown-Butler, and retreat about a mile beyond it, when he was forced to give battle.

In the fight that followed, the men of Enniskillen, who were well disciplined and numbered among them some 800 excellent marksmen, gained a complete victory. Mountcashel's troops were taken in rear. A panic set in, and they were utterly routed. The slaughter that ensued was perfectly savage; unarmed fugitives being pursued and shot down without mercy even on the following day. A few hundred only

* Afterwards celebrated as a wit at the French court, and author of the "Memoirs of the Comte de Grammont."

† Both officers were subsequently tried by court-martial in Dublin; and Captain Lavallin, who protested he gave the command as he understood it, was shot. Why Hamilton escaped punishment for disobeying Mountcashel's orders does not appear.

escaped, and about the same number were made prisoners.

Lord Mountcashel disdained to fly, and, fighting desperately, was taken prisoner. A volley killed his horse, and severely wounded himself. He received two shots in his right thigh, one in his left loin, and one in the groin. The last shot was prevented from being mortal by his watch, which was shattered, a fragment being forced into his flesh. He was removed to Enniskillen, and obtained permission to send to Dublin for King James's physician and surgeon. About the end of the year, he effected his escape. The news throughout Ireland was received with the liveliest demonstrations of joy, and his entrance into Dublin was a triumphal procession.

At the request of James, the King of France sent over to Ireland 6,000 disciplined French troops, under the Comte de Lauzun,* in the spring of 1690, to assist in the war against William. As Louis had wars of his own on hands, he demanded the like complement of Irishmen in exchange. In compliance with the demand, Lord Mountcashel was despatched to France with 5,371 officers and men. They were originally composed of five regiments; but, shortly after their arrival in France (May, 1690), they were rearranged and organized into three regiments, respectively commanded as colonels-proprietor by Lord Mountcashel, the Honorable Daniel O'Brien, and the Honorable Arthur Dillon. Each of these regiments (subdivided into two battalions) contained fifteen companies of 100 men, besides its colonel's company. Lord Mountcashel was confirmed in his rank of lieutenant-general by the French king, and placed in command of the three Irish regiments, which were thenceforward termed Mountcashel's Brigade.

Mountcashel was first employed by the King of

* He is styled Antoine Nompar de Canmont, Duc de Lauzun, in "*Dictionnaire Historique, ou Biographie Universelle.*"

France in the war in Savoy. Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy, secretly entered into the League of Augsburg against France. This became known to Louis XIV., who sent Lieutenant-General de Catinat into Piedmont to bring the Savoyard to reason. A few months later, Lieutenant-General the Marquis de St. Ruth was despatched into Savoy with 5,000 French troops, accompanied by Lieutenant-General Lord Mountcashel and 3,000 Irish of the Regiments of Mountcashel and O'Brien.

Despite the obstacles presented by its natural features, St. Ruth easily penetrated the country, capturing and garrisoning the hostile towns as he advanced; Mountcashel and the Irish rendering him very efficient aid.

About the 11th of September, St. Ruth came up with the Count de Sales and 1,200 men strongly posted on a rock, in front of which ran the River Isere. This post was successfully stormed by simultaneous attacks on three points. The defenders fled, and were pursued to the tops of the neighboring mountains. Mountcashel received a wound in the breast. The Irish, who outstripped the rest in pursuit of the enemy, captured the Count de Sales, and brought him prisoner to their general. Several Savoyards were taken, and about 150 killed. St. Ruth's loss was trifling. Hostile accounts of this campaign agree with the French in according praise to Mountcashel and his Irish for their intrepidity and valor, and the surprising agility with which they scaled apparently inaccessible fastnesses, and dislodged the hardy mountaineers.

Having subdued all Savoy, with the exception of the strongly fortified town of Montmelian, St. Ruth was recalled from the command of the army there, and sent over to act in Ireland; falling, the next year, at the battle of Aughrim. He was replaced in Savoy by the Marquis de la Hogue, who had returned with the Comte de Lauzun from Ireland.

In the campaign undertaken in April, 1691, by the Duc de Noailles, in Spain, with an army of about 9,000

men, Lord Mountcashel and Colonel Arthur Dillon served under him, with 1,000 Irish. Urgel and several other places were surrendered to the French; and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, with a superior army, was compelled to raise the siege of Pratz-de-Mollo. The rest of Mountcashel's Brigade served in Savoy during that year, and assisted at the reduction of the town and citadel of Montmelian by Hoguette. Towards the end of the year, the armies of France received further accessions by the arrival of more exiles from Ireland, consequent upon the success of William III.

During 1692, Lord Mountcashel remained in Catalonia with the army, which, however, undertook no offensive operations. In April, 1693, he was ordered to join the Maréchal Duc de Lorges in Germany, and, with about 8,000 Irish, assisted in the reduction of Heidelberg, Darmstadt, and other important places.

The health of Lord Mountcashel began to fail. His body was covered with honorable wounds received in various actions. By reason of these wounds, his constitution was seriously affected, and he was obliged to desist from active service. He retired to Barèges, in the Pyrenees, and sought relief from the mineral waters of that town, which are said to effect wonders in the cure of wounds, rheumatism, and scrofula; but his illness increased, and he died on the 11th of July, 1694, deeply lamented by his countrymen and all who had learned to admire him for his courage and talents, his honor and liberality.

Lord Mountcashel was married to the Lady Arabella Wentworth, daughter of the famous Earl of Strafford; but we find no mention of any issue by their marriage.

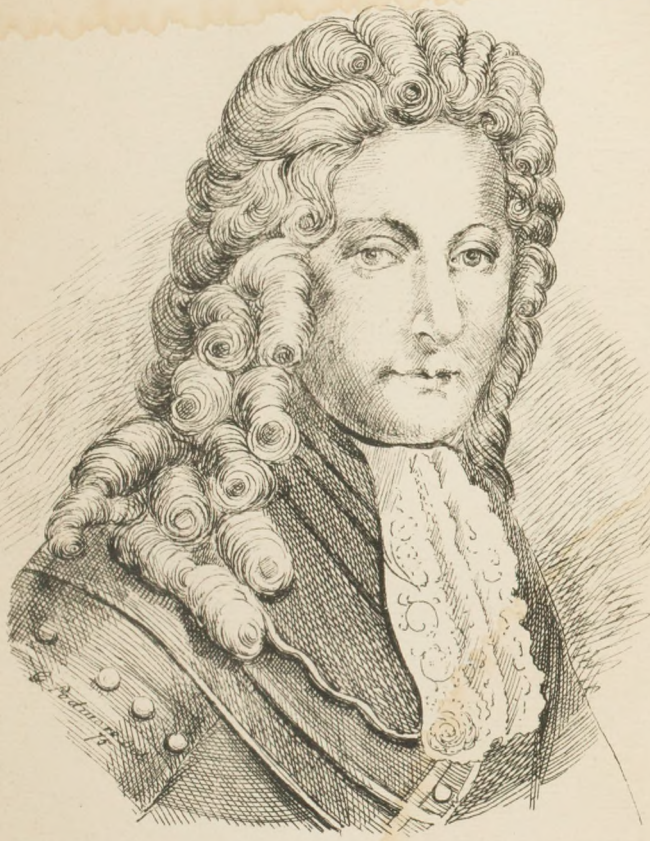
Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan.

THIS illustrious Irishman, whose memory is so dear to his countrymen, was the son of Patrick, grandson of Sir William Sarsfield, of Lucan, in the county Dublin. His father married Anne, a daughter of the famous Colonel Rory O'Moore, and had by her a daughter and two sons, William and PATRICK. The latter son succeeded to the family estates on the death of his brother William without male issue.* Thomas Sarsfield, the founder of the family, was standard-bearer to Henry II., and accompanied Strongbow to Ireland.

PATRICK SARSFIELD first served in France as an ensign in the Regiment of Monmouth; then as a lieutenant in the Guards in England. Upon the flight of James II. to France, when the Prince of Orange came over to relieve him of his kingly cares, Sarsfield accompanied the fugitive monarch, and returned with him to Ireland in 1689.

Upon arriving in Ireland, the king appointed Sarsfield a member of the Privy Council, and gave him the command of a regiment of horse, with the rank of brigadier-general. In the latter part of 1689, General Sarsfield retook Sligo, and expelled the Williamite forces from Connaught. He was present at the battle of the Boyne (July, 1690), though not actively engaged, being in command of James's body-guard, and, upon the flight of that cowardly king to France, was chiefly instrumental in continuing the war.

* William left a daughter, Charlotte, from whom is descended the present Earl of Lucan.



PATRICK SARSFIELD,
EARL OF LUCAN.

After their defeat at the Boyne, the Irish forces fell back towards the Shannon to form a new line of defence. The aged Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnel and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for King James, withdrew to Limerick with the greater part of the army, and the French contingent under the Comte de Lauzun. Boisseleau, a French officer, was appointed governor of the town by Tyrconnel. Desirous of effecting its reduction, which was of the utmost consequence to his cause, the Prince of Orange hastened to lay siege to Limerick. The defences were in such a poor condition, that the Comte de Lauzun, declaring the "*ramparts might be battered down with roasted apples,*" declined to assist in its defence, and withdrew into Connaught with the French troops; his example being followed by Tyrconnel.

The garrison that remained in and near the town consisted of about 20,000 men, only half of whom were supplied with weapons; some 3,500 cavalry being encamped, within five miles of the town, in the county Clare. William's besiegers amounted to over 38,000 effective men. Confident of success, the Prince of Orange summoned Boisseleau to surrender; but, acting on the advice of the Irish officers, the governor replied that he should prefer to merit his enemy's esteem by defending the post.

William had come in advance of his heavy battering train, which, with other supplies, was on its way from Dublin under escort. This expected addition to his means consisted of 8 heavy siege guns, 5 mortars, 153 waggons of ammunition, 18 tin boats with which to bridge the river, 400 horses, and 12 cartloads of biscuits. Intelligence concerning the coming of these stores having been conveyed to the Irish camp, Sarsfield, at his own request, was despatched with 600 horse to intercept the convoy and relieve it of its charge.

On the night of the 22nd August, Sarsfield left his camp, on the Clare side of the Shannon, and, crossing the river at Killaloe,—about twelve miles in

a north-east direction from Limerick,—entered the county of Tipperary. The next night he came up with the convoy, which, unsuspecting of danger, had encamped close by the ruined Castle of Ballyneety, only seven miles from the outposts of William's army. The soldiers who formed the escort reposed in fancied security, with but a scant watch to apprise them of danger. Dearly they paid for their want of vigilance. Sarsfield and his band rode down upon them ere they had time to realise the alarm of the sentinels. The surprise was complete. Sixty fell by the sword, and the rest were but too glad to escape.*

The Irish then broke up as many of the waggons as time would permit, and piled them all together; filling the artillery pieces with gunpowder, and half burying them in the ground, muzzles downward. When every thing was prepared, the whole was fired, and a terribly magnificent explosion took place, which shook the earth and made the mountains tremble; while the blaze, turning night into day, illumined the country for miles around.

A league away the brilliant flash and terrific roar announced what had happened to Sir John Lanier and a party of horse, who had been despatched by the Prince of Orange (on being apprised of Sarsfield's design) to protect the convoy. Chagrined at being so late,—sufficient time having elapsed since he had received his orders,—General Lanier endeavored to make up for lost opportunity by pushing on with the utmost celerity in order to overtake and cut off Sarsfield; but

* A story is current of doubtful authenticity in connection with this brilliant exploit. The countersign adopted by William for the day, and communicated to the escort, was "Sarsfield." Through the treachery of a deserter from William's army, the Irish general became aware of this fact; and when, in the darkness of the night, the Irish appeared before the sentinels, and received the customary challenge, with the demand for the watchword, Sarsfield charged them home with the cry, "'Sarsfield' is the word, and Sarsfield is the man!"

that intrepid soldier, having accomplished his bold enterprise to his entire satisfaction, eluded pursuit by recrossing the river at Bannagher, taking with him the 400 captured horses. And Lanier found among the *debris* of the late ordnance stores but two guns fit for use.

Sarsfield's success filled William with rage and mortification, as it delayed his apparently certain means of reducing Limerick, and compelled him to send to Waterford for further supplies. His preparations for the conduct of the siege were soon complete; but in vain he hurled shot and shell against the town, and assaulted the breaches with chosen troops. Vying with each other in bravery, the Irish—armed and unarmed—performed prodigies of valor; the women of Limerick, endued with extraordinary heroism, rushing to the breach, regardless of a murderous fire, and driving back the foe with stones, bottles, and other available missiles. Baffled by this most determined resistance, the deeply mortified William—after having lost 5,000 men, the loss of the besieged being but little over 1,000—judged it prudent to raise the siege, and, on the 10th of September, took his departure for England, leaving the prosecution of the war in the hands of his generals.

Sarsfield (now major-general) continued to render good service to the cause of James, and, by his operations during the latter part of the year, prevented the enemy from passing into Connaught. In recognition of his ability, James ennobled him by letters patent—which arrived from France in the following January—as Earl of Lucan, Viscount of Tully, and Baron of Rosberry.

In May, 1691, the Marquis de St. Ruth arrived from France to take command of the Irish forces. A witness of the gallant conduct of the Irish soldiers who fought under him in the campaign against Savoy, he looked for brave deeds from their countrymen at home. Nor was he disappointed. But the disproportioned means to cope with the well appointed enemy, and the want

of unanimity between the French and Irish generals, rendered their bravery nugatory.

In the beginning of July, the Dutch General Ginkell and a large force, well supplied with artillery, appeared in front of the town of Athlone, which is situated very near the centre of Ireland, and is of great strategical importance. It is built on the Shannon, and lies partly in Westmeath and partly in Roscommon. Ginkell soon took that portion of the town on the Leinster side of the Shannon, from which he poured a fearful amount of shot and shell upon the town on the Connaught side, and reduced it to ruins, making several attempts—rendered ineffectual by the spirit of the defenders—to cross and take possession. At length his men succeeded in fording the river above the town, and, advancing upon the heap of ruins, which was manfully defended, carried it by assault before St. Ruth, who was encamped near at hand, was aware of the fact. Ginkell's success has been ascribed to the remissness and overweening confidence of St. Ruth, who, not believing that the enemy would essay the passage of the ford, declined to re-enforce Colonel Thomas Maxwell,—a Scotch officer in charge of the works which protected the ford. The friends of St. Ruth, however, insinuate treachery on the part of Maxwell in permitting himself to be surprised. There was, no doubt, extreme culpability somewhere; for proper precautions would have prevented the passage of the ford and obliged Ginkell to abandon the siege.

Filled with pique at this disgrace, and determined to redeem his injured reputation for generalship by winning a victory which should be the result of his own plans alone, St. Ruth resolved to give the enemy battle in the open field, without seeking advice from his officers, or vouchsafing to give them any intimation of his designs. He accordingly withdrew to a good position at Aughrim, in the county Galway, some sixteen miles away. On the 22nd of July, Ginkell having come up and made his dispositions, the battle was fought. Success on the side of the Irish appeared

certain, when St. Ruth, with the words of victory on his lips, was killed by a cannon-ball. Ginkell succeeded in turning the Irish left. The officer most competent to take the place of the dead general was Sarsfield, who was in command of the cavalry reserve at the rear. Since the affair of Athlone, a difference had arisen between Sarsfield and St. Ruth; the Irish officer bluntly charging the loss of Athlone to the incompetency and criminal negligence of the Frenchman, who evinced his resentment at Aughrim by declining to permit Sarsfield to take active part in the battle. Peremptorily ordered not to move from his post in the rear till required to do so, General Sarsfield remained there, like an obedient soldier, till the news of St. Ruth's death came. Then the flight of the discomfited Irish announced to him the turn of the scale in favor of the enemy. In vain Sarsfield tried to rally the flying and disordered mass: the rout was complete, and the victors revelled to satiety in the cold-blooded murder of unarmed fugitives.

The final stand made by the Irish in this war was at Limerick, where the Duke of Tyrconnel died shortly after, and the reins of government were assumed, in the name of King James, by the Lords Justices Alexander Fitton (Lord Chancellor), Francis Plowden (Commissioner of Revenue), and Sir Richard Nagle (Secretary of State and Attorney-General); while the management of the army was nominally confided to D'Usson, a French general, Sarsfield being practically in command.

A treacherous correspondence for the betrayal of the city to General Ginkell was discovered by Sarsfield; and the traitor (Colonel Henry Luttrell) was tried by court-martial, and found guilty, but, through powerful influence, was only confined in the Castle of Limerick till the pleasure of King James could be learned respecting his disposal.*

* Luttrell—who was a spawn of the Normans, but not of the “degenerate” kind mentioned by Lord Macaulay—was set at liberty by Ginkell when the city capitulated, and

Ginkell, having advanced against Limerick and perfected his arrangements, commenced a regular bombardment on the 9th of September. His artillery consisted

became attached to the interests of the new king, under whom he fought in the Low Countries. He was suitably rewarded by William with a pension and the possessions of his honorable elder brother, who adhered to the cause of the Stuarts. But vengeance—sure, though not swift—overtook the universally detested Henry Luttrell, and terminated a career marked by the most flagitious crimes. While going home from a drunken debauch on a November night, in 1717, he was shot in Stafford Street, Dublin, and died next day. The individual who performed the rôle of executioner was never discovered; but a nephew of Luttrell was, two years after, sentenced to “stand three hours in the pillory, with his ears nailed to it, then to have them cut off, and to remain eight months in prison,” for perjury, he having maliciously and falsely accused two persons of having killed his uncle. Henry Luttrell’s descendants proved themselves worthy of their progenitor. “As far as their history has been known,” says the writer of the “Letters of Junius,” in allusion to the Luttrells, “the son has regularly improved upon the vices of the father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successors.” Simon Luttrell, ennobled by sympathetic patrons as Earl of Carhampton, was as notorious as his father Henry for his foul doings. He wasn’t much regretted at his decease, as would appear from the following epigram composed at the time:—

“If heaven be pleased when mortals cease to sin,
And hell be pleased when villains enter in,
If earth be pleased when it entombs a knave,
All must be pleased when Luttrell’s in his grave.”

And this Simon begat another wretch (Henry Lawes Luttrell, second Earl of Carhampton), whose profligacy and cruelty excited detestation equal to that accorded the memory of his father and grandfather. The male line ended with him. Of the last (a woman) of this infamous family, Sir Robert Heron—as quoted by Fitzpatrick—says: “Lady Elizabeth Luttrell resided with her sister, the Duchess of Cumberland, played high, and cheated much. She was commonly called ‘the Princess Elizabeth.’ On the death of her sister, she was thrown into gaol [for debt]. There she gave a hairdresser £50 to marry her. Her debts then becoming his, she was discharged. She went abroad, where she descended lower; till, being convicted of picking pockets at Augsburg, she was condemned to clean the streets, chained to a wheelbarrow. In that miserable situation, she terminated her existence by poison.” Truly, “the way of transgressors is hard.”

of nearly 90 pieces, the fire from which told with such effect that several portions of the city were soon in flames, compelling the lords justices and a large number of the inhabitants to seek refuge in Clare. The garrison, animated by the example and exhortations of Sarsfield, conducted the defence with great bravery; but, on the 25th, the enemy succeeded in bridging the river towards Annabeg, and, crossing over, forced the lords justices and citizens there encamped to fly back to the city, and also obliged the Irish cavalry on that side to retire to a greater distance. Shot and shell continued to play on the city day and night; and Sarsfield, having gone to Clare, vainly essayed to convey a large body of horse to its relief.

On the 2nd of October, the enemy, in large force, made an attack on Thomond Bridge from the Clare side. Colonel Lacy, with about 800 men, offered brave opposition to the attack; but overwhelming numbers compelled him to retire. The town-major (a Frenchman), fearing that the enemy would gain an entrance to the city, and believing that Lacy's men would be simply called upon to surrender, raised the drawbridge, and thus cut off their retreat. A terrible carnage ensued: about 600 of the Irish were slaughtered, and the rest made prisoners. The English lost a great number; but they only admit the loss of between 200 and 300 men.

This conflict ended the war. The supplies of the garrison having become exhausted, and the prospect of succor very dubious, D'Usson, with the consent of the Irish officers, agreed to an armistice on the following day. Negotiations were opened, and hostages exchanged. On the 6th of October, Sarsfield and Major-General Wauchop dined with the Baron de Ginkell; and, on the 13th, was signed the famous treaty,—the breach of which so little disturbs English *honor*,—and Limerick was surrendered to the Dutch general.

The civil articles—or that portion of the treaty which relates to the privileges granted to all who chose to remain and partake of the benefits of William's

government in Ireland—are, as printed in the Abbé MacGeoghegan's "History of Ireland," as follow:—

"Articles agreed upon the third day of October, one thousand six hundred and ninety-one.*

"Between the Right Honorable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq., Lords Justices of Ireland, and his Excellency the Baron de Ginkle, Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the English army, on the one part,

"And the Right Honorable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Gaimoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part,

"In the behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

"In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said Lieutenant-General Ginkle, the Governor of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city and submission of the said army; it is agreed, that—

"I. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

"II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of King James, or those authorized by him to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience; and their and every of their heirs,—shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities which they and every

* Old style, corresponding to the 13th of October, present style.

or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightly and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of King Charles II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles II., and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown rents, quit rents, and other public charges incurred and become due since Michaelmas, 1688, to the day of the date hereof. And all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands or the hands of any person whatsoever in trust for or for the use of them or any of them. And all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of King Charles II. Provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised; provided, also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of Parliament in England in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

“III. All merchants or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties' declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article in the same manner as if they were present. Provided such merchants and reputed merchants do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

“IV. The following officers—viz., Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster—now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article. Provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties' government and take the abovementioned oath.

“V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, præmunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misde-

meanors whatsoever, by them or any of them committed since the beginning of the reign of King James II.; and if any of them are attainted by Parliament, the lords justices and general will use their best endeavors to get the same repealed by Parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks' fees.

“VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts, and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling, therefore, of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever comprised in the foregoing articles shall be sued, molested, or impleaded, at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandises, or provisions whatsoever by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mesne rates of any lands, tenements, or houses by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses; and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

“VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third articles shall have liberty to ride with a sword and case of pistols if they think fit, and keep a gun in their houses for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

“VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick and other garrisons shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

“IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government shall be the oath above said, and no other.

“X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

“XI. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavors, that all the persons comprehended in the abovementioned articles shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

“XII. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavors that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in Parliament.

“XIII. And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel and Lord Lucan took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debt, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts,—which effects were taken for the public use of the King and their army: for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagement, passed on their public account, for payment of the said Protestants and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed that the said lords justices and the said Baron de Ginkle shall intercede with the king and Parliament to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with and equally liable to the payment of so much of the same debts as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which accompt is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan, in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

“For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands,

“CHAR. PORTER, THO. CONINGSBY,
Bar. DE GINKLE.

“Present—

“Scravenmore, H. Maccay, T. Talmash.”

These articles were subsequently ratified by King William as follows:—

“And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us: Now know ye, that we, having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof for which an act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two Houses of Parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words ‘Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them,’ in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz., ‘and all such as are under their

protection in the said counties,' should be inserted and be part of the said articles,—which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered; and that our said justices and general, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draught thereof: our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz., 'and all such as are under their protection in the said counties,' hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring that all and every person and persons therein concerned shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article in anywise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery in our said kingdom of Ireland within the space of one year next ensuing.

"In witness, &c., witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis & reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attorney general. domini regis & dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.

"BRIDGES.

"Examinat. per nos,

"S. Keck, } In Cancel.
Lacon Wm. Childe, } Magistros."

By this treaty Sarsfield and his brother officers hoped that they had secured some benefit to the Irish people, and too confidently trusted to English honor for its fulfilment. More favorable terms had been drawn up in Dublin by the Lords Justices Porter and Coningsby, with a view to terminate the war; but, on arriving at Ginkell's camp, they found that negotiations were already on foot, and cunningly refrained from producing their own document. It was of small moment, however; for their agreement would unquestionably have been equally dishonored with the treaty actually signed. No great length of time passed before the Irish people

found that their treacherous and cruel masters had little regard for solemn obligations when self-interest stood in the way; and across the water, in distant lands, the Irish exile wept tears of rage, and burned to wreak summary vengeance on the perfidious Saxon.

A series of military articles was also agreed to, conceding terms the most honorable to all who declined remaining under the sovereignty of King William. These articles were signed by D'Usson, De Tessé, Lucan, Wauchop, and La Tour-Montfort, on the part of the Irish; and Porter, Coningsby, and Ginkell, for the English. By this agreement, all persons whatsoever, with their families and household goods, were permitted to leave Ireland for any country whatever, England and Scotland excepted; the English government bound itself to supply vessels for the transport of such troops and their families as desired to go to France, with two men-of-war for the conveyance of the principal officers; and the garrison was permitted "to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colors flying, six brass guns (such as the besieged will choose), two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition." The like honors of war were granted to such small garrisons as were posted in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry. Further, a cessation of arms was agreed upon till such time as the transportation was complete, and the English vessels had returned home.

Such were the terms which procured the surrender of Limerick to the tender mercies of the English, and established the Dutch prince firmly on the English throne. Shortly after the capitulation was signed, a French fleet arrived in the Shannon, bringing men and supplies to the assistance of the Irish. But the opportunity had been lost; and the untimely arrival—which, a little earlier, might have been, at least, the means of driving William out of Ireland—was obliged to respect the terms of the treaty, and could effect nothing.

When the choice was presented to the Irish troops of remaining at home or passing beyond the sea, the greater part elected to follow the fortunes of the exiled Stuart, and entered the service of France; about 3,000 preferring to remain. In all, 19,059 men, in different embarkations, from the conclusion of the treaty to January, 1692, sailed for France, and were welcomed on their landing by James in person, and received with great favor by the French monarch.

The first detachment, consisting of 4,500 men, sailed for Brest from Cork, under the Earl of Lucan. Great numbers of the women and children were left behind; Ginkell and the English lords justices refusing to find accommodation for them,* thereby hoping to induce the men to remain, as they were unwilling that France should receive such an accession to her resources. The parting scenes were terrible; and, on many a battle-

* Macaulay, choosing to rely on the authority of Story and the "London Gazette," affirms that Sarsfield exerted every species of influence with his countrymen to induce them to proceed to France, and, having obtained the unwilling consent of the greater portion, adopted harsh precautions to prevent them failing in their agreement; nevertheless, hundreds managed to desert. It is admitted, however, that Ginkell was deeply mortified to find that a greater number did not enlist under his master's banner. According to the same authority, the Irish general issued a proclamation assuring his soldiers that they would be permitted to take their wives and families with them. The historian intimates that Sarsfield proclaimed this on his own responsibility, and without good grounds; but he charitably supposes that "so brave and loyal a gentleman" did not intend to break his word, though he failed to keep it in its integrity, finding ship-room only for a few families. John Mitchel, in noticing this "one other instance of the determined mendacity of Baron Macaulay," points out that Sarsfield issued the proclamation on the faith of the treaty, and that Ginkell was in fault for not finding the required shipping as promised. He further charges Macaulay with dishonesty in the relation, as the latter had before him Curry's "Historical Review" and Harris's "Life of King William," both of which works agree in charging Ginkell with endeavoring to defeat the very first of the military articles. Harris declares that Ginkell purposely detained the women and children in order to induce the men to remain.

field, the memory of this first infringement of the treaty nerved the exile's arm to deeds of daring.

On the arrival of the Earl of Lucan in France, the command of the second troop of Irish Horse Guards was conferred on him by James; the other troop being commanded by the Duke of Berwick, natural son to the dethroned monarch. Each troop consisted of a little more than 500 men, and was composed entirely of gentlemen.

The first service in which the Irish were designed to take part was a descent upon England under Marshal de Bellefonds, whom Sarsfield was to accompany as major-general. But the defeat of the French squadron off La Hogue by the combined English and Dutch fleet put an end to that enterprise, and work was found for the Irish elsewhere. Sarsfield was ordered to join the army of the Marshal Duc de Luxembourg in Flanders, then battling against the armies of the nations leagued together to humble France.

Namur having been taken from the allies by the French, William III., the chief of the league, collected an army of near 100,000 men to punish the Duc de Luxembourg, and retrieve this misfortune. A desperate encounter took place between William's left, under the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the French right, at Steinkirk, on the 3rd of August, 1692. The allies were at first successful, and carried all before them; but Luxembourg ordered up the French and Swiss Guards, who drove them back, and recovered from them seven pieces of cannon which had been captured. Sarsfield, commanding as major-general, was conspicuous in the fight, and by his daring bravery struck terror into the hearts of his foes and stimulated his friends to emulate his noble conduct. "Berwick, who was beginning to earn for himself an honorable name in arms," says Macaulay, "was there; and at his side rode Sarsfield, whose courage and ability won the esteem of the whole French army." At seven o'clock in the evening, the conflict, which had lasted from midday, terminated by the repulse of Wirtemberg's

army with great slaughter. The allies lost 6,653 in killed and wounded, and 1,350 prisoners, with 8 colors and 10 guns. The French had 6,966 in killed and wounded.

In his report of this victory to Louis XIV., the Duc de Luxembourg writes in high commendation of Sarsfield. After honorably noticing the Duke of Berwick, the marshal says: "The Earl of Lucan was with him, in whom we have particularly noticed the valor and the intrepidity of which he had given proofs in Ireland. I can assure your majesty that he is a very good and a very able officer." This was no mean compliment from the greatest general of the age.

Sarsfield was created *maréchal-de-camp* by Louis XIV. in March, 1693, as an acknowledgment of his skill and courage. But he was not destined to receive further honors at the hand of the French monarch. In July following, he fell at the battle of Landen, in Flanders, while leading his men to victory against the mortal enemies of his country.

William III. having taken up an advantageous position between the villages of Neerwinden (or Landen) and Neerlanden, the Duc de Luxembourg advanced against him to do battle. William's army consisted of 65 battalions and 150 squadrons, intrenched behind formidable defences, with about 100 pieces of artillery; occupying Landen on the right and Neerlanden on the left, with the River Geete in the rear. Both villages were well secured, and defended by a large number of guns. Luxembourg brought into the field 96 battalions, 210 squadrons, and 70 pieces of cannon. The Irish who accompanied him comprised Sarsfield's and Berwick's troops of horse, the Regiment of Dorrington, and King James's Guards. The numerical superiority of the French was more than counterpoised by the strong position of the allied forces, and their greater amount of artillery.

The battle opened at four o'clock on the morning of the 29th July, 1693, by an interchange of artillery fire. Advancing to the attack later on, the French found

they had a determined foe to deal with, and were soon engaged in a furious combat. In the centre, the *Brigade d'Harbouville*—in which were included the Irish Foot Guards of King James and Dorrington's Regiment—suffered considerably. But it continued to fight with the utmost obstinacy, till, at length, Colonel John Barrett (a gallant Cork man), at the head of King James's Guards, forced the allied intrenchments, and was immediately followed by the French. But Barrett was shot in the breast, and fell dead in the moment of success.

In the attack of the French left on the village of Landen, General Sarsfield was hotly engaged. There the fight raged the fiercest. Lieutenant-General the Duke of Berwick commanded the centre of the attacking wing. Forcing an entrance into the village, the duke drove the enemy before him. But a blunder occurred at this juncture, and nearly proved fatal to the French arms. Lieutenant-General de Rubantel (with whom was Sarsfield), who commanded the right of the wing, and Lieutenant-General de Montchevreuil, commanding the left, *followed* the Duke of Berwick in his attack, instead of advancing in line in their respective positions to his support. Perceiving this faulty manœuvre, the allies returned in greater force, with King William at their head, and fell on the French flanks, causing Rubantel and Montchevreuil to give ground, and surrounded the Duke of Berwick's troops, whom they cut in pieces or made prisoners; the duke himself falling into their hands.

With renewed spirit, the French returned to the charge. Animated by the cries of their officers and the daring conduct of Sarsfield and his heroic band of exiles, they became irresistible, and drove the allies precipitately out of Landen. In the moment of victory, bravely fighting at the head of his troops, the noble Sarsfield fell mortally wounded. Though the gallant exile, as he lay at the gates of death, might well have bemoaned that his blood had not been shed for Ireland, he had the glorious satisfaction of knowing,

before he had drawn his last breath, that the English king had sustained a most humiliating defeat; and that he and numbers of his countrymen had, in great part, contributed by their valor to that result.

The allies gave way on all sides towards three o'clock in the afternoon. So great was their anxiety to escape the onslaught of the terrible French, that they fell into inextricable confusion, and were driven in hordes into the Geete, where over 2,000 of them were drowned. General Ginkell (created Earl of Athlone by William for his services in Ireland) was among the fugitives, and narrowly escaped a watery grave.

The French lost at this battle 8,000 men in killed and wounded. Many prisoners fell into their hands, besides 84 pieces of artillery, 82 colors and standards, and a number of drums and pontoons. William's published loss was 10,473 in killed and missing; but the statements of other generals on the same side represent the loss as greater by several thousands.

English vanity, of course, attributed the defeat at Landen to the cowardice of the foreign allies; but certain English writers are gross enough to insinuate that the cowardice was not confined to one side. A letter in the Rawdon papers—after mentioning that the foot and the Spanish horse had gallantly held their ground till deserted by the Dutch horse, whose pusillanimity lost the battle—contains this passage: "I am sorry to tell you some of the English horse made as much haste to preserve their dear persons as anybody there." This is corroborated by Oldmixon. "Of the English Life Guards," he says, "the first troop were so scared with the fury of a pursuing enemy, that they did not think themselves secure till they reached Breda."

The Irish were filled with anguish when they became aware that their beloved Sarsfield was at the point of death, and they would not be comforted. With the utmost tenderness the dying general was lifted up in strong arms, and gently carried from the field; the brave hearts of his bearers bursting with grief. He was removed to Huy,—a town in Flanders romantically

situated amid lofty rocks on both banks of the Meuse,—where, shortly after, his deathless spirit passed away.

Friend and foe unite in contributing their testimony to Sarsfield's integrity of character and distinguished bravery; and an English writer lauds his generosity to the wounded "English in that fatal battle" of Landen. "Sarsfield," in the opinion of one Irish writer, "is the most popular hero of his country," before whom the fame of Brian Borumha and Mael-seachlainn (or Malachi) II. fades. O'Connor, in his "Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation," thus gives his estimate of the military capacity of the Earl of Lucan:—

"His contemporaries long deplored the loss of this brave officer, and his memory is still cherished with enthusiastic admiration in his native land. As a military man, he does not rank as high as some of his own countrymen. In the science of war, Hugh, the famous Earl of Tyrone, and Owen Roe O'Neill far surpassed him. He had neither their skill, experience, nor capacity. As a partisan, and for a desultory warfare, Sarsfield possessed admirable qualifications,—brave, patient, vigilant, rapid, indefatigable, ardent, adventurous, and enterprising; the foremost in the encounter, the last in the retreat. He harassed his enemy by sudden, unexpected, and generally irresistible attacks, inspiring his troops with the same ardor and contempt of danger with which his own soul was animated. His valor prolonged the contest in Ireland, and, if he had possessed a corresponding degree of military skill, might materially have altered the issue of the contest."

In his public actions, Sarsfield was firm and consistent; and his private life was unblemished. He was of great size and strength,—a Saul among the people. His portrait was painted by the Lady Anne Bingham, granddaughter of his brother William, and has been reproduced and preserved to posterity by the engraver's art.

He married the Lady Honor de Burgo, daughter of William, Earl of Clanricarde, by whom he had one son, James Francis Edward, who succeeded him in his title. Some time after the death of her husband, the widowed Countess of Lucan became the wife of the Duke of Berwick.

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD SARSFIELD, Earl of Lucan, proved himself worthy of his father's name. Under his stepfather, the Duke of Berwick, he acquitted himself so well at the reduction of Barcelona, in 1714, that he was decorated with the Collar of the Golden Fleece by Louis XIV., and appointed captain of a company in the Royal Guards.

The next year the young Earl of Lucan went over to Ireland; and the object of his visit may be gathered from an official document, thus quoted in the "History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France:"—

"That the government having certain intelligence, that Sarsfield, otherwise called Earl of Lucan, and several officers, who had lately landed and dispersed themselves in several parts of the kingdom, had held conferences with divers Papists of distinction, with design to ferment a rebellion in favor of the Pretender; and that they had certainly concerted a general insurrection, which was to be in all parts of the kingdom the same night and hour, having, to this end, their emissaries in each province: therefore, it was thought fit to give notice thereof to all the inhabitants, that they might take the necessary measures to apprehend the said Sarsfield and all the officers who were come into the kingdom with that design; and a reward of £1,000 sterling was promised for securing any one of the said persons within the space of three months. And inasmuch as there was reason to believe that this traitorous design could not have been formed and fermented except by Papists, and other persons* disaffected to the government, excited by the popish priests of the kingdom, all officials were required to apprehend all popish archbishops, bishops, Jesuits, monks, &c., in order that the laws against the Papists, especially those of Limerick and Galway, might be put into execution; all seditious meetings, or assemblies of Papists and other ill designing persons, were likewise to be prevented; and all strangers, travellers, and others were to be carefully examined, who should be suspected of disaffection to the person and government of King George," &c.

Taking shipping at Kilcolgan, in Galway, the earl got safely to the continent. He died at St. Omers, in Flanders, May, 1719, without issue, and was the last Sarsfield of the Lucan family.

* Papists, then, were not the only parties disaffected to a foreign Protestant government even in that day.

Charles O'Brien, Viscount Clare.

JAMES II. numbered among his adherents in Ireland representatives of the royal race of Brian Borumha; namely, Daniel O'Brien, Viscount Clare, and his two sons, Daniel and CHARLES,—the fruit of his marriage with the Lady Philadelphia Lennard, daughter of Francis, Lord Dacre of the South. For the Stuart's service, Lord Clare raised a regiment of dragoons and two regiments of infantry in 1689. One of the infantry regiments formed part of the brigade despatched to France, in 1690, under Lord Mountcashel, and was commanded by the Honorable Daniel O'Brien, who succeeded to the title of Clare, on the death of his father, the year following.

The infantry regiment remaining in Ireland was led by Daniel's younger brother, the Honorable CHARLES O'BRIEN. In 1691, when Charles was but twenty-one years of age, he was appointed to the command of a body of horse, and fought at its head till the capitulation of Limerick, by which time his troopers were considerably reduced in number. He was then made a captain in the Horse Guards of King James, and sailed for France in company with those of his countrymen who declined to remain at home and submit to English rule.

Some time after his arrival in France, he was attached to a corps of the Irish Brigade, called the Queen's Dismounted Dragoons, under Colonel Francis O'Carroll, and fought with it at the victory of Marsaglia, in Italy, October 4, 1693. O'Carroll having been killed in that glorious fight, Charles O'Brien was

promoted to the vacant coloneley. Daniel, Lord Clare, the elder brother of Colonel O'Brien, fell mortally wounded on the same battle-field while bravely fighting at the head of the family regiment. Dying of his wounds shortly afterwards at Pignerol, he was succeeded by Charles O'Brien as fifth Viscount Clare.

Under the *Maréchal Duc de Noailles*, in the following year, Colonel Lord Clare and his soldiers performed prodigies of valor at the passage of the River Ter in Catalonia, when the Spaniards were driven before the French for miles. The Spaniards lost over 4,000 men, while their pursuers did not lose more than 500.

About three years later, he was transferred to the coloneley of the regiment originally commanded by his brother Daniel, and was present with it at the siege of Valenza, in Lombardy, where he and his men distinguished themselves by repelling a vigorous sortie of the besieged in the silence of the night. This siege was undertaken by the French Marshal de Catinat—in conjunction with the Duke of Savoy, who had seceded from the League of Augsburg—to compel the allied powers to respect Savoy's neutrality. The allies' consent to this neutrality terminated the siege.

Upon the breaking out of the War of the Spanish Succession, Lord Clare was attached with his regiment to the Army of Germany, and was made brigadier by brevet in the early part of 1703. He assisted at the reduction of Kehl by Marshal de Villars, losing a captain and 90 men during the operations.

On the 20th of September, Villars and Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, engaged the imperialists under the Count de Stirum at the village of Hochstädt, on the banks of the Danube, in Bavaria. The imperial general handled the advanced columns of the French very roughly, till the arrival of the cavalry, followed by the main body of infantry, which came up after a forced march. Lord Clare hastened forward at the head of his Irish, and seized a village in the centre. His regiment became involved in a desperate conflict, and lost

one of its colors. Charging the Germans with the bayonet, the Irish recovered their own colors, and captured two others. After a long and bloody fight, the Germans were completely routed; the French infantry, headed by the Irish Brigade, committing fearful havoc among them as they endeavored to escape into the neighboring woods during the night. Of the conduct of Clare and the Irish in this action, Marshal de Villars wrote in the highest terms to Louis XIV. The imperialists left 8,000 in killed and wounded on the field, with all their cannon, 32 colors and standards, and a quantity of baggage. The loss of the French and Bavarians did not amount to 1,000. Major-General Andrew Lee, who commanded a French corps, received several wounds.

The next engagement in which Lord Clare signalized himself by his bravery and upheld the honor of his race was the famous battle of Blenheim, in Bavaria, which proved so disastrous to the arms of France, and is known as one of the "fifteen decisive battles of the world." It was fought near the village of Hochstädt,—the scene of the late victory,—and is hence called, by the French, the battle of Hochstet.

On the 13th of August, 1704, the French and Bavarians encountered the allies under those great commanders, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy. The Franco-Bavarian lines extended a distance of three miles from the village of Blenheim on the right, in a northerly direction, through Oberglau, beyond Lutzingen on the left. Marshal de Tallard, commanding the French right, was opposed to the Duke of Marlborough on the allied left. The French centre was under the Marshal de Marsin, and the left under the Elector of Bavaria, to whom was opposed the allied right under Prince Eugene. Both armies were posted along a sloping eminence, with a small stream, called the Nebel, running between them; the French being protected on the left flank by detachments skirting the high and rugged Godd Berg and Eich Berg, and on the right by the Danube.

Altogether the French position was a good one, the villages on the flanks being strongly palisaded and intrenched; but the centre was rather weak.*

Marlborough advanced to the attack early in the morning in the obscurity of a thick haze, which prevented Tallard's observing his movements till within cannon-shot. The battle opened about nine o'clock in the morning with a general cannonade, which continued till near one, when the regular conflict began. So successful were the allies under Marlborough, in their attack on the French right, that, about five o'clock in the afternoon, they turned its left flank, cutting it off from the centre, and compelling Tallard to fall back on Sonderheim, where he was followed and obliged to surrender. Those who retired within the defences of Blenheim failed in several desperate attempts to break through the allies; and at length—to the number of 27 battalions of foot and 12 squadrons of horse—surrendered at discretion to the destructive fire poured upon the village by Marlborough.

From the left of the Franco-Bavarian army, under Marsin and the elector, Eugene experienced a much warmer reception than was accorded to Marlborough. The Irish in this battle were the Regiments of Clare,

* There is a good deal of difference in the accounts of this battle respecting the numerical strength of both armies, and of the loss sustained on each side; those who desire to enhance Marlborough's success stating his forces to be inferior to the French by some thousands. But it is admitted that the incapacity of Tallard—and not the lack of bravery on the part of his soldiers—lost the battle. First, the manœuvres of the allies, it is said, caused him to believe that Marlborough desired to avoid an engagement, till he was undeceived by the attack; and, second, the centre of his line was too weak, permitting the allies to turn his flank there, cut him off from the left wing, and surround him at Blenheim. The numbers of the combatants—as given by O'Callaghan, who derives them from the best contemporary authorities—were: French and Bavarians, 31,200 infantry and 12,700 cavalry, with 90 guns. British, Dutch, Danes, Prussians, and imperialists, 33,000 infantry and 27,150 cavalry, with 66 guns,—the English troops mustering about one-fifth of the allies.

Lee, and Dorrington. They formed portion of the infantry, under the Marquis de Blainville, stationed at Oberglau, the centre of the French lines. To force this position, three columns were despatched against it in the afternoon by Marlborough. A body of Danish and Hanoverian horse, forming the first column, twice crossed the stream to the right of the village, and was each time driven back by Marsin's cavalry. But a second column of British and German squadrons, with a body of infantry and a battery of artillery, conducted by Marlborough in person, crossed the stream, and caused the Franco-Bavarian horse to retire towards Oberglau. Having posted his men on the French side of the stream, the duke returned to act against Tallard, leaving orders that Oberglau should be stormed, and that fresh English and Dutch troops should be brought up for the purpose. "But," says the biographer of Prince Eugene, "it could not be forced in spite of all the intrepidity of the English, who encountered such a furious tempest of musket-balls, of grenades, and of cartridge-shot from the artillery, that the ground was very soon covered with their dead."

The Prince of Holstein-Beck, meanwhile, with a select column of infantry, advanced to assail Oberglau in front. Foiled in his first attempt to cross the stream by Marsin's horse, he left part of his force to watch the French, and moved farther to the right, where he succeeded in crossing with three or four regiments. While he was deploying his men, the Marquis de Blainville sent a body of infantry to attack him. Lord Clare and his Irish led the way. They dashed gallantly to the charge with ringing cheers, and, furiously engaging those choice regiments with the bayonet, left but few the chance of escape. The Prince of Holstein-Beck was wounded and taken prisoner. Victory for the French seemed to be in the hands of the Irish; but they pursued their retreating foe too far, when they were checked and compelled to retire by forces in reserve led on by Marlborough.

In an account of this action, Forman (an English writer), who mentions that the Regiment of Clare cut to pieces a "Dutch or German regiment" under Colonel Goor, relates the following anecdote: "The colonel himself, with a few of his officers, and about sixty men were all that escaped. The melancholy, dejected Goor went the next morning to the Duke of Marlborough's *levée*, where, as he was giving his grace an account of the action, an English colonel says pertly to him, 'I wish I had been in your place.' 'I wish, with all my heart, you had,' replied Goor very gravely to him; 'I should have had a very good regiment to-day, and you would have been without one.' The duke smiled, and everybody applauded the justness of the repartee. If every regiment in the French army had behaved that day like the Irish," continues the writer, "England, instead of a trifling expense in building a house to preserve the memory of so great a victory as the Duke of Marlborough gained at Blenheim, would have found herself encumbered with a fugitive emperor, a numerous imperial family, which she must, at a heavy charge, have been obliged to maintain, if a visit from the Chevalier* had not brought a worse remedy to prevent it."

On the defeat of the right under Tallard, Marsin and the elector set fire to Oberglau, and retreated; abandoning 13 out of 56 pieces of artillery, besides several cannon captured from Prince Eugene, and carrying off 2,084 English and Dutch prisoners (including 201 officers), 36 allied colors and standards, and 4 kettle-drums. In this retreat, Lord Clare and the Irish checked the pursuing enemy, and kept him at bay. A French narration of the battle states: "It was the Regiment of Clare that sustained the retreat of the French army, and thus covered itself with glory."

The entire loss of the Franco-Bavarian army upon that fatal day was 22,095; of whom 12,000 were

* James Francis Edward Stuart, son of James II.

killed and wounded, and 10,095 made prisoners. Many others were subsequently lost on the retreat towards the Rhine. Besides the just-mentioned prisoners, the allies captured 115 colors and standards and 47 guns. Their loss in killed and wounded was 12,484; in prisoners, 2,084,—total, 14,568.

In October, Lord Clare was raised to the rank of *maréchal-de-camp* (or major-general); and, in the battle of Ramillies, fought May 23, 1706, won for himself undying fame.

The campaign in Flanders was opened in 1706 by an engagement between Marshal de Villeroi and the Duke of Marlborough at the village of Ramillies, in Brabant, about twenty-eight miles south-east of Brussels. The French army consisted of 29,600 foot and 12,800 horse, with 72 pieces of cannon; while the allies numbered 26,500 foot and 18,450 horse, and had 120 pieces of cannon. For some hours, a tremendous artillery combat was waged between the two armies. A little after two in the afternoon, the attack on the French lines by Marlborough's horse and foot became general. Some blunders in the disposition of the French troops were pointed out to Villeroi by his generals; but he, in his self-conceit, refused to rectify them. Thus Villeroi's unskilful handling of his army gave an immense advantage to Marlborough, who gained a complete victory; and, by seven o'clock in the evening, the French were in full retreat.

Major-General Lord Clare was stationed with his regiment of infantry in the village of Ramillies. The Irish, under their gallant and intrepid leader, were the last to quit that village, and retired in such a manner as to maintain their well earned distinction on the field. In the midst of a discomfited army, they covered themselves with fresh laurels, wresting from the victorious enemy trophies that conferred more honor on them in that day of disaster than if, instead of an overwhelming defeat, they had participated in a glorious victory.

A Scotch regiment in the service of Holland was

engaged by Lord Clare, and a terrific combat ensued, in which the Scotch were nearly all destroyed or taken prisoners. Their colors were captured by the Irish, who lost 22 officers and 303 men in the encounter; the gallant Clare himself being wounded, yet bravely maintaining his post.

The Irish were next attacked by an English regiment,* under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Churchill, nephew to the Duke of Marlborough. This corps had greatly distinguished itself during the fight, having placed three French regiments *hors de combat*. Flushed with victory, the English charged Clare's Regiment with every assurance of success; but they were hurled back, and fled in confusion before the victor Irish,† leaving their colors behind them. Forman, who is generally so candid in respect to the actions of the Irish on the continent, exhibits a slight degree of hesitancy in his narration of this especial engagement. He says: "I could be much more particular in relating this action; but some reasons oblige me, in prudence, to say no more of it. However, if you are desirous to know what regiment it was they engaged that day, the colors in the cloister of the Irish nuns at Ypres, which, I thought, had been taken by another Irish regiment, will satisfy your curiosity."

Led by their lion-hearted colonel, the Irish, with loud cheers, pursued the flying English till they got so far, says Forman, "that they found themselves engaged at last in the throng of our army, where they braved their fate with incredible resolution, till an Italian regiment in the service of France, and a regiment vulgarly called the 'Cravats,' generously pushed up to their relief, and as bravely favored their retreat."

* Known at present as the "Bufs," or 3rd Regiment of Foot.

† The Regiment of Clare was composed of *infantry*, and not cavalry, as implied in Davis's well known battle-song. The only Irish horse in the action appears to have been Colonel Nugent's squadron, which was engaged in an entirely different part of the field. It suffered considerably.

Then those dauntless Irish exiles betook themselves leisurely back, carrying with them the colors captured from the Scotch and English regiments,—the *only* colors lost by the allied army in that battle. These colors were subsequently placed by Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien, of Carrigunnell, in the Benedictine convent at Ypres, in West Flanders, where they remained till long afterwards a memorial of the glorious conduct of the Irish on that fatal day.

The pursuit of the French was not over till two the next morning. Villeroy lost 10,000 men, besides more than half of his artillery, a large number of colors, and a great quantity of stores. This victory cost Marlborough 5,000 men; but he gained the command of all the Spanish Netherlands.

The Regiment of Clare, which went into the fight 800 strong, lost 38 officers and 326 men. Among the officers was Charles O'Kean, whose legs were carried away by a cannon-ball. Upon his fall, he was savagely despatched by the English soldiers with twenty-two bayonet thrusts. The body was honorably interred at Ramillies, the next day, by the directions of Richard Kane, an Irish officer in the English service, and subsequently Governor of Minorca.

By his heroic conduct at the head of his corps at all times, and more particularly on that disastrous day at Ramillies, Major-General Charles O'Brien, Lord Clare, won for himself an ever-living name. Though desperately wounded during the battle, he declined to leave his men, and continued to fight with unabated bravery, till, exhausted by his wounds (nine in number), he fell, and was carried from the field. He was conveyed to Brussels, where, in three days after, he breathed his last, at the early age of thirty-six; bequeathing to his young son and namesake, Charles, his honor and his sword.

On the same day died John O'Carroll, Major of the Regiment of Clare, who was mortally wounded at Ramillies. The two Irish heroes sleep side by side in the Church of the Holy Cross at Louvain, where tablets,

bearing the following epitaphs, were erected to their memory:—

“D. O. M.
 Hic jacet
 Illmus. D. D. Carolus O-Brien,
 Ex stirpe Regum Hiberniæ,
 Par Comes de Clare & Maigh-airty, &c.,
 Campi Marischallus,
 Legionis Hibernicæ Colonellus,
 Qui plurimis heroicis,
 Pro Deo, Rege, & Patria,
 Peractis Facinoribus,
 In Prælio Ramiliensi,
 XXIII. Maij, MDCCVI., vulneratus,
 Triduo post Bruxellis obiit,
 Ætatis suæ XXXVI.
 R. I. P.
 Posuit pia ejus Conjux,
 Illma. Dom. Carola Bulkeley.”

“D. O. M.
 Hic, ubi voluit, jacet
 Prænobilis Dominus
 D. Joannes O-Carroll,
 Major Hibernicæ Legionis
 De Clare,
 Vulneratus in Ramilie,
 XXIII. Maij, MDCCVI.
 Obijt Lovanij XXVI. ejusdem.
 R. I. P.”

By his marriage with Charlotte Bulkeley (eldest daughter of the Honorable Henry Bulkeley), Lord Clare left a son (Charles) and a daughter (Louisa). The latter was married to the Comte de Breteuil.

Charles O'Brien, Earl of Thomond,

MARSHAL OF FRANCE.

UPON the death of Charles O'Brien, Viscount Clare, the coloneley of his regiment was conferred by Louis XIV. upon Lieutenant-Colonel Murrough O'Brien, of Carrigogunnell, in the county Limerick, till such time as the son of the deceased viscount was old enough to assume the post.

CHARLES O'BRIEN, the younger, was born on the 27th of March, 1699, at St. Germain-en-Laye, on the Seine, about fourteen miles to the westward of Paris; and was but seven years old when he became sixth Viscount Clare by the decease of his illustrious father.

At four years of age, he was enrolled as captain in the family regiment; and, in 1718, was attached to that corps with the rank of colonel. He first entered on active service, in 1719, under the Duke of Berwick, in the war against Spain, by which that power was compelled to accede to the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, which deprived her of Sardinia, Sicily, &c. In July, 1720, Major-General Murrough O'Brien, Colonel of the Regiment of Clare, died; and young Lord Clare was appointed to his post.

Upon the breaking out of hostilities between France and Austria, in 1733, respecting the claims of Stanislaus Leszczyński and the Elector of Saxony to the crown of Poland, Colonel Lord Clare, with his regiment, accompanied the Marshal Duke of Berwick across the Rhine, and was present at the capitulation of Kehl. The following year he was made

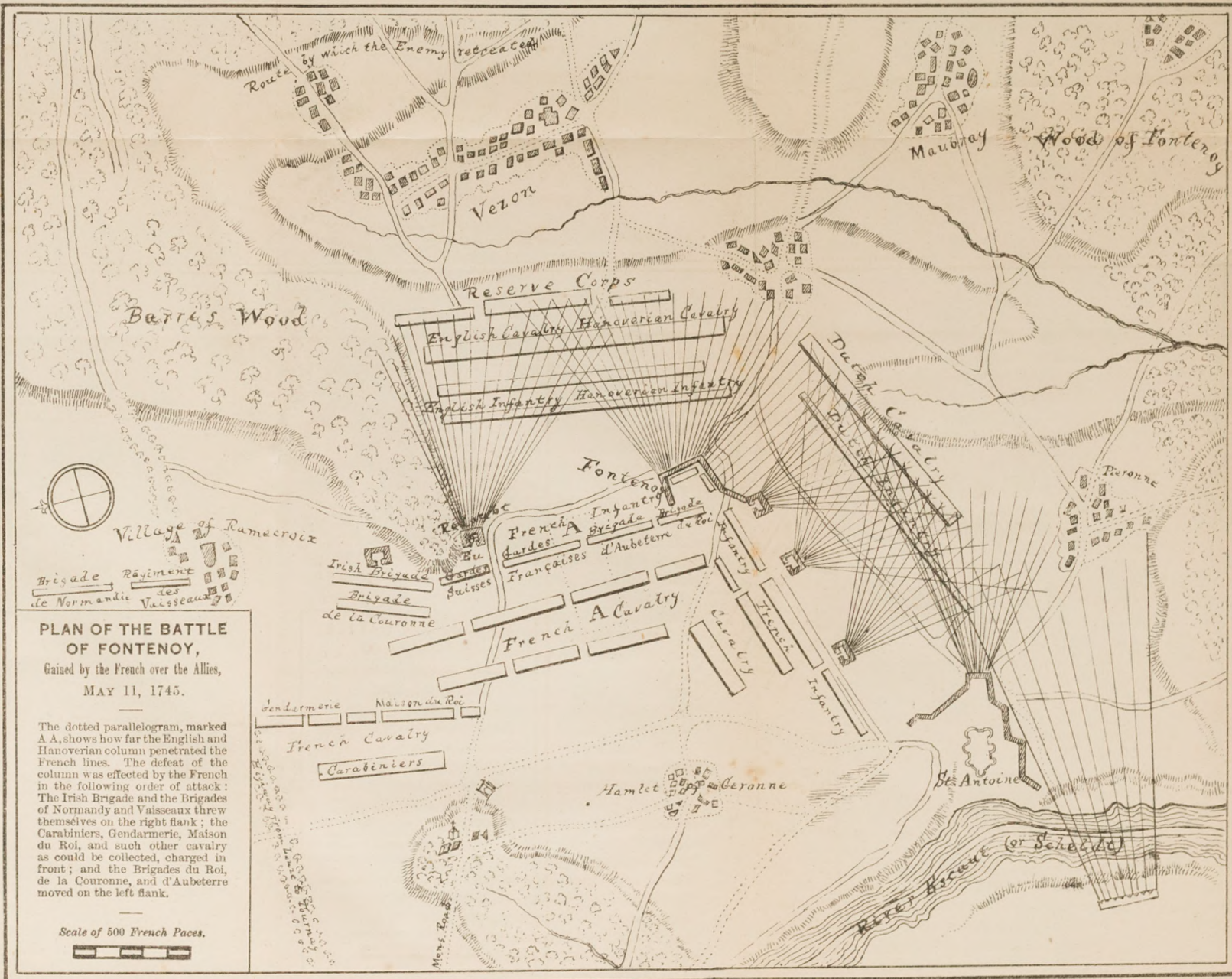
brigadier, and, at the siege of Philipsburg, received a contusion in the shoulder from the same cannon-ball that killed the Duke of Berwick.

In 1738, Lord Clare was raised to the rank of major-general by brevet, and was appointed inspector-general of infantry in 1741. His cousin, Henry O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, died in Dublin this year, and left him a legacy of £20,000. Lord Clare succeeded his cousin as ninth Earl of Thomond.

The death of the Emperor Charles VI. of Austria in 1740, and the accession of his daughter Maria Theresa to the imperial throne, gave rise to the War of the Austrian Succession, in which France took the side of the Elector of Bavaria, who laid claim to the imperial crown; while England and other powers upheld Maria Theresa. In the campaigns that ensued, Major-General Viscount Clare and Count (or Earl of) Thomond and the Irish Brigade rendered valuable service to France, and gloriously maintained their ancient fame.

Employed in the army that penetrated Bohemia, Count Thomond was intrusted with the defence of the captured town of Linz, on the Danube, but capitulated to the Austrian forces, February 23, 1742; the garrison being pledged not to serve for twelve months. He commanded the Irish Brigade at the battle of Dettingen on the 27th of June, 1743, when the English, through the blunder of the Duc de Grammont, escaped the net spread for them by the Marshal Duc de Noailles, and threw the French into disorder. The Irish did not participate in this action, though they were designed to lead the attack. Grammont's impetuosity having frustrated the marshal's plans, the English were retiring in order before the Irish were brought up from the right, where they had been posted.

Count Thomond was created lieutenant-general by the king, and next served under the veteran Maurice Arminius, Count de Saxe, in the Flanders campaign of 1744, and distinguished himself at the reduction of Menin, Ypres, and Furnes. The next year, at the head of the Irish Brigade, he turned the fortune of

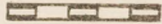


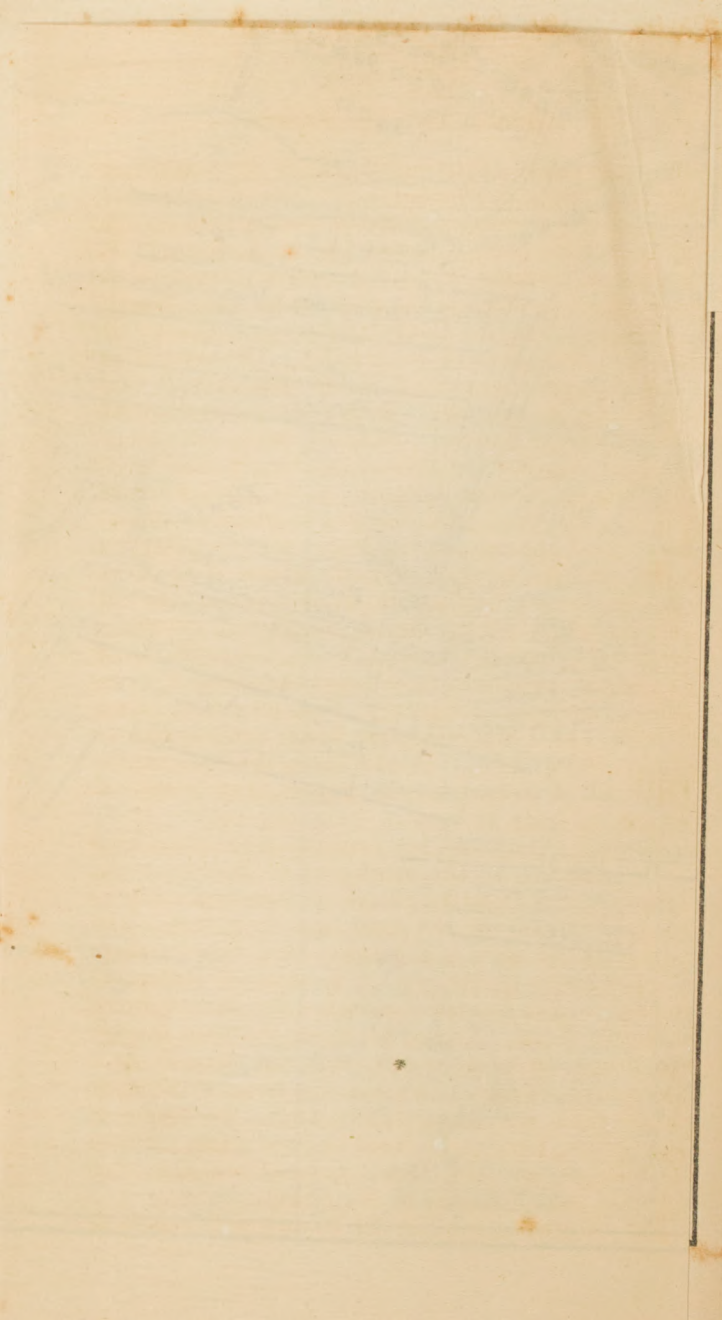
**PLAN OF THE BATTLE
OF FONTENOY,**

Gained by the French over the Allies,
MAY 11, 1745.

The dotted parallelogram, marked A A, shows how far the English and Hanoverian column penetrated the French lines. The defeat of the column was effected by the French in the following order of attack: The Irish Brigade and the Brigades of Normandy and Vaisseaux threw themselves on the right flank; the Carabiniers, Gendarmerie, Maison du Roi, and such other cavalry as could be collected, charged in front; and the Brigades du Roi, de la Couronne, and d'Aubeterre moved on the left flank.

Scale of 500 French Paces.





war against the allies, which gained for France the glorious victory of Fontenoy.

Tournay—a strongly fortified border town on the River Scheldt (called Escaut by the French), in the province of Hainault, in the Netherlands—being closely besieged by the French, the allies (under the command of William, Duke of Cumberland, son of George II.) advanced from Brussels to its relief. The army of his royal highness consisted of 21,000 British and about 34,000 Dutch and other foreigners, considered “the finest troops in Europe.” Marshal Saxe, accompanied by Louis XV. and the Dauphin of France, commanded the French. On the approach of the allies, Saxe left 18,000 troops, under the Marquis de Brezé, to conduct the siege of Tournay, and posted 6,000 to guard the bridge over the Scheldt; while he advanced himself to give the enemy battle with 40,000 men. This last force included the Irish Brigade, under the command of Lieutenant-General Charles O'Brien, Count Thomond. The brigade comprised the infantry Regiments of Clare, Dillon, Bulkeley (originally Mountcashel's), Roth, Berwick, and Lally,—the last being newly raised for Count Arthur Lally. Besides these, the Irish cavalry Regiment of Fitzjames was present, but acted with the general body of horse.

Marshal Saxe chose his position on the right bank of the Scheldt, to the south-east of Tournay. His lines extended from the village of Ramecroix on the left to Fontenoy on the right, and from thence (inclining a little more to the right) back to the village of St. Antoine on the river. In front of Ramecroix and half way to Fontenoy stretched the *Bois de Barri*, or Barri's Wood. Facing this wood, the Irish Brigade was drawn up as a reserve, with the *Brigade de la Couronne* in its rear. Opposite Fontenoy were posted the English and Hanoverians under the Duke of Cumberland, having the wood on their right. Prince de Waldeck and the Dutch opposed the lines that extended from Fontenoy to St. Antoine.

The villages occupied by the French were well forti-

fied with artillery, of which there were 110 pieces. A redoubt, called the Redoubt of Eu, was erected near the point of Barri's Wood to prevent an advance by the British along the edge of the wood, which ran nearly perpendicular to the French line. Marshal Saxe deemed all his defences satisfactory; but Count Lally demonstrated that the position might be turned by the Dutch, and advised the construction of three more batteries, to be mounted with sixteen cannon, between Fontenoy and St. Antoine. Lally's advice was very sensibly adopted by the marshal.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 11th May, 1745, the rising sun was greeted by the roar of artillery from the hostile armies. The combat at a distance lasted till nine o'clock, when the allies advanced to attack the French at close quarters. Brigadier-General Ingoldsby, in charge of an English column, was ordered to proceed along the edge of Barri's Wood, and assault the Redoubt of Eu on its extremity; but that officer displayed such disrelish for the reception he met with, that he was subsequently court-martialled and expelled the service.

Against the lines between St. Antoine and Fontenoy, the Dutch, under Prince de Waldeck, threw themselves in vain. The terrible fire from the French batteries in that quarter, and from one on their flank on the opposite bank of the river, rendered their valor futile.

Meanwhile the Duke of Cumberland had been foiled in his attempts on the village of Fontenoy. But his highness was not to be baffled. At the head of a select body of 15,000 English and Hanoverian infantry, with 20 field-pieces, the duke pushed bravely on over difficult ground, and passed between Fontenoy and the redoubt near the wood, undeterred by the tremendous cross-fire from those places. On came that terrible phalanx. The choicest regiments of foot essayed in vain to impede its progress. The *Gardes Françaises*, the *Gardes Suisses*, the *Gardes du Roi*, and other splendid corps were shattered by its well directed fire. Steadily the English and Hanoverians advanced, pour-

ing forth a murderous fire of musketry and artillery. Repeated attacks inflicted a heavy punishment upon them; but they flinched not, and showed a determined front, moving resolutely onward, and still onward. Squadron after squadron of cavalry (including Fitzjames's) was next hurled against the redoubtable column, but to no purpose. Horse and foot alike vanished before the dreadful storm of lead that greeted them from the enemy's ranks, and left the latter a clear field. The English shouts of victory resounded over the plain. They were in the centre of the French, and no one dared attack them, except from a distance. They had suffered considerably; but their ardor was unabated, and success seemed certain.

Louis XV. and the French generals looked on with dismay. The Marquis d'Argenson, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was with the king, thus writes concerning that critical moment: "There was one dreadful hour in which we expected nothing less than a renewal of the affair at Dettingen; our Frenchmen being awed by the steadiness of the English and by their rolling fire, which is really infernal, and, I confess to you, is enough to stupefy the most unconcerned spectator. Then it was that we began to despair of our cause."

"Her ranks are broken. Aid! or all is lost!
Her noblest blood bedews the crimson plain."

Marshal Saxe pressed the king not to risk the safety of France by remaining on the field, and sent orders for the troops at St. Antoine to withdraw to Calonne for the purpose of protecting the retreat of Louis and his son, the dauphin. Just then the Duc de Richelieu, aide-de-camp to the king, rode up at full speed, his countenance radiant with hope. He had been reconnoitring the formidable column of the Duke of Cumberland, and appeared brimful of glad tidings. In answer to the eager questions with which he was plied, he announced as his opinion that the English would be driven back, and the tables turned, if four reserve guns were brought up and employed against

the head of their column, while preparations were being made to fall on it front and flank with the reserve and such of the horse and foot as, by their prudence, had not been placed *hors de combat*.

This counsel was approved by the king, and immediately acted upon. Saxe countermanded his orders for the evacuation of St. Antoine in the nick of time; for the Dutch were once more advancing to the assault of that post, and, had it fallen into their hands, the day must have been irretrievably lost by the French.

There was certainly no great genius required to evolve the effective plan proposed by Richelieu. Yet its simplicity did not prevent that nobleman from assuming credit to which he was not entitled. In reconnoitring the enemy's column, he had gone to the left as far as the Irish Brigade, where Count Thomond and his gallant exiles were burning for an encounter with their hereditary foes, and chafing with impatience because they were kept inactive. Colonel Lally pointed out to Richelieu that the Duke of Cumberland's success was in part owing to his employment of twenty pieces of cannon, while not a single French gun was opposed to him at that moment, and suggested that the reserve guns should be used to check his advance, and that he should be attacked at once on both flanks with all the available regiments of horse and foot. Michelet, the French historian, in referring to this battle, says it "was lost without remedy, if the Irishman, Lally, inspired by his hatred against the English, had not proposed to break their column with four pieces of cannon. An adroit courtier, the Duc de Richelieu, appropriated the idea and the glory of the success to himself."

As soon as the guns were brought to bear on the Duke of Cumberland's column, lanes were opened through its hitherto impenetrable mass by their deadly fire; but the gaps were rapidly closed, and from that dread body of men issued volleys of shot, which told with fatal precision upon the French battalions now advancing to the attack.

All being prepared, the *Maison du Roi* and other squadrons of cavalry charged Cumberland's van at a gallop; while the *Brigade de la Couronne*, with other infantry regiments, moved rapidly up to attack the Hanoverians on the left flank of the column.

Count Thomond was ordered to lead the Irish Brigade, sustained by the remains of the Brigades of Normandy and Vaisseaux, to attack the right flank of the column, composed of English troops. Announcing the order to his men, he bade them remember they were about to meet face to face, in fair fight, the hated foe of their race, and exhorted them to act with that unflinching bravery which had ever characterized the Clanna Gael. When the word was given to march, the gifted Colonel Lally cried, "Irishmen, forward against the enemies of France and of yourselves! and do not fire till you have the points of your bayonets on their bellies!" With shouts of joy, the Irish received the command, "Forward!" from their noble and gallant leader, and pressed on against the foe.

"On Fontenoy, on Fontenoy, nor ever yet elsewhere,
Rushed on to fight a nobler band than those proud exiles were."

When the English beheld the far-famed band of exiles,—easily recognized by the color of their uniforms,*—they prepared for a desperate struggle. They had the advantage of being posted upon a rising ground, and greeted the approaching brigade with a destructive fire; but the Irish quickly closed the gaps made in their ranks, and moved steadily up the eminence without firing a shot. When they got close to the English, they received another tempest of bullets, which slew a great number of officers and men, among whom was Colonel James Dillon, son of Count Arthur Dillon. Two shots struck Count Thomond's cuirass, but inflicted no injury.

At this juncture, the watchword of the undaunted

* The color of the uniform worn by the Irish Brigade in the French service was scarlet.

exiles rung high above the din of battle. To the cry of "*Cuimhnigidh ar Luimnech agus feall na Sassonach!*"* they dashed up to the English ranks, and, delivering their fire into the very faces of their foes, closed upon them with the bayonet. The British broke; then fled. The French cavalry in front of the column, and the infantry on the other flank, completed the work; and the battle, which but a short time before had assumed such a hopeless aspect, was won in ten minutes.

"On Fontenoy, on Fontenoy, like eagles in the sun,
With bloody plumes the Irish stand: the field is fought and
won!"

Of the twenty pieces of artillery brought by Cumberland's column into the field, fifteen were captured by the Irish. Two of the guns were the trophies of the Regiment of Bulkeley, which corps also took two colors from the Coldstream Guards.

The battle terminated about one o'clock. In killed, wounded, and missing, the allies published their loss as 7,767, of whom 4,041 were British. The victory cost the French 7,139 men in killed and wounded; but they took 2,500 prisoners, besides over 40 pieces of cannon and a number of ammunition waggons.

Of the Irish Brigade (including Fitzjames's cavalry), 98 officers and 400 men were reported as killed and wounded. The names of the officers who suffered in the charge led by Count Thomond are as follow:—

Clare's Regiment.—Killed: Lieutenant-Colonel O'Neill; Captains Shortall, MacElligot, Kennedy, Fitzgerald, and MacNamara. Wounded: Major Shortall; Captains Creagh, Grant, Maguire, Plunkett, Preston, O'Brien, MacCarthy, and Daniel; Lieutenants O'Neill, Davoren, and two O'Briens.

Dillon's Regiment.—Killed: Colonel James Dillon; Lieutenant-Colonel Mannery; Captains Kearney, Manning, and Nihill. Wounded: Captains Wogan, Hegarty, and Cusack; Lieutenants Glascock, Barry, Moriarty, Flanagan, and two Burkes.

Bulkeley's Regiment.—Wounded: Major MacSweeny; Captain Morgan; Lieutenant Burke.

* "Remember Limerick and English faith!"

Roth's Regiment.—Killed : Captains Windham, St. Leger, Grace, and Christian. Wounded : Colonel Charles Edward Roth ; Captains Healy, Delany, O'Hanlon, Osborne, Byrne, two O'Briens, and two O'Sullivans.

Berwick's Regiment.—Killed : Captains Bourke, Anthony, and Cooke. Wounded : Captains Hickey and Colclough ; Lieutenants Plunkett, Carroll, MacCarthy, Dease, and Nangle.

Lally's Regiment.—Killed : Lieutenants Byrne, Kelly, and Fitzgerald. Wounded : Colonel Arthur Lally ; Lieutenant-Colonel O'Hegarty ; Major Glascock ; Captains Butler, Warren, and Wogan ; Lieutenants Creagh, Hennessy, Stack, and Mackey.

Upon the retreat of the English and the allies, King Louis reviewed the French army, and expressed to those corps that had shared in the victory his gratification at their conduct. On the following day, the king visited the Irish camp, and complimented Count Thomond on his command. He thanked each regiment successively for the service it had performed, and conferred the Cross of St. Louis on the commanders of battalions, and promoted numbers of the officers. He likewise bestowed gratuities on the majors, and on the wounded officers of subordinate rank. Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Lee, of Bulkeley's Regiment, received a pension of 1,000 francs ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Cusack, of Roth's, one of 600 francs. Colonel Lally was promoted to a brigadier-generalship.

The benefits that accrued to France by this victory were immense. The reduction of Tournay was soon accomplished, the citadel being surrendered on the 20th of June. Ghent, Oudenarde, Bruges, Dendermonde, Ostend, Nieuport, and Ath were all taken in quick succession ; and Louis XV. returned to France, covered with glory. In these operations, the brave exiles, who had had so large a share in saving the honor of France, took active part, being particularly noted and commended for their conduct ; and, at the siege of Tournay, their gallant leader, Count Thomond, was wounded by the bursting of a bomb.

These brilliant successes caused the utmost joy throughout France. Louis XV. made a triumphal entry into Paris on the 7th of September. He was

received with wild delight by the citizens. *Fêtes* were held on a magnificent scale for some days, and the public fountains ran with wine.

“While France sang joy for Fontenoy,”

England was filled with mortification; and George II. exclaimed, upon hearing of the conduct of the Irish in that fight, “Cursed be the laws which deprive me of such subjects!” But the pulse of Ireland throbbed with hope and exultation. *Her* children’s valor had crowned France with glory; and she yearned for the day, and believed that it would not be long postponed, when they might win her long-sought freedom by such another splendid victory on her own shores as that of Fontenoy.

Towards the end of the year, Count Thomond was ordered to hold himself in readiness for a landing in England to co-operate with Charles Edward Stuart in his advance from Scotland.* The watchfulness of the English fleet, however, prevented his embarkation. Yet numbers of the Irish succeeded in passing over in small parties to Scotland and joining Prince Charles; but many others were captured.

Count Thomond was actively employed in Flanders during 1746. He ably assisted at the victory gained over the allies at Raucoux in October, and was decorated with the Order of St. Louis.

In April, 1747, he joined Marshal Saxe. The Duke of Cumberland, reeking with the blood of his recent victims in the Highlands of Scotland, commanded the allied army. Opposed to each other once more were the rival generals who fought at Fontenoy. The French were encamped about Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels. Count Thomond was stationed at

* Having penetrated into England as far as Derby, Charles Edward, disappointed at not meeting the support he had expected, retraced his steps to Scotland. In April, 1746, he fought the battle of Culloden, in which he was worsted by the Duke of Cumberland, thus destroying the chances of the Stuarts for ever.

Mechlin (or Malines) on the Dyle; and he defended that town and the Bridge of Valheim for six weeks against the allies, whose subsequent movements he closely observed and communicated to King Louis, who joined the army in June.

Several garrisons surrendered to the French. An attempt against Antwerp by the Duke of Cumberland failed, and he was obliged to fall back in order to protect Maestricht. Marshal Saxe came up with the English commander, on the 2nd of July, at the village of Laffeldt (or Val). The English and Germans were strongly posted, and a fearful carnage awaited the assailants. Gallantly the French advanced to the assault. Shot poured thick and fast upon them, scattering death through their ranks. Vainly they strove to gain the village. They were hurled back battalion after battalion.

Six French brigades had been repulsed, when Saxe ordered the Irish Brigade to advance to the attack in conjunction with the *Brigade des Vaisseaux* and a battery of artillery. Inspired by their noble leader, the Irish rushed to the assault with cheers. The two brigades of Irishmen and Frenchmen forced their way into the village, and drove their enemies to the farther side. Actuated by the desire of seizing the person of the Duke of Cumberland, we are told, the Irish "fought like devils," and cut down all before them. His highness had a narrow escape; for he would most certainly have fallen into their hands had it not been for the timely interposition of a body of Irish horse in the English service, commanded by Sir John Ligonier, who was himself made prisoner.

Re-enforcements having been thrown into the village, the Irish and their comrades, after a desperate struggle, were forced back; but the arrival of three more French brigades to their aid, with artillery and cavalry on the flanks of the village, decided the battle in favor of the French, and the allies retreated on Maestricht.

The loss of this battle sorely grieved the English,

and wounded their national pride. To take off the sting of the disgrace, they alleged that the allies did not give them proper support, and that the Dutch cavalry behaved with cowardice. It seems to be characteristic of the English nation to claim the entire merit of a victory they may have had a small share in; but they will not accept their just share of a defeat, and throw the onus upon others without scruple. If some of the Dutch *did* behave with cowardice at the battle of Laffeldt, so did some of the English. Referring to this defeat, Horace Walpole says: "Our guards did shamefully, and many officers." Several English officers were cashiered for "misbehavior" that day.

According to their own statements, the allies lost 6,023 in killed, wounded, and missing. Of that number, 2,110 were British. They claimed to have captured 60 officers and 700 men, with 17 colors.

The French loss in killed and wounded was reported about 6,000; while they took from the allies 16 colors or standards, 29 pieces of cannon, and 2 pair of drums.

The Irish Brigade suffered fearfully. Its loss was set down in killed and wounded as 132 officers and 1,600 men. The list of officers, with the exception of 67, who received but slight contusions, is as follows:—

Clare's Regiment.—Killed: Captains Grant, Barnwell, O'Brien, and MacCarthy; Lieutenants Bridgeman, Moore, and Wall. Wounded: Captains Ryan, Aylmer, Heigher, O'Meara, Sullivan, Plunkett, Fitzgerald, and two O'Briens.

Dillon's Regiment.—Killed: Colonel Edward Dillon; Captains Prince, Bourke, and Lewis; Lieutenants Nihill, Kennedy, Sheil, and Moore. Wounded: Captains O'Connor, Bourke, and two Kennedys; Lieutenant Carroll.

Bulkeley's Regiment.—Killed: Captains Kennedy, Macgennis, Lee, MacCarthy, Geraldine, Wollock, and Sweeny. Wounded: Captains Kearney, MacEnnery, and MacMahon; Lieutenants Butler, Comerford, MacMahon, Nagle, and Bourke (taken prisoner).

Roth's Regiment.—Killed: Captain Wivel. Wounded: Captains Shee, O'Brien, and Dalton; Lieutenant Healy.

Berwick's Regiment.—Killed: Captains Hegarty and Barnwell; Lieutenants Laffin and Dwyer. Wounded: Captains

Barnwell, MacGrath, and MacCarthy; Lieutenants Dowdal and MacGrath.

Lally's Regiment.—Killed: Lieutenant-Colonel Dominick Lynch; Captains Glascock and Geoghegan. Wounded: Lieutenant-Colonels O'Hegarty and Dillon; Lieutenants Prendergast and Kelly.

Rewards were showered upon the Irish for their conduct in this action. Colonel Lee was made brigadier. Captain Hennessy, of Bulkeley's; Captain Arthur, of Roth's; and Major Carroll, of Berwick's—were made lieutenant-colonels. Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, of Clare's; Lieutenant-Colonel Mannery, of Dillon's; Lieutenant-Colonel Barnwell, of Berwick's; and Lieutenant-Colonel O'Hegarty, of Lally's—each received a pension of 1,200 francs. Lieutenant-Colonel Cusack, of Roth's, already in receipt of a pension, had it increased to 1,000 francs. Pensions were also bestowed upon the majors and all wounded officers of lesser rank, and numbers of Crosses of St. Louis were distributed.

The result of this victory was the conquest of the Netherlands, of which Marshal Saxe was appointed governor by Louis. Count Thomond, with the Irish Brigade, was present, in the following year, at the operations against Maestricht, when that important place was surrendered to the French by the terms of an armistice, which preceded the treaty of peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle in October.

In 1756, Lieutenant-General Count Thomond was made Governor of Neuf Brissac in Alsace, and the next year was created Marshal of France, and appointed to the command of the army in the province of Guienne. A few months after, he was made Commander-in-chief of the Province of Languedoc and all the troops on the Mediterranean coast. In 1758, he obtained the *entrées chez le roi*.

Charles O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, Viscount of Clare, &c., in Ireland, Marshal of France, Chevalier of the Order of the Holy Ghost, Commander for the King in the Province of Languedoc, Governor of Neuf

Brissac, Colonel, &c., died at Montpellier, in his sixty-third year, on the 9th of September, 1761; leaving behind him one son (Charles) by his marriage, in 1755, with Marie Genéviève Louise Gauthier de Chiffreville, Marchioness of Chiffreville in Normandy. This son died, at the age of seventeen, in 1774. By his death, the united titles of Thomond and Clare became extinct.

Count Daniel O'Mahony,

THE HERO OF CREMONA.



THE name of DANIEL O'MAHONY* ranks among the foremost of that illustrious host of exiles who fought and died

“In far foreign fields from Dunkirk to Belgrade.”

He attained the rank of captain of the Royal Irish Foot Guards during the war in Ireland between James II. and William of Orange, and, on the conclusion of that war, followed Sarsfield to France. Appointed major in the Regiment of Limerick, he filled his post with honor, and was subsequently transferred to the Regiment of Dillon, with the same rank. But his career was not distinguished above the rest of his countrymen till the famous surprise of Cremona by Prince Eugene of Savoy, when that great general was foiled in his well laid plans by the courage of a mere handful of Irish soldiers.

During the declining days of Charles II., Spain was threatened with dismemberment by the pretensions of rival claimants to the succession, “all born of Spanish princesses.” Feeble and vacillating as Charles was, he was nevertheless fully alive to the importance of

* Count O'Mahony was a member of one of the most ancient and honorable houses in Ireland. The O'Mahonys derive their descent from Cian (son of Molloy), Prince of Desmond, one of the Irish chiefs who fell at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. Cian, who was known as the tallest and handsomest man in Ireland, espoused Sabia, daughter of Brian Borumha.

preserving the unity of the Spanish empire; and accordingly (dying without issue in 1700) willed his crown to his nearest male heir,—Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. of France and the eldest daughter of Philip IV., father of Charles II. That princess, on her marriage with Louis, renounced all right to the Spanish throne. Louis and his minister, Cardinal Mazarin, acquiesced in this renunciation at the time; but the sum of 500,000 crowns with which the princess had been endowed not having been paid, Louis considered himself absolved from his agreement, and laid claim to the crown of Spain in right of his wife upon the death of Philip IV., who left a sickly son (Charles II.) by his second wife. Failing, however, to attain his ends during the lifetime of Charles, Louis gladly availed himself of the will of the deceased monarch to support his grandson's claims to the crown of Spain; and, on the departure of the young prince to assume the sovereignty, gave vent to his grasping policy by the utterance of that significant sentence, "There are Pyrenees no longer," the realization of which has been the dream of many an ambitious Frenchman.

But a formidable rival claimant to the throne of Spain appeared in the person of the Archduke Charles of Austria, son of the Emperor Leopold I. He, also, preferred his claim as the grandson of a Spanish princess. Hence arose the long and bloody War of the Spanish Succession, in which France, Spain, and Piedmont, on the side of Philip, were involved with Austria, England, Holland, and other powers, who supported the pretensions of the archduke.

Hostilities commenced in Italy, in 1701, between the imperialists, under the illustrious Prince Eugene, and the combined French, Spanish, and Piedmontese, under Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy, and Marshal de Catinat; when the latter were outmanœuvred by Eugene through information treacherously furnished by the Duke of Savoy, who was but an unwilling ally of his powerful neighbor of France. Dissatisfied with

Catinat, Louis sent Marshal de Villeroi to take his place. That general made a futile attack on Eugene, who was securely posted at Chiari in Lombardy, and was obliged to draw off with the loss of nearly 2,000 men, while the enemy's loss was comparatively small. The Irish engaged in the affair, nevertheless, were commended highly by Villeroi for their bravery.

Upon going into cantonments for the winter, to arrange for the ensuing campaign, Villeroi established his headquarters at Cremona, an ancient city of Lombardy, then in the possession of the Spaniards. It is situated about half way between Pavia and Mantua on the northern bank of the Po, and was then inclosed by walls, and protected by a strong citadel. A noble Spaniard, Don Diego de la Concha, governed the town for Philip V. of Spain. The garrison numbered but 4,000 men, including portions of the Regiments of Dillon and Bourke, amounting to 600 men.

Learning that Cremona was but indifferently guarded, Prince Eugene resolved upon its surprise. A mere tyro would have been as capable of contending with that great soldier as Marshal de Villeroi. The French general displayed the most culpable negligence of the simplest precautions. No communication was held by night between the guards stationed at different parts of the city, and no parties were detailed either as outposts, or as patrols within the walls. In short, the carelessness was such, that a hostile army might approach the city without attracting attention till it knocked for admission at the gates. This extraordinary heedlessness—consequent upon a very deep sense of security—offered Eugene a favorable chance of seizing Cremona by surprise; but, like a prudent general, he adopted all the means in his power to prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood, and availed himself of much useful aid from the interior of the city.

In Eugene's army was a native of Cremona, named Antonio Cozzoli, who had been obliged to leave it for debt. Through this man, a correspondence was

opened with his brother,—the Rev. Gian Antonio Cozoli, Parish Priest of Santa Maria Nuova in Cremona,—who agreed to betray the city to Eugene for the consideration of a sum of money in hand, and the prospect of promotion in the Church through the Austrian interest.

The house of the priest, which was contiguous to his church, stood near a sewer that carried off the impurities of the city to the ditch outside the walls. Applying to Don Diego de la Concha for permission to have the grating at the entrance of the sewer removed, and the sewer cleansed, on the pretence that the accumulation of filth injured his wine-cellar, the priest obtained this favor from the unsuspecting governor, who ordered some soldiers to clean out the sewer. Eugene sent the priest some skilled miners, who were safely introduced into the town, and opened out a passage from the reverend traitor's house to the sewer. This having been accomplished, several experienced officers and a few hundred men made their way by degrees into the town through the secretly contrived passage, and were placed in concealment by the priest till the expected advent of Eugene. The imperialist general was also supplied by his clerical agent with a plan of the town and its fortifications, specifying the number and disposition of the troops, the lodgings of the officers, and all necessary information.

Having perfected his plans, Eugene despatched the young Prince de Vaudemont with 2,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, through the duchy of Parma, to fall on Cremona on the south side, by crossing the bridge over the Po, and forcing the gate in that quarter, called the Po Gate; while Eugene himself, with a choice body of 3,000 foot and 1,500 horse, marched from Ostiano to avail himself of the arrangements effected by the priest's treachery at the other end of the town.

Early on the morning of the 1st of February, 1702, Eugene found himself—after a march of eighteen miles over bad roads—in front of Cremona, without

the slightest suspicion of his presence being entertained by any one within the walls, but those who were co-operating with him. Bridges at the necessary points were thrown across the ditch with the utmost secrecy and celerity. The Gate of All Saints, on the north-east side of the town and nearest to the priest's house, was soon in his possession, and gave admission to his infantry; the surprised guards being quietly secured. Not far from that spot, on the eastern side, was the Gate of St. Margaret, which had been walled up and left unguarded. This gate was reopened, and admission given to the cavalry. All was so far accomplished without hinderance or disturbance, and the unconscious town slumbered on in happy unmindfulness of danger. Thus Eugene found himself in Cremona before daylight with a larger force than the unwatchful garrison, and with a still larger force, under Prince de Vaudemont, marching to his assistance at the other end.

Leaving a strong guard of cuirassiers and hussars on both gates, Eugene proceeded to occupy the town. He established his quarters, with the Prince de Commerci and General Stahremberg, at the Podesta, or Town Hall, in the centre, and also took possession of the cathedral and other public buildings; thus securing the principal portion of Cremona before any serious alarm occurred. Several officers of the garrison, whose lodgings were pointed out by Father Cozzoli, were arrested while in bed; and, when the news spread, many, in attempting to escape, were intercepted and made prisoners.

The picture of the awakening at Cremona is thus described by an Italian historian: "Confusion, terror, violence, rage, flight, and slaughter were everywhere! Dreadful for all was the awakening! still more dreadful what they saw when awake! The citizens believed that their last hour was come. The French, between fury and surprise, arming themselves hastily and irregularly, seized their muskets, sabres, and bayonets, and sallied out from their lodgings or posts naked and

barefooted, or covered only with a shirt, ignorant of where they were rushing, what enemy they were going to engage, or what had reduced ill fated Cremona to such extremities during that horrible night."

About seven o'clock, Marshal de Villeroi, who lodged in that part of the city near St. Margaret's Gate, was aroused by his valet running into his chamber, and crying, "The Germans are in the town!" A succession of shots close by convinced the marshal that such was the fact; and, getting out of bed, he hastily dressed himself, giving orders that his horse should be got ready and his papers burned. The marshal was quickly on horseback, and rode off to the principal square, and narrowly escaped being shot on the way. In the square, he found some of his men engaged with the Germans, and rode up to encourage them; but another body of the enemy came up, and the little band of Frenchmen was surrounded, while Villeroi was pulled off his horse, and might have been killed, but for Captain Francis MacDonnell, an Irish officer in the Austrian service, who interposed to save his life, and made him prisoner.

Captain MacDonnell conveyed the marshal to a guard-house close at hand, and paid him every attention, though unaware of his rank. Hoping to effect his release by bribery, Villeroi made MacDonnell several tempting offers to permit him to escape, but without avail. A cavalry regiment in the French service, besides the means of acquiring a large fortune, was placed at his disposal. The poor Irish captain—though but a "soldier of fortune"—was not to be tempted from the path of honor. Suspecting who his prisoner really was, from his importunities and the munificence of his offers, MacDonnell at once forwarded word to the Count de Stahremberg that he had taken captive a person of rank. Villeroi subsequently admitted his identity to MacDonnell; and, on the arrival of the count, the Irish officer presented Marshal Villeroi to him as his prisoner. Measures were promptly taken for the marshal's proper security.

The Comte de Montgon, *maréchal-de-camp*, who made an attempt to join Villeroi with a small body of men, was also made captive. Colonel d'Entragues, with a battalion of the *Régiment des Vaisseaux*, which he had assembled at the Po Gate for early exercise, marched against the Germans in the great square; but his men were overpowered, and he was slain. A small party, under Lieutenant-General the Marquis de Crenan, was defeated in the little square, and the marquis was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Don Diego de la Concha, at the head of a detachment, also received his death-wound; and Desgrigny, the intendant of the French forces in Italy, with many others, fell into the hands of the enemy. Thus, when the French became fully alive to the state of affairs, not much more than 2,000 horse and foot could be made available for resistance.

As soon as the imperial cavalry had entered the Gate of St. Margaret, the Baron de Merci, acting on the orders of Prince Eugene, dashed through the town with about 250 cuirassiers to secure the Po Gate, by which the Prince de Vaudemont was to enter. An Irish captain,* with 35 of his countrymen, was posted at the palisade guarding the interior of that gate; and, on perceiving the arrival of the hostile cavalry, the officer in command quickly shut the opening in the palisade, and thus brought Merci's horse to a standstill. Baffled by the closing of the barrier, the baron was obliged to await the arrival of a body of infantry sent to act with him. Re-enforced by 550 cuirassiers and 400 infantry, he blocked up all the space on the south side of the town between the Po

* It is strange that the name of this Irish officer should have remained in obscurity; for to his defence of the Po Gate at that particular moment, the safety of Cremona was undoubtedly owing. Had he surrendered, or had he been surprised, the unparalleled valor of his countrymen would have availed nothing, as the Prince de Vaudemont would have gained easy access to the town through the gate, and sealed the fate of Cremona.

Gate and the Mantua Gate on the south-east corner ; thus, in conjunction with another body in his rear, compelling the French cavalry to remain inactive in its quarters near the last-mentioned gate.

A body of grenadiers now advanced to attack the palisade ; but the fire from the Irish, who waited till the Austrians came quite close, was so fatal, that the latter fell back in disorder. Merci rallied his men, and renewed the charge again and again ; but the defenders were well sheltered, and, through the interstices in the palisade, delivered their fire with such execution that they kept the enemy at bay, foaming with impotent rage. In the meantime, Baron de Merci secured the adjacent Battery of St. Peter, containing eight twenty-four pounders, which had been left without a guard.

The Irish of Dillon's and Bourke's Regiments were quartered not far from the Po Gate. Most of their officers were lodging in other parts of the city, or were on leave of absence. Upon hearing the firing of arms, these ardent soldiers sprang out of their beds, seized such arms as they could lay hurried hands upon, and, without bestowing a thought upon their toilet, rushed in their shirts to the aid of their countrymen, with such few officers as were on the spot.

Major Daniel O'Mahony—who, in the absence of Colonel Gerard Lally, commanded that portion of Dillon's Regiment stationed at Cremona—had ordered the battalion to parade early that morning at the Po Gate. He lodged at a distance from his men, and, before retiring to rest on the preceding night, gave directions to his landlord to call him at an early hour. But he was roused in the morning by the galloping of heavy cavalry under his windows, and found that he had been allowed to sleep beyond the time he had desired to be called. Summoning the landlord to answer for this neglect, he learned that the town had been surprised and was in the hands of the enemy. O'Mahony could not afford to waste the precious moments by throwing his landlord out of the window,

that his indignation might be relieved, but hastened to join his men, whom he found just turned out with arms in their hands, but with no particular regard to costume. He immediately assumed command of his battalion, and, in conjunction with Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Wauchop, who led Bourke's battalion, advanced quickly towards the Po Gate.

Baron de Merci had just occupied the Battery of St. Peter and a portion of the ramparts on the left of the Po Gate, stationing a troop of horse near the battery, when the Irish, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wauchop and Major O'Mahony, made their appearance on the scene. On perceiving their approach, Merci caused them to be charged by both infantry and cuirassiers. But the Austrians were received with a galling fire, and fell back in confusion before the irresistible charge that followed from the all but naked Irish. While vainly striving to rally his men, the brave Baron de Merci was wounded. The Irish drove the enemy from the gate, the rampart, and the battery; and their exultant shouts brought Brigadier d'Arene, with the battalion of Beaujolois, to their side, when that officer assumed command of the whole party.

As, however, the discomfited Austrians had taken shelter in the neighboring houses, from whence they kept up an incessant fire, D'Arene ordered the Irish to intrench themselves about the gate, stationed the battalion of Beaujolois at the battery, and caused the Church of St. Salvador, near at hand, to be occupied. He also sent to the citadel for a fresh supply of ammunition.

At this juncture, the Prince de Vaudemont, with his corps of 5,000 horse and foot, was advancing on the opposite bank of the river against the Po Gate. A bridge of boats connected the gate with a redoubt on that bank, which was defended by Captain Stuart and 50 men of Major O'Mahony's command. The guns of St. Peter's Battery, which had been turned upon the Austrians within the town, had now to be placed in their original position, and employed upon

those without. D'Arene was advised by the Irish officers to withdraw the men from the redoubt on the other side, and destroy the bridge; but he did not care to act on his own responsibility,—though everybody had been doing so all the morning,—and preferred that the redoubt should be defended until he obtained orders from his superior, the Comte de Revel. Accordingly, D'Arene despatched 100 Frenchmen of Beaujolois's Regiment to assist Captain Stuart in defending the redoubt. Fortunately, Vaudemont—not knowing how far Eugene had succeeded, and ignorant of the number of men in the redoubt—halted his force, and prepared for a systematic attack.

Meanwhile, Prince Eugene became aware of the failure on the Po Gate through the obstinate valor of the Irish. Extremely mortified at this, he despatched Prince de Commerci to inspect the Irish position, and ascertain how it might be assailed with effect. Commerci, after executing the mission, reported that they were securely posted and could not be dislodged. As steel or lead did not appear to be persuasive enough, Eugene resolved upon the trial of a more powerful metal,—one so powerful that it seldom fails when judiciously applied; namely, gold. Accordingly, he sent that very officer, who had refused Villeroi's splendid offers for his release, to induce his countrymen to surrender. Under a flag of truce, Captain MacDonnell approached the Po Gate; and, the conflict ceasing, he addressed the Irish, and promised them large rewards and high pay if they would change sides. Furthermore, he pointed out to them, that, if they did not surrender, they must inevitably be cut to pieces, as Eugene was in possession of the entire city with the exception of that gate; and that their handful could not prevent the Prince de Vaudemont, with his overwhelming numbers, forcing his way from the opposite side. But MacDonnell had to deal with men as incorruptible as himself.

To the captain's overtures, Major O'Mahony replied: "Prince Eugene seems to fear us more than he esteems

us, since he causes such propositions to be made to us." Another Irish officer, impatiently listening, broke in with: "Though your Prince Eugene should send us all the emperor's cuirassiers, I would not believe that he could drive us out of this." He then desired O'Mahony to send MacDonnell back with that answer; but O'Mahony, affecting not to notice the interruption, continued: "Sir, if his highness only waits for your return to attack us and cut us to pieces, there is a likelihood that it will be long before he will do so; for we are going to take measures against your returning in sufficient time. With this view, I arrest you as a prisoner, not looking upon you any longer as the envoy of a great general, but as a suborner;* and it is by such conduct we wish to earn the esteem of the prince who has sent you here, and not by an act of cowardice and treason unworthy of men of honor." Upon which, MacDonnell was made prisoner, and the firing on both sides recommenced.

Upon learning the failure of MacDonnell's errand, and his arrest, Eugene endeavored to persuade his prisoner, Marshal de Villeroi, to issue orders to the Irish to cease their resistance, pointing out to him that they must inevitably perish through their obstinacy; but the marshal intimated that, as he was a prisoner, no heed would be paid to his orders. Eugene next tried to influence the magistrates of the town to incite the citizens to aid him in his efforts to dislodge that brave Irish band; but those gentlemen—doubting that Eugene might be victorious after all, since he sought assistance from them—prudently answered that they were not in a condition to furnish him with an

* It will be remembered, in extenuation of MacDonnell's conduct on this occasion, that he was merely acting under the orders of his general. He was a man of undoubted integrity, and won the favor of the emperor and the praise of Europe for remaining steadfast when assailed by Villeroi with the most seductive offers for permission to escape. He was soon after exchanged, and received the rank of major from the emperor. He was killed at the battle of Luzzara.

armed force, but would assuredly accord him all the favors shown the French when he became master of the town. With this answer Eugene had to rest content, especially when it was somewhat mollified by their ready compliance with his exaction of 12,000 rations of bread for his troops.

By this time, the Comte de Revel—the chief in command since the capture of Villeroi—had collected a number of French infantry about the citadel, at the west end of the town, while the Marquis de Praslin had assembled at the same place such of the cavalry as had managed to evade the Austrians. Leaving Praslin to guard the citadel with his cavalry, Revel marched along the northern side of the town to make a diversion, and recover the two gates in the enemy's possession. Having reached the Milan Gate, he found a party of his own men guarding it. But, as he proceeded towards the Gate of All Saints, he found it necessary to intrench 40 French infantry in an avenue on the right, to prevent an attack on his rear. This party of men was placed under the command of Captain MacDonough, of Dillon's battalion. Attacked in that avenue by horse and foot, he compelled the enemy to retire, and bravely maintained his post against repeated attempts to drive him out. The Comte de Revel continued on his way, and recovered from the Austrians the Church of Santa Maria Nueva, as well as Father Cozzoli's house. The priest escaped by the sewer, thus avoiding the punishment he richly deserved. His house, however, was levelled to the ground as that of a traitor, and his name declared infamous. Before attacking All Saints' Gate, the Comte de Revel sent word to O'Mahony—now in command of all the Irish, Lieutenant-Colonel Wauchop, of Bourke's Regiment, having been disabled with wounds—to leave 100 men at the Po Gate, and move along the southern side of the town towards the Mantua Gate on the south-east; on reaching which, he should get fresh instructions.

Upon the receipt of these orders, Major O'Mahony at once left 100 men to guard the gate, as directed,

and advanced on his prescribed march. Encountering 200 Austrian grenadiers, he drove them before him as far as a guard-house occupied by 200 more of the enemy. Here the Irish were received by a terrible fire; but, nothing daunted, they vigorously assaulted the guard-house, and drove the enemy out.

O'Mahony and his Irish had now reached an open space of ground, when the young and gallant Baron de Freiberg rode up at the head of a large body of cavalry and infantry. Exasperated at the obstinate valor displayed by the small force defending Cremona, Eugene, not doubting that he should speedily overcome all opposition, issued orders that no quarter should be given. With these instructions in view, the baron determined to infuse terror into the rest of the garrison by putting the Irish to the sword without mercy. The space being favorable for the manœuvres of cavalry, Freiberg had no doubt that he could trample down the small body of Irish before him by surrounding them and charging them on all sides. O'Mahony formed his men in a solid body, facing outwards, and called on them to stand firm. The imperialists dashed on in all the pride of conscious power to annihilate that little band of Irish infantry, but in the next instant reeled before the destructive fire that greeted them. Men and horses strewed the ground. The survivors fled and could not be rallied, carrying confusion to the infantry in their rear. Enraged at the conduct of his horse, Baron de Freiberg placed himself at the head of another corps of cuirassiers, and rushed headlong on the Irish, determined to crush them or die in the attempt. With such fury did he charge, that he broke through the Irish ranks. Imperial cuirassier and Irish foot-soldier became involved in deadly struggles. The gallant Freiberg pushed on his fiery way, slashing right and left with his death-dealing sabre. O'Mahony sprang forward to arrest his career, and seized his horse's bridle with a hand of iron. Filled with admiration at the extreme bravery of the Austrian officer, O'Mahony, anxious to take him captive and preserve his life,

called upon him to surrender, and cried out, "Good quarter for Monsieur de Freiberg!" But that noble and gallant soldier haughtily exclaimed, "This is no day for clemency. Do your duty; I'll do mine!" And, endeavoring to press forward, he was killed by a musket-ball, to the extreme regret of O'Mahony. On seeing the fall of their chivalrous young leader, the cuirassiers became disheartened, and were routed with considerable slaughter; a number of their officers being made prisoners. The discomfited Austrians, horse and foot, fled towards the Mantua Gate, and united with their comrades in that quarter to block up the little garrison commanded by Captain Lynch, of Dillon's Regiment.

As the Irish had suffered considerably in this last encounter, and as the enemy might, by this time, have again ventured to attack the Po Gate, Major O'Mahony deemed it advisable to retrace his steps. On his retiring, fresh troops attacked his rear, but prudently declined to tread too close on his heels. Arriving at the gate, he found some Austrians posted in a house close by, from which, and other available spots, they kept up a continuous fusilade.

On all sides the fight still raged with unabated fury; and never, perhaps, was a struggle between like numbers so obstinately contested. "Nothing," says the biographer of Prince Eugene, "was to be seen upon the pavement but blood and slaughtered men and horses in every direction. The cries of the wounded and of the dying, joined with the lamentations of the townspeople who witnessed the frightful spectacle, increased the horrors of the struggle."

Meanwhile, the Comte de Revel, with his French force, had stormed All Saints' Gate, and was winning his way gradually to the Gate of St. Margaret. He despatched an order to O'Mahony to make another attempt on the Mantua Gate. Accordingly, O'Mahony sent Captain Dillon, with most of the Irish, to execute that service, while he retained 100 men to defend the intrenchments round the Po Gate.

Captain Dillon, as he advanced, dislodged the Austrians from the houses on his left, and from such parts of the ramparts as they occupied on his right. But, on reaching the spot where they had encountered and killed the Baron de Freiberg, the Irish were again assailed on all sides by horse and foot. That brave little band of exiles—though suffering, as they must have been, from excessive fatigue—undauntedly engaged the enemy, and a terrific combat ensued at close quarters. Captain Dillon was wounded, and finding, from the overpowering numbers of the enemy, that he could not force his way through, he slowly retired; taking with him, however, a number of prisoners, including the Baron de Merci, who was wounded the second time. Among the slain was the imperialist leader, the Count de Leiningen.

The sun had long passed the meridian when it was decided that the redoubt on the opposite end of the bridge at the Po Gate should be abandoned. Orders were then sent by the Marquis de Praslin for the Irish and French officers to withdraw their detachments,—50 Irishmen and 100 Frenchmen. This was accomplished despite Vaudemont's efforts to prevent it; a small party being detailed to burn some of the boats of which the bridge was constructed, and draw the rest to the town side, leaving Vaudemont without the means of crossing. Perceiving now that any further attempt on the Po Gate was useless, the Austrians in that quarter fell back on the Mantua Gate.

The Gate of Mantua had been defended the entire day by Captain Lynch, of the Regiment of Dillon, who, upon the entrance of the Germans, had collected such men as were available, and joined the guard at the gate. Unable to dislodge him, the Germans took possession of the Church of St. Mary of Bethlehem close by, and placed musketeers in the steeple, from whence they could command his men by their fire. But, making a rush at the church with a small party, Lynch expelled the enemy. In the attempt on this post, the Austrian general, Count de Kuffstein, was wounded.

Major O'Mahony, at length, arrived to the assistance of Captain Lynch; and their united parties drove off the enemy, who fell back on St. Margaret's Gate, where Eugene himself, seeing all was lost, was preparing for a retreat, and opposing the exertions of the Comte de Revel to prevent it. Eugene kept the French at bay at St. Margaret's Gate until about six in the evening, when he effected an orderly retreat, carrying off with him, besides Marshal Villeroi, near 500 prisoners (of whom about 80 were officers) and above 500 horses. His loss was estimated in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at 1,600.* Thus, after a desperate struggle of about eleven hours' duration, was the crest-fallen Prince Eugene compelled to evacuate Cremona, which, as was said, he took by a miracle, and lost by a greater one.

Eugene's failure in the capture of Cremona was, beyond doubt, principally owing to the unparalleled bravery of the Irish, and their indomitable persistence—though barefooted, scantily clad, and unable to snatch time for refreshment—in opposing through the day the incessant assaults of troop after troop of imperial cavalry and infantry, made more formidable by the confident anticipation of success. Had the Po Gate fallen into the hands of the imperialists, their success was unquestionable; for the admission of the Prince de Vaudemont's army by that portal would have very shortly decided the issue in their favor. The obstinacy of O'Mahony and the Irish—assisted by the few Frenchmen of the Regiment of Beaujolois—in defending the Po Gate, and their attempts to succor their countryman Lynch at the Mantua Gate, caused Prince Eugene to employ his best troops against them. Consequently, the Comte de Revel, with his much superior force of Frenchmen, had no great odds to contend with on the northern side of Cremona, and

* Among those who fell on the Austrian side was Lambert Taaffe (an Irish colonel of cuirassiers), nephew of Count Francis Taaffe, Earl of Carlingford in Ireland, and lieutenant-general of the Austrian cavalry.

was enabled to recover All Saints' Gate with much less trouble, and finally to annoy Eugene's retreat—though not able to prevent it—by St. Margaret's Gate.

The tidings that Cremona had been wrested from the hands of the greatest general of the day, when it lay completely at his mercy, filled all Europe with amazement; and the gallant acts of O'Mahony and his compatriots, in the estimation of the wondering world, challenged comparison with the marvellous feats performed by the most doughty champions of old. While Austria and her allies were deeply enraged and mortified by this signal reverse, France exulted at her glorious success, and blessed the day the Irish exiles sought refuge on her shores from English tyranny. The effect of the intelligence on the different nations concerned is thus finely depicted by Davis:—

“News, news in Vienna! Leopold is sad;
 News, news in St. James's! King William is mad;
 News, news in Versailles! ‘Let the Irish Brigade
 Be loyally honored and royally paid;’
 News, news in old Ireland! high rises her pride,
 And loud is her wail for her children who died,
 And deep is her prayer—‘God grant I may see
 MacDonnell and Mahony fighting for me!’”

The extreme valor displayed by the Irish, and the importance of the part they enacted, in this remarkable contest, are fully attested by accounts on all sides. Prince Eugene's biographer says: “Justice must be rendered to the French: they did wonders. The Irish, also, distinguished themselves very much, and their obstinacy in the defence saved the place.” Forman writes: “The Irish performed there the most important piece of service for Louis XIV. that perhaps any King of France ever received from so small a body of men since the foundation of that monarchy.” He adds, also: “This action of the Irish, by an impartial way of reasoning, saved the whole French army in Italy; the destruction of which—according to the account itself, as well as the opinion of all military men—must have been the infallible consequence of the loss of

Cremona. It was also thought in England to have so much influence over the affairs of Europe as they stood at that time, that, as I have been informed, a member of the House of Commons, upon the arrival of the news, said in Parliament that those two regiments had done more mischief to the high allies than all the Irish abroad could have done had they been kept at home and left in the entire possession of their estates. * * * Had they done nothing else, this one action alone would be sufficient to eternize them."

Lieutenant-General Pelet, *Directeur-Général du Bureau de la Guerre*, says that every one engaged in the defence of Cremona performed prodigies of valor; "above all, the two Irish regiments." According to the Comte de Vaudrez, the Irish performed "incomprehensible things." The Abbé de Vairac says, in his account of the war in Spain: "It must be said, to the honor of the Irish, that this day was appointed by Providence to signalize their fidelity and undauntedness." The learned abbé was of opinion that O'Mahony's defeat of Freiberg's cuirassiers "snatched the victory out of the hands of the imperialists."

The official report of the French loss in killed, wounded, and missing at Cremona, puts down the total of the officers and men as 1,429. Of these, the two battalions of 600 Irishmen furnished the very large proportion of 350.

The following table details the loss of the Irish:—

The Regiment of Dillon.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured.	Total loss.
Officers	6	29	36	71
Men	37	66	26	129
	—	—	—	—
Total	43	95	62	200

The Regiment of Bourke.

Officers	1	13	2	16
Men	53	78	3	134
	—	—	—	—
Total	54	91	5	150

Among the Irish officers, besides Major O'Mahony, mentioned as having particularly distinguished themselves on that memorable day, were Captains Dillon, Lynch, MacDonough, and MacGee, Lieutenants Dillon and Gibbons, and John Bourke and Thomas Dillon (with no rank), of Dillon's Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Connock, Captains Plunkett, Donnellan, and MacAuliffe, and Lieutenants MacAuliffe, Corrin, Power, Nugent, and Ivers, of Bourke's Regiment. The lieutenant-colonel in command of the battalion of the latter regiment—Francis Wauchop, a gallant Scotch soldier, who was wounded early in the day—was also mentioned with distinction.

As an acknowledgment of the honor due to the Irish for the part sustained by them in the defence of Cremona, Major O'Mahony was despatched by the Comte de Revel to convey to Louis XIV. the intelligence of the complete surprise of Cremona by Eugene, and its marvellous frustration. Upon reaching Versailles, O'Mahony at once presented himself at court. *Le Grand Monarque* gave the major a private audience, and, after the interview, expressed his satisfaction with the agreeable conversation of O'Mahony, and the perspicuity and exactness of his narration, which enabled his majesty to comprehend the whole affair in all its details. The king also noticed the extreme modesty of O'Mahony regarding his own share in the transaction.

The gratified Louis presented the Irish hero with a purse of a thousand louis d'or, and likewise conferred on him the rank of colonel and an annual pension of one thousand livres. O'Mahony next waited upon the prince styled James III., and was by him invested with knighthood.

Colonel O'Mahony distinguished himself the same year, in Italy, under the Duc de Vendome, successor to Villeroi. In the report of the reduction of Castiglione delle Stiviere, Colonel O'Mahony and Colonel Walter Bourke are mentioned with honor. O'Mahony and O'Carroll materially assisted in Vendome's sur-

prise and cutting up of four regiments of Eugene's cavalry under General Annibal Visconti at Santa Vittoria, July 26.

One year after, we find O'Mahony appointed to the governorship of the captured town of Brescello. Not long after, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier. Recommended by Louis XIV. to his grandson and ally, Philip V. of Spain, O'Mahony entered the service of the latter monarch, from whom he received the command of a regiment of Irish dragoons.

The campaign, in 1704, against the King of Portugal and the Archduke Charles of Austria, in Spain, had been successfully conducted by the Duke of Berwick at the head of the united French and Spanish forces. The town of Monsanto, in Portugal, had been retaken by the Portuguese; but a French captain, with 50 of his countrymen, gallantly held the castle against overwhelming odds. In June, the French and Spanish Generals de Jeoffreville and Ronquillo, accompanied by O'Mahony, advanced to relieve the castle. A large Portuguese force was drawn up to receive them. They therefore decided upon leaving the infantry at Idanha Velha, while they reconnoitred the enemy with the cavalry. When the Spaniards appeared in sight, the enemy calculated with confidence upon surrounding their inferior force, and cutting them to pieces. The Spanish right wing, commanded by O'Mahony, was attacked by the Portuguese horse in flank and rear, while his front was assailed by horse and foot. But the undaunted soldier received them with such vigor, that he compelled them to sheer off till he gained the opportunity of moving off his troops by a defile on the left. Being closely pressed by the Portuguese on his retreat, he caused a Spanish regiment to charge them, and completely routed a regiment of their dragoons, who left 200 dead behind. He continued to retire in good order, repelling with success the repeated attacks of the enemy on his rear, and brought his troops off safely with the loss of but 50 men. On arriving at Idanha Velha, he found that the infantry

had withdrawn upon receipt of the intelligence of his defeat.

Most of the province of Catalonia, with parts of Aragon and Valencia, having been won over to the cause of the Archduke Charles, the Prince de Tilly was sent by Philip to compel the revolted Spaniards to return to their allegiance. O'Mahony accompanied the prince, and aided him materially by the discomfiture of large parties of miquelets, or guerillas.

Early in 1706, the notorious Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, advanced by way of Murviedro (the ancient Saguntum) to relieve the city of Valencia, then besieged by Philip's forces under the Duke of Arcos. O'Mahony commanded at Murviedro, by which town it was necessary for the earl to pass. The English general, not wishing to hazard a battle, planned a treacherously clever scheme to enable him to prosecute his march to Valencia without risk. He was connected with O'Mahony by marriage; his wife being the Lady Penelope O'Brien, of the Thomond family, while O'Mahony had espoused, as his second wife, the widow of Charles O'Brien, fifth Viscount Clare. The Englishman, presuming upon this very remote affinity, despatched a flag of truce to O'Mahony to solicit a friendly interview, artfully intimating a desire that, as they were connected by marriage, they should become attached friends. The open-hearted and unsuspecting Irishman conceded the request; and they both met, attended by a few horsemen. In his "History of the War of the Succession in Spain," Lord Mahon (afterwards Earl of Stanhope) says, concerning this meeting: "In their conversation, Peterborough made every exertion to gain over his adversary to the cause of Charles, offering him high rank and every other advantage in the Austrian or English service. Failing in his attempt, he determined to impute the treachery which he could not produce. In the interview, he had so far misused the open-hearted confidence of the honest Irishman as to draw from him an avowal of his intention to advise Arcos to march

across the plain to his assistance, and he also found means, by pretending an equal frankness and a kinsman's regard, to impress Mahoni with the conviction that an overwhelming force, both in men and artillery, lay before him. Peterborough then made choice of two dragoons, who, upon the promise of promotion, undertook to go over to Arcos as pretended deserters. Being admitted to the duke's presence, they reported that, while drinking wine together behind a rock, they had witnessed the conference between Peterborough and Mahoni; had seen the former hand over to the latter a bag of five thousand pistoles; and had heard him promise Mahoni the rank of a major-general on the English establishment, and the command of ten thousand Irish Catholics to be raised for the service of Charles. On the other hand, they declared that Mahoni had undertaken not only to betray his post at Murviedro, but to induce the Duke of Arcos to march across the plain, and thus entrap him into a position where the English army might find it easy to overpower him. The duke was confounded with this intelligence, and still doubted its truth; but, shortly afterwards, he saw Mahoni's aide-de-camp arrive with the very proposal of which the spies had forewarned him, and of which Lord Peterborough had become apprised by his enemy's incautious frankness. No doubt could now remain on the mind of Arcos as to Mahoni's treason. He had him immediately arrested, and sent off a prisoner to Madrid; while, so far from making across the plain as Mahoni had suggested and as good policy required, he broke up his camp, and retreated with precipitation to the mountains." Peterborough was thus enabled to proceed to Valencia unmolested.

When O'Mahony reached Madrid as a prisoner, he obtained an audience of King Philip, who, upon hearing a recital of all the circumstances, honorably acquitted the aspersed Irishman, and further testified confidence in his integrity and appreciation of his services by creating him major-general, and sending him back to the province of Valencia to preserve those

places that adhered to his cause. "Arcos, on the other hand," says Lord Mahon, "was punished for his credulity, being superseded by his predecessor, Las Torres."

In April, O'Mahony summoned Enguera to surrender; but, the garrison refusing, he stormed it, and then sacked it, which warning had the desired effect on many other places, as they immediately acknowledged Philip V.

Some few months later, General O'Mahony defended Alicante against the allies by land and sea under Brigadier Richard Gorges and Vice-Admiral Sir John Leake. The town was breached, and the allies entered it on the 8th of August; O'Mahony retiring into the castle, after having received three dangerous wounds. The medical staff having remained to attend the wounded in the town, O'Mahony was constrained to solicit the enemy to send him a surgeon to heal his wounds. Brigadier Gorges promptly complied with his request. The allies at once proceeded to invest the castle; and Sir John Leake called on O'Mahony to surrender, threatening, if he should attempt to defend the place with so small a garrison, to put every man to the sword. But O'Mahony stoutly maintained the defence of the place till his provisions failed; and then only surrendered on the honorable conditions that he and his men, with six pieces of artillery, should be conveyed to Cadiz on board the enemy's vessels. The terms were gladly conceded; and O'Mahony, after nearly a month's gallant resistance, capitulated on the 4th of September, and, with the survivors of his garrison,—consisting of 36 Irishmen, 36 Frenchmen, and 62 Neapolitans,—was conveyed to Cadiz in accordance with the terms of the agreement.

In November, King Philip created Major-General O'Mahony a Count of Castile, and appointed him to the governorship of Carthagená.

Count O'Mahony again set out for his command in Valencia, February, 1707. He overran the country from Eleche to the gates of Alicante, and spread con-

sternation wherever he appeared. An officer of his dragoons, Captain Daniel O'Carroll, signalized himself, in April, by the defence of the Castle of Seron with 100 Irish against 1,000 of the enemy, whom he compelled to retire after a combat of six hours.

Villena, in the province of Murcia, was besieged by the allied British, Dutch, and Portuguese army under the command of the Earl of Galway.* The Duke of Berwick, who commanded the French and Spanish forces, resolved to bring the enemy to a pitched battle, and caused information to be conveyed to the Earl of Galway that he was about to be joined by a much superior force, and thus induced the earl to give battle before the arrival of the supposed accession to the duke's army.

Accordingly, the Earl of Galway raised the siege of Villena, and marched to attack the Duke of Berwick, whom he found prepared for him at Almanza. Both armies were about equal in strength. The Irish in the duke's army consisted of a battalion of his own infantry regiment, posted in the centre of his second line, and Count O'Mahony's regiment of dragoons on the right of the same line.

The combat commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th of April, and was valorously contested on both sides. It is said, so desperate was the encounter of two French regiments in this battle, inspired by mutual hatred,—one being composed of Huguenots on the side of the English,—that but 300 of them were left alive. Led on by Colonel Francis Bulkeley, the Irish of Berwick's Regiment, with three French battalions, engaged five English battalions. No fire replied to that of the English till they were met at close quarters, when Bulkeley's men poured a deadly discharge into the ranks of their foes, and then rushed upon them with the bayonet. The English gave

* Henri de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny, an exiled French Huguenot. He was created Earl of Gaiway by William III. for his services in Ireland and elsewhere.

way, and were completely routed, suffering fearfully as they endeavored to escape by a ravine. In this action, Philip O'Dwyer, aide-major to the Regiment of Berwick, fell covered with wounds.

The Earl of Galway displayed great bravery on the field, receiving two cuts on the face, one of which deprived him of an eye; and his English are said to have fought like lions. O'Mahony was distinguished among the chief officers, and, says a French authority, "performed astonishing actions at the head of his Irish regiment of dragoons." The allies retreated precipitately, and were pursued for miles; the Irish joining hotly in the pursuit. Six of the enemy's battalions were captured during the action; and, on the following morning, thirteen battalions, having sought refuge in the mountains, were surrounded, and surrendered at discretion. Captain Miles MacSweeney, of O'Mahony's dragoons, for his gallant deeds, was subsequently decorated with the Cross of the Order of St. Jago by Philip V.

As many as 3,000 were slain on the side of the Austrian allies; and nearly 10,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the French, with the whole of the allied artillery (24 pieces), 120 colors and standards, and a large amount of stores. Among the prisoners were 800 officers (including many of high rank), of whom 286 were English.

This victory, which caused heart-burnings at the courts of London and Vienna, was celebrated with public rejoicings at Paris and Madrid.

Early in June, O'Mahony compelled an English garrison, under Colonel Stewart, to surrender at Aleyra, in Valencia, after five days' siege. He next besieged Denia; but, failing to reduce it, he turned his attention to the citadel of Xativa, and took it.

Marching against Alcoy with 1,400 regulars and 400 miquelets, or guerillas, he invested it so successfully, that the governor agreed to surrender if not relieved within four days. Sir Charles Hotham, the English Governor of Alicante, hastened to the succor

of Alcoy with a large quantity of supplies and a force of 3,000 irregulars and 800 regulars. O'Mahony encountered a large body of the guerillas, routed them, and captured their stores. But the English general succeeded, with the rest of his force, in conveying supplies into the town; and O'Mahony, in consequence, raised the siege. During the operations against Alcoy, Major O'Rourke, one of the best Irish officers in the Spanish service, was killed.

The Governors of Denia and Denissa united their forces in October, and marched against Pego with over 3,000 troops. Upon receipt of this intelligence, Lieutenant-Colonel Cornelius O'Driscoll, of O'Mahony's dragoons, hastened from Oliva to the relief of Pego with 100 Irishmen, 200 Frenchmen, and 100 Spaniards. Encountering the hostile forces at Ondara, O'Driscoll routed them and pursued them to Denia. Then, turning back to Pego, he charged a body of English and Spanish Carlists (who had taken possession of the suburbs) with such vigor, that 300 were slain in the first onset, and the rest took refuge in the houses at hand. But the houses were set on fire, and few of those who sought their shelter escaped being burnt or shot. O'Driscoll lost but 22 in killed and wounded.

Count O'Mahony was meanwhile employed in levying contributions on the disaffected Valencians, and burning such of their villages as had given shelter to the cause of Charles; and is stated to have put eleven Spanish priests and twenty-six of their Carlist followers to the sword, and burnt the village and the church in which they had taken refuge.

On the 2nd of January, 1708, O'Mahony again appeared before Alcoy. His force consisted of 6,000 regulars, besides a large body of workmen and others. Having breached the place, he assaulted it on the 5th, but sustained a repulse; and an attack, in two days after, met with the like result. In repelling a sally from the besieged, Lieutenant-Colonel O'Driscoll was dangerously wounded in the foot. On the 9th, Alcoy surrendered at discretion, and a heavy fine was inflicted

upon it by O'Mahony, who next reduced a number of places along the coast.

To preserve Sicily from falling into the hands of the Austrians, as had been the case with Naples in the preceding year, Philip sent Count O'Mahony to that island with 3,000 Spaniards and 500 of his Irish dragoons. In April, the count arrived at Messina, and, by his upright character and openness of manner, soon acquired the esteem and confidence of the Sicilians. An English fleet swept the Mediterranean in those parts, after having reduced Sardinia and Minorca, but, through O'Mahony's precautions, could effect no landing in Sicily; while a Sicilian fleet was enabled to ravage the coast of Naples, and exact contributions from its towns. In the following year, a squadron of English and Neapolitan vessels effected two landings in Sicily; but, by the vigilance and indomitable energy of O'Mahony, the enemy was driven off in both cases with great loss.

In 1710, Philip, being hard pressed at home by the archduke, recalled O'Mahony to his assistance. On his return to Spain, the count was created a lieutenant-general by the king, and speedily gave new proofs of his courage and ability on the field. Several encounters took place with the enemy, in which the Irish rendered important service to Philip. A number of small towns fell into the hands of O'Mahony, who ravaged Valencia and Catalonia to within a few leagues of Barcelona.

On the 20th of August, the main armies of the belligerents came to a general engagement near Saragossa. King Philip's army, accompanied by his majesty in person and commanded by the Marquis de Bay, numbered but 15,000 men. It included three Irish regiments of infantry, commanded respectively by Colonels Diarmid MacAuliffe, John Comerford, and MacDonnell. The army of the Archduke Charles—led by the famous Count Stahremberg—numbered over 23,000 men, and was in greatly superior condition to the Spaniards, who, for several days, had been living upon indifferent food.

After a preliminary cannonade of some hours, the combatants came to close quarters early in the afternoon. O'Mahony, who commanded the cavalry on the Spanish right, charged General Hamilton and his Portuguese horse with irresistible fury, and completely routed them, driving man and horse into the Ebro, where numbers were drowned. The count then made an onslaught on the enemy's artillery, and, despite brave opposition, captured all the guns.

In other parts of the field, the day went against the Spaniards, and they were obliged to retreat. O'Mahony was speedily overwhelmed on all sides by the victorious enemy. Unable to carry off the guns, he hamstringed 400 mules attached to the battering train; and then cut his way through the enemy, carrying off five standards. Joining King Philip, he escorted his majesty on his retreat.

The enemy lost about 2,000 men. The Spaniards left over 3,000 on the field, besides the greater part of their artillery and a large number of colors.*

This battle was disastrous to Philip's cause, as it enabled Charles to march upon Madrid. Philip entered the capital four days after his defeat; but, on the approach of the archduke's army, he abandoned it (the 9th of September) amid the lamentations of his subjects, and withdrew to Valladolid, where he was joined on the 20th by the Duc de Vendome, who had been sent from France to act as his commander-in-chief.

* O'Callaghan and Lord Mahon differ most materially in their estimates of the numbers of the belligerents in the various fights in Spain during this war. The difference is widest in respect to the battle of Saragossa. The numbers given above are from O'Callaghan. Lord Mahon puts down the strength of the Austrian allies as 37 battalions and 43 squadrons, or 23,000 men; and that of the Spaniards as 38 battalions and 54 squadrons, or 25,000. All the colors (63 standards), all the cannon (20 pieces), and 4,000 prisoners, he says, were taken from Philip's army. 5,000 were killed and wounded. The loss of the allies in dead and disabled was only 1,500.

On the 28th of September, the Archduke Charles of Austria entered Madrid in state. Medals, bearing the inscription of "Charles III., by the Grace of the Heretics, the Catholic King," were struck and circulated by Philip's partisans in order to throw odium on Charles for availing himself of the assistance of Protestant nations to enforce his claims. The English and Dutch seized with avidity on the sarcasm as a good joke, and saluted the archduke by the same style and title. Their conduct in Madrid, we are informed, tended by no means to advance the interests of Charles, as their gratuitous insults and gross outrages aroused the bitter animosity of the inhabitants.

Meanwhile, the people throughout the country were exerting themselves in Philip's cause. Parties of guerillas hovered about Madrid, surprising detachments of the invaders, and carrying off their supplies. Count O'Mahony, at the head of his dragoons, performed good service. Harassed on all sides, the archduke at length abandoned Madrid with his army, and retreated towards Catalonia.

On the 3rd of December, King Philip, accompanied by the Duc de Vendome, entered Madrid in triumph. In three days after, he quitted it in pursuit of the enemy.

Lieutenant-General Stanhope, with a force of 5,000 English horse and foot and a battalion of Portuguese, was overtaken at Brihuega, in New Castile, where he had intrenched himself. In the engagement that ensued on the 9th, Stanhope sustained a loss of 600 men. Towards evening, he surrendered the remainder as prisoners of war, though Stahremberg's signal-guns announced his advance to the rescue.

Next day Vendome and Stahremberg met at Villaviciosa. The troops of the latter mustered 12,500, with 22 pieces of artillery; against whom Vendome opposed 17,000, mostly composed of raw levies, with an equal number of cannon to that of the enemy. The battle commenced soon after midday. Count O'Mahony was stationed on the left of the Spanish army. Attack-

ing the allies' right wing, composed of the archduke's guards, O'Mahony soon became involved in a terrible conflict. He was opposed by a choice body of 6,000 German infantry, commanded by Marshal Stahremberg in person, supported by horse and artillery. No impression could be made on the obstinate valor of the Germans, to whose side victory seemed inclined.

The Spaniards had been successful on the right; but their centre gave way before the vigorous onset of the allies. This latter circumstance, combined with the evident success of Stahremberg against his left, induced Vendome to order a retreat. That retreat had actually commenced, when news arrived from the left causing the order to be countermanded. In a letter written by King Philip, the day after the action, he says: "M. de Vendome, seeing that our centre gave ground and that our left of cavalry did not make an impression upon the right, believed that it was necessary to think of retiring towards Torrija, and gave the order for that purpose; but, as we were going there with a considerable portion of the troops, we were informed that the Marquis de Val-de-Canas and Mahoni had charged the enemy's infantry with the cavalry which they had under their orders, and had handled it very roughly." This news "caused us immediately to adopt the resolution of marching back with the rest of the army."

With fifteen reserve squadrons of cavalry, Count O'Mahony and the Marquis de Val-de-Canas outflanked Stahremberg; and fell on his rear. The slaughter was terrible; the fight continuing till night, when Stahremberg, favored by the darkness, effected his escape towards Cifuentes, leaving a very large number of dead and dying on the field. Yet we are told that he won the battle!

The victorious Spaniards lost about 2,000 killed and wounded, but captured a large number of prisoners, all Stahremberg's artillery, a number of colors, and a quantity of stores, including the military chest, which contained 30,000 doubloons.

At this battle of Villaviciosa, the Irish are mentioned as having acted with their usual distinction. The Irish officers particularly noted, besides Lieutenant-General Count O'Mahony, were Major-General Henry Crofton; David Sarsfield, Viscount Kilmallock, who was killed by a cannon-ball at the head of his dragoons; Captain O'Healy, of the same regiment, who had two horses shot under him; Colonel O'Callaghan, of the cavalry Regiment of Milan, who received several wounds, including a sword-thrust through his body; and Colonels MacDonnell, MacAuliffe, and Comerford, each at the head of his regiment of Irish infantry. The three Irish regiments commanded by these last-mentioned officers composed the Brigade of Castelar.

Count O'Mahony followed hard in pursuit of Stahremberg, and harassed that general so much that he entered Barcelona with few over 4,000 men. On the way, O'Mahony took the Castle of Illueca, commanded by a Spanish lieutenant-general, who had taken sides with the archduke. Besides the 660 men constituting the garrison, 150 officers, who had been cut off from Stahremberg and had taken refuge in the castle, fell into O'Mahony's hands.

The campaign of 1710 closed successfully in Spain for Philip V., and the hopes of the allies were doomed to disappointment in that quarter. "All hope of conquering Spain," says Macaulay, "was at an end." And Philip found himself "much safer at Madrid than his grandfather at Paris." In recognition of O'Mahony's faithful and valuable services, the Spanish monarch presented him with a Commandership of the Order of St. Jago, producing a rental of 15,000 livres.

In 1711 (the year the Archduke Charles ascended the imperial throne as Charles VI.), the war in Spain was but a series of desultory engagements, in which O'Mahony and Major-General Henry Crofton took prominent part; and the territory occupied by the enemy became considerably narrowed.

O'Mahony continued to serve Philip with honor in the ensuing campaigns; but his failing health com-

pelled him, at length, to retire from active service. After a most honorable career, in which he had earned high distinction for himself and reflected credit on his native land, the chivalrous O'Mahony died at Ocana in January, 1714,—the last year of the war which firmly established Philip V. on the throne of Spain,* to which end the dead hero had in no small way contributed by his talents and bravery.

This eminent Irish soldier was noted for his enduring friendship, his generous disposition, and the polish of his manner. For his heroic actions in the field—by which the most timid were endued with confidence—the French bestowed on him the title of the “famous O'Mahony.” After bearing testimony to his extraordinary bravery, the Chevalier de Bellerive, who was well acquainted with him, says: “He has always been not only brave, but indefatigable and very painstaking. His life is, as it were, a continued chain of dangerous combats, of bold attacks, of honorable retreats. * * * If he has mounted to the first dignities of the army, he has raised himself to them by degrees. He has passed through all the military grades, so as to make himself master of their respective duties. He has learned to obey before commanding, without having been precipitately elevated to these glorious employments which he has exercised, during this war, with so much applause.”

Lieutenant-General Count Daniel O'Mahony, Commander of the Order of St. Jago of Spain, was first married to Cecilia, daughter of George Weld, of Dor-

* A general peace was signed between the contending parties at Utrecht in April, 1713. Germany, however, dissented, and continued the war against France and Spain; but, unable to cope single-handed with those powers, she concluded peace at Rastadt in March, 1714. The revolted Catalonians, nevertheless, held out till they were obliged to submit by the conquest of Barcelona in September, which established Philip's undisputed sovereignty in Spain; but, by the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, he was dispossessed of the Netherlands, Milan, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, Minorca, and Gibraltar.

setshire, England; and secondly to Charlotte, daughter of Henry Bulkeley and widow of Charles O'Brien, fifth Viscount Clare. By his first wife, he had two sons,—James, who became lieutenant-general, Governor of Fort St. Elmo, Commander of the Order of St. Januarius, and inspector-general of cavalry, in the service of Naples; and Demetrius (or Diarmid), lieutenant-general, count, and commander of several orders, in the service of Spain. Count Demetrius O'Mahony died at Vienna, in 1776, while filling the important post of ambassador from Spain to the imperial court.*

Honorable mention is made of other O'Mahonys who acquired a name for themselves on foreign battle-fields; and we gather the following particulars from O'Callaghan concerning two of the most distinguished: "1. BARTHELEMY O'MAHONY, Chevalier of St. Louis in 1781; colonel-en-seconde to Regiment of Berwick from 1788 to 1791; count, lieutenant-general, Commander of the Order of St. Louis, after restoration of the Bourbons in 1814; and living in 1819. 2. The Chevalier JEAN FRANÇOIS O'MAHONY, Colonel of the 3rd *Régiment Etranger* in 1813; Colonel of the 41st Regiment of the line in 1819; *maréchal-de-camp* from 1823 to 1833; and a Commandant of the Legion of Honor."

* The London "Annual Register" for March, 1766, gives us an idea of the estimation in which the Irish were held by Austria, and of their fond devotion to the Green Isle, by this account of the celebration of St. Patrick's Day in Vienna: "On the 17th of this month, His Excellency Count Mahony, ambassador from Spain to the court of Vienna, gave a grand entertainment in honor of St. Patrick, to which were invited all persons of condition that were of Irish descent; being himself a descendant of an illustrious family of that kingdom. Among many others were present Count Lacy, President of the Council of War; the Generals O'Donnell, Maguire, O'Kelly, Brown, Plunket, and MacElligot; four Chiefs of the Grand Cross; two governors; several knights military; six staff officers; four privy councillors; with the principal officers of state, who, to show their respect to the Irish nation, wore crosses in honor of the day, as did the whole court."

Count Andrew Lee.

IN the year 1671, a body of infantry was raised in Ireland for the service of Louis XIV. by Count George Hamilton, of the Abercorn family. This brave soldier and accomplished courtier was the eldest surviving son of Sir George Hamilton (of Dunnalong in the county of Tyrone, and Nenagh in the county of Tipperary) and his wife, Lady Mary Butler, sister of James, first Duke of Ormond. Young Hamilton supported the cause of Charles I. against the Parliament, and subsequently followed the fortunes of Charles II. When the latter returned to England as king, Hamilton accompanied him; but that monarch—to whom an acknowledgment of past services was irksome, though he was lavish of favors when he had nothing to bestow—slighted many of his most loyal adherents on his accession to power, and was very easily persuaded to dismiss those of his officers whose religion gave offence to his loyal Protestant subjects, yet very graciously assented to their taking service under Louis XIV.

Among those so dismissed, with affected regret, was Count George Hamilton. By permission of Charles, the count enrolled 1,500 Irishmen for the French service. His majesty, no doubt, in giving his assent, thought the men were better out of Ireland than in it. The regiment thus formed included ANDREW LEE (then twenty-one years of age) among its aspirants for military adventure and renown. On the arrival of the regiment in France, Count Hamilton was commissioned as its colonel by Louis XIV. Under Marshal Turenne, the Irish shared in the successful operations against

the Elector of Brandenburg in 1673. In the following year, Hamilton was severely wounded at the battle of Einsheim, where a battalion of his regiment acted with signal valor. He was created brigadier in March, 1675. On the fall of Turenne at Salzbach, July 27, Hamilton and the Chevalier de Boufflers protected the retreat of the French army, and repulsed the advanced guard of the enemy under Count Montecuculli.

When the French retreated on Saverne, in 1676, before the Duke of Lorraine, their rear was thrown into confusion by the vigorous onset of that prince. The Duc de Luxembourg (who had succeeded Turenne in the command of the French army) hastened in person, at the head of his cavalry, to repair the misfortune. He was ably seconded by Count Hamilton,—recently created major-general,—who checked the advance of Lorraine's horse by the fire of his infantry, and then, by a brilliant cavalry charge, caused the enemy to retire in disorder. Fighting bravely at the head of his troops, the courtly and gallant Hamilton fell on that bloody field, covered with wounds. After his death, the Irish soldiers were drafted into the Regiment of Furstemberg, and subsequently into that of Greder.

In the campaigns above detailed, Andrew Lee learned the duties of a soldier under Count Hamilton, and acquitted himself with great credit. In 1678, he was appointed to a lieutenancy, and won his way to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, conferred upon him some nine years after. His daring valor having attracted the notice of Luxembourg, the high commendations of that great marshal procured him the appointment of lieutenant-colonel to the Regiment of Clare, under Colonel Daniel O'Brien, upon the arrival of Mountcashel's Brigade, from Ireland, in 1690. The remnant of the Irish raised by Count Hamilton—consisting of 200 men—was incorporated with the same regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, as acting colonel, distinguished himself at the head of his regiment that year in St. Ruth's successful campaign in Savoy. He was made inspector-general of the Irish troops in October.

In 1693, Marshal de Catinat, who was conducting operations in Piedmont, marched with 47 battalions, 78 squadrons, and 30 pieces of cannon, against the allies under the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, and encountered them at Marsaglia (or Orbassan) on the 4th of October. The allies—Italians, Austrians, Spaniards, and Huguenots—comprised 38 battalions of infantry and 79 squadrons of horse, with 31 cannon. Of the Irish Brigade, there were present in the French army the Regiments of Clare and Luttrell, a battalion of Talbot's, and a half battalion each of the regiments called the King's and Queen's Dismounted Dragoons.

In the battle that ensued, Lieutenant-Colonel Lee and his countrymen, by their indomitable valor, upheld their well merited reputation as the bravest of the brave, and elicited the admiration of even their enemies. After a severe fight, the Duke of Savoy broke the first line of the French, and entertained no doubt whatever of success when charging the second line, which was chiefly composed of Irish. "The Duke of Savoy," says Plunkett, "having perceived great numbers of Irish to be in the line, ordered his men to attack them with sword in hand. In this attempt, his royal highness committed an important error; for, by that method of fighting, the Irish generally prevail. The attack being given, the confederates were soon forced to ply [give way] and take their flight. The line pursued. The Irish overran their orders; and Catinat, seeing there was no recalling of them, commanded the whole army to follow. Great was the slaughter of the confederates. The Irish pursued so swiftly, that their foot overtook some of the hostile cavalry. The Duke of Savoy narrowly escaped with ten horsemen into his capital city of Turin." Macaulay states: "Some of the exiles of Limerick showed, on that day, under the standard of France, a valor that distinguished them among many thousands of brave men."

In the French official account of this victory, the Irish receive prominent notice. They are mentioned as having, "in the space of half a league, despatched

more than a thousand of the enemy with sword-thrusts and clubbed muskets." Marshal de Catinat, in writing to Louis XIV., gave the most glowing account of their conduct, and instanced the dismounted dragoons as having "done surprising things in the way of valor and good order during the combat. They have overthrown squadrons sword in hand, charging them face to face, and overthrowing them."

The victory of Marsaglia was gained by Catinat after a desperate conflict of nearly five hours, and cost him about 2,000 killed and wounded. He captured 2,000 prisoners, of whom 215 were officers, besides 103 colors and standards, and all the artillery. The enemy admitted losing 5,500 men.

A serious loss was suffered by the allies in the person of Charles, Duke of Schomberg, son of the veteran marshal slain at the battle of the Boyne. He was wounded in the thigh, and made prisoner by an Irish officer, who saved him from being put to death in the heat of the contest. By the permission of Catinat, the duke was removed to Turin, where he died of his wound.

Among the Irish of note who fell on this battle-field were Brigadier Francis O'Carroll, Colonel of the Queen's Dismounted Dragoons; and Colonel James Lacy, uncle of Peter Lacy, then an ensign in the Regiment of Athlone, and subsequently field-marshal of the Russian empire. Colonel Daniel O'Brien, fourth Viscount Clare, was severely wounded, and, in consequence, died shortly after at Pignerol.

In acknowledgment of his efficiency and conspicuous bravery on that glorious field, Lieutenant-Colonel Lee was appointed to the full command of his regiment after the death of Lord Clare. The following year he was created a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, and, on the 28th of July, was appointed to the colonelcy of the Regiment of Mountcashel, made vacant by the decease of Justin MacCarthy, Viscount Mountcashel. He continued to serve with the Army of Italy till 1695, when he was transferred to the Army of Germany; and was with the Army of the Meuse, under

the Marshal de Boufflers, in 1696. The next year he was at the reduction of Ath by Catinat, and mounted the trenches at night, accompanied sometimes by the marshal and Vauban, the illustrious engineer.

In the summer of 1698, France being at peace, Louis XIV. held a grand review at Compeigne and Coudun, where warlike movements were performed by a select force of 33 battalions of infantry, 132 squadrons of cavalry, and an artillery corps with 70 guns. Conspicuous in that gorgeous array were the representatives of the Irish Brigade,—Colonel Andrew Lee and the survivors of his regiment. The king's satisfaction with the appearance of his troops and their thorough discipline was practically expressed by his distribution of large sums of money among the officers.

The War of the Spanish Succession having broken out, Colonel Lee was again called to active service. On the 23rd of December, 1702, he was made major-general by brevet, and, the following year, was attached with his regiment to the Army of Bavaria under Marshal de Villars. He assisted in the reduction of the strong fortress of Kehl, and is mentioned as one of the marshal's most distinguished officers.

At the battle of Hochstädt, won by Villars, on the 20th of September, Lee received several wounds while engaged in rallying a body of French troops broken by the onset of the enemy in the early part of the combat.

In June, 1704, being ordered to attach himself to the army under Marshal de Marsin, General Lee transferred the command of his regiment to his son Francis. He was sent by the French marshal to act with Count d'Arco, the Bavarian field-marshal. To oppose the entrance of the allies of the House of Austria into Bavaria, Count d'Arco occupied the defences of Schellenberg,—a steep, commanding height, north of the Danube. His forces extended across the hill, from the village of Donawert on the left, towards a wood on the right. The Anglo-Dutch and Austrian armies, assembled in Suabia, were commanded on alternate days by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Louis of Baden.

On the 2nd of July, Marlborough, being then in command, appeared before the Franco-Bavarian lines, and commenced to cannonade them.

The defences of Schellenberg had been designed for the accommodation of 15,000 men; but the Bavarian general had but 8,000 French and Bavarians under his command, with 14 guns. The progress of the works, too, had not been equal to the celerity of Marlborough's movements; and D'Arco, alarmed at its unfinished state, hesitated whether he should defend or abandon the post committed to his care, till urged by General Lee and others to maintain his ground. Though the great natural strength of Schellenberg rendered it very difficult to storm, the insufficiency of numbers to guard the extended lines and the incomplete state of the works were decidedly in favor of Marlborough, whose forces numbered about 24,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, nearly half being English and Dutch.

After an hour's cannonading, the English general ordered an assault, at six in the evening, on the side of the hill towards the wood occupied by the French and Bavarians under General Lee. The English and Dutch led the attack, headed by a party of the Guards under Lord Mordaunt. Animated by their loyalty, the English rushed to the charge with shouts of "God save the Queen!" Under the inspiration of their Irish leader, the little French band received the onset with unflinching courage; and a bloody struggle ensued, in which the assailants—more especially the English, who led the van—received a dreadful chastisement, and were hurled back with such effect that they could not be rallied for an hour or more, and would not have been induced to make another effort were it not for the opportune arrival of the additional forces under Prince Louis, the Margrave of Baden, comprising about 11,000 infantry and 13,000 cavalry.

The margrave moved rapidly up to attack the hill towards Donawert, and forced the imperfect works on that side. Against this host of enemies, the gallant resistance of the Franco-Bavarians was useless; and

they were obliged to retire, abandoning their artillery and baggage, with thirteen standards, having first spiked the guns, and then set fire to Donawert, which was, however, extinguished on the entrance of the enemy. In this assault, the Margrave of Baden was wounded in the foot, and his horse shot under him.

Cut off from retiring by Donawert, Lee withdrew his men in the direction of the wood to Neuberger. He was closely followed, but sustained no loss; and, on his entrance into the wood, the enemy prudently refrained from molesting him any further.

The victory at Schellenberg was claimed equally by the English and Dutch, but certainly with no show of reason by the former. Marlborough was beaten; but the timely arrival of Prince Louis of Baden turned the scale in favor of the allies, and the Dutch general was the first to break the French lines. In a letter to his duchess from the field, Marlborough concludes with, "You may let my lord treasurer know, that I think the English *have done so well*, that the cannon ought to fire for this victory." This was pretty cool, after just witnessing the smashing they got! In the official account of this victory published in the London "Gazette," the part performed by the Prince of Baden was utterly ignored, and he was merely mentioned among the wounded superior officers. The Dutch asserted their claim to the victory by striking a medal in its commemoration. It bore a Latin inscription on the reverse side, signifying that their enemies had been overcome at Schellenberg, and, on the obverse side, was stamped the bust of Louis of Baden.

The total loss of the French and Bavarians in this great battle was but 2,500 in killed and prisoners; while the enemy sustained a loss of 5,308 in killed and wounded, including 360 officers. This number embraced 1,536 English, of whom 115 were officers. Among the superior officers who fell on the side of the enemy were: General Goor and General Beinheim, killed; and Prince Bevern and Count Stirum, mortally wounded.

Lee was present at the disastrous battle of Blenheim, in August, being stationed with the Irish Brigade at Oberglau, about the centre of the French and Bavarian position, which Marlborough and Prince Eugene in vain endeavored to force till the order for retreat was given. In October, Lee received the grade of lieutenant-general of the armies of the king.

For the next three years, Lieutenant-General Lee continued to serve with distinction in the campaigns of Marshal de Villars, and, in 1708, was attached to the Army of the Rhine, under Marshal the Duke of Berwick. After the allied victory at Oudenarde, Eugene and Marlborough invested the strongly fortified town of Lille, in French Flanders. Lee threw himself into the place in August, and, by his bravery and zeal, contributed much to its famous defence under the gallant Marshal de Boufflers. The enemy reduced the town in December, after having sustained a loss of nearly 20,000 men; the besieged losing 5,000 in killed and wounded. During the siege, General Lee was wounded in the head by the splinter of a bomb-shell. He received, for his gallant conduct, a pension of 6,000 livres, with a promise to be installed Grand Cross of the Order of St. Louis when the first vacancy occurred, and was granted permission to wear the red ribbon of the order meanwhile.

In 1709, he served under Marshal d'Harcourt in Germany, and for the next three years acted under Marshal de Villars in his Flanders campaign, which closed his active military career. According to promise, the vacant post of a Grand Cross of the Order of St. Louis was conferred on him in 1719. On the decease of his son Francis, in 1720, Count Lee resumed the colonel-proprietorship of his regiment. In 1733, he caused the colonelcy of the regiment to be bestowed on Count Francis Bulkeley.

Death terminated the honorable career of Lieutenant-General Count Andrew Lee on the 16th of February, 1734, at the venerable age of eighty-four years.

Count Arthur Dillon.

THE Dillons, it has been asserted,* derive their origin from Lochan (called Deloun,† which signifies “bold” or “valiant”), a son of Aodh III., surnamed Slaine, Ard Righ of Ireland in the end of the sixth century. King Aodh, desirous of marking his appreciation of the great ability of his kinsman Colman Rimidh, elevated him to the high position of associate in the government of the kingdom. Inflamed with jealousy by this selection, Lochan, determined to be revenged on his cousin, declared war against him, and slew him in mortal combat. Having sated his vengeance, Lochan dreaded the wrath of the king, his father, and sought safety in flight. He crossed over to the continent, and entered the service of the Duke of Aquitaine, then at war with the King of France. In recognition of the invaluable services rendered him in this war, the duke gave his daughter in marriage to the Irish prince. On the decease of the duke, without male issue, Lochan Deloun, by right of his wife, succeeded to the sovereignty of Aquitaine, over which his descendants maintained sway till the twelfth century, when they were dispossessed by William, Duke of Burgundy. That potentate presented the duchy of Aquitaine as a dower to his daughter Eleanor, espoused by Henry II. of England. In order that he might not have to contend at a future day with troublesome pretensions to the duchy, Henry of England prudently took charge of the two young princes—Thomas and

* MacGeoghegan, quoting Lodge’s “Peerage.”

† *Diolmhain* is the correct orthography.

Henry Delion—who represented the race of Lochan, and removed them to England, where he provided for their education. Henry Delion, on reaching manhood, was knighted by the king, and appointed secretary to his son John. When Prince John paid his first visit to Ireland, he was accompanied by his secretary, Henry Delion, on whom he very lavishly bestowed large tracts of land, to which his highness had not the slightest right. The Delions (or Dillons) became very numerous throughout Ireland, especially in the counties of Meath, Longford, Roscommon, and Mayo. Two peerages were created in the family, in 1622, by James I. Sir Theobald Dillon was made Viscount of Costello-Gallen, in the county of Mayo; and another Dillon became Earl of Roscommon. Among those who found refuge on the continent during the demoniacal sway of Cromwell were Thomas, fourth Viscount of Costello-Gallen, and his four sons. During this exile, Charles, the viscount's eldest son, attained the rank of major-general in the service of France as well as that of Spain. He also became Governor of Tournay, in Flanders. Other Dillons won distinction in foreign countries about the same time. On the "restoration" of Charles II., Viscount Dillon returned to Ireland, and was among the very few fortunate adherents of the worthless Stuart who received back the estates sequestrated by Parliament.

Of such a noble and ancient line was the Honorable ARTHUR DILLON, whose career has caused his name to shine with additional lustre, and to make it well worthy of a place in the hearts of his countrymen. Arthur (born, in 1670, at the family seat of Killenfeagh, in the county of Westmeath) was the second son of Theobald Dillon, seventh Viscount of Costello-Gallen, and his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Talbot, of Templeoge, county of Dublin. Young Dillon gave early indication of the courage and ability which subsequently distinguished him; and his warm-hearted countrymen regarded the high-spirited and handsome youth with great affection.

When William of Orange seized upon the English throne, Lord Theobald Dillon adhered to the cause of James II. ; and in response to the call for troops issued by the Earl of Tyrconnel, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, promptly raised a regiment of infantry, which he placed under the command of his eldest son Henry, while he himself served as lieutenant-colonel in the Earl of Clanricarde's Guards. In this struggle against the supremacy of the Prince of Orange, young Arthur wielded his maiden sword with great skill and courage. Viscount Dillon subsequently raised another regiment of infantry, which he placed at the disposal of King James. The command was conferred by the viscount on his son Arthur. Thus early had the confidence with which his conduct inspired his father gained for Arthur Dillon the high position of colonel.

King James having agreed to supply Louis XIV. (then at war with the powers leagued together by the compact of Augsburg) with an equivalent number of Irish troops for a French contingent, Lord Mountcashel was sent to France, in 1690, with the requisite amount of soldiers. Young Dillon's regiment was among those selected for the French service ; and, with high hopes of winning renown in foreign climes and returning home with honor, he quitted his native land, never again to behold its hallowed shores. Upon arriving in France, in May, his commission as colonel was confirmed by the French king.

Colonel Arthur Dillon first led his regiment in battle, under the Duc de Noailles, in Spain ; and was present at the siege of Urgel, in Catalonia, witnessing its surrender to the French, June 11, 1691. He assisted, some weeks after, in compelling the Spanish general, the Duke of Medina Sidonia (though in command of a superior force), to abandon the siege of Pratz-de-Mollo.

For the next two years, Noailles—prevented from carrying on an active war against the Spaniards through lack of re-enforcements, which Louis needed to send elsewhere—was obliged to act simply on the

defensive; and Arthur Dillon—now deprived, by the success of William III., of the privilege of returning to his native land as he would wish—saw himself forced to remain in a foreign country, and lost no opportunity of perfecting himself in the duties of the soldier, so that he might be of some benefit to Ireland at a future day. When Rosas was stormed, in 1693, he gallantly led his men to the assault, and aided in the capture of that town. On the 27th of May, the following year, he was engaged with his regiment in the overthrow of the Spaniards under the Duke of Escalona, who attempted to dispute the passage of the River Ter by the Duc de Noailles; and assisted in the reduction of Palamos, Gerona, Ostalric, Castelfollit, and several other places in that campaign.

An attempt was made by the Spaniards, early in 1695, to recover all the places lost the preceding year. Noailles despatched Lieutenant-General de St. Silvestre and Colonel Dillon, in May, to the relief of Ostalric, which was closely besieged. On the approach of the French, the Spaniards retired, and supplies were conveyed into the town. Having accomplished this duty, the French returned; but a body of 4,000 miquelets, or guerillas, with five squadrons of cavalry, set upon the rear-guard, composed of Irish troops, commanded by Dillon. Attacking this superior force with vigor, Colonel Dillon put it to flight, killing fifty, and taking some prisoners, among whom was a colonel of dragoons.

In the following August, under the illustrious Duc de Vendome (who had succeeded the Duc de Noailles), he had the pleasure of contributing to the discomfiture of the natural enemies of his country. To recover Palamos, the Marquis of Gastanago, Viceroy of Catalonia, laid siege to it by land with 3,000 English, 500 Dutch, and a large body of Spaniards; while an English fleet, under Admiral Russell, bombarded it from the sea. The town and castle suffered severely from the fire of the fleet, and were set on fire in various places, the flames raging for an entire night. A French

account states that, during the siege, "150 Irish threw themselves into the place, where they distinguished themselves by their valor." The viceroy and his English friends were forced to yield the superiority to the Duc de Vendome, and retire from the contest.

The most important affair in which Colonel Dillon had yet engaged was the siege of Barcelona. Operations were begun against that town in June, 1697, by the Duc de Vendome, with an army of 26,000 men, assisted by a fleet under the Comte d'Etrées. Barcelona was strongly fortified, and presented innumerable difficulties to its subjugation by a hostile army. It was defended by at least 240 pieces of artillery, and contained vast stores of ammunition. The garrison consisted of 16,500 troops—a force sufficient within such a stronghold to resist an immense army—under the command of Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt, who had fought in Ireland under William III. Near the town was a fort called Montjuich; and, within a distance of six miles, Count Velasco, Viceroy of Catalonia, encamped with 3,000 cavalry. A complete investment was consequently impracticable at first, rendering the siege of Barcelona a very arduous undertaking.

The Irish in Vendome's army consisted of a battalion of Arthur Dillon's regiment, commanded by himself; a battalion under Colonel Oliver O'Gara; and a brigade, commanded by Simon Luttrell, comprising two battalions of his own corps, and the Clancarty Regiment under Colonel Roger MacElligot. Attached to Luttrell's command was a battalion of Vendome's own regiment. The battering train of 84 pieces of artillery, with ammunition and provisions, having been landed from the fleet, the French general sat down before the town on the 12th June; and, on the next day, Colonel Dillon was ordered to occupy an abandoned post not far from the covered way.

Vendome having opened the intrenchments by the 16th June, the siege was vigorously prosecuted, and the Irish displayed such valor as to amaze their great

general, and elicit his highest encomiums. Count Velasco was routed on the 12th of July. On the 4th of August, while a body of the enemy's cavalry was sent to secure the entrance of a convoy into the town, a large infantry force—to divert the attention of the French—came down the side of a neighboring mountain, and, supported by a number of horse, attacked Vendome's outposts. Dillon and his Irish, with a French regiment, flew to arms, and drove the assailants back, smiting them hip and thigh, and pursuing them to the very top of the mountain. This success hastened the fall of Barcelona, which surrendered on the 11th of August.

The conquest of Barcelona added considerably to the renown of the Duc de Vendome, who did not fail to accord the Irish exiles due praise for the part performed by them in that important enterprise. Expressing unbounded admiration for the reckless daring with which they dashed into the face of death, and the unfailing, terrible energy displayed by them in the heat of fight, the duke bestowed on them the appellation of "the butchers of the army."* During the siege, the French lost 400 officers and more than 8,000 men; the Irish troops suffering proportionately. Vendome placed in the captured town a garrison of 10,000 men, among whom Dillon and his regiment were included.

A termination was soon after put to the War of the

* O'Callaghan thus quotes the Chevalier de Bellerive: "M. de Vendome, who had a particular esteem for this warlike nation, at whose head he had delivered so many combats and gained so many victories, confessed that he was surprised at the terrible enterprises which those butchers of the army—it is thus that he named them—achieved in his presence." Forman says: "In the siege of Barcelona, in the year 1697, the great Vendome was so charmed with their courage, and so amazed at the intrepidity of their behavior, that the particular esteem and notice with which he distinguished them, even to the day of his death, is yet very well remembered in France. If what I say here," he concludes, "is not literally true, there are Frenchmen enough still living to contradict me."

League of Augsbug by a treaty of peace at Ryswick, signed in September, 1697, by England, Holland, and Spain, and by Germany in October.

While peace lasted, Colonel Dillon, captivated by the charms of Miss Catherine Sheldon (maid of honor to Queen Mary, wife of James II.), paid court to that young lady, who was far from indifferent to the overtures of a lover so brave and handsome. Miss Sheldon was daughter of Ralph Sheldon (an English gentleman), and niece to Lieutenant-General Dominick Sheldon, who commanded a regiment of Irish cavalry in the French service. The nuptials of Colonel Dillon and Miss Sheldon were duly celebrated, and their union was blessed with sons and daughters worthy of their parents.

France having become again involved in war with the principal States of Europe, on account of the acceptance of the Spanish throne by Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., on the death of Charles II. in 1700, Colonel Dillon, at the call of the king, tore himself from the bosom of his family, unsheathed his sword, and assumed command of his regiment. He served with distinction under his old general, the Duc de Vendome, in the campaigns in Italy against Prince Eugene of Savoy, and was made brigadier by brevet towards the end of 1702. During Vendome's march through the Tyrol, the following year, Brigadier Dillon, with 1,500 men, dislodged 500 of the hardy Tyrolese mountaineers—noted for their accurate aim—from an almost inaccessible mountain-pass, and then took possession of the town and castle of Riva, without losing a single man. He was highly commended for this exploit. In 1704, he attained the rank of major-general.

On the 16th of August, 1705, an engagement took place, among the canals beyond the River Adda and the town of Cassano, between the French and Spaniards under Vendome and the imperialists under Prince Eugene. Vendome's army was inferior in point of numbers, and, with the river in its rear, would

have been utterly ruined if defeated. Eugene directed his main attack against the French centre, and succeeded in breaking through. At this onset, the musketry fire of the imperialists killed a dozen officers at the side of Vendome, conspicuous by his white plume. The marshal's horse also fell, pierced with bullets. But, being encountered in their headlong career by General Dillon and his Irish soldiers, with a couple of regiments of French dragoons, the imperialists were driven back; and the broken brigades reforming, headed by the Duc de Vendome on foot, charged them at the bayonet's point, and impelled numbers of them into the canals, where they were drowned. Eugene, who was also in the thick of the fight animating his troops, was obliged to retire from the field, having been wounded in the neck and below the knee.

The loss of the French in killed and wounded was 2,728; that of the enemy, 3,966. The French claimed the capture of 9 standards, 7 cannon, and 1,942 prisoners; while the enemy professed to have captured some colors and 530 prisoners. Each army retired to its former quarters; and each claimed the victory, which it celebrated by a *Te Deum*.

In this action, the Irish suffered considerably. Marked compliments were paid to General Dillon and other officers by Marshal de Vendome. That distinguished soldier of France, in a despatch to Louis XIV., attested of the Irish, that "they fought in this affair with exemplary valor and intrepidity, and formed a band whose zeal and devotion might be relied upon in the most difficult emergencies of war."

Early in 1706, Vendome gained a complete victory, at Calcinato, over the imperialists under the Danish general, Count Reventlau, who lost half his army and vast stores. Dillon, among other general officers, is represented by Vendome as having "done wonders" at this battle.

Maréchal the Duc de Vendome having been recalled from Italy to supersede Marshal de Villeroy in Flanders, the Comte de Medavi was appointed to his com-

mand, under whom Dillon acted with distinction at Castiglione, September 9, against the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt. In command of the French left, Dillon charged the enemy's right, and completely routed it; and to him, in conjunction with M. de St. Pater, as represented by the Comte de Medavi to the king, the victory was in a great measure due. The French loss was inconsiderable; while the enemy left on the field 4,500 men, 33 colors, and all the cannon and baggage. For his conduct in this action, through the recommendation of Medavi, who stated that few general officers had acquitted themselves so well "for a long time past," Dillon was created a lieutenant-general.

Anxious to inflict a mortal blow on the maritime power of France, the English government determined on the reduction of Toulon, the great naval depot of France on the Mediterranean. To execute this project, planned by the Duke of Marlborough, England freely lavished that gold by means of which she secured her successes and retrieved her reverses. Accordingly, the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene appeared before Toulon on the 26th of July, 1707, with over 38,000 Piedmontese and Germans, and an attendant fleet, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, of 48 English and Dutch men-of-war, besides a great number of transports, with 100 heavy siege-pieces, 40 mortars, and immense stores of ammunition. Had this enterprise succeeded, the loss to France might have been irreparable; but the French general, Marshal de Tessé, ably seconded by Lieutenant-General Dillon and other commanding officers, prepared to give the allies a warm reception, and returned their furious cannonade with spirit.

During this siege, another Dillon is remarkable for having bravely sustained the honor of his name and race. Among the works constructed on the shore to guard the entrance from the sea into the port was the Fort of St. Louis, garrisoned by Captain Dillon and 100 Frenchmen. On this fort an incessant fire was poured by the allies, from sea and land, for eight days. Witnessing the effect of the enemy's artillery, and

apprehensive of the destruction of the gallant little band of defenders, the Marshal de Tessé sent orders to Captain Dillon to evacuate the fort; but Captain Dillon judged it expedient to hold out a little longer, and, three days after receiving the marshal's order, finding the place growing untenable, he withdrew his garrison, and effected his escape into the city by sea, just as General Rebender, by order of the Duke of Savoy, marched to assault the fort. The heroic defence of Fort St. Louis by the Irish officer elicited the admiration of friends and enemies alike.

A general assault of the allied position having been resolved on, the command of the French left was assigned to Lieutenant-General Dillon. Attacking an eminence where the enemy was strongly posted, Dillon slew or captured all who defended the place. This assault was conducted by the French marshal with so much success, that the allies were obliged to raise the siege on the 21st of August, and turn homewards, having suffered a loss of more than 15,000 men.

In 1709, Dillon was attached to the Army of Dauphiné under Marshal the Duke of Berwick. Previous to setting out on his campaign, the duke, in writing to Louis XIV. concerning General Dillon, said: "His activity and his vigilance cannot be surpassed; and your majesty scarcely has an officer more capable of serving you well." On the 28th of August, General Rebender left his encampment at Exilles, with 3,000 foot and 200 horse, and made an incursion into the Val Després to levy a contribution upon the inhabitants of that district. Berwick had not overrated the vigilance of the Irish general. The watchful Dillon, learning Rebender's design, hastened to La Vachette,—a market-town near Briançon. Here he was assaulted by Rebender's superior force; but the undaunted Irishman sallied out of the town, and vigorously charged the invader, who retreated precipitately, leaving behind about 800 killed and 400 prisoners. Shortly after Rebender's repulse, the Governor of Exilles, with 3,000 men, came down the mountains,

and appeared before Briançon, and then retired in order to tempt the French to follow; but Dillon was proof against his allurements. The inimical visit was repeated, with the like result. Anticipating the governor's third appearance, General Dillon caused an ambush to be prepared for him in the mountains. As his sagacity had foreshown, the governor did return, and fell into the trap prepared for him; his temerity being punished by a total rout and a loss of 300 killed and 70 prisoners. For some few years General Dillon continued to command at Briançon, and was highly commended for the state of defence in which he had placed the environs of the town, for the good order he maintained in that part of the country, and for the checks he imposed upon the raids of the enemy by the salutary lessons he administered.

The Duke of Berwick, in 1713, was ordered to the relief of the important town of Gerona, in Catalonia, besieged by the imperial general, Count Stahremberg. He promptly obeyed; and, accompanied by Lieutenant-General Dillon, marched in the depth of a rigorous winter to Gerona, appearing before it in the month of January. It had been completely invested by Count Stahremberg, who expected its speedy surrender; but the appearance of the French caused him to abandon the siege, and beat a hasty retreat. General Dillon was sent in pursuit, and took a number of prisoners, besides killing and capturing a detachment posted in a defile to protect Stahremberg's retreat on Ostalric.

Dissenting from the treaty of peace concluded with France at Utrecht in April, 1713, by England and the other powers, the Emperor Charles VI. (who, on the death of his brother, Joseph I., had ascended the throne of Germany two years before, but was not disposed to relinquish his claim to that of Spain) resolved to prosecute the war alone. To oppose the imperial forces collected along the Rhine by Prince Eugene of Savoy, Louis sent Marshal de Villars at the head of a powerful army, with whom were the Irish battalions of Galmoy, O'Donnell, and Dorrington, and Berwick's and

Nugent's horse. Besides General Dillon, the following Irish officers attracted especial notice during this campaign: Lieutenant-General Andrew Lee, Major-General Michael Roth, Brigadier Murrough O'Brien, and Brigadier Christopher Nugent. The principal achievements of General Dillon were the reduction of the town of Kaiserslautern on the Rhine, and the capture of the Castle of Verastein. He assisted, also, at the taking of the strongly fortified towns of Landau and Freiberg by Villars. The success of the French arms compelled the Austrian court to negotiate for peace, which was concluded the ensuing year, at Rastadt, on the 6th of March.

The long War of the Spanish Succession being thus terminated, Philip V. was acknowledged King of Spain by all the world save a portion of his own dominions. The inhabitants of the province of Catalonia refused to submit to his sovereignty unless he would guarantee the security of their statutes, which conferred on them more privileges and immunities than were enjoyed by other Spanish provinces. In the event of Philip's confirming their peculiar laws, they proffered allegiance, and likewise offered him a large sum of money; but the king required them to surrender at discretion, committing himself only to a promise of full pardon for the part they took against him during the late war, and for all past offences. Resolved, in consequence, to oppose Philip to the last, the Catalans made every preparation to resist invasion. Barcelona, the capital of the province, was garrisoned with 16,000 troops, and its defences greatly strengthened, more than 200 pieces of artillery being placed in position. It is situated on the Mediterranean coast, between the mouths of the Llobregat and the Besos, and is said to have been founded by Hannibal's father, Hamilcar Barca, from whom its ancient name of Barcino was derived. It was united to the kingdom of Aragon, in 1131, by the accession of Raymond V., Count of Barcelona, to the Aragonese throne.

That Philip V. might be resisted to the utmost, all

citizens, lay and clerical, above the age of fourteen years, were called upon to bear arms; all property, whether ecclesiastical or otherwise, was declared available for the purpose of defraying expenses; and every thing requisite put in train for a lengthened defence, the brave Barcelonese evincing their unconquerable spirit by displaying the defiant ensign of a death's head on the city walls.

Philip's resources having become exhausted by the late war, he applied to his grandfather for assistance to punish the obdurate Catalans. Louis sent him the Duke of Berwick. With an army of 40,000 French and Spaniards, and 120 pieces of artillery, the duke opened the trenches before Barcelona on the 12th of July, 1714. The principal Irish officers who accompanied him were Lieutenant-General Arthur Dillon, Major-General Walter Bourke, and James Francis Edward Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan. The Irish Brigade was represented by battalions of the Regiments of Dillon, Lee, Berwick, and Bourke.

On the 30th of July, after a cannonade of several days, a breach was effected in the walls of the town; and General Dillon, by order of the duke, with eight companies of grenadiers, made a dash, late in the evening, up the glacis between the Bastions of Porta Nova and Santa Clara. This assault was successful, Dillon's troops effecting a lodgment in the covered way, from which a large force of the besieged, who sallied out in the night, vainly tried to drive them.

Day after day was poured upon the devoted town a furious tempest of shot and shell, to which the garrison replied with interest and with an undiminished spirit. The walls having been breached at seven different points, the Duke of Berwick ordered a general assault at daybreak on the 11th of September. General Dillon was intrusted with the attack on the right and centre. Against an opening made in an angle of the Bastion of Santa Clara, Dillon despatched General de Guerchois, while he reserved the assault of the centre breach for himself. By the promptness of his attack,

Dillon gained possession of an intrenchment behind the Monastery of St. Augustine, as well as a portion of that edifice, and slew all who opposed him. The other attacks, directed by Berwick, succeeded in like manner; but the besieged renewed the combat with desperation, and succeeded in recovering, among other places, the Monastery of St. Augustine, from whence they kept up a tremendous fire on Dillon's men.

Inch by inch the Barcelonese contested the ground with their assailants. Here, there, and everywhere deadly struggles at close quarters were going on with bayonet and sabre, or wholesale slaughter was being committed by fusilades of musketry, while the words of command and shouts of animation urged the combatants on either side to maintain the strife. In the streets, the houses, behind barricades, the fight raged with unexampled fury. So terribly persistent was the conflict, that one post (the Bastion of San Pedro) is said to have been taken and retaken eleven times!

At about three o'clock in the afternoon, every post was in possession of the French, and the Barcelonese were driven into the new portion of the town. Hostilities continued through the night; but the heroic defenders of Barcelona, compelled by the scarcity of provisions and the threat of Berwick to fire the town, surrendered the next day.* The loss of the besieged in

* Queen Anne of England had promised to use her utmost endeavors to cause the ancient privileges of the Catalans to be maintained; yet, at the solicitation of the French, she sent Admiral Sir James Wishart to assist, if necessary, in coercing the Catalans into submission. Wishart's instructions were afterwards somewhat modified; but the Barcelonese having seized, among others, some English ships in the harbor, he sent them a letter threatening them with punishment for presuming to interfere with the commerce of the queen's subjects. The Catalans, in excuse, pleaded urgent necessity and the payment of the cargoes; promised further satisfaction; appealed to English sense of justice in respect to the hopes held out to them by the queen; requested a show of gratitude for their endeavors to serve the English for seven years "by every thing it was possible for them to do, by contributing troops and considerable sums of money without interest;" and most earnestly

killed and wounded was 6,000, including 540 ecclesiastics. Women and priests, it is alleged, were among the foremost in the fight. The Duke of Berwick lost 10,000 men. In his report of the proceedings against Barcelona, the duke describes the conduct of General Dillon as "every thing to be expected from an officer of courage and capacity."

The conquest of Barcelona was the last action in which Lieutenant-General Arthur Dillon took any part. During nineteen or twenty years of campaigning, he never received a wound, though ever conspicuous in the most exposed and dangerous situations. In person he was handsome, and his manners were engaging, setting the most diffident at ease. For ability as a general he was eminently distinguished; and, in probity of character, he ranked among the most illustrious men of the day. All classes esteemed him. Idolized by his soldiers, they followed him with alacrity to the portals of death; and his example incited them to achievements of lasting renown.

He resigned the colonel-proprietorship of his regiment to his eldest son Charles in 1730, and, quitting the army in his old age, sought repose from the turmoil of the camp in the society of his wife and family. His decease occurred at the Palace of St. Germain-en-Laye, February 5, 1733, in his sixty-third year. His wife survived him for twenty-four years, dying at Paris in 1757, aged seventy-seven.

Besides daughters, General Dillon left behind him five sons. The eldest, Charles (born in France, 1701), went over to Ireland some few years after his father's

entreated the admiral's "mediation for a suspension of arms." So far from paying heed to this entreaty, the English admiral despatched three of his vessels to convoy Spanish merchantmen from the West Indies, that the Spanish fleet engaged in the blockade of Barcelona might not be diminished. "Thus shamefully betrayed," says Lord Mahon, "the Catalans, as a public appeal to Heaven, deposited on the high altar of the cathedral a copy of the queen's solemn promise to protect them."

death, having succeeded to the family title and estates as the tenth Viscount of Costello-Gallen. Dying without issue in 1741, his brother Henry, who was then colonel of the family regiment, inherited the title. After the battle of Dettingen, Henry quitted France by the advice of the French king, and went over to England, in order to preserve his estates from confiscation. In that country, Lord Henry Dillon contracted a marriage with Lady Charlotte Lee, eldest daughter of the Earl of Lichfield, and had three sons—Charles, Arthur, and Henry—and some daughters. The command of the regiment was resigned by Lord Henry to his brother James, who met a glorious death at the head of his regiment on the immortal field of Fontenoy. He was succeeded in command by his younger brother Edward, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Laffeldt, and died in captivity.

Arthur Richard, the fifth and youngest son of General Arthur Dillon, sought other pursuits than that of arms, and attained great eminence in the Gallican Church by his unaffected piety and great learning. He was appointed to the See of Toulouse, then became Archbishop of Narbonne, Commander of the Order of the Holy Ghost, Primate of the Gauls, President of the States of Languedoc, twice a Member of the Assembly of Notables, and twice President of the Clergy of France. "To this prelate," says an Irish Protestant clergyman of the last century,* "the *literati* of this country confess much obligation. He has manifested a liberality of principle, almost hitherto unknown; and, through his inquiries and exertions, the antiquities of Ireland have lately been much elucidated."

Thus happily did the sons of so distinguished a father maintain their honor unblemished, and contribute to the pride all men must feel in the renown of their countrymen.

* Rev. Mervyn Archdall, quoted by O'Callaghan.

Count Arthur Dillon, the Younger.

THE sword and mantle of Lieutenant-General Arthur Dillon descended to no unworthy heir. Those of his sons who had successively inherited them wore them with honor; but to his grandson and namesake, to whom they were ultimately allotted, was reserved the proud distinction of rivalling his fame, sad and unmerited as was that grandson's end, which reflects but disgrace on the country whose cause he espoused.

ARTHUR DILLON was born, September, 1750, at Braywick, in Berkshire, England, and was the second son of Henry, eleventh Viscount of Costello-Gallen,—second son of General Arthur Dillon. In the education of his sons, Viscount Dillon did not neglect to instruct them in the use of arms, that they might know how to acquit themselves as soldiers when required to act as such.

Upon the death of his brother Edward, in 1747, the viscount resumed the colonel-proprietorship of the family regiment, by permission of Louis XV., though residing in England. That monarch, urged to bestow the regiment upon another, replied: "Lord Henry Dillon is married; and I cannot consent that a proprietorship, cemented by so many good services and so much blood, should go out of the family as long as I may entertain a hope of witnessing its renewal."

When young Arthur attained his seventeenth year, his father conferred upon him the colonel-proprietary of the corps; and the appointment was confirmed, August 25, 1767, by the King of France. No opportunity offering for a long while after his arrival in

France to earn distinction on the field of battle, the young colonel devoted his leisure to study, and wielded the pen while the sword rested in its scabbard.* He found time, also, to fall in love with and marry Mademoiselle Lucie de Roth, daughter of Lieutenant-General Roth, colonel of a regiment in the Irish Brigade. By his marriage with this lady, he had a son and daughter. The son died in infancy.

The surrender of the English army under General Burgoyne to General Gates of the American army, at Saratoga, October, 1777, facilitated the recognition, by France, of the independence of the United States of America; and a treaty was entered into between the two nations at Paris, February, 1778, which necessarily involved France in a war with England.

Though English by the accident of birth, Dillon did not forget that England was the natural enemy of his kindred and his race, and that her despot heel was planted with a deadly purpose on the prostrate form of Ireland. When hostilities were declared between England and his adopted country, he hailed with exultation the speedy prospect that offered to meet the English enemy on the field.

In 1779, Colonel Dillon received orders to join an expedition designed to act against the English in the West Indies. Accordingly, with his regiment, he embarked at Brest, April 5, on board the squadron of M. de la Motte-Piquet. Arriving at Martinique in the Little Antilles, or Windward Islands, the squadron joined that of the Comte d'Estaing, who had been meditating the conquest of the isle of Grenada. With this accession to his resources, D'Estaing set sail for Grenada, which he reached on the 2nd of July, and immediately landed Colonel Dillon with 2,300 men, mostly Irish.

The island of Grenada was governed for England by a distinguished Irish nobleman, the celebrated Lord

* Later in life, he published some able political and historic pamphlets.

Macartney, well known from his subsequent embassy to China. His force consisting of but 700 men, he withdrew, on the approach of the French, to the Morne de l'Hôpital,—a steep eminence, strengthened by palisades and intrenchments rising one above the other,—which commanded the town of St. George, its fort, and harbor.

On the following day, D'Estaing summoned the garrison to surrender; but Macartney gave for answer that he would defend the place to the utmost, as he was ignorant of the French strength, but knew his own. It was necessary for D'Estaing to act with despatch, as Admiral Byron, who was cruising in those seas, might arrive at any moment and frustrate his plans; and, not wishing to waste time in bringing his artillery ashore, he resolved to carry the place by a *coup-de-main*. Colonel Dillon was directed to reconnoitre the approaches to the enemy's position. The troops were brought up in the night, and disposed in three columns for the attack. Vicomte de Noailles, assisted by Lieutenant-Colonel O'Dunn and Major MacDonnell, led the right; Count Edward Dillon, with whom was Major O'Moran, commanded the centre; and the left was in charge of Colonel Arthur Dillon. At two o'clock, on the morning of the 4th, the three columns advanced to scale the height, while a false attack was made by a party under the Comte de Pondévaux. The palisades were burst through, despite a heavy fire from the enemy, by Comte Duras and his advance-guard, followed by D'Estaing himself. The attacking force—about two-thirds of whom were Irish belonging to Dillon's Regiment—fought their way up the height in the darkness, guided only by the flashes of artillery and musketry fire from the English intrenchments. Colonel Arthur Dillon was wounded at the head of his column, but persisted in leading his men, animating them with his own spirit. In an hour, the Morne was mastered, the English having abandoned it and retired to the fort, leaving eleven cannon and six mortars behind; and soon after, firing from those

abandoned guns having been opened on the fort from the top of the Morne, Lord Macartney was compelled to surrender at discretion.

The booty acquired by this success was considerable, consisting of a quantity of plate and other valuables, 20 well laden merchant-vessels, and 10 privateers, besides 3 standards, 102 cannon, and 16 mortars. The prisoners amounted to 700. On the side of the French, the casualties were 35 killed and 71 wounded.

By the ordinary rules of war, the capital was subject to pillage; but Colonel Dillon, with the generosity of his race, protected the inhabitants in their persons and property. Even their enemies praised the Irish for their moderation and humanity when the town and people were at their mercy.

Two days after the surrender of Grenada, Admiral Byron, with one frigate, eighteen sail of the line, and a number of transports with troops on board, appeared off the island to succor Lord Macartney. D'Estaing, with twenty-five sail of the line, gave battle. Though the French suffered the greater loss of men, the English admiral received such a dressing that he bore off to St. Christopher, with his fleet in a shattered condition, leaving a transport to the care of D'Estaing. A portion of Dillon's Regiment was in this engagement, and Colonel Edward Dillon was among the wounded. The discomfiture of Byron spread consternation through the British West Indies, whose inhabitants began to doubt the true Briton's article of faith that Englishmen, if now and then subject to correction on land, were irresistible on the sea. Having appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Humphrey O'Dunn Governor of Grenada, D'Estaing sailed for St. Christopher, where Byron lay safely moored in the Harbor of Basse-Terre. The Frenchman attempted by his manœuvres to draw the Englishman out; but the latter declined to be persuaded, and D'Estaing shaped his course for San Domingo (or Hayti).

Accompanied by Colonel Arthur Dillon, the French admiral next steered for the coast of Georgia, inter-

cepting two men-of-war and eight other vessels on his way. Being joined by 3,000 Americans under General Lincoln, he proceeded to invest Savannah, the capital of Georgia, garrisoned by 3,000 English. Before the completion of the Gallo-American arrangements for attack, D'Estaing was apprised that it would be dangerous to prolong his stay, as violent storms usually prevailed off the coast about that time. It was consequently determined to make a combined assault on the town without delay, though the chance of success appeared extremely doubtful. The attempt was accordingly made before daybreak on the 9th of October. Led by D'Estaing and Lincoln, the French and Americans moved resolutely up to the English lines under a tremendous direct and cross fire. So thick, however, was the shower of lead which greeted the assailants, that their columns were thrown into confusion. Colonel Brown (an Irish officer), rallying his men, renewed the charge, and twice succeeded in planting the French colors on the walls of Savannah; but he was as often repulsed, and, in the third attempt, was killed.

Concerning the part Dillon took in this engagement, an English account states: "It was intended that Count Dillon should secretly pass the edge of the swamps, the redoubts, and batteries, and attack the rear of the British lines. The troops were in motion before daylight; but, a heavy fog arising with the morning, they lost their way in the swamp, and were finally exposed to the view of the garrison and the fire of the batteries, which was so hot and tremendous that they in vain attempted to form, and their whole design was defeated."

The loss of the French and Americans was considerable. D'Estaing was among the wounded, and had his horse shot under him.*

* In connection with the battle of Savannah, the Comte de Segur narrates the following incident as illustrative of the utter disregard of danger manifested by a distinguished

D'Estaing having returned to France, Dillon and his countrymen served with the Comte de Guichen, who fought three engagements with the English admiral, Sir George Rodney, during the year 1780. In March, that year, Colonel Dillon was created brigadier; and, the following month, he transferred the colonel-proprietorship of his regiment to Count Theobald Dillon.

In June, 1781, the Marquis de Bouillé, Governor-General of Martinique, took the island of Tobago from the English. He was ably assisted in this enterprise by the Regiments of Dillon and Walsh.

Taking advantage of the absence of the English fleet, Bouillé resolved to make a descent upon St. Eustache, which had been wrested from the Dutch,

Irish officer, named Lynch: "I will relate an anecdote of my friend Linch, that will give an idea of his singular bravery and of the originality of his disposition. Linch, after being engaged in the campaigns of India, served—before he was employed in the army of Rochambeau—under the orders of the Comte d'Estaing, and distinguished himself particularly at the too memorable siege of Savannah. M. d'Estaing, at the most critical moment of that sanguinary affair, being at the head of the right column, directed Linch to carry an urgent order to the third column, which was on the left. These columns were then within grapeshot of the enemy's intrenchments, and on both sides a tremendous firing was kept up. Linch, instead of passing through the centre or in the rear of the columns, proceeded coolly through the shower of balls and grapeshot which the French and English were discharging at each other. It was in vain that M. d'Estaing and those who surrounded him cried to Linch to take another direction. He went on, executed his order, and returned by the same way; that is to say, under a vault of flying shot, and where every one expected to witness his instant destruction. 'Zounds!' said the general, on seeing him return unhurt, 'the Devil must be in you, surely! Why did you choose such a road as that, in which you might have expected to perish a thousand times over?' 'Because it was the shortest,' answered Linch. Having uttered these few words, he went with equal coolness and joined the group that was most ardently engaged in storming the place. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and commanded our infantry in the first engagement we had with the Prussians on the heights of Valmy," 1792.

early in 1781, by the English under Admiral Rodney, who, with shameless rapacity, plundered the inhabitants and reaped an enormous harvest. Lieutenant-General Cockburne held the island for England with over 700 men and 68 pieces of artillery.

From a French settler of the island, who had taken refuge at Martinique, Bouillé learned that a landing, though apparently impracticable, might be effected in St. Eustache at Jenkins Bay, which had been considered so difficult of access by boats, and the shore of which was so precipitous, that no addition had been made to its natural defence. Bouillé accordingly made sail for the unguarded bay, taking with him Dillon and 1,500 men, the half of whom were Irish. Arrived there on the 25th of November, he prepared to land at night, while the wind was blowing roughly, through a troubled sea. Dillon, with 30 chasseurs, was the first to pass through the surging waves and reach the land. The ascent proved so arduous, that ropes and ladders had to be used; and, by mutual assistance, the men were enabled to scale the cliffs. The marquis followed, and succeeded in landing; but his boat was lost. As the night wore on, the wind increased in violence, and the disembarkation necessarily proceeded very slowly. Towards daybreak, the fleet was obliged to draw off, while the boats employed in conveying the troops to land were dashed up against the rocks and rendered useless. In this daring venture, ten men were drowned.

Cut off from all retreat, the Marquis de Bouillé found himself on a hostile shore, with only 400 men and no artillery. He was distant from the English garrison about six miles; and the intervening hills were crossed by a defile, where a small party of men could keep a host of invaders at bay. The situation was desperate, and could only be retrieved by prompt measures. No one of the party, however, showed signs of depression; but, on the contrary, all were in excellent spirits, and eager for an encounter. It was resolved, accordingly, to push on towards the town of

St. Eustache with the utmost expedition and secrecy. To Brigadier Dillon was intrusted the duty of taking the barracks and seizing General Cockburne; and Major de Fresne, supported by the Vicomte de Damas, was to storm the fort.

Dillon conducted his march without opposition; the few inhabitants whom he met mistaking his men, from their red uniforms, for English soldiers. Not the slightest suspicion was entertained of the hostile descent on the island. The barracks was reached at six o'clock. Some of the garrison were on parade; but, deceived by the color of the uniforms, they took no precautions to prevent the approach of the Irish. A volley and a bayonet charge gave the English the first intimation that strangers were on the island with no friendly intention; but it was too late to offer resistance. The governor, General Cockburne, who was out for an early ride, was made prisoner on his return by Captain O'Connor,* of the Regiment of Walsh.

The Chevalier de Fresne was equally successful in his design on the fort. On his appearance before the gate, the alarm was given, and an attempt made to raise the drawbridge; but, by a well timed discharge of musketry, the major secured an entrance, and the soldiers of the garrison laid down their arms.

The prisoners taken amounted to 677. Of those prisoners, 350 were Irish in the service of England, who most gladly availed themselves of the opportunity to enlist under the banner of France. The booty taken was valued at 2,000,000 livres. In the division of the spoil, the share of the private soldier was 100 crowns. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Fitzmaurice was appointed to the governorship of the island.

Bouillé next took the isles of Saba and St. Martin. In his despatches, the marquis states that Dillon gave

* This officer, afterwards major, was taken by the republicans, in the beginning of the French Revolution, from a merchant-vessel on which he was about to proceed to the West Indies, and inhumanly put to death with shocking barbarity.

“new proofs of his extreme zeal and activity,” and speaks highly of the efficiency and discipline of the troops.

Early in 1782, Dillon and his regiment aided in the conquest of St. Christopher by Bouillé. From the great strength of its fortress, it was styled “the Gibraltar of the Antilles.” For the reduction of this stronghold, the French employed 173 pieces of artillery. The siege lasted an entire month. On the surrender of the garrison, Count Dillon was appointed governor of the island, and displayed such ability in his administration as to compel the admiration of the English government, who, when the island was restored to it by treaty at the close of the war, approved and confirmed all his regulations.

Peace was declared in 1783, and England acknowledged the independence of her revolted colonies as a distinct nation under the style and title of the United States of America. The island of St. Christopher was restored by the French to England, and Dillon was enabled to return to France to look after his private affairs. He was promoted to the rank of major-general by the king. Going over to England, he was presented at the court of George III., where the lord chancellor paid him a marked compliment on his able government of St. Christopher. “Count Dillon,” he said, “we knew you to be a brave and able soldier; but we were not aware that you were so good a lawyer. We have investigated and confirmed all your judgments and all your decrees delivered during your government.”

The wife of Count Dillon died in 1782. He married again within two years. His second wife was the widow of the Comte de la Touche, and first-cousin of Josephine Beauharnais, consort of Napoleon Bonaparte. The countess long survived her husband, dying at Paris in 1816. Count Dillon’s daughter, by his first marriage, was espoused to the Comte de la Tour du Piu Gouvernet; and his daughter by his second wife, to General Bertrand, companion of Napoleon’s exile at St. Helena.

About this period, Dillon was appointed by the king to the government of the island of Tobago, where he remained for three years. So much satisfaction did his administration give the colonists, that—when those mighty changes were taking place in the internal polity of France which resulted in the violent subversion of the long-established order of things—they chose him deputy to the States General at Paris, where he steadily maintained their interests.

In the revolution that ensued in France, some of the Irish (including Dillon's younger brother Henry) adhered to the king; while others, with whom Arthur Dillon coincided, preferred the cause of the country to that of the king. On the invasion of France by the Prussians and Austrians, General Dillon shared with Dumouriez the glory of expelling them from the plains of Champagne and the forest of Argone. He retook Verdun from the enemy, and entered it in triumph on the 14th of October, 1792.

A grand banquet was given at White's Hotel, in Paris, on the 18th of November, in celebration of the victories of the French over the invading hosts. Among the most distinguished celebrants were Lord Edward Fitzgerald and General Arthur Dillon. The speeches glowed with patriotism and ardent devotion to the republican cause, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and an English baronet formally renounced their titles, and declared themselves plain citizens, amid a hurricane of applause. In an eloquent speech, General Dillon expressed the pride he felt in being one of those who contributed to expel the invaders from the soil of France; and, mindful of the state of rule under which Ireland suffered, avowed his willingness to perform similar service for his own country.

Ground down by the monstrous tyranny of the aristocracy till life was unbearable, the people of France, in their despair, took courage, and rose up against their oppressors, and were rewarded by an unlooked-for success. Intoxicated by their sudden elevation to the

dizzy heights of power, they gave vent to their long-rankling hatred, and wreaked a terrible vengeance on their haughty masters for the wrongs of centuries. A demoniac thirst for blood seized the maddened people, and, incited by ferocious and unscrupulous leaders, they spared neither age nor sex at their blood-revels, and gloated over their victims with the malignity of fiends. Every one suspected of the least aristocratic tendency was hurried to destruction. The plea of innocence was of no avail; and the most devoted adherents of the republic suffered alike with its enemies. So it fell out that the gallant, brave-hearted General Dillon became a prey to the demon that stalked abroad in those days of terror.

The excesses of the revolution caused General Dillon to modify his opinions as to the form of government best suited to France; for he saw that the statue erected to the Goddess of Liberty by the French people was but a hideous caricature, and he appears to have become an advocate of a restricted monarchy, such as obtained in France under the subsequent rule of her "citizen king." In 1793, the general was arrested by order of the Committee of Public Safety, and conveyed to Paris. He was arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal, in 1794, on the charge of endeavoring to effect the escape of Danton and his *confrères* then in prison, and of conspiring to restore the monarchy in the person of the young dauphin. His lifelong services and those of his family in the cause of France received no consideration from his accusers or judges. He was condemned to the guillotine, and was executed on the 14th of April, 1794, in the *Place de la Révolution*, when but forty-four years of age.

Even in the face of such a death, he preserved the utmost equanimity, and lost none of that politeness and polish of manner for which he was eminently distinguished. One of the female victims who accompanied him to the place of execution was ordered to ascend the ladder; but she, shrinking from her approaching fate, turned to the general, and pleaded,

“O M. Dillon! will you go first?” To which request, he smilingly replied, “Any thing to oblige a lady,” and took her place. His last words, uttered in a loud and firm voice, were “*Vive le roi!*” Thus he repudiated the spurious republicanism of the blood-besotted demagogues who, in the names of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, turned France into a butcher’s shambles, and flooded her pleasant streams and fertile valleys with gore.

Comte THEOBALD DE DILLON (of the house of Costello-Gallen)—to whom General Arthur Dillon had transferred the colonelcy of the family regiment in 1780—also fell a victim to the unreasoning fury of the times. Serving as general of division under Dumouriez in Flanders, in 1792, he was directed to advance from Lille upon the Austrians at Tournay, but received positive orders to avoid a collision. On the 27th of April, a large body of Austrians made preparations to attack him; but, in accordance with his instructions, he ordered a retreat. Strongly suspecting that all officers who had been members of the aristocracy were in league with the enemy to restore the monarchy, the French soldiers, on learning the order for retreat, believed they were betrayed. On fire being opened by the Austrians, the cavalry—posted to cover the retreat—broke through the infantry, though uninjured, and galloped towards Lille, calling upon every one to shift for himself, as they had been betrayed. The rout became general, and Dillon in vain tried to stem the headlong rush, and rally his men. They reproached him as a traitor, and rained upon him execration and insult. Wounded by the fire of an enraged soldier, he was obliged to get into a cabriolet. Entering Lille in exasperated disorder, the soldiery wreaked their vengeance on an officer of engineers, whom they hung up by the feet, discharging their pieces into his body, and mutilating it with their swords. Four Austrian prisoners were also put to death with barbarity. The end of the unhappy Count Dillon is thus described by

an eyewitness: "About four o'clock, I went towards Fiffe Gate. In the entrance of the street, the agitation was great, and the howling most terrible. At last I heard the cry of 'He's coming! he's coming! To the lantern!' I asked, with a trembling voice, 'Who?' 'Dillon,' they answered, 'the traitor, the aristocrat! We are going to tear him to pieces, he and all that belong to him! Rochambeau must also perish, and all the nobility in the army! Dillon is coming in a cabriolet. His thigh is already broken; let us go and finish him!' The cabriolet soon appeared. The general was in it, without a hat, with a calm and firm look. He was escorted by four horse guards. He had hardly passed through the gate, when more than a hundred bayonets were thrust into the cabriolet amidst the most horrible shouts. The horse guards made use of their sabres, it is true; but I don't know whether it was to defend themselves or to protect the general. The man who drove the cabriolet disappeared. The horse plunged, and no bayonets had yet been fatal, when a shot was fired into the carriage, and I think this killed M. Dillon; for I never saw him move afterwards. He was taken from the carriage and thrown into the street. When they trampled upon his body, and ran a thousand bayonets through it, I neither heard from him complaints or groans. Between seven and eight o'clock, I went to the market-place, where a great fire was lighted, in which his body was thrown. The soldiers danced round the burning body of their general. This barbarous scene was intermixed with the most savage howlings. Parties of Swiss were passing and repassing in good order during this atrocious scene, with the greatest indignation painted in their countenances." Upon being informed of this diabolical outrage, the National Assembly denounced the perpetrators for punishment, and settled pensions on the family of the unfortunate count. He was the last colonel-proprietor of the Regiment of Dillon, which had been commanded by officers of that name from its landing in France, 1690, till its breaking up in 1791.



G. Hodmore del.

LALLY.

Count Arthur Lally,

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FRENCH FORCES IN INDIA.



ONE of the most inveterate enemies of England was the brilliant and accomplished soldier, Count LALLY, whose unmerited end, through the supineness of Louis XV., will for ever reflect a blot upon the escutcheon of France. The family of which the count was so distinguished a member furnished France with several brave soldiers, whose blood was shed in her cause. His grandfather—Thomas Lally,* of Tolendal, near Tuam, in the county of Galway—had (by his marriage with Jane, sister of Lord Theobald Dillon, seventh Viscount of Costello-Gallen) five sons; namely, James, Gerard, William, Mark, and Michael. All these brothers passed over to France. Colonel James Lally, who was a member for the borough of Tuam in the Irish Parliament of 1689, commanded a battalion in the regiment of his cousin, Arthur Dillon; and fell, fighting valiantly at its head, before Montmelian, in Piedmont. Gerard was knighted for services rendered to the Stuart cause, and also became colonel in Dillon's Regiment. William, who held the rank of captain under him, was killed at Barcelona in 1697. Mark and Michael were also officers of the same corps. The latter had a son Michael, who died a brigadier-general in 1773.

A few years after Sir Gerard Lally arrived in France, he married Marie Anne de Bressac, a lovely young French lady. The first fruit of their union was THOMAS ARTHUR LALLY, the subject of this sketch.

* Properly O'Maoilalaidh, or O'Mullally. Tolendal is a corruption of Tulach-na-dala.

He was born at Romans, in Dauphiné, January, 1702. Sir Gerard, having determined to rear his son to the profession of arms, had him, immediately after birth, enrolled as a private in the Regiment of Dillon.

On the 1st of January, 1709, young Lally received a captain's commission. Some few months later, though not eight years old, he was taken by his father to witness the fight before Gerona, that he might learn to regard the horrors of war with indifference, and imbibe a taste for its glory. Again, at the age of twelve, he was caused by his father to mount the trenches before Barcelona in 1714. Thus Arthur Lally was very early inducted into the mysteries of campaigning, and inspired with military ardor. Nevertheless his education in other branches was not neglected. He was placed in a college, and, while there, pursued his studies with diligence, and acquired a knowledge of several languages. His quickness of discernment and good memory, combined with great physical strength and activity, made him eminently qualified for the career marked out for him. Availing himself of the facility to improve his mind and person, he became one of the handsomest and most accomplished chevaliers of Paris.

Having become thoroughly familiar with the duties of the soldier, he was appointed full captain of a company in Dillon's Regiment in 1728. As aide-major to that regiment, he served with distinction at the reduction of the strong fortress of Kehl, by the Duke of Berwick, in 1733. The following year he was present, with his father, at the attack on the lines at Etlingen, when the duke dislodged the German garrison with little loss. In this action, Gerard Lally (now brigadier-general) was severely wounded, and was on the point of being captured, when his gallant son, by his valiant and devoted conduct, succeeded in rescuing him from the enemy. Continuing with his regiment till the close of the war in 1735, young Lally acquitted himself with honor wherever employed.

The teachings of his father had instilled into Arthur

Lally an ardent love for Ireland and a deep hatred for England. His companions in arms, also, by their graphic recitals of stories that too truly depicted the misery of the Irish people, aroused his sympathies; and their account of the perfidy of England and of her cruel laws still further inflamed his animosity against that nation. Believing that the rule of the Stuarts would effect a change for the better in the condition of the land of his fathers, he set about devising plans for their restoration. On the decease of his father, in 1737, he crossed the English Channel, and travelled through England, Scotland, and Ireland, taking observations of all the important posts on the coast and in the interior. He infused new life into the adherents of the son of James II., and established regular communication between them.

After his return to France, Lally proposed to proceed to Russia to concert measures with Field-Marshal Lacy and others by which that power might be induced to aid the Stuart cause; and he learned with extreme gratification that he was selected by Cardinal de Fleury, the venerable minister of Louis XV., to execute a delicate and important mission at the court of St. Petersburg. Possessed of a clear head and solid judgment, Lally was well qualified for the task assigned him. This mission required a master in diplomacy, and had to be conducted with secrecy and *finesse*, and was, indeed, in accordance with Lally's own design. Its object was the rupture of the alliance between Russia and England, and the establishment of friendly relations between France and the former power. By his skill and address, Lally fully succeeded in effecting the desired end; but it was rendered nugatory by the indecision of the French minister, who failed to complete the arrangements so auspiciously commenced, and thus disgusted the Russian court by his halting policy. While sojourning in Russia, Lally prepared some masterly papers on the internal statistics of that country, and its foreign relations. On his return, he was most honorably received by the king.

During the hollow peace that existed, Lally actively exerted himself in the cause of the "Pretender" to the English crown, and took a prominent part in all the projected invasions of England in favor of the Stuarts. The accession of Maria Theresa, in 1740, to the throne of Austria, after the death of her father, Charles VI., gave rise to another European war, in which France and England became involved, and as usual took opposite sides. Before hostilities were officially declared between these two powers, a battle was fought between their respective armies at Dettingen, in Flanders, in 1743; the English fighting on behalf of Maria Theresa, and the French for the Elector of Bavaria as Charles VII.

At this disastrous battle, the French army was saved from total annihilation by the good judgment of Lally. He acted as aide-de-camp to the French commander, Marshal de Noailles. In his despatches, the marshal bears high testimony to the important service rendered by Lally, who had "rallied the army several times in its disorder, and saved it in its retreat through the advice which he laid before the council of war after the action."

A new regiment of Irishmen was raised, and incorporated with the Irish Brigade. It was completed by 1745, and Lally was appointed to the command. In noticing the promotion of Lally to the command of this new regiment, an English writer says: "He seemed perfectly fitted for military affairs; his courage was unquestioned, his constitution vigorous, and his person very fine; but, to these qualifications, he added a still more useful talent,—he was a person of excellent understanding."

With this regiment he distinguished himself at the famous victory of Fontenoy, May 11, 1745. By his advice, Marshal Saxe, who had deemed his defences complete, further strengthened his lines on the side opposed to the Dutch with three batteries, and had reason afterwards to congratulate himself on their construction. When the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of his English and Hanoverian column, had

penetrated the French lines, overthrowing all that came before him, and filling Louis XV. and his generals with dismay, Colonel Lally saved the French army by suggesting to the Duc de Richelieu to bring some reserve pieces of cannon to bear against the enemy's column, and to make a fresh attack on it with horse and foot, including the Irish Brigade. His advice was adopted. The English column was broken by the charge of the Irish Brigade, with Count Thomond at its head; and victory was secured to the French. Lally gave orders to his men not to fire till they were upon the English. He was the first to enter the English ranks sword in hand, and was wounded. After the battle, the king visited the different corps to commend them for their conduct. As the royal party approached Lally's Regiment, the dauphin ran forward to Lally,—who was sitting on a drum, surrounded by several English officers whom he had disabled and made prisoners,—and announced the favors that the king was about to bestow on his regiment. In reply, Lally said his majesty's favors "are like those of the gospel: they descend upon the blind and the lame;" pointing to Lieutenant-Colonel O'Hegarty, wounded in the eye by a bayonet, and Major Glascock, whose knee was pierced with bullets. The king ordered Lally to advance in front, and nominated him brigadier in presence of the whole army.

This year was also memorable for the spirited attempt of Charles Edward Stuart to recover the crown of his grandfather. Through the zealous exertions of Lally, the French court was induced to make preparations for sending the Duc de Richelieu, with 10,000 men, to the assistance of the prince; but as time was frittered away by sending the men across the channel in small detachments,—some of which fell into the hands of the English,—thus rendering the intended expedition useless, the duke threw up his command in disgust, and most of the men were drafted elsewhere. Lally, however, went over to London in disguise to prepare the Jacobites for the descent of Charles

Edward from the north, and to organize a body of volunteers for the cause among the smugglers. His presence having been discovered, a reward was offered for his head. He very narrowly eluded capture, and, by good fortune, escaped to France.

On the return of Charles Edward Stuart to France, Lally was created by him Earl of Moenmoye, Viscount of Ballymote, and Baron of Tollendally; but he declined assuming those honors till such time as the prince had really the power to confer them. Lally rejoined the French army, and signalized himself at the battle of Laffeldt, gained by Marshal Saxe over the Duke of Cumberland and the allies, in 1747.

After his success at Laffeldt, the French marshal determined on the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification in Dutch Brabant. This task he committed to the illustrious Danish soldier, Count Lowendahl, with 36,000 men. Count Lally accompanied Lowendahl as quartermaster-general, and, on his march, was sent to dislodge a Dutch garrison of 1,700 men at Fort Santlivet, which he accomplished without loss. The reduction of Bergen-op-Zoom was an undertaking of extreme difficulty. This great stronghold had been constructed by the famous Coehorn on the right bank of that branch of the Scheldt, known as the Easter Scheldt, running into the sea. Such unbounded confidence was reposed in its great strength and the means adopted for its succor and defence, that it was deemed beyond the power of man to effect its subjugation. It was amply provided with artillery and all the necessary supplies for maintaining a lengthened siege. The garrison consisted of 3,000 men, and could at any time be re-enforced by treble that number from the strongly fortified lines by which the allies communicated with the place.

Lowendahl, after reconnoitring Bergen-op-Zoom, intrusted the plan of the attack to the consummate skill of Lally. An incessant fire of shot and shell played on the impregnable walls for over two months with little effect. But the fire from the besieged

thinned the French troops; and disease rendered vast numbers unfit for service, their places having to be supplied from the main army. During the progress of this arduous siege, Lally was indefatigable in directing the operations, and, on one occasion, was wounded by the explosion of a mine.

Perceiving that the fire of his artillery had effected no practicable breach in the walls, Lowendahl resolved upon making a grand assault. Having arranged his storming parties under cover of darkness, the count caused a tremendous discharge of bombs to be poured upon the town at daybreak on the 16th of September. A splendid dash was then made for the works. Bewildered by the unexpected rush, the besieged failed to prevent the French from scaling the ramparts. Within two hours, Count Lowendahl was master of Bergen-op-Zoom and the adjacent lines. In this brilliant *coup-de-main*, the French lost only 441 killed and wounded. Large numbers of the allies were killed or captured, the fortunate ones saving themselves by precipitate flight. Near 300 pieces of cannon, a number of mortars, a large quantity of small arms, and vast supplies of every kind fell into the hands of the French; besides booty of immense value, consisting of military chests and the plate and strong-boxes of the princes and generals of the allied army.

The effect on the nerves of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, upon receiving the news of the fall of that impregnable fortress, was far from pleasant, as shown by this extract from the letter of an eyewitness: "The astonishment of the Duke of Cumberland, upon receiving the disagreeable news of the surprise of Bergen-op-Zoom, cannot be described. People must have been present, as we were, in order to form a true judgment of the love which this warlike prince expressed for the republic* and the common cause, as well by every thing he said on that occasion, as by the agitation he was under upon reading so fatal a relation.

* The Seven United Provinces.

This may, with truth, be asserted: *that his royal highness was scarce ever so much affected before.* Nay, it is believed that he would not have been more so had he received a courier with the news of the Pretender's landing again in Scotland, and of an invasion in England; and the reason was, because his royal highness knew perfectly well the situation of affairs at Bergen-op-Zoom, every day receiving advices that there was but little or no room to fear an assault, unless the French had a mind to sacrifice ten or twelve thousand men without any prospect of success."

For having performed so brilliant an achievement as the conquest of Bergen-op-Zoom,—which was declared by Robins, the English engineer, to have been impossible if the place had been faithfully defended,—Lowendahl was raised to the rank of marshal by Louis XV.

Count Lally, who was said by an English writer at the time to have been "esteemed one of the best soldiers in all France,—having exhibited the most consummate skill, united with intrepid courage, before Bergen-op-Zoom, and in subsequently securing the passes of the Scheldt, was commissioned by Lowendahl to reduce Forts Fredrick-Henry, Lillo, and La Croix. The first surrendered to Lally on the 2nd of October. He laid siege to Lillo the same day; and, proceeding to reconnoitre La Croix with but few attendants, he was made prisoner by a party of the enemy's horse, but was shortly after exchanged. On the 8th of October, the last of the forts had surrendered, and the Netherlands were in possession of France.

In the campaign of the succeeding year, Lally was one of those employed by Marshal Saxe to concert measures for the investment of Maestricht. He was severely wounded during the siege, and, after the surrender of the place, was nominated major-general. The series of brilliant successes that accrued to the arms of France in the Netherlands, covering Great Britain and her allies with disgrace, compelled the latter powers to entertain proposals for peace, to which Louis XV., though enabled to impose his own conditions as a con-

queror, was forced to accede by reason of the great distress prevailing in France, the strain upon his exchequer, and some reverses at sea. A congress of representatives of the different belligerents met at Aix-la-Chapelle in April, 1748, to arrange the terms of peace; and the treaty was definitely concluded in October following. During the interval of peace that ensued, Count Lally married.

Disputes having arisen between France and England concerning their mutual claims in North America, aggressions were committed on both sides. Upon the seizure of some French vessels by the English off Newfoundland, in 1755, Lally was summoned to Versailles to consult as to what measures should be adopted to obtain satisfaction from England. He suggested three plans, to be undertaken simultaneously,—the invasion of England in favor of Charles Edward Stuart; the overthrow of her power in India; the subjugation of her settlements in America. The majority of the council, however, decided upon seeking satisfaction diplomatically, and so avoid a rupture. But Lally warned them that they would be flouted by England, that a rupture would not be avoided, and that they would miss the opportunity of compassing the downfall of that kingdom. His prescience was proved by events. During the negotiations, the seizure of French vessels continued; and not till some months elapsed was a decisive answer received from the English government. It flatly rejected the French demand for reparation; and the two nations were once again involved in war, which was formally declared in August, 1756.

Apprehensive of the loss of their territories in the East through the incapacity of their officers, the Board of Directors of the French East-India Company applied to the Marquis d'Argenson, the king's minister, for the appointment of Count Lally to the command of the army in India. In the administration of the company's affairs, its servants largely practised abuses, by which they amassed private fortunes, to the detri-

ment of the interests of the company and the country. Mindful of this state of things, the application for Lally's appointment was strenuously opposed by the minister, who pointed out to the company's deputation that Lally's uncompromising character, and "his horror of every proceeding that is not straightforward," would raise him up enemies among the company's servants, who would "cause his operations to fail, in order to be revenged upon him." The company, however, protested that this very disposition, united with his great ability, rendered Lally eminently fitted for the post; and, by great and constant pressure, forced an unwilling assent from D'Argenson, who repeated his warnings, and urged them to impress upon their agents "the necessity of acting correctly."

Accordingly, on the reluctant recommendation of the Marquis d'Argenson, the king created Lally a lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of all the forces in the East, and also made him a Commander of the Order of St. Louis. In December, 1757, the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Louis was conferred on him.

Through various causes, the expedition designed for the East Indies was delayed from time to time, to the infinite disgust of Lally. He at length quitted Brest, in May, 1757, with the squadron of the Comte d'Aché. A sum of 6,000,000 livres, with 3,000 men, was to have been placed at Lally's disposal; but, on the eve of his departure, he found that only a third of both men and money was left to him. Refusing to go with such inadequate means, he was induced to proceed by the solemn assurance that no delay would occur in forwarding the remainder. His small force included a number of Irish officers and men, among whom was his cousin Michael.

Before his departure from France, Count Lally placed his son, Trophime Gérard (born at Paris, 5th March, 1751), at the College of Harcourt, having designed him for the profession of arms.

Pondicherry (or Puducheri)—the capital of the

French possessions in India, built upon a sandy plain on the Coast of Coromandel, about sixty-three miles south of the English town of Madras—was reached in April, 1758; twelve tedious months having been thus consumed on the voyage. As soon as the squadron anchored in the roadstead before the town, Lally prepared to disembark. He was *welcomed* with a salute of five discharges of cannon. By this very honor, the general—even before he set foot on land—received early intimation of the gross negligence and culpability of the authorities. *The cannon were loaded with ball*, and each discharge took effect, piercing through the ship on board of which Lally was, and damaging its rigging. Possibly foul play was intended, the uncompromising character of Lally having preceded him; for the Chevalier des Soupîrs, *maréchal-de-camp* and Count Lally's second in command, had reached Pondicherry eight months before, bringing news of the count's appointment.

Not twelve months before the arrival of Lally, the British forces in the Carnatic were so small, that the French could easily have driven them out, and secured possession of the entire Coromandel Coast; but the incapacity of the French commander was detrimental to the interests of France. He was averse to exertion, and allowed an opportunity to be lost while he indulged his ease, and busied himself only with schemes of accumulating wealth by less arduous means than the prosecution of war in such a burning climate.

Lally lost no time. He at once set about making inquiries as to the state of the revenue, and the means for carrying on the war. Every thing was in a most discouraging state. The utmost neglect prevailed in every department. Though the count had been expected for some months, no preparations whatever had been made to second him in any enterprise he might undertake. The public exchequer had been drained, and the authorities were deeply in debt; though their private purses seem to have suffered nothing on that account. Warlike stores were sadly deficient; and Lally found

that, in conducting military operations, he would be compelled to create ways and means where none existed.

Impetuous in his manner, Count Lally was nevertheless well fitted for command, being, by his firmness and impartiality, enabled to maintain strict discipline among all ranks. His loftiness of character and his great personal bravery won the esteem of his soldiers, and inspired them with confidence. He was endowed with keenness of perception and a solid judgment. By his close observation and the assiduity with which he sought information, he made himself well acquainted with the nature of the country in which he carried on operations, and his ready understanding pointed out the best places of defence, the means of communication between them, and the facilities for mastering the situation.

Immediately upon his arrival, Lally proceeded to invest Cuddalore,—a town on the coast, fifteen miles south of Pondicherry,—and reduced it in three days. He next besieged Fort St. David, also situate on the coast. It was the principal stronghold of the English in the Carnatic, and was garrisoned by over 2,000 English and native troops, and provided with 194 guns. Several out-forts protected the approaches. Lally's force of French and natives was about equal to that of the besieged ; but his artillery consisted only of 34 pieces. He took the outer forts by assault, leading the attack himself against one at the head of his Irish grenadiers, and then opened out his trenches. With unceasing activity, he pushed on his works under the burning rays of the sun by day, and in the stifling atmosphere of the calm and sultry night.

Whether through the determination to thwart his enterprise, or through a criminal indifference in acquiring a knowledge of the features of the country, every one in Pondicherry of whom he made inquiry professed utter ignorance of the physical formation of districts close at hand, and could afford him no knowledge of the number of the enemy he had to contend

with.* Neither was any assistance rendered him by M. de Leyrit, Governor of Pondicherry, or the inhabitants. He could only obtain provisions for twenty-four hours from them; and the governor, who promised to send some after him, failed to keep his word, so that "the troops were two days without food, and some of them died."

Lally's indomitable spirit, however, knew not how to succumb before opposition or difficulties; and he pursued his undertakings with a vigor that could not have been withstood had he been seconded in a reasonable manner. Continuing to push forward his trenches before Fort St. David, he found it necessary to order the Comte d'Aché to attack the town from the sea; but that officer, who was at Pondicherry, refused to stir, on the ground that his men were in arrears of pay. Lally proceeded to Pondicherry, and caused 60,000 francs, out of his own pocket, to be distributed among the sailors of the fleet, and then threatened the admiral with arrest if he persisted in his refusal. Thus persuaded, D'Aché appeared before the town, which surrendered at discretion immediately after; seventeen days having been passed by Lally before it in open trenches. Lally found a large amount of specie, merchandise, provisions, and military stores in the captured town. So great were the disadvantages under which he had labored in the conduct of this siege, that "nothing but the success of the undertaking could convince one of its possibility," as declared by the Comte d'Estaing,—a French officer serving with Lally.

Having levelled the fortifications of St. David to the ground, Lally next took possession of Devicottah, where he found eighty guns, which the garrison, in its hurry to get away at his approach, omitted to spike. Having thus spread alarm in the English settlements,

* "They could not tell him the amount of the English forces on the coast; nor whether Cuddalore was surrounded with a dry wall or a rampart; nor whether there was any river to pass between Pondicherry and Fort St. David."—*Mill: History of British India.*"

and proportionately raised the *prestige* of the French arms, Lally returned to Pondicherry to make preparations for a descent on Madras,—the capital of the English possessions in the Carnatic.

In order to prosecute his design against Madras, Lally desired the co-operation of the fleet; but D'Aché refused to sail for that place, preferring to cruise southwards and intercept such English merchant-vessels as he might fall in with. To embarrass Lally still further, the Governor of Pondicherry declared that he could not be answerable for the payment and provision of the troops beyond fifteen days. On this declaration, Lally inspected the books of the East-India Company's council at Pondicherry, and found strong evidences of gross financial mismanagement. Driven to exasperation, he expressed his feelings in unmeasured terms, and denounced the peculation and delinquencies of the company's servants. Incited by hatred of the honest soldier's integrity, and the dread of consequences, the council proposed to him an expedition against Tanjore, to enforce the payment of 5,000,000 rupees due to the company by the rajah of that place. Tanjore lay in a southerly direction, a hundred and fifty miles distant from the French capital. The representations made to Lally concerning the facilities of the route for marching and the strength of the place to be attacked were totally false. Seeing the impracticability of carrying out his intentions against Madras just then, he was induced to defer them for a more convenient opportunity, and set out for Tanjore on the 18th of June with 2,500 men, unaccompanied by those native attendants so necessary to an army in India. He was not long on the road when the *munitonnaire-général* (or commissary) absconded with the military chest.

To obtain subsistence for his men, he was obliged to impose exactions on the country through which he passed; and, despite the opposition offered to his progress by 7,000 regular and a swarm of irregular native troops, he approached Tanjore on the 18th of July. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Kennedy was sent by

Lally to demand from the rajah the payment of the money due to the East-India Company. The Indian prince would not accede to the demand, and the attack on the town was commenced forthwith; but, by that time, the balls of the French artillery were expended, and Lally ordered that those shot from the town should be used, few of which would suit the calibre of his guns. His powder became scarce, also.

To aggravate his position, General Lally received news that Pondicherry was threatened by the English, and that the Rajah of the Mahratta had declared, if the troops were not withdrawn from before Tanjore, he would invade the French territory. At a council of war called by Lally, it was resolved to raise the siege. Meanwhile, the English Governor of Trichinopoly sent 50 Europeans and 1,000 Sepoys to the assistance of the Rajah of Tanjore. Intelligence of the intended departure of the French from before the town having reached Monacjee, commanding for the rajah at Tanjore, he made preparations for a general assault on the French camp, to be preceded by a treacherous attempt on the life of Lally,—the instigation, it is hinted, of the general's personal enemies at Pondicherry.

Monacjee's forces—consisting of 12,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry—were drawn out by night, and posted so as to remain undiscovered till the signal for attack. Fifty horsemen were selected for the assassination of General Lally. At dawn of day, these horsemen rode out of the city to the French camp, and announced, when challenged, that they came to offer their services to the general, and desired to be conducted to his presence. Their request was unsuspectingly complied with; and, when Lally was informed of their approach, he got out of bed, put on his drawers, took a thornstick in his hand, and, with but one attendant, went out to meet them. When the Indian troopers came within a hundred yards of the unsuspecting Lally, they halted, and their captain rode forward. As soon as the latter was sufficiently near to try his skill on Lally, one of the blacks—to signal to Monacjee that

all was in train—galloped to an ammunition-tumbril, and discharged his pistol into it, blowing it and himself and his horse skyward. At the same moment, the captain of the band rode at Lally, and made a cut at him with his scimeter; but that quick-eyed soldier was not to be taken off his guard. Lally parried the treacherous stroke with that weapon which, in an Irishman's hand, never misses fire,—his stick,—and gave him a taste of its quality; the baffled murderer being immediately despatched by the general's attendant. With a rush, the black troop knocked the general down. He got to his feet, and, securing a sabre, charged the perfidious villains at the head of his guards, who had now come up to his assistance. Twenty-eight of the Indians were killed, and the rest forced into a pond close by, where they were drowned. Lally lost but two of his men in this *rencontre*.

Upon hearing the explosion and the musket-shots, Monacjee charged with the whole of his force; and so unexpected was his onset, that he gained a temporary advantage, capturing three guns, and causing the French to fall back in confusion; but Lally, rallying his troops, beat back the greatly superior force of the enemy, which was directed by English officers, and recovered his guns, after having inflicted a severe chastisement on his assailants. When night came on, Lally commenced his retreat; spiking his guns, and leaving them behind.

Harassed by the enemy, the French continued their retreat, suffering much from the want of water, and occasionally subsisting only on fruit. On entering the company's territory, Lally wrote to the Governor of Pondicherry, imputing the failure of the enterprise and the destitution and disorder of his army—whose march was attended by rapine and all its accompanying evils—to the misconduct and peculation of the company's officials; and declaring, if that state of things were not altered, the company would be overturned. In reply, the governor warned him that an attempt to interfere with the financial and commissariat depart-

ments would be attended with danger, and would raise up many enemies to him who was hardy enough to introduce innovations.

Taking advantage of Lally's absence, the English advanced from Madras upon Pondicherry; and the Chevalier des Soupirs was preparing to evacuate the threatened capital, when the news of Lally's return caused the English to perform a countermarch.

Resolving on the siege of Madras, Lally required the French admiral to assist him by sea; but D'Aché, having suffered a repulse from the English fleet, determined upon sailing for Mauritius (or the Isle of France). To prevent this design, Lally, upon his arrival in Pondicherry, summoned the council, and required it to protest against the desertion of the fleet. The council accordingly remonstrated with the admiral, but without avail; and D'Aché proceeded to the Mauritius, leaving Lally to the resources of his own genius.

In order to relieve the embarrassment occasioned by the want of funds, it was deemed advisable to acquire possession of Arcot, from which a considerable revenue was derived. Having captured Carangoly and three other forts, Lally entered Arcot on the 4th of October, the town surrendering without opposition; and the native governor agreed to enter the French service.

Lally's whole aim was the expulsion of the English enemy from the East. He declared his policy to be, "No English in the peninsula;" and to further his ends, despite the desertion of the fleet, he determined to proceed against Madras. The fall of that important town, at that period, would assuredly have been the ruin of the English power in India. But the want of money, and the utter selfishness and dishonesty of the French company's officials, who were merely intent on accumulating private fortunes, hampered and retarded Lally in every way; and, during the delay thus occasioned, the English were strengthening their position and preparing for defence.

For the accomplishment of his purpose against

Madras, Lally was desirous of concentrating all the French forces in India. He accordingly sent for M. de Bussy, commanding in the Deccan, and M. de Moracin, commanding at Masulipatam, that they might co-operate with him. These officers, however, could not be reconciled to an attack on Madras, on the ground that the troops were insufficient for the purpose. Bussy endeavored to persuade Lally to send him back to the Deccan, promising him a share in the rich harvest he could easily reap there; but Lally, thinking only of the honor of France, and not of enriching himself, declined to forego the course he had marked out. Moracin was ordered back to protect Masulipatam, which was threatened by the English. He delayed on the road, and the town was taken by surprise, during his absence, and lost to the French.

The army was in a state of extreme destitution, and a large sum of money was due to it. When the council was appealed to, that body declared its utter inability to provide the army with subsistence. Under these circumstances (M. de Leyrit, the governor, urged), the siege of Madras should not be undertaken; but Lally called a council of war, whose opinion was that it was better to die by a bullet at Madras than by hunger at Pondicherry. Comte d'Estaing and other officers contributed 34,000 rupees towards the cost of the expedition, while Lally himself advanced 60,000. Thus provided with some money, Lally set out with 3,000 French, a large body of Sepoys, and 30 pieces of artillery, towards Madras, which he reached on the 12th of December, capturing Ogmore and three other places on his route.

Madras was divided into the Black Town and the White Town. The latter contained the strong citadel of Fort St. George, and was protected by stone walls, flanked by four gigantic bastions; all the fortifications bristling with cannon. Its garrison consisted of 5,000 men, of whom near 2,000 were Europeans, under the command of Colonel Lawrence.

Early on the 14th, the French assailed the Black

Town with great spirit, and, after a severe contest, drove back the British, who retired into the citadel. While Lally was reconnoitring Fort St. George, the French gave themselves up to plunder. Having discovered a quantity of liquor, they seized upon it with avidity, and large numbers were soon revelling in intoxication and committing other excesses, in which Lally's own regiment, it must be regretfully admitted, outshone the rest. The Regiment of Lorraine, to its honor, alone abstained from an indulgence so criminal at such a time.

Perceiving that the state of the French troops afforded a most favorable opportunity for an attack, the enemy made a sally. Colonel Draper, with 500 picked men, conducted this sortie, supported by Major Brereton and 100 men, with two field-pieces. Taken by surprise, the French must have been driven back, had not Lally rode up, and, leading the Regiment of Lorraine, charged the English, and retook some guns they had captured. Those who had been indulging having been collected, the English were compelled to retreat, and made for the bridge by which they should re-enter the fort. The Chevalier de Crillon, who was in charge of the Regiment of Lally, proposed to the Marquis de Bussy to dash forward and intercept them at the bridge; but the latter officer objected on the plea of being unprovided with cannon to second the effort. Then Crillon, protesting that it was an affair of steel and not of lead, ordered the regiment to follow and engage the English with the bayonet. Bussy, however, as his superior, interposed to prevent the execution of this order. Refusing to permit Bussy's interference, the gallant Crillon, in his excitement, exclaimed, "No, by G—! you shall not stop me!" and rushed forward, followed by those who shared his chivalrous spirit. The delay occasioned by the dispute prevented the cutting off the whole English party; yet Crillon succeeded in killing 50 and capturing 30. From the conduct of Bussy on this occasion, Lally was convinced that that officer wished to thwart his endeavors to take

Madras; but Bussy, in vindication, declared that he did not wish to take upon himself the responsibility of acting without orders. In the conflict occasioned by this sortie from the town, great numbers were shot and bayoneted on both sides; the French having been deprived of the gallant Comte d'Estaing, who, being wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Lally forthwith commenced his approaches, and proceeded to erect batteries. Meanwhile, M. de l'Eguille had been sent out from France with four ships of war, 1,100 troops, and 3,000,000 livres. After leaving the Isle of France, he encountered the Comte d'Aché, who, as his superior officer, detained the money and ships, and sent but one small vessel with a third of the money, which reached Pondicherry on the 24th of December.

This supply enabled Lally to push forward his works with vigor, and pay his troops a portion of their arrears. On the erection of his batteries, he opened a tremendous fire of shot and shell on Fort St. George, and, under cover of the fire, pushed on his sap till it reached the foot of the glacis. During the progress of the siege, the French were continually harassed by large bodies of the subsidised allies of the English under Mahmoud Issoof, who compelled their divided attention. At length a breach was effected in the fort, and Lally made preparations for an assault; but he found his officers indisposed to second him. Ammunition had become scarce; and many of his bravest men had fallen. The arrival of an English fleet, too, at this time, with re-enforcements, which were safely disembarked and conveyed into the town, rendered further operations useless, and compelled him to relinquish all further attempts against the place. He accordingly raised the siege on the 17th of February, and, blowing up the redoubts and powder-mill at Ogmore, retreated to Arcot, leaving behind him a large number of cannon, which he could not remove for want of beasts to drag them.

Poor Lally was beside himself with rage and mortification. He felt satisfied that he would have succeeded

but for the innumerable difficulties occasioned by the want of supplies, the improper conduct of D'Aché, Bussy, and other officers, and the gross misconduct of commissaries and contractors. In his letters to France, he remonstrated with the ministry for not sending him adequate supplies, and also expressed, in bitter terms, his views of the culpable manner in which the administration was conducted in India. He, who had been so well known for the suavity of his manners and the polish of his language, became embittered by the general corruption around him; and in the shock which his fine sense of honor had received, aggravated by an illness incident to the climate, he gave vent to some forcible expressions, which indicate the horror and distraction of his mind. To a friend in the ministry, he writes: "I have not yet beheld the shadow of an honest man." And he implores the minister: "In the name of God, withdraw me from this country, for which I am not made!" The following letter, addressed to the Governor of Pondicherry, from the trenches before Madras, on the 14th of February, and which was intercepted by the English, displays the general's deep annoyance at the conduct of those who should have supported him, and conveys an idea of what he had to contend with:—

"M. DUVAL DE LEYRIT,—A good blow might be struck here. There is in the roads a ship of twenty guns, laden with all the riches of Madras. She will remain there, it is said, till the 20th. The 'Expedition' has just arrived; but M. Gorlin is not the man to attack her, for she made him run away once before. The 'Bristol,' on the other hand, did but just make her appearance before San Thomé; and, on the vague report of thirteen ships coming from Porto Novo, she took fright, and, after landing the provisions with which she was laden, would not stay even long enough to take on board twelve of her own guns, which she had lent us for the siege.

"If I was judge of the point of honor of the company's officers, I would break him like glass, as well as some others.

"The 'Fidele,' or the 'Haerlem,' or even the aforesaid 'Bristol,' with her twelve guns restored to her, would become master of the English ship, if able to get to windward of her in the night. Maugendre and Tremillier are said to be good men; and were they employed to transport 200 wounded we have

here, their service would be of importance. We remain in the same position.—the breach made these fifteen days,—all the time within fifteen toises of the place, and never holding up our heads to look at it. I believe we must, on our return to Pondicherry, learn some other trade; for this of war requires too much patience.

“Of the 1,500 *Cipayes* (Sepoys) who attended our army, I believe nearly 800 are employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with pepper, sugar, and other goods; and as for the coolies, they have been employed for the same purpose since the first days we came here. I am taking my measures from this day to set fire to the Black Town, and to blow up the powder-mills.

“You would never imagine that 50 French deserters and 100 Swiss are actually stopping the progress of 2,000 men of the king’s and company’s troops, which are still existing, notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts that every one makes, according to his own fancy, of the slaughter that has been made among them; and you will be more surprised if I tell you that, were it not for the combats and four battles we sustained, and for the batteries which failed, or (to speak more properly) which were unskilfully made, we should not have lost 50 men from the commencement of the siege to this day. I have written to M. de Larche, that if he persists in not coming here, let who will raise money upon the Poleagers, I will not. And I renounce—as I informed you a month ago—meddling directly or indirectly with any thing whatever that may relate to your administration, civil or military. For I would rather go and command the Caffres of Madagascar than remain in this Sodom, which the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, if that from heaven should not.

“I have the honor to be, &c.,

“LALLY.

“P.S.—I think it necessary to apprise you, that—as M. des Soupins has refused to take upon himself the command of the army, which I have offered him, and which he is empowered to accept by having received from the court a duplicate of my commission—you, with the council, must of necessity take it. For my part, I undertake only to bring it back either to Arcot or Sadraste. Send, therefore, your orders, or come to command it; for I shall quit it upon my arrival there.—L.”

Suffering in health, Lally quitted the camp, and returned to Pondicherry to obtain some rest. The English, having received further re-enforcements with those before mentioned, took the field against the French. A division under Major Brereton assaulted and took Conjeveram; while Masulipatam (as before

mentioned) was taken from the Marquis de Conflans by Major Forde, during the absence of Moracin. Meanwhile, the distress among the French troops continued, and their discontent broke out into open mutiny in August, when large numbers of them declared they would serve no longer till their arrears of pay were satisfied, and even threatened desertion to the enemy. They were, however, induced by the partial satisfying of their demands from the private purses of their officers, with a promise of a speedy settlement of the balance, to resume their duty.

Early in September, the French fleet, under the Comte d'Aché, again made its appearance at Pondicherry. He had been intercepted by the English admiral, Pocock, off Ceylon; and, in the engagement which ensued, succeeded in baffling the English. This was the third fight between the same commanders in eighteen months, in which neither lost a vessel. Comte d'Aché brought, for the use of the colony, £16,000 in specie, and diamonds to the value of £17,000,—the booty of an English merchant-vessel. This he offered to place at Lally's disposal as part payment of the money he had so improperly detained at the Mauritius the preceding year; but it was altogether inadequate to meet the demands required by campaigning, especially when the resources of the government of Pondicherry were well-nigh exhausted by the length of the war, and, according to Lally, "by the misapplication of the public funds."

The French admiral seems to have been extremely loth to remain on the Indian coast; and, when he announced his intention of sailing at once for Madagascar, the colonists were filled with surprise and consternation. They were just then in a critical position. The English were carrying all before them, and, by means of large bribes, had induced many of the native princes to take sides with them against the French, thus threatening to uproot the dominion of France in the East. Perceiving that their abandonment by the admiral would be their inevitable ruin, the

principal inhabitants of Pondicherry assembled together, and signed a solemn protest against the departure of the fleet; but D'Aché was inflexible, and sailed away on the 20th of September, leaving behind him, however, as a sort of conscience-offering, a body of 500 Europeans, made up of the "scum of the sea," and 400 Africans.

Lally had received despatches by the fleet highly commendatory of his conduct, and instructing him to correct the abuses of the government of Pondicherry, to institute a searching inquiry into the general administration of affairs, and to punish all who might be found tampering with the company's revenues. These despatches also contained severe reprimands for the members of the council, and cautioned them to be more circumspect in their proceedings. All this did not tend to promote the popularity of Lally, whose unassailable integrity was a cause of embarrassment to peculating officials, and tended to inflame their animosity.

Meanwhile, Major Brereton had determined on the attack of Wandiwash,—the principal French post between Madras and Pondicherry. For this purpose, he left Conjeveram with a force of nearly 5,000 men, of whom 1,600 were Europeans. The French—to the number of 1,100—were quartered within the town, under the walls of the fort; the native governor refusing to admit more than a few white men to superintend the working of the guns. This force was commanded by Captain Alexander MacGeoghegan, of the Irish Brigade. At two on the morning of the 30th September, Brereton—having selected 1,600 men for the purpose, with six field-pieces—attacked the village at three points with determination and fury; but his attack was received with spirited resistance by the French. After some hours' conflict, the English were driven from the place with a loss of over 200. MacGeoghegan deemed it injudicious, however, to follow them with his slender force, as Brereton had a large reserve at hand; but the latter made no attempt to

renew the attack, and retired to Conjeveram with 15 prisoners. The French captured 5 officers, 56 soldiers, 4 cannon, and 2 ammunition-waggons. Their loss was 114 in killed and wounded.

In order that the army might subsist, Lally was compelled to send a large portion of it southward under Crillon. Upon being informed of this movement, the Governor and Council of Madras decided upon sending Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre Coote, of Ash Hill, county Limerick (recently appointed to the command of the army in Madras), to take the field against the French. The sovereign of Travancore having sent his brother Bassuletingue with 12,000 native troops to the assistance of the French, Lally sent the Marquis de Bussy, with a small detachment, to facilitate the junction of the friendly forces. Bussy joined the prince at Arcot. Meanwhile, Coote, with a large force, besieged Wandiwash. On the 30th November, the walls having been breached, the kellidoar (or native governor) surrendered. This important fortress was lost through the culpability of the Marquis de Bussy, who, instead of acting at once with the Indian prince, loitered his time away fully six weeks, and thus was accessory to its loss.

On the 10th December, Coote took Carangoly, which was bravely defended by Colonel O'Kennelly for seven days. By the superior fire of the British, all the guns were dismounted but four. O'Kennelly, for his gallant defence, was allowed to march out, with 100 Frenchmen, with all the honors of war; but his Sepoys—in number 500—were disarmed and dismissed.

Lally, despite his ill health, made preparations for retaking Wandiwash in person, and recalled the greater part of his forces from the south. Coming in sight of the English under Coote, on the banks of the River Palar, Lally, by his manœuvres, overreached them, and suddenly appeared before Wandiwash. He lost no time in attacking the town, which was garrisoned by Captain Sherlock with 300 Sepoys and 30 Europeans. In this assault, the French were received with such a gallant fire, that they wavered. General Lally dis-

mounted, and, calling for volunteers, rushed forward sword in hand, and was the first to mount the wall. His troops then poured into the town, and the garrison sought safety in the fort.

The siege of the fort was retarded by the delay in bringing up the heavy guns; and, on their arrival, still further valuable time was dissipated by the persistence of the engineers in erecting a battery to prosecute the siege in a regular manner.

On the 22nd of January, Coote appeared in front of the French camp with a force of 5,200 horse and foot (including 1,900 Europeans) and 26 pieces of artillery. With the fort on one side and Coote on the other, Lally found himself in a critical situation. Coote's approach was skilfully directed, and was designed to take up a position of great strength. Leaving 150 Europeans and 300 Sepoys to engage the attention of the fort, Lally at once prepared for Coote, to oppose whom he had but 3,500 men (of whom 1,350 were Europeans) and 16 pieces of artillery. When the hostile lines advanced to within three-quarters of a mile, the cannonading opened with deadly effect, and continued until noon, when Lally ordered his small party of cavalry forward to charge the British left. The commanding officer and his second in command, having refused to act, were suspended, and a cornet led the charge. Coote's native cavalry retired in confusion before this little band; but a small body of English cavalry, under Captain Barker, came to the rescue with two field-pieces, and forced the French horse to retire.

About one o'clock, the musketry fire became general along both lines. Lally placed himself at the head of the Regiment of Lorraine, which he formed in columns twelve deep, and fell impetuously on the British. The regiment encountered by Lally was Coote's own, commanded by the colonel in person. When within fifty yards of the hostile line, the French were received with a deadly discharge of musketry, and many fell; but the rest pressed on, animated by the cries of Lally

and in an instant crossed bayonets with the British, and drove back those in front. The right and left portions of the British line then fell on the French flanks, and a series of bloody hand-to-hand combats took place. In a little while, the survivors of the Regiment of Lorraine, assailed by superior numbers, broke, and were driven back in confusion over the heaps of their dead and dying comrades.

The explosion of an ammunition-waggon, caused by a chance shot, killed and wounded many, creating additional confusion in the French lines, of which Coote hastened to take advantage. He, accordingly, ordered Major Brereton to advance with the Regiment of Draper to seize a post near the scene of the explosion. The Marquis de Bussy, having rallied some of the fugitives, advanced to prevent the design; but his horse was shot under him, and he was made prisoner, while his men were repulsed.

About two o'clock, the whole of the French were driven from the field; but Lally, collecting his cavalry, formed them in rear of his infantry, and secured his retreat by keeping the enemy's horsemen at bay. The French left on the field about 400 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 24 pieces of artillery, 11 ammunition-waggons, and some baggage. A large number of wounded were removed in safety. Coote took 50 prisoners, including the Marquis de Bussy, Lieutenant-Colonel Murphy (of Lally's Regiment), and other officers. His loss was 267 killed and wounded.

General Lally conducted his retreat towards Pondicherry with considerable skill, notwithstanding that he was followed and harassed by a large body of cavalry. The difficulties of his situation were now increased a hundredfold. His army was destitute of equipments as well as the means of subsistence. Clamors for pay were raised; and many threatened desertion to the enemy's ranks. The Governor and Council of Pondicherry represented that they had no money, and were upbraided by Lally as a knot of

rogues. To obtain supplies, a large tract of the company's territory was leased for 1,700,000 rupees a year to a Malabar capitalist, who agreed to advance Lally a sum of 130,000 rupees within a few days.

Without the means of bringing a proper force into the field, and deprived of the assistance of a fleet through the conduct of D'Aché, Lally was unable to check the operations of the English under Coote, aided by the united squadrons of Admirals Stevens and Cornish at sea, who were rapidly subduing all the French ports, and drawing near to the fated Pondicherry. Chittapet, Timary, Arcot, Carical, with many other places, fell in succession before the victorious arms of Coote. Among the places noted for the stout opposition offered to the enemy was Permacoil, garrisoned by Lieutenant-Colonel O'Kennedy (a brave Irish officer) and 145 men, of whom but 15 were Europeans. The town was not surrendered till the ammunition was exhausted, and but two days' provisions remained. Coote was wounded in the knee, in a repulse before the place, during the siege.

Encouraged by his successes and by the pecuniary distresses of the French, Coote prepared for the investment of Pondicherry, the capture of which would be the annihilation of the French power in India. The English fleet—consisting of seventeen sail of the line, with 1,038 guns—appeared off that port on the 17th of March, and commenced a regular blockade; while the army, under Coote, operated by land. “By the 1st of May,” says Mill, “the French army was confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English encamped within four miles of the town,—the English powerfully re-enforced from England, and elated with remembrances of the past as well as hope for the future; their antagonists abandoned, by neglect at home, to insuperable difficulties, and looking with eager eyes to the fleet which never arrived.”

As Coote's army approached, the French outposts gradually retired, disputing the ground inch by inch till the 20th of May, when they withdrew within a

partly natural barrier around Pondicherry, composed of prickly shrubs, called the "bound-hedge." This bound-hedge was artificially strengthened with redoubts at different points, and enclosed an area of seven miles.

The problem of obtaining provisions for his garrison as well as the people of the town, while closely invested by land and sea, caused General Lally considerable anxiety. In this extremity, he sought among the Indian princes for succor, and succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Rajah of Mysore, who pledged himself to supply Pondicherry with provisions, and advanced with a large army for that purpose; but, receiving some checks from the British, the rajah returned home without accomplishing his object. Nevertheless, despite the privations that had to be endured, Lally vigorously defended his lines with his slender force, which consisted of, besides natives, but 1,500 French; while the enemy, exclusive of the navy, opposed him with 2,000 English and 6,000 natives.

Colonel Monson—having succeeded Colonel Coote in the command of the English—broke through the bound-hedge; but, on the 13th September, in storming a redoubt, his leg was torn off by a cannon-shot, and Coote resumed the command. By the 1st of October, the British acquired possession of the last of the outer forts, thus compelling Lally to retire within the walls of Pondicherry, against which the boundary lines, constructed for its defence, were now used. Meanwhile, Coote's forces had increased to 3,500 English and 7,000 Sepoys.

Various attempts to victual Pondicherry both by sea and land had failed by reason of the enemy's vigilance; and the supplies which were successfully conveyed into the town were not sufficient to ward off hunger. Lally, therefore, adopted measures to equalize, between the residents and the garrison, the burdens of the distress thus occasioned. This action on his part increased the animosity with which he was already regarded by those against whose dishonesty he had so frequently de-claimed; and an attempt was made to assassinate him.

On the cessation of the heavy rains towards the end of November, Coote caused batteries to be erected in positions from whence the besiegers could enfilade the French works without being exposed themselves; while a sharper look-out was exerted to prevent provisions being conveyed to the besieged, whose sufferings had now become fearful. By Lally's order, every house in Pondicherry was searched for food, that it might be equitably divided. This caused deep discontent among the selfish, and added to their resentment against the general. The soldiers were each reduced to a pound of rice a day, with a little meat occasionally. In order that the sufferings of the inhabitants might be somewhat lessened, vast numbers of native women and children were driven out of the town on the supposition that they would be permitted to make shift for themselves; but the English drove them back again, and crowds of the poor wretches were slain by the fire of the batteries.

By the 8th of December, the four great batteries, which Coote had ordered to be constructed, were ready for service. The first, for four guns, was erected near the sea-beach on the north, to enfilade the great street running through that portion of Pondicherry called the White Town; the second, with four guns and two mortars, was built on the north-west, to enfilade the counterguard before the north-west bastion; the third, with two guns, faced the southern works, so as to rake the streets from south to north, and cross the fire of the northern battery; the fourth, with two guns and one mortar, was to destroy the cannon on the Redoubt of St. Thomas and any vessel near by. The fire from these batteries opened simultaneously at midnight, and continued, with few intermissions, through the month. Lally's cannoneers replied with corresponding vigor. Little loss was sustained on either side; but Coote's hope of starving the garrison into submission was not to be disappointed.

The scarcity within the walls increased. Scenes of distress and horror were of every-day occurrence.

Soldiers and citizens alike were forced to eat the flesh of horses, dogs, and rats. A dog cost 30 rupees (£3). The officer's fare was reduced to a half pound of rice a day, and the private soldier's to four ounces. Lally's daily rations, as a general officer, consisted of a pound of rice and two small loaves; but his generosity diminished that allowance. Being appealed to for food by a poor woman burdened with children, he ordered that half his daily share should be given to her.

In this state of affairs, Lally was implored to surrender; but the promise of assistance from a Mahratta prince, whom his envoys had succeeded in reaching, and the hope of the arrival of a French fleet, induced him to determine upon holding out. He believed, too, that those most anxious for surrender were the company's servants, who had enriched themselves, and were desirous of falling into the hands of the English to avoid too close inquiry into the methods by which they had acquired their spoils.

The year 1761 was ushered in at Pondicherry with a violent tempest of wind and rain, which blew the fleet off the coast, and almost ruined the English works. Profiting by the dispersion of the fleet, Lally wrote to the French residents at Tranquebar, Negapatam, and Pulicat, urging them to use every effort to forward provisions to the beleaguered garrison. The French became elated by the prospect of obtaining relief; but their spirits were soon depressed by the reappearance of eleven sail of the line and two frigates under Admiral Stevens, who renewed the blockade with increased vigilance. Coote diligently repaired the damages to his works; and, on the 5th of January, he took the Redoubt of St. Thomas by surprise. In the night, a French officer, with a number of his countrymen, who had deserted to the English, appeared before that fort, and announced that he was sent by General Lally to assist against an intended attack. He was believed and admitted, when Coote, coming up at the same instant, obliged the fort to surrender. For its defence the commander of the English left a garrison of 40

Europeans and 130 Sepoys. On ascertaining that St. Thomas was in the hands of the enemy, Lally sent Alexander MacGeoghegan, with 300 grenadiers, to recapture it. That gallant Irish officer stormed the place, and accomplished his mission.

The approaches were pushed on with the utmost celerity by the besiegers, and practicable breaches were made in the walls of the devoted town by the 15th of January. With not enough food to eke out existence by even the miserable allowance apportioned among the besieged, General Lally saw that surrender was inevitable. Well aware of the state of affairs in Pondicherry, the enemy had determined to risk the loss of no more blood in its attack, but starve it into submission. Even had it been resolved otherwise, the force within the town was insufficient in number, and too much enervated by starvation, to ward off an assault. Under these circumstances, General Lally urged the council to concert measures for obtaining the most favorable terms for all; but they who had been foremost in reproaching him with pride and obstinacy in holding out, now declined to incur the responsibility of a surrender. Consequently, Lally despatched Colonel Duré, of the artillery, to arrange with Coote the terms of capitulation; the council also sending an envoy on its own behalf. Coote promised that the soldiers of the garrison should be treated with all honor and humanity; but he vouchsafed no reply to the company's envoy, who required that the inhabitants should be respected in their rights and privileges as citizens.

On the morning of the 16th of January, the French flag was hauled down, and Coote's army entered Pondicherry, which Lally's skill and valor had defended, under incredible difficulties, for a period of eight months against greatly superior forces. A French account states that Coote employed an army (including natives) of 15,000 men against Pondicherry; while he was supported by sea with 7,000 more. To contend with him, Lally had but 700 effective men, and "had not a skiff to oppose fourteen vessels of the line." In the after-

noon, the garrison was drawn up, under arms, before the citadel, and was received by Coote. A miserable spectacle was presented by the gaunt and famished band, exciting deep commiseration in the on-lookers. Including invalids, and the Africans and villainous marines left behind by Comte d'Aché, the whole force amounted to 1,400 officers and men, of whom 230 were Irish. "The grenadiers of Lorraine and Lally," says Orme, "once the ablest-bodied men in the army, appeared the most impaired, having constantly put themselves forward to every service." The surrender of the town put the English in possession of over 600 pieces of artillery, besides a great quantity of other munitions of war.

By order of Colonel Coote, the works round Pondicherry were blown up; and the place was given up to plunder. After the fall of the capital, the reduction of other French forts in India was easy, and English ascendancy was established in the East. The news was received in England with every demonstration of joy, while the French were filled with rage, and demanded that an example should be made of those through whose incompetency their valuable possessions were lost.

Lally was removed to Madras in a state of ill health, and was from thence sent a prisoner of war to England, where he landed in September; having no reason, the while, to complain of overkindness on the part of his custodians. Soon after his arrival, he learned that his unprincipled enemies had given out that he had betrayed Pondicherry to the English. Determined to confront his maligners, and thrust the falsehood down their throats, he at once applied to Pitt, then Prime Minister of George III., for permission to return to France.

He was allowed to depart on giving his parole of honor that he should return when required by the British government. On arriving at Boulogne, he visited his old friend, the Earl of Clancarty, who urged him to go back to England, and save himself

from the machinations of his enemies, who had grown into a powerful faction and were certain to compass his ruin. The ill fated, but noble and high-minded, soldier declined to listen to this prudent counsel, and resolved to dare all that they might do rather than bear the slanderous imputation of their gross malice, which might cling to him by his return to England. Neither would he be persuaded but that Truth would bear down the foul calumnies of Falsehood, and establish the justice of his cause.

When he reached Paris, he proceeded at once to the Duc de Choiseul, the Minister for War, to whom he denounced the misdeeds of his subordinates, and declared himself ready to abide the result of the charges directed against himself. The minister, who was connected by marriage with the Marquis de Bussy, declared that justice should be done, but endeavored to compromise matters by bringing about a reconciliation between Lally and Bussy. Admiral d'Aché, also, made overtures to Lally, with the request that past differences might be forgotten. But Lally would not recede from the stand he had taken, and demanded full justice. Dared to the utmost, his enemies now exerted all their influence, and brought all their engines into play, to work his destruction.

Hostile petitions and memorials were concocted against him by the late Governor and Council of Pondicherry. The people had demanded an atonement for the loss of the Indian settlements, and General Lally was pitched upon as the sacrifice to appease their wrath. By this expedient, the miscreants who merited punishment would be safe, and private malignity would be gratified. To further this infamous scheme, statements, calculated to poison the minds of the people against the unfortunate general, were industriously circulated through Paris. While his adversaries were thus actively engaged in fortifying their own cause, and cutting the ground from under his feet, *Lally was compelled to maintain silence* by the government, who yet kept reiterating its assurance

that ample "justice" should be done! Still confident in the righteousness of his cause, he refused to avail himself of certain overtures made by some of the agents of his enemies to reveal the intrigues against him. But, on the presentation of an antagonistic memorial to the government, he was unable to contain himself any longer, and proceeded to court, where he complained of the treatment to which he was subjected, but received no satisfaction.

The count was warned that the Duc de Choiseul had signed a *lettre de cachet* for his committal to the Bastille, and was urged to make his escape; but he refused, scorning to give his enemies the advantage of saying that he admitted their accusations by evading the opportunity of disproving them. On learning this outrageous design on his liberty, he wrote the following characteristic letter to the minister:—

"MONSEIGNEUR,—The rumors which prevail in Paris have brought me here. My enemies will never be able to terrify me, since I depend on my innocence and am sensible of your equity. The king is master of my liberty; but my honor is under the safeguard of the laws, of which he is the protector. I do not ask you, monseigneur, who are my slanderers,—for I know them,—but what their slaves are, that I may avert them, and repel them with such proofs as will cover the authors of them with shame. I have brought here my head and my innocence, and shall continue here to wait your orders.—I am," &c.

Two days after having written this letter,—namely, on the 5th of November,—Lally was arrested and committed to the Bastille,—that fearful living tomb in which had been immured so many unhappy mortals whose only crime had been to incur the displeasure of those in power. He was charged with betraying the interests of the king and the French East-India Company; abusing the high authority with which he had been invested; amassing considerable wealth by unwarrantable exactions from the king's subjects; mismanaging the public affairs committed to his care; and permitting Pondicherry to fall into the hands of the English.

He claimed the right of trial by a military tribunal, but in vain. Through the influence of the celebrated Madame de Pompadour, who interested herself in his behalf, letters-patent were issued for a comprehensive inquiry to be instituted, by which *all* parties should have to answer the charges preferred against them. But this mode of procedure—which was only fair, if the intended victim had been guilty one hundred times over—was afterwards set aside by the Duc de Choiseul, who, upon the death of Madame de Pompadour, had acquired an ascendancy over the weak-minded and dissolute Louis XV.

In vain did Lally adduce numerous proofs of the gross misconduct of his subordinates, and their evasion of his orders; * and of his desperate resistance in Pondicherry while famine wasted the garrison and numbers deserted to the enemy. The safety of his accusers was at stake; and they, by means of their influence at court and the gold they had dishonestly amassed, triumphed. The unfortunate general was detained for nearly four years in close confinement, and, on the 4th of May, 1766, was removed by night to the *conciergerie* adjoining the Court of Parliament, with which it communicated.

General Lally was brought before his judges about seven in the morning. They ordered him to be divested of his Grand Cross and Red Ribbon of the Order of St. Louis. He submitted to this indignity with calm indifference. But, when he was placed on a stool,—an indication that an ignominious sentence was about to be pronounced,—the degradation cut him to the heart. He clasped his hands, and raised his eyes to heaven, exclaiming, in an agony of bitterness, “My God! my

* Mill says that, in the original correspondence, he can perceive no proof of the charges laid against Lally by English historians and by his enemies concerning his wanton cruelty in forcing the natives of different castes to carry burdens and perform whatever labor might be required. On the contrary, he alleges, the charges brought by Lally against others for the oppression of the natives were too well founded.

God! is this the reward of forty-five years' faithful service?"

The interrogatory lasted six hours. D'Aché and Bussy were examined against him. "Nothing whatever," says Mill, "was proved, except that his conduct did not come up to the very perfection of prudence and wisdom, and that it *did* display the greatest ardor in the service, the greatest disinterestedness, fidelity, and perseverance, with no common share of military talent and of mental resources." When the examination was over, the count was reconducted to the Bastille under a strong guard.

Next day, the infamous Parliament (convinced of his innocence, but anxious to silence the clamor against the maladministration of affairs in India by the sacrifice of a victim), after reciting a number of charges against the accused, without specifying the facts on which they were founded, adjudged the noble but hapless Lally to be stripped of all his civil and military titles and dignities; his estates to be confiscated to the king; and his life to be forfeited by decapitation on the public scaffold.

The announcement of this sentence was received with surprise and horror by all whose interests were not involved in his condemnation. His friends made vain efforts to induce the king to set aside the judgment. Upon the rising of the Council of State, two days after, the Marshal de Soubise fell on his knees before the king, and, in the name of the whole army, besought the pardon, at least, of the condemned man. Following the example of the noble old soldier, the Duc de Choiseul—the chief instrument in Lally's most abominable treatment—knelt, too, and implored, with badly acted sincerity, his majesty's clemency. Louis raised the Marshal de Soubise. Looking at the duke, he said, "It was *you* who caused him to be arrested." Then, turning to the marshal, the king exclaimed: "It is too late! They have judged him; they have judged him."

On the 9th of May, 1766, the unfortunate count was

drawn on a hurdle to the scaffold, erected on the *Place de Grève*. To prevent his addressing the people, a large gag was secured across his mouth. On arriving at the scaffold, he, accompanied by a clergyman, ascended the ladder with soldierly firmness. Then, walking around the scaffold and drawing the attention of the assembled crowd to the gag which prevented him from speaking, he raised his hand to heaven in a mutely eloquent appeal against the injustice of man. In the next moment, he submitted his head to the executioner, who, with two strokes of his axe, severed it from the body. Then it was proclaimed that a "traitor" had ceased to exist.

Thus perished Lieutenant-General Count Thomas Arthur Lally in his sixty-fifth year,—the peace-offering of a weak and tyrannical minister to popular clamor, affording by his cruel and unmerited fate a memorable instance of the base ingratitude of kings. Louis XV. tried subsequently to exculpate himself from all concern in this infamous transaction, which he rightly termed an assassination, and endeavored to transfer all the blame to others. But a royal conscience is easily satisfied; and, though kings are seldom brought to trial before a tribunal of this world, their crowns and sceptres will be of no account in that realm where the meanest peasant and the mightiest prince will stand on equal footing in the presence of an All-Just God.

To Lally's son, Trophime Gérard, was committed the sacred task of clearing his name from dishonor. Young Lally was born at Paris in March, 1751, and was placed by his father, while of tender years, at the College of Harcourt. General Lally, just previous to his death, wrote to his son, adjuring him to vindicate his memory. The execution of the unhappy count took place six hours earlier than the time announced, so eager were his enemies to make certain of their prey. On learning this, the distracted son rushed to the scaffold to infold his father in the last embrace on earth; but he arrived only in time to witness the murder of the beloved author of his being by the exe-

cutioner's axe. Overcome with horror, the unhappy boy swooned in the street, and was carried back in a state of insensibility to his college.

This boy was subsequently the famous Comte de Lally-Tolendal. He died in March, 1830, having acquired the titles and dignities of Count and Marquis of Lally-Tolendal, Peer of France, Minister of State, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, Chevalier Commander and Grand Treasurer of the Order of the Holy Ghost, Member of the Royal Academy of France, &c. He left by his marriage but one daughter, Elizabeth Félicité Claude de Lally-Tolendal, who bestowed her hand on, and conveyed the family honors to, Comte d'Aux.

With filial piety young Lally prosecuted his parent's dying injunctions, and had the melancholy satisfaction of achieving complete success. He was assisted in his endeavors by powerful friends; and Voltaire lent the aid of his brilliant pen to clear away the foul blot that fastened on the court of France by "a murder committed with the sword of Justice."

Twelve years after the fatal sentence (May, 1778), the whole proceedings having been thoroughly reviewed, Louis XVI., with the unanimous approval of the judges and council, solemnly pronounced the sentence passed on Lieutenant-General Thomas Arthur Lally to be void and of no authority. The unjust sentence was accordingly revoked, and Count Lally's character cleared from all aspersion. On the promulgation of the royal decree, Voltaire, who was on his death-bed, sent these lines (the last he ever wrote) to congratulate Lally's son: "The dying man revives on learning this great news. He embraces very tenderly M. de Lally. He sees that the king is the defender of justice. He will die contented."

Charles Jennings Kilmaine,

GENERAL IN THE REPUBLICAN ARMIES OF FRANCE.

PERHAPS no Irishman, celebrated in the service of France, was more sincerely devoted to his native land than General KILMAINE. Others had identified the cause of Ireland with that of a puerile prince and his faithless race; but Kilmaine regarded the cause of the people as paramount to that of royalty. Serving his adopted country in all faithfulness, he never forgot the allegiance he owed his native land; and his constant prayer was for opportunity to assist her in throwing off the yoke of her imperious tyrant, that she might become a great and free nation.

CHARLES JENNINGS KILMAINE was born in the city of Dublin in 1750. Very early he learned that his native country was ruled by a foreign people, who cordially hated his race, his language, and his religion, but dearly loved—the land. He naturally imbibed and cherished a desire for the overturn of the power that forced its obnoxious laws on Ireland. By those laws, he and the vast majority of his countrymen had no existence in their own land. This fact, though sufficiently obvious, appears to have needed judicial confirmation. In a case brought on for trial in Kilmaine's native city, when he was about eight years old, the defendant (a Roman Catholic) evidently labored under the illusion that he possessed certain rights; for he was informed by the bench, that “the laws did not

presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could he breathe without the connivance of government!"*

When fifteen years of age, Charles was taken by his father to France to enjoy free air. As his native home faded from view, the young lad treasured up in his heart a resolve to win himself a name in foreign lands, and return at some future day to teach his countrymen how to deserve freedom.

With alacrity, shortly after their arrival in France, Charles availed himself of his father's permission to enlist in the French army. No court influence was available to procure a commission for the young aspirant for military renown; so he was enrolled as a private among the hussars of the *Régiment de Lauzun*.

For some years the young Irish soldier's career afforded little hope that he should attain rank or fame; but, at length, the opportunity offered to distinguish himself against the enemies of his country. Through the influence of the Marquis de Lafayette, General Rochambeau was sent from France to America, in 1780, to assist the United States in the war of independence against England. His expedition included the regiment of hussars to which Kilmaine belonged. The important services rendered by Lafayette and Rochambeau in that glorious struggle for freedom will be for ever held in grateful remembrance by the citizens of the world's greatest republic. Kilmaine was present at almost all the battles in which Washington worsted the English forces, and exhibited such valorous conduct as to particularly attract the notice of his commanding officer, Colonel Biron, who promoted him by successive grades, till he became sub-lieutenant.

Constant association with the Americans imbued the

* Mitchel's "History of Ireland," chaps. 7 and 12. That an Irishman may, at the present time, legally profess any religion he likes is, perhaps, one of those boons for which he ought to be grateful, but isn't, to his indulgent masters. *Vide* Alison's "History of Europe," chaps. 9 and 25.

troops of Rochambeau with the new doctrines of liberty and equality,—doctrines ardently imbibed by the Irish hussar. Impressed by the triumph of those young colonies over a great and powerful nation,—the hated enemy of his race,—Kilmaine could not but think that there was a chance for the freedom of his own dear land; and the more he pondered on the situation of Ireland, the more ardently he longed to see that country established as a republic.

At the conclusion of the war, he returned with his regiment to France. He was appointed captain of his troop in 1789; and, when the revolution broke out, he unhesitatingly embraced the cause of the people. The hussars had become so much attached to him, and so accustomed to be guided by his opinions, that he easily induced them to remain in the service of the republic; and, through his exertions, most of the officers retained their commissions.

When the armies of the French nation were called upon to preserve its integrity from foreign invasion, Captain Kilmaine accompanied his regiment to the front. At the glorious victory gained by Dumouriez over the Austrians at Jemappes on the 6th of November, 1792, Kilmaine charged the enemy repeatedly with his hussars. His remarkable bravery won the admiration of Dumouriez, who recommended him for promotion.

This victory put France in possession of the Netherlands. Yet, through the neglect of the government, the victorious army was reduced to complete destitution. The hungry and ragged soldiers deserted in large numbers, and vast quantities of horses died for want of forage. Kilmaine, by unceasing efforts, preserved order among his own troops, and, by means of private contributions, saved them from absolute starvation. Upon the flight of Dumouriez, who seceded from the republican party upon the execution of the unfortunate Louis XVI., General Dampierre succeeded to the command of the almost disbanded army, and, ably seconded by Kilmaine, established complete discipline.

In the campaign of 1793, Kilmaine—appointed a general of division—acted with his accustomed gallantry, to which high testimony is borne in Dampierre's report. He had two horses shot under him in the "murderous affairs of the 1st and 2nd May," and was engaged in six days' incessant skirmishing without once sheathing his sword. On the attempt of Dampierre to deliver Condé, May 8, the French were routed with great loss, Dampierre being among the slain. Kilmaine, with his cavalry, covered the rear of the retreating French, and, by his skill and bravery, preserved them from utter destruction. He was soon after ordered, with his division, to guard the Forest of Ardennes.

The army on the north-east frontier, reduced in number and badly generalled, met a series of reverses that drove the people frantic. Some of the French generals had been accused of corresponding with the enemy. Their real or supposed guilt excited the popular rage; and the general who was so unfortunate as to suffer defeat and survive, fell a victim to the belief that the people had been betrayed. In view of the risk of being denounced as a traitor, he was gifted with rare courage who accepted the command of an army, hampered as it was by the surveillance and authority of civil commissioners who knew nothing whatever of military movements.

Leaving the Forest of Ardennes, Kilmaine rejoined the main army on the banks of the Scheldt early in August. He found the army in a state of commotion, bordering on frenzy. The situation was desperate. No one dared to assume the leadership in the very presence of the scaffold, which was erected for the execution of the unhappy general who might prove so unfortunate as to sustain a reverse. The *bâton* of command was offered to Kilmaine. He accepted it, modestly expressing a wish, however, that some one "more skilful than himself should take the great responsibility of leading the troops of the republic."

France was just then in a critical position. The

brave Vendéans had raised the white banner of the Bourbons, and, under gallant leaders, struggled manfully with the republican armies; the Spaniards had crossed the Pyrenees; an English fleet was bombarding Toulon on the Mediterranean coast; Provence and Dauphiné were threatened by the Austrians; and the allies, under the Duke of York and the Prince of Coburg, were advancing against Kilmaine. The army of the latter numbered but 24,000 men, and was very poorly equipped. To fight the allies with such a force would most certainly entail defeat. If a battle were risked and lost, the road to the capital was open to the enemy, and the probable fall of Paris would insure the ruin of the republic. Conscious of the evil result of an engagement, Kilmaine wisely retreated on the enemy's approach, and fell back on the River Scarpe, and thence—still pursued—towards the River Somme. Fortunately for France, the allies declined further pursuit; the Duke of York turning about to besiege Dunkirk,* and the Austrians to take Quesnoy.

* Dunkirk was garrisoned by about 3,000 men under General O'Meara, an officer of the old Irish Brigade. The Duke of York advanced against it with 35,000 men; and, on the ground that the place was untenable, as the defences were in a deplorable condition, he summoned O'Meara to surrender. But the latter heroically replied, "I shall defend the town with the brave republicans I have the honor to command." This resolution he carried into effect, till Houchard hastened to his relief, and compelled the Duke of York to raise the siege and leave behind him fifty-two pieces of artillery and a great quantity of baggage and ammunition. In the engagement between Houchard and the English, the right wing of the French army was led by Lieutenant-General James O'Moran. He had distinguished himself in the American Revolution, and, besides the Order of St. Louis, was decorated with the American Order of Cincinnatus. In O'Connor's "Memoirs," we are informed: "O'Moran was the son of a shoemaker of Elphin, in the county of Roscommon. He had risen from the ranks in Dillon's Regiment, and, by his conduct and courage, had obtained the government of Condé; but he fell a victim to the revolutionary spirit of the times upon a false charge of having received British gold to favor the escape of the British army."

By this judicious retreat, Kilmaine saved the army and, without doubt, the republic; yet he could not but be aware that, by rendering this important service to his adopted country at a time when she was drunk with the blood of her citizens, he imperilled his own life. In declining to risk a battle, he had acted in direct opposition to the national representatives, and incurred their displeasure. His offence was punishable with death. Denounced to the National Convention, the lion-hearted Irishman was arrested and conveyed to Paris, where he was thrown into prison, there to reflect on the fate of the gallant Custine, his predecessor in command; his successor, Houchard, who gained a complete victory over the Duke of York, but omitted to follow out the full instructions of the Convention; Colonel Biron, under whom he had first obtained promotion; and the thousands of victims who were offered up an indiscriminate sacrifice to the Demon of Blood that possessed France in those days.

Kilmaine happily escaped the insatiable guillotine; and, on the fall of Robespierre, after having endured a year's imprisonment, he was restored to liberty. Though somewhat affected in health, he actively assisted General Pichegru to defend the National Convention in May, 1795, against the insurrectionary mob of Paris, and afforded material aid in the restoration of order.

When Napoleon Bonaparte undertook his famous journey across the Alps, in 1796, for the invasion of Italy, Kilmaine accompanied him in command of a division, and shared with that great soldier the glory of his brilliant campaign. Before the fortified town of Castiglione delle Stiviere, in Lombardy, Kilmaine fought, in August, at the head of his division; and, after several engagements, the Austrians were completely discomfited.

The investment of Mantua was commenced by General Bonaparte in July; and, in September, the direction of the siege was intrusted to Kilmaine, who, with Augereau, after a series of contests, forced

Wurmser, the veteran Austrian general and successful opponent of Massena, to shut himself up within the gates of the city. In an attempt to relieve Mantua, Alvinzi was defeated; and, in a second attempt, 7,000 of the enemy were made prisoners by Bonaparte and Kilmaine within gunshot of the walls.

Several furious sallies were made by Wurmser, in which he got roughly handled. In one of these actions, Kilmaine had his horse shot under him, which caused a report to be spread through Europe that he was killed. Alvinzi again advanced to raise the siege in November; but he was routed at Vicenza after a long and bloody conflict, in which Kilmaine shared with honor. Early the next month, under cover of a tremendous fire of artillery, Wurmser made a desperate sortie from the beleaguered city about daybreak; but, as Bonaparte testifies, "General Kilmaine made him return as usual faster than he came out, and took from him two hundred men, one howitzer, and two pieces of cannon." Kilmaine conducted his operations with marked ability. His untiring vigilance deprived Wurmser of all hope of succor; and, on the 3rd of February, 1797, the Austrian general, after a most vigorous defence of more than six months, surrendered his garrison as prisoners of war. The fall of Mantua was celebrated with public rejoicings in Paris.

By his subsequent measures, which were conducted with characteristic promptness, Kilmaine paved the way for the subjugation of Venice by Bonaparte, who was not slow to appreciate the valuable assistance rendered him by the Irish soldier in his glorious campaigns.

While Kilmaine was covering himself with glory in Italy, his countrymen in Ireland were concerting measures for the overthrow of the English supremacy. Dubious of their ability to contend single-handed against England successfully, they sought help from abroad. Accredited envoys of the Executive of the United Irish People were sent to Paris to negotiate with the Directory for men and arms. No Frenchman entered into the spirit of this movement with such

ardor as the young and gallant Hoche, whose ability as a general was unexcelled even by Napoleon Bonaparte. General Hoche sailed for Ireland in December, 1796, accompanied by Theobald Wolfe Tone; but, through the unaccountable separation of the fleet, the expedition miscarried. On his return, Hoche was appointed to the command of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse. Tone, to whom he had become fondly attached, was made his adjutant-general; and the high-minded Frenchman, ambitious to humble the English, cordially supported his friend in his endeavors to get another armament fitted out.

About the beginning of the summer of 1797, John Edward Lewins arrived on the continent, empowered by the Irish Executive to treat with France, Spain, and Holland. His proposals were favorably received by each of these powers, more particularly the last. So heartily did the Dutch republic embrace the cause, that its entire navy and army were fitted out to assist the proposed revolution in Ireland. The expedition consisted of 16 sail of the line and 10 frigates, with 15,000 men, 3,000 stand of arms, and 80 pieces of artillery. Money sufficient for the pay and maintenance of the men for three months was also supplied. Admiral De Winter had command of the fleet, and General Daendels of the army. Wolfe Tone was to have accompanied this expedition; but adverse winds detained the fleet at the Texel so long, that the supplies were nearly exhausted; and the Dutch commander sent Tone to consult with Hoche as to the measures to be adopted under these circumstances. But Tone found the general on whom he most relied stretched upon his death-bed. General Hoche died on the 19th September, 1797. This was a sad blow to the great Irish patriot, who sincerely mourned the general's loss both as a friend and an earnest and powerful advocate of the interests of Ireland. Believing that the Dutch government would abandon the enterprise for a time, Tone returned to Paris. But, as the wind had set fair, the Dutch fleet received orders to put to sea at

of England and the relief of Ireland ended in a few desultory expeditions to the latter country. General Humbert, with 1,000 men, sailed from Rochelle on his own responsibility, expecting, by so doing, to stir up the Directory to activity. His successful descent on Killala and his dispersion of 6,000 troops at Castlebar were soon counteracted by a large army under the Marquis of Cornwallis. In response to the urgent solicitations of Tone and Kilmaine, the Directory despatched General Hardy and 3,000 men with a fleet under Commodore Bompard. Wolfe Tone accompanied this ill fated expedition. The flotilla was scattered by contrary winds; and but four vessels reached Lough Swilly, where they encountered an English fleet. The French endeavored to escape. One vessel only succeeded in doing so; the rest were taken after a brave and bloody resistance. Wolfe Tone, who commanded a battery on board the "Hoche," and fought with rare courage, was among the prisoners. His subsequent sad fate filled Ireland with deep grief; for in him she lost one of her most devoted and most gifted sons. But his name still lives in the hearts of his countrymen, and will be held by them in fond remembrance till time shall be no more.

Towards the end of the year, the grand *Armée d'Angleterre* was completely dissolved, and Kilmaine saw his dreams dissipated, but consoled himself with the hope that a fitter opportunity would arise for their realization. Next year, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Army of Helvetia designed to subdue Switzerland; but his failing health compelled him to resign the *bâton* to Massena.

Kilmaine returned to Paris. His mental sufferings accelerated his death, which took place on the 15th of December, 1799, in the forty-ninth year of his age; leaving France to mourn one of her most able and gallant soldiers, and Ireland one of her most distinguished sons.

The ardent temperament and integrity of the Irish

exile secured him many personal friends. He was ever solicitous of the welfare of his soldiers, and, though a strict disciplinarian, was regarded by them with deep affection and esteem. In the most daring undertakings, though of infirm health, he was resolute and cool, and his bravery was the theme of every tongue. Count Montholon describes him as an excellent cavalry officer, with coolness and foresight. "He was well fitted to command a corps of observation, detached upon those arduous or delicate commissions which require spirit, discernment, and sound judgment. He rendered important services to the army, of which he was one of the principal generals, notwithstanding the delicacy of his health."

The Chevalier Charles Wogan.

THE Stuarts counted among their adherents none more devoted than the Wogans of Rathcoffy, in Kildare. Upon his defeat at Worcester, in 1651, Charles II. owed his safety to Colonel Wogan, who, in the outskirts of the town, withstood the onset of Cromwell's whole army with 300 horse till the king had made good his escape. Previous to that battle, this daring Irish officer rode through England with a small party of cavalry to join Charles in the Highlands, though the country swarmed with Parliamentary foes. One of the most noteworthy members of that family, likewise characterized by his loyalty to those princes who, in common with their class, so little deserved it, was the friend of Dean Swift,—the accomplished Chevalier CHARLES WOGAN, an account of whose adventures would furnish abundant material for a marvellously sensational romance.

In 1715, Charles Wogan, his brother Nicholas, Colonel Henry Oxburgh, and James Talbot were the Irish delegates sent to Northumberland to co-operate with three others (English) in making arrangements for the projected rising in that county in favor of the son of James II. The movement, however, collapsed by the surrender of the Jacobite forces under Thomas Forster, the Earl of Derwentwater, and MacIntosh of Borlum, to General George Carpenter, at Preston, in Lancashire; and Charles Wogan was among the captured. He, with the most important of the prisoners, was taken pinioned to London, put in irons, and confined in Newgate. Indicted for high treason, he and some of his companions were to be tried at Westminster Hall, May, 1716. Not desirous, however,

of abiding the pleasure of the judges, they planned escape. Accordingly, the night before the day appointed for the trial, Wogan and Talbot, with five gallant Scotch officers—Brigadier-General MacIntosh, his son James, Robert and William Dalmahoy, and Hepburne of Keith—and a servant named Tasker, overpowered the keeper and turnkey, and forced their way out of prison through a guard of grenadiers. Some other prisoners, who availed themselves of this opportunity, followed, but were retaken; and Talbot,* also, was unfortunate enough to fall again into his captors' hands two days after.

The rest managed to elude pursuit. A reward of £500 offered for the rearrest of Wogan sharpened the wits of the detectives, and their bloodhound instincts tracked him to his refuge in that great London city. About the middle of the day, the house wherein he lodged was surrounded, and his capture seemed inevitable; but he gained the housetop, and, though a crowd of people had assembled, dodged his pursuers, and, soon after, was safe in France.

When James Francis Edward Stuart, the son of James II., looked about him for a wife, the beautiful young Princess Maria Clementina Sobieski—daughter of Prince James Louis Sobieski and granddaughter of the famous John Sobieski, King of Poland—was recommended to him by the Chevalier Wogan. In this selection, Prince James readily acquiesced. It was necessary, for political reasons, that the negotiations for the match should be conducted in secret; but the whole matter having been taken out of Wogan's hands, and intrusted to two Scotch gentlemen attending at the Stuart court,—James Murray and John Hay, afterwards created Earls of Dunbar and Inverness respectively by James,—intelligence of the proposed marriage reached the ears of George I., King of England. Apprehensive of the alliance with Austria, Spain,

* He was finally set at liberty, and became an officer in the Spanish army.

Bavaria, &c., which such a marriage would bring about, and the bar likely to be raised to the succession of his heirs to the throne of England, George determined to exert all his influence against it. An offer of £100,000 was made by him as an addition to the dower of the Princess Maria if she would consent to wed the Prince of Baden-Baden; and the Emperor Charles VI., cousin-german to the princess, was threatened with the withdrawal of English friendship if he permitted the proposed alliance between the Sobieski and Stuart families.

To show his regard for his powerful ally, the emperor—who was dependent just then on England for naval support in defending his Italian possessions against Spain—caused the Princess Maria and her mother (his cousin and aunt) to be arrested in September, 1718, and confined at Innsbrück, in the Tyrol. When news of this arbitrary proceeding was conveyed to the Stuart court, deep chagrin was experienced by all concerned. No course was now left open to Prince James but to rely on the well known chivalry and daring of Charles Wogan for the release of the princess from captivity. Like a true knight-errant, the gallant Irishman, when appealed to, readily consented to undertake the dangerous task, which involved the penalty of an ignominious death on the scaffold if he failed and fell into the hands of the enemy. But he stipulated, in order that the strictest propriety should be observed and due regard paid to the feelings of the princess, that James Stuart should write to Prince James Sobieski (son of the great Polish hero and father to the captive princess), and induce him to give Wogan a letter to his daughter, desiring her to repose all trust in the bearer, and avail herself of his measures to escape from Innsbrück.

Setting about the undertaking promptly, Wogan, under disguise, had an interview with the princess at Innsbrück, and prepared her for the contemplated rescue. He then proceeded to Ohlau, in Silesia, to procure the sanction of her father for the proposed flight.

Sobieski at first demurred to the enterprise, and would not believe—in the face of the hazards to be incurred—that it would be crowned with success; but, persuaded at length by the confident assertions of Wogan as to its certainty, he wrote the requisite commands to his daughter; and, as a proof of his confidence in the man to whom he intrusted his beloved daughter's safety, he presented him with a costly snuff-box, formed of a single turquoise, enchased with gold of rare workmanship. The value of this snuff-box—which was beyond estimate as a work of art—was further enhanced by the fact that it was a portion of the spoil taken from the pavilion of the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, on the day when the immortal John Sobieski, at the gates of Vienna, saved Europe from the domination of the Osmanli.

Looking about him for companions in this hazardous undertaking, Wogan selected from Dillon's Regiment (then lying at Schelestadt, within twenty-seven miles of Strasbourg) three kinsmen of his own; namely, Major Richard Gaydon, of Irishtown; Captain Luke O'Toole, of Victoria; and Captain John Misset, of Kildare. They all readily agreed to accompany him, and warmly assisted him in forwarding the arrangements for the accomplishment of his object. It was necessary that they should be accompanied by some of the gentler sex; and when the young wife of Captain Misset was appealed to by her husband, though for some months *enceinte*, and of a very timid and gentle nature, her womanly sympathy was aroused, and, in her warm Irish nature, she declared she was ready to go with them at once and undergo any hardship to release the unhappy young lady from captivity. Her maid Jannetton—from whom the real nature of the expedition was at first concealed—also consented to be one of the party, under the impression that it was designed to carry off a rich heiress from her hard-hearted relatives, and unite her to Captain O'Toole. The services of Michael Vezzosi, a trusty young Florentine, valet to the "Pretender," were also secured.

In April, 1719, the necessary commands having been obtained from Prince James Sobieski to his daughter, and fictitious passports procured, Wogan and his party set out on their journey from Strasbourg. Major Gaydon and Madame Misset, with Wogan and Jannetton, travelled in a strongly built carriage, drawn by six post-horses, attended by Captains O'Toole and Misset, with the valet Vezzosi, as outriders. The passports procured by Wogan from Rome announced Major Gaydon and Madame Misset as the Count and Countess de Cernes, of a noble house in Flanders, who were on a visit with their family to the Santa Casa of our Lady of Loreto. Wogan passed as brother to the countess; and the Princess Maria, if every thing passed off as desired, was to play the part of sister. As they were leaving Strasbourg, they were bade farewell by Lieutenant-Colonel Gerard Lally (father to the celebrated Count Arthur Lally), who looked on the enterprise as utterly hopeless, and, brave as he was, could not refrain from shedding tears, under the belief that he should see them no more.

In about a week, they arrived in the vicinity of Innsbrück, where correspondence was opened with the princess and her mother, duly apprising them of the preparations made. It was concerted that the Princess Maria should feign illness and keep her bed for a couple of days previous to her proposed flight; and, on the night of the 27th, Jannetton was privately introduced to her apartment. Putting on the maid's shabby cloak, provided for the occasion, the granddaughter of the great Sobieski—accompanied only by a Polish page, bearing a parcel containing some articles of dress and a casket of jewels—slipped out of the house in the middle of the night. A blinding tempest of snow and hail raged abroad; but, unmindful of the warring elements,—whose strife was, indeed, favorable to her just then,—the princess, unobserved by the sentinels who had sought shelter from the storm, made her way to the corner of the street, where she found Wogan in waiting. She was at once conveyed

to an inn, where she was clothed in a dry suit by Madame Misset. At sunrise in the morning, all of the party (except Jannetton) were fifteen miles from Innsbrück.

Jannetton (who had been left behind to play the part of the sick princess, in order to delay the knowledge of the flight as long as possible), on the plea of being worse, had the curtains closed round her bed, and refused to see any one. In order to avert suspicion from her mother's complicity in the transaction, the fugitive princess left behind a letter addressed to her, in which she implored pardon for the step she was compelled to take to join her affianced husband.

As soon as the flight of the princess was discovered, couriers were despatched in hot haste in all directions, with instructions to the different authorities to use all possible means to apprehend her and her deliverers. About two o'clock on the morning of the 29th, one of these couriers came up with O'Toole and Misset, who rode considerably in the rear of the carriage for the purpose of intercepting any such unwelcome advent. Jaded with his hard ride, and ignorant of the travellers' identity with those whom his despatches concerned, the courier gladly accepted their hospitable invitation to supper at the next inn, and was soon overcome with the potency of the liquor with which they plied him. As soon as he was in a state of helpless ebriety, they took his despatches from him and put him to bed, from which he was unable to rise till pursuit was useless. His despatches were destroyed; and the jolly Irishmen, laughing at the easy manner by which they prevented an otherwise inevitable capture, resumed their journey.

On the third day, without meeting any serious mishap, the princess and her gallant deliverers were in the Venetian territory; and, on the 15th of May, they entered Rome in state, and were received with every demonstration of public enthusiasm.

When the Emperor Charles VI. found the Princess Maria beyond his control, he—to prove to George of

Hanover and the English government that he was in no way privy to her escape—persecuted his aunt, the mother of the princess, to such a degree that she was thrown into a violent fever. He also exiled Prince James Sobieski to Passau, and sequestrated a large sum of money due that prince by Austria.

On the 15th of June, Wogan, Gaydon, O'Toole, and Misset were each publicly invested in the Capitol at Rome with the title of Roman senator, on which occasion an oration was delivered by the Prince of the Senate, Count Hippolito Albani, in which he eulogized the Princess Maria and her liberators.

The Princess Maria Clementina Sobieski was married on the 2nd September, 1719, to James Francis Edward Stuart, styled James III., King of England, &c. Of this union were born, at Rome, the last "pretender" to the throne of Great Britain, Charles Edward Louis Philip Casimir, Prince of Wales; and Henry Benedict Edward Alfred Louis Thomas, Duke and Cardinal of York, Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, &c.

Prince James Francis Edward expressed to Wogan his deep sense of the important service rendered him, and was profuse in his promises of substantial rewards should he ever mount the throne of England. He created Wogan a knight-baronet and a brigadier-general by brevet in his prospective army; while he knighted Gaydon, O'Toole, and Misset, and appointed them colonels in the same visionary force.

Gaydon became a lieutenant-colonel in the French army, and died at an advanced age in 1745. O'Toole fell in battle, leading a charge of grenadiers. Misset accompanied Wogan to Spain, and received a colonelcy from Philip V. He died in 1733, while Governor of Oran, in the Barbary States. His widow removed to Barcelona, and long survived the faithful Jannetton, who died in her service in 1739.

Upon quitting Rome to proceed to Spain, Wogan took Genoa in his route. During his stay there, an attempt was made by the English envoy to induce the republic to deliver him into the power of England;

and, in order to further this end, a lying memorial was presented to the Senate of Genoa, representing that Wogan was implicated in the assassination of five or six couriers between Innsbrück and Trent. The Genoese Senate, however, would not allow him to be interfered with, and he continued on his way to Spain. He was received with great kindness by Philip V., and obtained from that monarch the commission of colonel. In the wars against the Moors in Barbary, Colonel Wogan was greatly distinguished for his bravery, and, on more than one occasion, defeated hordes of those fierce warriors with but a small body of Spaniards.

Actively as the chevalier was employed in the bloody work of war, he found time to devote to the cultivation of *belles-lettres*. He corresponded with Dean Swift, and was thus continually apprised of the proceedings at home. He astonished the dean by sending him for criticism—along with a present of some Casala wine—“a history, a dedication, poetical translations of the Seven Penitential Psalms, Latin poems, and the like,—and all from a soldier!” These effusions were very favorably criticised by Swift, who, in his reply to Wogan, said: “In these kingdoms, you would be a most unfortunate military man among troops where the least pretension to learning or piety or common morals would endanger the owner to be cashiered. Although I have no regard for your trade from the judgment I make of those who profess it in these kingdoms, yet *I cannot but highly esteem those gentlemen of Ireland, who, with all the disadvantages of being exiles and strangers, have been able to distinguish themselves, by their valor and conduct, in so many parts of Europe, I think, above all other nations.*”

O’Callaghan’s research traces the last mention of the Chevalier Wogan to a letter of Prince Charles Edward, written at Guadalaxara, in Spain, March, 1747, to his father, “James III.,” from which we can gather that Wogan had been appointed to a governorship by the King of Spain.

Count Ulysses Maximilian Brown,

FIELD-MARSHAL-GENERAL OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.

WHEN Limerick was surrendered to the armies of William III., two brothers—Ulysses and George Brown*—were among those Irishmen who left their native country, and sought work for their swords elsewhere. They both entered the Austrian army, and attained high military rank. Count Ulysses Brown was colonel of cuirassiers in the service of Joseph I., Emperor of Germany, when his son Ulysses Maximilian first saw the light.

ULYSSES MAXIMILIAN BROWN was born at Basle, in Switzerland, on the 24th of October, 1705. He was sent to Limerick at a very early age, in order to be nurtured by the friends of his family while his father pursued his military duties. Upon the breaking out of hostilities between Austria and Turkey, in 1715, Count George Brown sent for his nephew that he might—though only ten years of age—join his regiment at the seat of war, and be inducted into the arduous duties of a soldier's life.

Christendom was alarmed at the mighty preparations made for its invasion by the Sultan Achmet III., and waited breathlessly while the famous Eugene of Savoy advanced with an Austrian army to check the progress of the infidel hosts. Young Brown accom-

* The Browns of Ireland are of English descent. They settled principally in Connaught, Kerry, Limerick, Waterford, and Kildare.

panied his uncle's regiment in the campaigns that followed, and was present at the overthrow of the Moslems near Carlovitz in 1716, and at Belgrade the next year. Christendom gathered heart, and its alarm subsided: the mighty Moslem hosts had melted before Eugene, as frost beneath the noonday sun. A treaty of peace was signed in 1718; and Austria added to her dominions the provinces of Servia and Belgrade, and portions of Bosnia and Wallachia.

Thus, at a very tender age, Ulysses was a participant in all the horror and glory of war; and under the eye of his uncle, in those fearful struggles with the Turk, he learned the rudiments of that dread art in which he afterwards became so proficient. From a school so severe, he was sent to the Clementine College in Rome, where for a time he pursued studies of a more peaceful character. He next went to Prague, and there perfected himself in the study of civil law.

In 1723, he entered the Austrian army with the rank of captain in the regiment of infantry commanded by his uncle, Count George Brown, and, two years after, attained the lieutenant-colonelcy of the same corps.

Having become enamored of Maria Philippina, Countess of Martinitz,—a young and beautiful Bohemian lady,—he sought her hand in marriage, and was united to her in August, 1726.

He served with the successful expedition to Corsica in 1730, and was severely wounded in the thigh at the capture of Callansara. In 1732, he was made chamberlain of the empire.

Austria, in conjunction with Russia, having determined to coerce the Poles into accepting Augustus, Elector of Saxony, as their king, became involved in war with France; the latter country taking up the cause of the father-in-law of Louis XV., Stanislaus Leszczyński, who had been called to the throne of Poland by the voice of the people. Hostilities broke out in 1733. The Marshal Duke of Berwick crossed the Rhine, and took the strong fortress of Kehl after

a short siege; and the veteran Marshal de Villars passed into Italy, and, uniting with the Piedmontese under Charles Emanuel III., overran and conquered all the duchy of Milan and Austrian Lombardy, with the exception of Mantua. An Austrian army was despatched to oppose the progress of the Duke of Berwick; and Count Merci, with another, marched into northern Italy. Count Brown, appointed to the command of a regiment of infantry, accompanied the latter general, and, throughout the campaign, proved himself to be a consummate soldier. Leaving 6,000 men to protect Mantua,—the only place not captured by the French,—Merci passed the Po near Santo Benedetto, driving the French before him, and recovered Guastalla and other cities.

Merci advanced towards Parma, and on the 29th June, 1734, against the advice of Colonel Brown and other officers, gave battle to the French army drawn up in front of the city. For ten hours the conflict was maintained with terrible energy, and the havoc was great on both sides. Retiring before the Austrians, the French made one last stand at a farm-house, and from there poured forth such a fearful fire as to mow down whole companies of their adversaries. Count Brown acted with distinguished gallantry in this dreadful struggle, and had his horse shot under him. The battle ended by the withdrawal of the French in good order within the city walls; and the Austrians fell back upon Guastalla. In this contest, the imperial general, Count Merci, fell mortally wounded. Many officers of note were returned as killed on both sides.

The Austrian position between the Crostolo and the Po was attacked by the French and Spaniards on the 19th of September, and after some hours' hard fighting, in which Count Brown charged the foe repeatedly at the head of his regiment, the Austrians were forced to give way, having lost a large number of men; the Prince of Würtemberg (the imperial commander) and the Prince of Saxe-Gotha being among the general officers slain. By the most strenuous exertions,

Count Brown maintained order among the defeated imperialists, and, with his own regiment, gallantly covered their retreat to another position on the north of the Po, thus saving the army from entire destruction. In these two battles of Parma and Guastalla, 10,000 Austrians were left on the field.

The Marshal Duc de Noailles having thrown a bridge over the Adige, the safety of the Austrian cause imperatively demanded its destruction. Count Brown undertook this important task. At the head of his regiment, in sight of the whole French army, from whose dense masses a murderous fire of artillery and musketry was poured upon his little force, he succeeded in this most brilliant achievement.

The success of the French arms induced the Emperor Charles VI. to sue for peace; and, upon its conclusion, he rewarded Count Brown with the rank of general for the distinguished services he had rendered in the unfortunate Lombardo campaign.

Count Brown had little time to repose on his laurels. Hardly had peace been negotiated with France, when Austria became engaged in a war which had broken out between Russia and Turkey, being bound by treaty to assist the former power against the latter. The Turks invaded Hungary. To protect that kingdom, Field-Marshal Seckendorf and General Count Brown were despatched with a small force, which was, after considerable delay, augmented to 34,000 men. Through the want of funds and an inadequacy of proper supplies, these generals were placed in an embarrassing situation, and had great difficulty in appeasing the clamors of the soldiers, who had to undergo severe hardships on bare subsistence. They were in no condition to contend against the numerous and well equipped armies of the sultan in the field; yet Count Brown captured many small fortresses, but Marshal Seckendorf lost some of importance.

By orders from the emperor, Seckendorf and Brown fought their way westward through Servia, with 20,000 men, to the assistance of the Prince of Hildburghausen,

who was besieging Banjaluka,—an important and strongly fortified town in Bosnia on the Verbas, a tributary of the River Save. They arrived just as the prince, after a bloody conflict with the Turks, was retreating towards the Save. By the timely exertions of Count Brown, the wounded men and the baggage were prevented from falling into the hands of the enemy; and he gallantly shielded the rear of the retreating army as it passed over the Save.

Disheartened by his reverses, Charles VI. withdrew from the contest, and concluded a treaty with the Ottoman empire at Belgrade. On the return of Count Brown to Vienna, in 1739, he was received with the highest favor at court, and was created field-marshal-lieutenant and a member of the Aulic Council of War. His three colleagues in the conduct of the war met with a far different reception. Exasperated at their mismanagement, the emperor caused Marshal Seckendorf, Marshal Wallace, and Count Neipperg to be cast into prison, there to brood over their disgrace in solitude till released by the clemency of his successor.

The decease of the Emperor Charles VI., without male issue, in 1740, involved Europe in fresh hostilities, known as the War of the Austrian Succession. During his lifetime, Charles devised the Pragmatic Sanction, which guaranteed the succession to his daughter. This was ratified by the other nations of Europe. Nevertheless, those nations looked upon the German empire with covetous eyes, and proposed to apportion it among themselves; but the daughter of the dead Charles—the Archduchess Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia—determined to preserve her father's dominions intact. Prussia was the first aggressor. France, Spain, and other powers next declared war against Maria Theresa ostensibly in the interests of the Elector of Bavaria, elected to fill the imperial throne as Charles VII. Subsequently, England, Holland, and Sardinia ranged themselves on the side of the empress-queen, and the war became general. Each party, of course, took the side that

was likely to serve its own ends, without a scintilla of regard for the question really at issue.

Frederick II. of Prussia commenced hostilities by invading Silesia with the avowed purpose of adding that province to his dominions. Count Brown commanded at Breslau, the Silesian capital. When Frederick appeared before that town in the beginning of 1741, with a large army, Brown had but 3,000 men to oppose him. Abandoning Breslau, the count withdrew towards Moravia, disputing the advance of the Prussian monarch inch by inch. Marshal Neipperg, having been released from captivity, was despatched by Maria Theresa to Brown's assistance. Upon his arrival at Olmutz, in Moravia, Neipperg—though much inferior in ability to Brown—assumed command of the imperial forces as senior officer, and sent General Lentulus to prevent the entrance of the Prussians into Bohemia by the narrow defiles of Glatz. Meanwhile, Neipperg's cavalry engaged the Prussians in several sharp skirmishes in the vicinity of the Neiss, in one of which Frederick was nearly taken prisoner. Having at length concentrated his forces, Neipperg encountered the Prussians at the village of Molwitz, about three miles from the Neiss, on April 10.

Supported by a heavy fire of artillery, the Prussian infantry advanced to the charge through the snow, with which the ground was covered to the depth of two feet. So rapid was the fire of these troops, that they discharged their pieces three times while the Austrians fired once. The contest raged fiercely for hours. An attack on the Prussian left by Count Rømer, with thirty squadrons of horse, caused it to fall back; but the fire of a grenadier reserve repulsed the Austrians, killing Rømer at their head. Meanwhile, Count Brown led the imperial infantry against Frederick's "walking batteries," as the king termed his foot soldiers; and a most obstinate and bloody combat ensued, which was sustained so long, that many of the combatants found it necessary to replace their expended ammunition from the pouches of the dead.

A demonstration having been made by Marshal Schwerin against Neipperg's right, the Austrians were routed; and Frederick obtained a complete victory. Count Neipperg, who was himself among the wounded, lost 180 officers and 7,000 men killed, 3,000 wounded, 1,200 prisoners, 3 standards, and 7 cannon. While that terrible carnage was raging round him, Count Brown displayed the utmost heroism; and when the retreat was ordered, though severely wounded and faint from loss of blood, he never left the saddle, and protected the army in its retreat.

After this victory, the King of Prussia made himself master of Silesia, and established his headquarters at Breslau. The Bavarians and French, commanded respectively by the elector and the Duc de Belleisle, had now taken the field against Austria, and were rapidly moving on Vienna. Their near approach obliged Maria Theresa to withdraw to Presburg, in Hungary, and leave her capital garrisoned by Marshal Kevenhüller and 12,000 men. In answer to the appeal of the empress-queen for aid, the Hungarian nobles vowed that they were ready to die in her cause; and an army of 30,000 men was raised, with which the venerable Count Palfy marched to the relief of Vienna. Marshal Neipperg, with 20,000 men, watched Bavaria to protect Bohemia from hostile demonstrations in that quarter; and, during the campaigns of 1742 to 1743, Count Brown, who served with him, had many severe encounters with the enemy's troops, in which the latter learned they had to deal with an able soldier.

Under Prince Charles of Lorraine,* who succeeded Marshal Neipperg in command of the army, the Austrians fought a drawn battle with the allies at Braunau, in which both sides suffered considerable loss. The Austrian forces under Prince Charles, Prince Lobkowitz (who had driven the French from the Upper

* Charles of Lorraine was deficient in personal courage, and notoriously incapable as a general; but his connection with the imperial family secured to him the honors really due to those beneath him in rank.

Palatinate), and Count Brown, having now united, obliged the Marshal de Broglie to abandon Pladling on the Danube, and fall back hastily towards the Rhine, pressed hard by the pursuing Austrians. Count Brown, who was in command of the imperial vanguard, seized Deckendorf, and captured a vast quantity of baggage. He made a terrible onslaught on the French, who abandoned the banks of the Danube, thus enabling Prince Charles to cross that river in perfect security.*

Lorraine and Brown pursued the French to Donawert, where the fugitives were re-enforced by 12,000 men under Count Saxe; but Marshal de Broglie's numbers being still inadequate to cope with the Austrians, he retired to Heilbronn, in Würtemberg. At this last place, the French general abandoned all his baggage and artillery, and, still followed by the Austrians, retreated precipitately to Prague, which was held by the Duc de Belleisle. Prague was invested, Lorraine rejecting the offer of Belleisle to surrender all the places captured in Bohemia if permitted to march home with the honors of war. Marshal de Maillebois marched to the relief of the beleagured garrison; but Prince Charles, leaving Lobkowitz and Brown to watch the city, went forth to meet him, and drove him off.

Hopeless of maintaining a defence and of being relieved, Belleisle abandoned the city, one cold December night, with 14,000 men and 30 guns, and retreated towards Alsace; enduring great hardships in his mid-winter march, but consoled, perhaps, by the reflection

* In commemoration of this event, a memorial pillar was erected on the spot, bearing the following inscription, in which the name of the Irish soldier holds an honorable place:—

“Theresiæ Austriacæ Augustæ Duce exercitus,
Carlo Alexandro Lothairingico,
Septemdecim, superatis hostilibus villis,
Captoque Deckendorfio, renitentibus undis,
Resistentibus Gallis,
Duce exercitus Ludovico Borbonio Contio,
Transivit hic Danubium,
Ulysses Maximilianus Brown, Campi Marashalus,
Die 5^o Junii,” A.D. 1743.

that he "was at liberty to compare himself with Xenophon," as Michelet caustically remarks. The small garrison (900 men), which he left behind to divert the attention of the Austrians from his flight, surrendered at discretion; and all Bohemia was restored to Austria. By the treaty of Breslau, however, the duchy of Silesia was added to the kingdom of Prussia as the terms of peace with that power.

Anxious to recover the Austrian possessions in Italy, taken by the Spaniards during the life of her father, Maria Theresa sought the assistance of England and Sardinia in the furtherance of her views. She, accordingly, despatched Count Brown, whom she had made a privy councillor of the kingdom of Bohemia for his services during the recent campaigns, to meet the representatives of those powers at Worms, in 1743, and arrange with them the terms of an alliance. Brown acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the empress, and gave proofs that he could serve with as much ability in the cabinet as in the camp. The conference resulted in the agreement of Sardinia to provide an army of 45,000 to act with an Austrian army against the Spaniards in Italy, while England bound herself to co-operate by sea.

Towards the latter part of the year, Count Brown was sent to Italy to join Prince Lobkowitz, who had forced the Spaniards under Count Gages to leave their intrenched camp in Romagna and fall back on Fano. The Austrian generals established their headquarters at Monte Rotondo, near Rome; but they had not been there long when imperial despatches reached them, ordering the invasion of Naples. Upon the advance of the Austrians, Count Gages retreated southwards. Prince Lobkowitz having halted with the main portion of the army in the little marquisate of Ancona, Brown continued in pursuit of Gages with the advance-guard. Crossing over the Tronto into the kingdom of Naples, the Irish general advanced along the shore of the Adriatic, giving the country to fire and the sword, while his hussars had daily skirmishes with the Spanish

rear-guard. Failing in his endeavors to induce the inhabitants of the Abruzzo to revolt, he levied contributions in bread and money on the people of the towns. These harsh measures—to which he was compelled by imperial orders—were much softened in all cases by his own merciful disposition.

As the snow was too deep in the passes to permit the transport of artillery and baggage, Lobkowitz decided upon not entering Naples by the coast road, and recalled Count Brown. On being rejoined by the latter, he marched by way of Umbria and the Campagna di Roma, with 6,000 horse and 20,000 foot, to Castellana, where a council of war was held, and nothing definite arrived at. Finally, after a deal of undecided manœuvring, Lobkowitz resolved upon the attack of Velletri, the headquarters of the enemy.

Velletri lies about twenty-one miles to the south-east of Rome, and is situated upon a high mountain, surrounded by deep valleys, luxuriant with vines and olive-groves. Every precaution had been adopted to add to the natural strength of the place, and render it capable of a stout resistance to the most powerful army. There Charles of Naples and the Duke of Modena had established themselves. The king occupied the Ghinnetti family's palatial residence, which was protected by strong guards of soldiers, who filled the spacious gardens attached, while the adjoining bridge and all the approaches were planted with cannon. Two battalions of the celebrated Walloon Guard were posted on the Valmonte Road, communicating with the gardens; and the Royal Regiment of Horse and the Duke of Modena's Life Guards defended the Roman Gate. An Irish regiment (commanded by Colonel MacDonnell), four battalions of the Walloon Guard, and a body of cavalry were posted in the town on the left; the Spanish and Italian infantry being placed on the right.

To assail Velletri by surprise and capture the King of Naples became the desire of Lobkowitz. The execution of this plan was committed to Count Brown.

Convinced that the issue was extremely doubtful, Brown proposed a general assault, but was overruled. He then consented to undertake a night attack. On the night of the 10th of August, 1744, with a force of 6,000 men, he marched secretly and in strict silence from the Austrian camp. None of that army knew the object of the expedition except its leader and the Marquis of Novati, the second in command. Halting at the foot of a mountain, Brown acquainted his men with the hazardous nature of the enterprise, and exhorted them to acquit themselves bravely, promising them ample rewards in case of success.

Another temporary halt having been called soon after, it was reported that a soldier had deserted. Apprehensive of being betrayed in consequence, the Marquis of Novati urged a retreat; but the Irish leader heroically replied: "No! I am determined to advance. The die of war is thrown!"

At dawn of day, Brown commenced the attack on Velletri, cutting the cavalry outposts to pieces. His infantry and the Hungarian horse, pushing on through the vineyards, put a regiment of Italian dragoons to flight, and hewed their way to the streets. The only material check received was at the Neapolitan Gate, where the Austrians met a sturdy resistance from Colonel MacDonnell and his Irish soldiers. These brave fellows maintained their ground with invincible courage against overwhelming odds till they were nearly all slain. Colonel MacDonnell, with 43 of his officers and most of his men, fell in this sanguinary conflict; and the post they had so faithfully defended was heaped up with their dead bodies. On all sides the fight raged with fury. Count Brown animated his men by his bravery and his exhortations. In vain the King of Naples headed his guards, and strove to stem the onslaught of the Austrians. The assailants forced all the gates; and the king narrowly escaped capture, being indebted for his safety to the promptitude of Balthasar Nihell and other Irish officers in the service of Naples. The street leading to the Ghinnetti Palace

was set on fire, and the Duke of Atri barely escaped with his life from the flames.

Brown failed in his chief design,—the capture of the King of Naples; but, as his troops had commenced to plunder and were endangered by the arrival of the forces under Count Gages, he was compelled to order a retreat. He carried off a large number of prisoners, including General Mariano (taken in bed) and 100 other officers, besides 500 horses laden with plunder, and 15 standards and colors. The Austrians lost 500 men, most of them having fallen in the struggle with the Irish at the Neapolitan Gate. Among those who particularly distinguished themselves in this fight was the gallant young Lacy, aide-de-camp to Count Brown and son of Field-Marshal Lacy, of Russia. Three horses were killed under him. The Marquis of Novati (Brown's second in command) was taken prisoner. In killed and captured, the enemy sustained a loss of 3,000 men and 1,300 horses; the greater number of the latter being hamstrung by the Austrians, and the rest, as mentioned, carried off.

Though closely pressed by the Spanish general, Brown conducted his retreat with skill, and rejoined Lobkowitz. Finding himself unable to cope with Gages, the prince broke up his camp, and retired northwards. In the contests that occurred with the pursuing enemy, Brown behaved with great daring. Winter put an end to the campaign, and both parties withdrew to encampments.

Recalled from Italy in 1745, Count Brown was sent against the Elector of Bavaria (the Emperor Charles VII.), from whom he took the town of Vilshosen. The successes of the Austrians caused the elector to sue for peace; and, on the termination of hostilities in that quarter, Brown (now general of ordnance) was sent to join the Prince of Liechtenstein in the north of Italy, where that general was contending against the French and Spaniards under Marshal de Maillebois. Through Brown's indefatigable exertions, the enemy was expelled from the Milanese.

Following up this success by a series of rapid and brilliant movements, Brown crossed the Po at Borgoforte, while the Spaniards were blinded by the manoeuvres of a part of his corps, and his pretended attempt to throw a bridge across the river at Casale-Maggiore. The Spanish guards, stationed on the right bank of the river to watch the feigned movements, were surprised and utterly cut to pieces by a party of Austrians. When Brown gained the southern bank of the Po, he pushed on, and investing Luzzara, in Parma, took it by assault, capturing Marshal Count Corasin and 2,000 troops. Count Gages, who commanded the main body of the Spaniards, advanced against him on one flank; while the Marquis of Castellar, with another Spanish force, threatened the other. Brown, however, was joined by the Prince of Liechtenstein; and, with their united forces, they laid siege to the city of Parma, and took it.

On the 16th of June, 1746, the Austrians encountered the united French and Spanish forces under Marshal de Maillebois and Count Gages before Piacenza,—a Parmesan city, on the right bank of the Po. The city was surrounded by earthworks, and possessed a strong castle in addition to its defences. Its cannon served further to strengthen the naturally good position taken up by the allies in its front. The French were posted on the allied right, with a large body of Spaniards under Lieutenant-General Arambure; the centre was composed of the flower of the Spanish infantry; and the regiments of Naples and Genoa occupied the left. At daybreak, fire opened along the opposing lines. The Spaniards under Arambure charged the Austrians with great fury, and captured a battery of 26 pieces. Count Gages then broke the Austrian left, which was commanded by Count Brown, and was bearing all before him, when Brown, making a brilliant dash at the head of 250 dragoons, hurled back the Spanish and Walloon Guards, trampled them down, and changed the fortune of the day. With the rallied Austrians, the victorious Irishman

followed up the charge; and the brave Marshal de Maillebois, who was fighting on foot, in vain strove to restore order to the panic-stricken French. Completely beaten, the allies retreated precipitately, leaving 915 prisoners, 10 guns, and 30 pairs of colors in the hands of the Austrians. They had 3,220 killed (among whom were some general officers) and 4,460 wounded in that sanguinary fight. On the side of the victors, 3,500 were slain, and many disabled.

The allies attempted to cross the Po at the Lambro and Tydone on the 9th of August, but were held in check by Count Sabelloni with 7,000 Austrians till the arrival, next morning, of General Botta (the newly appointed commander-in-chief) and Count Brown to his assistance. A terrific conflict ensued, which terminated in the utter defeat of the allies, who left, in round numbers, 8,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners on the field, besides 19 pieces of cannon and 20 standards. The Austrians lost 4,000 men; the brave General Barenklau being among the slain, and Counts Brown and Pallavicini among the wounded.

Though wounded, Brown continued with the army in pursuit of the allies towards Genoa. From thence the enemy retreated to Nice, and eventually performed a retrograde movement to Parma. When Brown reached the suburbs of Genoa, having captured nearly all places of importance on his route, the terrified inhabitants deputed General Esceria to learn from the victorious general his intentions concerning the city; but the count refused to receive him. Raynerio Grimaldi and Augustino Lomellino (two citizens of note) were next despatched to the Austrian camp. On being admitted to an audience, the Genoese envoys, in a specious harangue, pressed the count to respect the neutrality of Genoa. They protested that they were not the enemies of Austria, and had committed no act of hostility; and pleaded that their alliance with the Bourbons was compulsory, and had been contracted to preserve the republic from war. Count Brown replied: "Seigneurs, you have acted the part of our most bitter

enemies. Without your assistance, what could the united armies of the Bourbons have effected? You sent them auxiliaries; you supplied them with provisions; and, after they had been striving for six years to cut a passage into Italy, you, Genoese, opened up a path to them, enabling them to essay the ruin of the Austrians in Venice and in Lombardy. Begone! and, without loss of time, desire your Senate to say no more of friendship for the present, but submit to us on those terms which my friend, General Gorani, will lay before you in writing."

Having dislodged 4,000 of the allies left to defend the Pass of La Bochetta,—a narrow and strongly fortified gorge in the northern Apennines,—Brown received the submission of the Genoese, who surrendered all their posts and arsenals, and gave him 50,000 pieces of gold.

Appointed generalissimo in Italy, Count Brown placed the Marquis of Botta in command of Genoa, and made preparations for the invasion of France. On the 30th of November, with an army of 50,000 Austrians and Sardinians, he crossed the River Var, which separates Provence from Nice. This he accomplished in the very face of the French army under the Marshal de Belleisle; his splendid squadrons of Croats and Hungarian hussars dashing down on the French with irresistible fury. An English fleet, under Vice-Admiral Medley, aided him by sea, and secured his left flank by driving out the garrison of Fort Laurette.

After taking the Isles of Sainte Marguerite and Saint Honorat, he invested Antibes, while the English bombarded it from the sea. Leaving Baron Roth to conduct the siege, Brown undertook an expedition against Draguignan, and captured that town by assault with the loss of 2,000 men; thus making himself master of all the open country between the Var and the Argens.

Stricken with fever, Count Brown was obliged to take to bed; but stirring news soon induced him to resume active command. The Genoese, roused to

madness by the exactions of the Marquis of Botta and the insolence of their conquerors, had flown to arms, and, expelling the Austrians with great slaughter, recovered the city; and the Marshals de Belleisle and Boufflers were moving rapidly to the relief of Antibes with a numerous army, which was to be supplemented by another large force hastening from Flanders. The appearance of the hostile host compelled Brown to raise the siege of Antibes; and he repassed the Var on the 23rd January, 1747, losing a considerable portion of his rear-guard, which was furiously attacked by the French. Having reached the opposite bank, he held the French in check till the mountain passes were secured by the King of Sardinia. Belleisle passed the Var on the 25th of May, and retook several forts from the Austrians. At the Pass of Exilles, the French encountered a large body of Piedmontese, whom they routed with terrible slaughter. Continuing his retreat, Brown reached Milan, where he established his headquarters,—his army reduced to about half its original strength. The skilful operations performed by him in the enemy's country, and his subsequent masterly retreat in spite of a numerous army, filled Europe with admiration.

He continued actively engaged in the defence of the Austrian possessions in Italy till the cessation of hostilities between the belligerents, brought about by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, which secured little advantage to any power after the lavish expenditure of blood and treasure; but, though her dominions were slightly curtailed by the loss of Silesia and portion of her possessions in northern Italy, Maria Theresa had the satisfaction of seeing her husband, Francis of Tuscany, confirmed as Emperor of Germany, he having succeeded to the title, after the death of the Bavarian Emperor Charles VII., in 1745.

The following year, in recompense for his invaluable services in the late war, the Empress Maria Theresa appointed Brown Governor of Transylvania, where his wise and impartial administration of the laws gained

him the love and respect of the people. The governorship of Prague, with the command of all the troops in Bohemia, was conferred on him in 1752; and, the next year, he was invested with the Collar of the Order of the White Eagle by Augustus, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. In 1754, he was created a marshal of the empire by the empress-queen.

Marshal Brown was once more called upon to relinquish the enjoyment of ease, and enter upon the arduous duties of the soldier. Saxony was invaded, in 1756, by Frederick of Prussia, who took Dresden, the capital, and obliged the Elector of Saxony (Augustus III., King of Poland) to shut himself up in Pirna, on the left bank of the Elbe, close to the Bohemian frontier. On receipt of this intelligence, Brown made instant preparations to advance to the elector's aid. Leaving Pirna watched by a large force, Frederick penetrated into Bohemia, and encountered Marshal Brown at Lowositz, on the Elbe.

The Austrian position extended from Lowositz on the left to a mountain, called the Loboschberg, on the right; and was occupied by 72 squadrons, 52 battalions (70,000 men in all), and 98 pieces of ordnance. These were formed in two lines, cavalry being posted on either flank; and the village was planted with cannon. The Prussian army consisted of 65 squadrons and 26 battalions, with 102 guns; the infantry being drawn up in two lines, and the cavalry in three lines in the rear. Frederick's right wing occupied the village of Sulowitz, at the foot of a wooded mountain, in front of which he placed a battery of heavy guns; and his left rested on the Loboschberg.

The fight began early in the morning of the 1st of October between the troops on the Loboschberg. Perceiving during the day that the right was Brown's weak point, Frederick marched over the Loboschberg, and drove the Austrians into the plain below. The marshal withdrew his right to the village of Lowositz, and moved forward his left. But a dreadful fire of all arms from the Prussian redoubts in and round the

village of Sulowitz drove the Austrians into confusion; and the marshal ordered a retreat, but conducted it in so masterly a manner, that the Prussians dared not follow. Brown left 4,000 dead on the field; and the Prussians lost 1,453 in killed and wounded.*

Penetrating into Saxony, Brown, at the head of 8,000 soldiers, endeavored to relieve the King of Poland. His attempt, however,—though said to have been “worthy of the greatest captains of ancient and modern times,”—proved ineffectual, through the failure of the Saxons to profit by his presence and force the hostile lines in order to join him. Augustus, therefore, was compelled to surrender to the Prussians with 14,000 men and 80 pieces of cannon. Brown received the decoration of the Collar of the Golden Fleece in recognition of his services.

France, Russia, and Sweden now joined Austria to punish Frederick for his audacious invasion of Saxony, and threatened him on all sides with powerful armies. An army of 150,000 men was sent against him in four divisions by the empress. One of these divisions was commanded by Brown. Frederick was not to be dismayed by the immense preparations made for his overthrow, and, in April, 1757, marched to attack Brown at Budyn before that general could be joined by Marshal Daun from Moravia. Brown fell back towards Prague, followed by Frederick, who gave battle to the Austrians at daybreak on the 6th of May.

The position occupied by Marshal Brown was fronted by steep and craggy mountains, impassable by cavalry or artillery. A deep vale lay at their feet, in which the marshal posted the Hungarian infantry and some squadrons of hussars. The Austrians numbered 80,000 strong. Their right wing rested on the hill of Sterboli, and the left on the Ziskberg towards Prague. The

* The victory has been variously ascribed to Frederick and to Brown. Some authors state that, while the king had all his troops engaged, Brown opposed him with only one wing. Be that as it may, the result was in Frederick's favor.

battle was begun by an attack of 65 squadrons of Prussian cavalry, under Lieutenant-General the Prince of Schonauich, on the Austrian right. To repel this attack, Brown drew off his cavalry from the left, and, outflanking the prince, overwhelmed him by the rush of 104 squadrons; but General Zeithen, hastening to the assistance of the prince with 20 squadrons of hussars, repulsed the Austrians, and caused them to fall back on their infantry.

A charge of the Prussian grenadiers was checked by a fire of twelve-pounders loaded with musket-shot, and the line wavered. Frederick, foaming with anger, heaped unmerited reproaches on the brave Marshal Schwerin, then in his eighty-second year. The venerable soldier, stung to the soul, seized the colors of the Prussian grenadiers, placed himself on foot at their head, and called upon them to follow. But he was shot through the heart while nobly leading his men in a renewed charge. The disheartened Prussians were rallied with difficulty by their officers, and again engaged the Austrian right. At the same moment, the Austrian centre was broken by Frederick, and driven towards Prague.

The Austrian left now became involved in a deadly bayonet struggle with the Prussian right under Prince Henry. Here Marshal Brown received his death-wound while in the act of issuing orders to an aide-de-camp. Though not immediately fatal, the wound was so serious as to prevent his continuance in command; and, much to his mortification, he was compelled to leave the field at this critical juncture. Deprived thus of the consummate skill of their general, which could alone extricate them from their perilous position, the Austrians sustained a most disastrous defeat. The right wing fled to Maleschitz, and the left followed the centre in hopeless disorder to Prague. The cavalry effected its escape to Beneschau, and there joined Marshal Daun. A great number of officers fell on both sides. The Prussians lost, by their own statement, 3,000 killed and 6,000 wounded. Another

account puts down their loss in killed alone at 18,000. The Austrians lost 8,000 in slain and 9,000 prisoners.

Marshal Brown was conveyed to Prague by his soldiers, and lingered for over seven weeks in great physical suffering, aggravated by the bitterness of defeat. He expired on the 26th of June, 1757, at the age of fifty-two.

By the death of Marshal Brown, Austria lost her most able soldier and diplomatist. "*Le Comte de Brown n'était pas seulement grand général, il était aussi habile négociateur, et très-versé dans la politique,*" says a French writer. And Ireland had to mourn that another of her sons—the rival of the greatest generals of the day, and whose eminence in the cabinet as well as on the field filled Europe with his fame—had passed away without rendering her any service farther than that shed by the lustre of his name.

A magnificent monument was erected to the marshal's memory. He left two sons by his countess, Maria Philippina, of Martinitz. His titles and estates were inherited by these sons. One of them, who became a major-general in the Austrian army, died at Vienna, on the 1st May, 1759, from wounds received in battle.

Count Peter Lacy,

FIELD-MARSHAL OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

OF the many soldiers of fortune whose swords won them high positions in the service of imperial Russia, perhaps the most famous was Field-Marshal PETER LACY.* He was the second son of Peter Lacy, of Ballingarry, by his union with Maria Courteney, and was born at Killeedy, in the county of Limerick, on the 9th of October, 1678. During the struggle for supremacy in Ireland between James II. and the Prince of Orange, young Lacy, when only thirteen years old, was appointed ensign to the Regiment of the Prince of Wales, of which his uncle, John Lacy, was colonel. At the conclusion of the war by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, he accompanied his countrymen into exile, as did also his father, his two brothers, and his uncle, who all died in the service of France.

Appointed a lieutenant in the Regiment of Athlone, under Colonel Sir Maurice Eustace, Peter Lacy served in Italy till the termination of hostilities there in 1696, and was next year on the Rhine. The retrenchment adopted by the French king after the peace of Ryswick obliged the young Irishman to seek elsewhere for

* Among the bravest Norman knights who aided William of Normandy in his conquest of England were the brothers Walter and Ilbert de Lacy. The Lacys of Ireland derive their origin from the former, whose grandson Hugh accompanied Henry II. to Ireland in 1172. William, son of Hugh, by his marriage secondly with the Princess Rose, daughter of Roderic O'Connor, the last King of Ireland, was the progenitor of the Lacys of Limerick.

employment, which he at length obtained, in 1700, from Peter the Great of Russia, who was anxious to secure competent officers to bring his soldiers to a thorough state of discipline. Lacy was favorably received by the czar, and appointed captain of a company in the regiment of Colonel Bruce.

In the long and sanguinary war waged between the czar and Charles XII. of Sweden, Lacy was constantly employed, and, for his bravery and efficiency as a soldier, was rewarded by the czar with rapid promotion. At the great battle of Pultowa, in 1709, when the soldier-King of Sweden received a complete overthrow from the Russians under Lieutenant-General Bauer, the right wing of the victorious army was commanded by Colonel Lacy, acting as brigadier-general, who behaved with great gallantry, and was wounded in the fight. Ferrar, the historian of Limerick, says the battle was gained through the adoption of Lacy's advice to the czar that the Russians should be ordered to reserve their fire until within a few yards of the enemy.

Continuing to act with distinction in the wars against the Swedes and Turks, Lacy was made brigadier in August, and major-general in September, 1712. In June, 1720, he attained the rank of lieutenant-general. Making a descent by sea, he ravaged the Swedish coast to within twelve miles of Stockholm; and Sweden was compelled to conclude the treaty of Nystad, September, 1721, by which Russia acquired Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, and a number of islands in the Baltic.

He took his seat in the College of War at St. Petersburg, in 1723, by command of the czar; and assisted, the next year, at the coronation of the Empress Catherine I. The empress conferred on him, in 1725, the Order of St. Alexander Newsky, and appointed him to the command of the forces about St. Petersburg, as well as of those in Ingria, Novgorod, Esthonia, and Carelia, with the rank of general-in-chief of infantry. A few years after, he was named Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Livonia and Esthonia.

The Empress Anne of Russia—having espoused the claim of Augustus, Elector of Saxony, to the crown of Poland, in opposition to Stanislaus Leszczyński,* the popular choice—sent General Lacy to his assistance with 30,000 men. Lacy entered Warsaw in October, 1733. In January of the next year, he drove the adherents of Stanislaus from Thorn; and, in conjunction with Marshal Count Munnich, compelled the surrender of the populous city of Dantzic after a siege of little more than four months. During the siege, Lacy, with 2,000 men, routed 8,000 Poles who had endeavored to succor the place. Stanislaus effected his escape in disguise. The next year, with a body of only 2,000 horse, Lacy overcame an army of 20,000 Poles, under the Palatine of Lublin, at Busawitza; and the submission of the rest of the Poles shortly after terminated the contest in favor of Augustus; the ex-king renouncing for ever all claim to the throne.†

In recognition of the valuable assistance rendered him, Augustus presented Lacy with his portrait set in diamonds of the value of 25,000 crowns, and also bestowed on him the Order of the White Eagle of Poland, the collar of which is a gold chain, having a silver eagle attached.

General Lacy was next ordered to march to the aid of Austria, who, in support of Augustus, was con-

* Stanislaus Leszczyński was invested with the sovereignty of Poland by Charles XII. in 1704, but was subsequently dethroned by Peter the Great of Russia. In 1733, he was elected to fill the throne a second time. He received but poor countenance from Louis XV. of France, whose daughter he had married.

† General Manstein, of Russia, had a poor opinion of the fighting capacity of the Poles. He says that, though they looked upon the Saxons with contempt, the Poles "were extremely afraid of the Russians." The ex-King Stanislaus (who was beloved by the Poles for his virtuous character), commenting on the anarchy which distracted his unfortunate country, prophetically wrote: "Our turn will come, without doubt, when we shall be the prey of some famous conqueror. Perhaps the neighboring powers will agree to divide our estates among themselves."

tending against France. The discipline of his soldiers excited the admiration of all who beheld them, and they were highly complimented by the veteran Prince Eugene of Savoy on their fine appearance.

Peace having been shortly after declared, Lacy, leaving his troops in quarters in Bohemia, repaired to Vienna early in 1736, and was received at the imperial court with much distinction. The Emperor Charles VI. entertained him privately, and presented him with 5,000 ducats, and his portrait richly set in diamonds. He was also received by the other members of the imperial family in a friendly and social manner.

Quitting Vienna on the 22nd of February for St. Petersburg, he was met on the road by a courier from the Russian court with despatches. The Empress Anne Ivanowna, availing herself of the advantage presented by the outrages of the Tartars of the Crimea to further the policy of the crown of Russia to subjugate the East, declared war against Mahmoud I,* the Grand Seignior of Turkey; and she at once sent orders to Lacy to assume command of the army designed for the attack of Azov. An imperial patent, conferring the rank of field-marshal on the Irish soldier, was included in the despatches.

Another Russian army, under Field-Marshal Count Munnich,—formerly in the service of the Elector of Saxony,—advanced through the Ukraine to invade the Crimea; and, about the same time, Charles of Austria, having become involved in the war, sent Counts Brown and Seckendorf to repel the invasion of Hungary by the Moslems.

Though owning the Sultan of Turkey as liege lord, and paying tribute to him as such, the Khan of the Crimea was a powerful potentate, and ruled over a very populous and extensive district to the north of the Black Sea (the ancient Euxine). His territory—which had claimed the attention of Greece and Genoa in their prosperous days, as attested by many a noble

* Often improperly called Mohammed (or Mahomet) V.

monument—contained some great inland cities as well as important seaports. One hundred thousand armed men were ready to obey the call of this powerful khan at a moment's notice; and Russians, Poles, and Moldavians were glad to purchase immunity from the incursions of his predatory bands by the payment of "black mail."

Acting promptly on the imperial instructions, Marshal Lacy set out on his journey for the seat of war in a post-carriage, attended by 36 dragoons. In crossing a desert, about nine miles in extent, the little party was suddenly assailed by a body of Tartars, numbering 2,000, who captured 21 of the dragoons. Abandoning his carriage, which the Tartars were soon engaged in plundering, the marshal escaped on horseback.

He appeared before Azov, May, 1736. This city is situated on the left bank of the most southern branch of the River Don, which empties itself into the north-eastern extremity of the Sea of Azov (*Palus Mæotis*). It was protected by a castle of great strength, and otherwise well fortified, being built on the only solid foundation, at the foot of an acclivity, in a neighborhood of dangerous swamps. The Russians pushed on their approaches with vigor under an incessant storm of balls, darts, stones, and other missiles, which the Turkish garrison poured upon them, and to which they replied by a destructive fire of shot and shell. Several desperate sallies were made by the Turks, in one of which they drove a body of the besiegers from their trenches, and filled up part of the works; but Lacy hastened forward, and, rallying his troops, caused them to re-engage the enemy. A bloody conflict took place. The marshal was wounded in the knee, and fell into the enemy's hands; but his soldiers, who regarded him with the devotion one might accord a demi-god, rescued him by superhuman exertions, and the Turks were put to flight with considerable loss. On this occasion the Russians lost over 800 men. In July, the bashaw in command of Azov surrendered, and marched out with a garrison of about 3,500 men. Over

200 pieces of artillery, with a great quantity of stores, fell into the possession of the conquerors; and a number of Christian slaves were set at liberty. Lacy then marched into the Ukraine, and established his winter quarters at Kharkov, where he had to be continually on the alert against the attacks of flying hordes of Tartars.

The invasion of the Crimea by Field-Marshal Count Munnich (styled "the Prince Eugene of Muscovy" by Frederick the Great) having proved a failure, though 30,000 men had been sacrificed, Lacy was commissioned to undertake its subjugation in 1737. The Crimea (the Chersonesus of the ancients) was protected from hostile encroachments by the famous lines of Perekop, which were deemed impregnable. These defences were the work of years, and stretched across the isthmus from the Euxine (Black Sea) to the Palus Mæotis (Sea of Azov). The great ditch was seventy-two feet wide by forty-two feet deep; and the ramparts were seventy feet in height from the base to the superior crest of the parapet. To enter the peninsula, it was deemed necessary that these formidable fortifications should be attacked and forced in front,—a task of insuperable difficulty; but the Irish soldier conceived a plan which obviated that necessity, and made him master of the situation.

With 40,000 men, towards the end of June, Field-Marshal Lacy marched along the shore of the Sea of Azov from the River Berda, securing his communication with the town of Azov by the erection of redoubts as he advanced. A fleet under Rear-Admiral Bredal supported him by sea. Crossing the western arm of the Sea of Azov by means of a bridge, which cost him two days to construct, Lacy was soon in full march along a narrow strip of land, some fifty miles in length, and divided from the peninsula by an arm of the sea. The Khan of the Crimea, who never dreamed of a descent in that quarter, upon receipt of the astonishing intelligence that the Russians had entered his dominions by such a route, hastened at once to intercept them at

Arabat,—a fortified town lying at the southern extremity of the long neck of land. Lacy, however, objected to give the khan the advantage of attacking him on ground where he could not manœuvre and must inevitably be crushed. Accordingly, he caused a hastily constructed bridge to be thrown over the intervening channel, and, with his whole army, crossed safely to the opposite side. He then moved in the direction of the khan to give him battle. As soon as the khan became apprised of this movement, he declined to wait for the marshal, and retreated towards the mountains, closely pressed by the Cossacks and Calmucks. Lacy had proceeded thus far without the loss of a single man.

So rash and so hazardous did this enterprise appear, that all the Russian generals (with the exception of General Spiegel) waited on Marshal Lacy, and represented to him that he exposed the entire army to destruction. Lacy replied that danger was, certainly, to be incurred, but not a whit more, as far as he could see, than in ordinary military undertakings. He then expressed himself desirous of ascertaining their opinion as to what course he should pursue. They at once counselled a return. "Gentlemen," said the Irish soldier, "you shall be gratified." Calling for his secretary, he directed him to prepare their passports, and issued orders for a party of 200 dragoons to escort them back to the Ukraine. The abashed generals implored his pardon; but a couple of days elapsed before the irate Lacy could be prevailed upon to relent, and forgive them for their presumption in proposing a retreat to him.

For the next couple of months he had several engagements with the Turks, in which the latter were worsted. Karasu-bazar—one of the finest towns in the Crimea—fell into Lacy's hands after an hour's fighting, was pillaged, and then reduced to ashes. Incursions were made as far as Bakchi-Seraï, within twenty-two miles of Sebastopol. Large numbers of prisoners were captured; slaves were set at liberty; the habitations

of the Tartars were laid waste; and vast droves of cattle were seized. The Russian fleet under Admiral Bredal encountered the Turkish fleet under the captain-bashaw; and a two days' fight ensued, the Turkish commander retiring to Kaffa on the third day.

Setting out on his return, Lacy reached the Scoungar in August, and, throwing a bridge across that stream, passed over it in the face of a large army of Turks and Tartars, whom he put to flight. He reached the Russian frontier in October, and established his winter quarters between the Don and its tributary, the Donetz; having terminated a campaign rendered memorable by the brilliancy of his exploits, and the care he manifested in preserving his army from suffering and disease in an inhospitable country swarming with foes.

In July, the following year, Marshal Lacy appeared before the formidable lines of Perekop with an army less than 35,000 strong. After two days' siege, so destructive was the fire of the Russian artillery, the bashaw in command surrendered at discretion. Leaving a small force to defend the Perekop, Lacy penetrated the Crimea, and encountered a large horde of Tartars. A bloody conflict ensued, in which the enemy's forces were scattered to the winds. Ravaging the country with fire and sword, the marshal completely subdued it, with the exception of Kaffa,—a strongly fortified and important port on the eastern coast of the peninsula. So desolate had the country been made by the ravages of the opposing armies, that Lacy could scarce find subsistence for his troops, and abandoned, consequently, all design against Kaffa. Retracing his steps, he blew up the fortifications of the Perekop, and filled in the great ditch. He then proceeded to his camp in the Ukraine to winter.

In 1739, Russia and Austria concluded the war against the Turks by treaty, in which Austria suffered the loss of considerable territory; but Russia retained Azov, and the Sublime Porte agreed to acknowledge the Crimea as an independent State.

Marshal Lacy received additional honors for his successes against the infidel; but Marshal Munnich, who had been operating on the Dneister, in Bessarabia, and other quarters, fell into disgrace, and was banished to the northern confines of Siberia for twenty years.* In four campaigns, Munnich had lost 90,000 men, exclusive of those slain in battle; while Lacy lost none but such as fell honorably on the field.

War having been declared between Sweden and Russia, Lacy advanced into Finland at the head of 10,000 Russians. Marching through difficult country, he assaulted the town of Wilmanstrand, situated on a lake some few miles beyond the frontier, and took it by storm. This town was garrisoned by over 5,000 Swedes under Major-General Wrangel, and, besides being in a position of great natural strength, was capable of being defended against a very superior force. The fight was fiercely contested, a desperate fire being kept up on both sides for five hours. The Russians lost 2,366 in killed and wounded. Only 500 Swedes escaped; 1,351 were made prisoners, among whom were General Wrangel and other officers; and 3,300 were killed. After acquiring considerable booty and demolishing Wilmanstrand, Lacy repassed the frontier.

This victory occasioned great rejoicings at St. Petersburg; yet the court was dissatisfied because Lacy did not prosecute his march into the enemy's country, but accepted his explanation when he pointed out that an advance would risk the annihilation of his troops, who were not sufficiently numerous and were deficient of supplies. Accompanied by his prisoner, General Wrangel, the marshal returned to the Russian capital, and there hospitably placed his residence at the disposal of the Swedish soldier, who was suffering from a wound in the arm.

* Count Munnich was recalled from banishment in his old age by Peter III., and was appointed Governor of Esthonia and Livonia, but died almost immediately after at the age of eighty-five years.

During the marshal's stay in St. Petersburg, the *coup d'état* of December, 1741, took place, by which the infant Ivan VI. was deposed and the imperial crown of all the Russias set on the head of Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Peter the Great. Marshal Lacy, never having taken part in any political intrigue, was kept in profound ignorance of the proposed change in the government. An armed party entered his bed-chamber in the dead of night, and, awaking him suddenly out of his sleep, demanded which empress he acknowledged,—the Grand-Duchess Anne or the Princess Elizabeth. Lacy's quick conception showed him that one or other of the princesses had secured the reins of power, though he was unable to surmise which, and was sensible that an acknowledgment of the unsuccessful princess would be ruinous. His native wit, however, extricated him from the peril involved by a wrong choice; and he promptly replied, "The reigning empress!" This answer, which displayed such rare presence of mind, obtained him the favor of the new sovereign, who confirmed his rank and all his honors.

In June, 1742, Lacy again entered Finland. He commanded a force of 25,000, while another of 10,000 was sent to co-operate with him by sea. Among his generals were the famous Count Lowendahl, James Keith (brother of the exiled Earl-Marshal of Scotland), and two Irish exiles, Count Lacy and Count Brown.* The Swedes gradually retired before the marshal's advance, abandoning the strong posts of Mendolax and Frederiksham, and setting fire to the latter before they retreated, by which means the greater portion was destroyed.

* Brown became Governor of Livonia. He was united to one of Marshal Lacy's daughters in marriage. Besides the Count Lacy alluded to in the text, another general officer, Maurice Lacy, a relative of Marshal Lacy, is noticed as serving in the Russian army. He was a native of Limerick, and was invited to Russia by the marshal. He died in 1820 at a good old age.

Upon reaching the Kymen,—on the opposite side of which the Swedish army was posted in force,—a courier arrived from the court of St. Petersburg with positive orders to conclude the campaign as soon as the Swedes were driven beyond that river; but the marshal's army had already forced a passage, and, in defiance of those orders, he resolved upon prosecuting the campaign till he had reduced Helsingfors on the Gulf of Finland. Declining a contest, the Swedes retreated from place to place. At length, after much manœuvring, and cutting roads through an almost impassable country, Lacy came up with the Swedish army strongly intrenched at Helsingfors. Even here they were unwilling to risk a conflict, and were preparing to withdraw to Abo, on the Gulf of Bothnia, when Lacy, who had become apprised of their intention, caused a road to be cut through a wood on the north, and, appearing on their flank, compelled them to maintain a stand.

Invested by Lacy on one side, and blockaded by the fleet on the other, the Swedish army surrendered after a fortnight's defence. The captive Swedes numbered 17,000, while Lacy's whole force was but 17,500 strong. Thus ended this brilliant campaign, which reflected so little credit on those who, before the commencement of the war, had boasted that they needed only to show themselves to make the Russians run away. A passage through the country could have been rendered impracticable from its natural advantages in that respect; yet Lacy conducted his operations with but little loss, and proved to the Swedes that he was no inferior enemy.

The victorious marshal returned to court, where he was most favorably received, his brilliant success having obviated any little unpleasantness that might have arisen from his disregard of orders.

The following year it was decided to operate against Sweden by sea. Marshal Lacy embarked with his force at St. Petersburg in May. Previous to the sailing of the fleet, the Empress Elizabeth Petrowna

visited him on board his vessel, and presented him with a gold cross and a very valuable ring. She then embraced him, and wished him a fortunate voyage. Proceeding to Cronstadt, the marshal there joined the fleet under Admiral Count Gollowin. Here again, the empress—having journeyed overland from St. Petersburg—visited him, and held a long conversation with him and Count Gollowin. Hindered by the ice and strong winds, Lacy was not able to make much headway till about the middle of June, when he came up with the Swedish squadron at Hango Head. Eager to add a victory by sea to his laurels, he ordered Admiral Gollowin to engage the enemy. But his rage and disgust were unbounded when the admiral informed him that it was contrary to rule to do so, as, by the standing orders of Peter I., an enemy's fleet should not be attacked without the advantage of three vessels to two; and, having but seventeen against twelve, he wanted one more to complete the required number before he could undertake to fight. Several councils of war were held; but nothing definite was arrived at, as nobody would have the temerity to support the marshal in repudiating the ultimatum of the great czar without imperial authority. Soon after, the fleet received an accession of fourteen small vessels, and the marshal advanced to the attack, displaying considerable address in his manœuvres. An advantage was gained over the Swedish squadron; but, owing to a thick fog, it eluded pursuit.

Joined shortly after by a squadron under Lieutenant-General Keith, who had successfully encountered some Swedish vessels, the marshal proceeded to the island of Degerby. From that place he had arranged for a descent upon the Swedish coast, when instructions reached him that the preliminaries of peace were being prepared between Russia and Sweden. A treaty of peace was concluded in August, which secured to Russia that part of Finland bounded by the River Kymen.

As soon as hostilities terminated, the empress sent

her own yacht to bring Marshal Lacy to St. Petersburg. He was received with marked favor at court, and was accorded the honors befitting a victorious soldier. Peace was celebrated at the Russian capital with great rejoicing, the festivities being kept up for several days. Lacy was the lion of the hour; but he grew weary of a continued round of gayety, and sought and obtained permission to retire to his estates in Livonia, of which province he was governor.

In person Marshal Lacy was tall and well made. He was every inch a soldier. His coolness in situations of extreme danger was remarkable. Sound judgment was evinced in all his deliberations; and emergencies that admitted of no delay found him happy in expedients to face them successfully. Always solicitous for the welfare of his troops, he endeared himself to them by the attention he paid to their wants, and his exertions to preserve them from sickness and privation in the campaign; and their confidence in him was thorough, because he knew how to lead them to victory. While in a subordinate post, his zeal and ability procured him promotion; and, step by step, he won his way to the chief command of the Russian forces. "Peter the Great," says the Abbé MacGeoghegan, "that penetrating genius, that heretofore creator of a nation now triumphant, believed he could not do better than confide that part [discipline] so essential to the art of war to Field-Marshal Lacy; and the worthy daughter of that great emperor always intrusted to that warrior the principal defence of the august throne which she filled with so much glory."

While honors crowded thick upon him, the marshal never forgot his native land, and kept up his connection with it by occasional correspondence. The helpless condition of Ireland pained him to the soul, and he regarded with no small interest the contests in which England became involved. Such Irishmen as strayed to Russia found in Lacy a generous friend. To all, in fact, who needed his assistance, he was a willing and ready helper.

Count Peter Lacy, Field-Marshal of the Russian Empire, Governor of Livonia and Esthonia, Knight of the Order of St. Alexander Newsky, Knight of the Order of the White Eagle of Poland, &c., &c., died at his residence in Livonia on the 11th May,* 1751, in the seventy-third year of his age. The decease of the marshal was mourned by the nation at large as an irreparable loss.

By his wife, the Countess Martha, Marshal Lacy had two sons and five daughters. The latter were all married to men of high rank, and received from their father magnificent wedding portions. The elder son entered the service of Augustus III., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, and became major of cuirassiers, a royal chamberlain, and Count of the Holy Roman Empire.

Joseph Francis Maurice Lacy, the younger son, was born at St. Petersburg, October, 1715. He learned the art of soldiering under his father's eye, but obtained permission to enter the service of Maria Theresa of Austria, and fought under Marshal Brown and other generals. He was one of the most distinguished soldiers in the Seven Years' War. By his ability he attained the rank of field-marshal of the armies of Austria, was installed Grand Cross Knight of the Military Order of Maria Theresa, and acquired numerous other dignities. He inherited the vast estates of his father, and died at Vienna, full of years and honor, in November, 1801.

* April 20, according to Russian computation.

Count Joseph Francis Maurice Lacy,

FIELD-MARSHAL OF AUSTRIA.

THE younger son of Marshal Peter Lacy—JOSEPH FRANCIS MAURICE LACY—was born at St. Petersburg in the month of October, 1715. Being designed for the profession of arms, he saw active service at a very early age, and accompanied his father in the Crimean campaigns.

By permission of Elizabeth Petrowna of Russia, he entered the service of Maria Theresa of Austria in 1744, and was appointed aide-de-camp to Count Brown, then fighting in Italy. At the attack on Velletri by that famous soldier, young Lacy acted with great bravery, having three horses killed under him. Four years later, his distinguished conduct at the siege of Maestricht, in Flanders, gained for him the grade of colonel.

The peace of Europe, secured by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was disturbed some years after by the ambitious designs of Frederick II. of Prussia, surnamed the Great. Quarrelling with Austria, he anticipated the invasion of Prussia by that power, and initiated hostilities by entering Saxony with a large army, thus drawing upon himself the displeasure of France, Russia, and Sweden, who ranged themselves on the Austrian side, while England took the part of Prussia. The latter power, certainly, through the Duke of Cumberland (its representative in the Low Countries), did nothing to add to its rather worn laurels, and was of little use to Frederick further than

finding occupation for his enemies on his western frontier. The series of sanguinary contests thus evolved are known to history as the Seven Years' War, of which our hero was one of the most distinguished generals.

At the celebrated battle of Lowositz, on the Elbe, between Marshal Brown and Frederick the Great, in 1756, Lacy received a serious wound. His gallant services in that action procured for him the rank of major-general. During that and the following year, his attacks on the Prussian posts caused Frederick considerable annoyance. Upon the defeat of Marshal Brown in the neighborhood of Prague, May, 1757, Count Lacy, Prince Charles of Lorraine, the Princes of Saxony and Modena, and the Duke of Aremberg, with 50,000 men, took refuge in the Bohemian capital, where the gallant Brown was conveyed to die of his wounds.

Frederick and Marshal Keith lost no time in investing Prague with their Prussians. The last directions of Marshal Brown were: "Tell Prince Charles of Lorraine to march out instantly and attack Marshal Keith, or all is lost." But his advice was unheeded; and the enemy succeeded in completely investing the city.

The horrors of the siege that followed are beyond description. Shells and balls of fire were shot incessantly for twenty-four hours upon the ill starred city by the Prussian batteries. It was soon in flames. Three days the demon of fire raged through the streets, and vast numbers of men, women, and children— hale and infirm—besides dumb animals, perished. To prevent the too speedy consumption of provisions, 12,000 persons were compelled to leave the city; but the Prussians drove them back. The soldiers of the garrison were reduced to eating horse-flesh rations; and the citizens were glad to purchase the like food at fourpence per pound. Famine soon added to the destruction caused by the enemy's artillery, and the people perished wholesale.

During this terrible time, Lacy displayed untiring energy, and, in some desperate sorties, inflicted severe punishment on Frederick's troops.

About the middle of June, the Prussian monarch withdrew the greater part of his forces to meet Marshal Daun. He was defeated by Daun at Kolin, and was thus obliged to abandon the siege of Prague altogether, and withdraw from Bohemia. Lacy followed him over the Saxon frontier, and sorely harassed his rear.

The 5th of November, this year, was marked by the famous victory of the King of Prussia at Rosbach, with an army not quite 25,000 strong, over the combined Austrian and French forces, numbering 50,000, under the Prince of Hildburghausen and the Prince de Soubise. On the 22nd of the same month, the Austrians defeated and took prisoner the Prince of Bavern, near Breslau, on which occasion Lacy took a prominent part, and was promoted therefor to the rank of lieutenant-general.

Upon the entrance of Frederick into Moravia in the next campaign, Lacy was posted so as to protect the roads into Upper Silesia. He exhibited great valor at the battle of Hochkirchen, won by Marshal Daun, who completely routed the Prussians. The latter left the brave old Marshal Keith (who had been fighting on foot at the head of his infantry) and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick dead upon the field. Stripped of his clothing by the human vultures who follow in the wake of war and live by the plunder of the dead, Marshal Keith lay undistinguished among the heaps of corpses around. Yet the quick eye of General Lacy, when riding over the ground after the battle, singled out the corpse of the brave old soldier who had served under his father (Marshal Peter Lacy) in Russia, and had been wounded by his side in the Crimea. The count recognized the body, says Dr. Smollett, by the large scar of a dangerous wound which General Keith had received in his thigh at the siege of Oczakov, and could not refrain from tears on

seeing his father's honored friend lying thus at his feet,—a naked, lifeless, and deserted corpse. The young Russo-Irishman caused the body of the Scotch veteran to be interred in the neighboring churchyard, from whence it was eventually removed to Berlin.

Frederick's operations in the beginning of 1759 were conducted with success. Crossing the Elbe in June, for the purpose of invading Silesia, he found himself closely watched by three different Austrian armies under Marshal Daun, Marshal Loudon, and Lieutenant-General Lacy. The diligence of the last-mentioned general especially gave him considerable trouble. On the 23rd of July, Frederick was defeated in Silesia by the Russian army under Count Soltikow, who was enabled to take up a position on the banks of the Oder. Skilfully eluding the Austrians, the king retreated into Saxony, followed by 80,000 Austrians and Russians. They came up with him, on the 12th of August, at Kunersdorf, where a most bloody battle was fought. The Prussians committed fearful execution on the Russians, capturing 180 guns; but the Austrian reserves turned the fortune of war, and the Prussians were totally defeated, losing 200 guns. Frederick fought with incredible valor. Two horses were shot under him, and his uniform was literally torn to rags by musket-balls and sword-cuts. More than 30,000 men, including numbers of high rank, were placed *hors de combat* on that fatal field; the loss being about equal on both sides. Soon after his defeat, however, Frederick compelled the imperial troops to act on the defensive, till all retired to winter quarters. For his services in this campaign, Lacy was appointed lieutenant-general of artillery.

The next year the war was prosecuted with vigor on both sides, and several sanguinary engagements took place. To prevent the junction of the czarina's troops with the Austrians, Frederick undertook a most arduous march. Encumbered with 200 caissons and ponderous trains of artillery, he passed over five rivers on his route. He attacked and defeated Marshal

Loudon at Liegnitz, before Daun or Lacy, who were in the neighborhood, could come to his assistance. At Paffendorf, he beat off an attack of Loudon, and captured 6,000 prisoners. Nevertheless, despite the active opposition and masterly movements of Frederick, the Russians under Count Czernichew crossed the Oder into Brandenburg, where they were joined by Count Lacy. The two generals, with 15,000 men, marched upon Berlin, and made themselves masters of that capital in October, 1760. A heavy contribution was levied upon the citizens. The military stores were destroyed, and the royal palaces given up to pillage. But, learning that Frederick was advancing rapidly to the relief of his plundered capital with a large army, Counts Lacy and Czernichew took their departure by different routes.

Lacy having united his forces with those of Daun, they both encountered the King of Prussia at Torgau in the month of November. A terrible fight ensued, in which the Austrians were completely worsted, and driven across the Elbe. Marshal Daun was dangerously wounded in the thigh, and carried off the field. Lacy—ably seconded by the gallant Irish exile, General Count O'Donnell, in command of the cavalry—made the most heroic exertions to retrieve the fortune of the day, with a reserve of 20,000 men, twice charging the enemy at the point of the bayonet, but without success. A night of inky blackness closed around the field before the battle was over; and it was long after nine o'clock when Lacy saw fit to retire. The scene is described by a participant in the action as one full of horror. He says: "The only light we had was the infernal fire of the artillery and musketry. The horrid noise of the combatants, rendered more dreadful by the night; the melancholy cries of the wounded, mixed with the sound of drums and trumpets,—filled the soul with horror. 'Kill! kill!' was cried out everywhere. In a word, I never saw anything that better corresponded with the melancholy idea given us of hell itself!"

The Austrians left 10,000 men upon that dreadful field; and the victorious Prussians captured 204 officers (including 4 generals), 8,000 men, 50 guns, and 27 stands of colors. Enormous advantages accrued to Frederick from this victory. He gained possession of all Saxony, except Dresden, in the vicinity of which General MacGuire (an Irishman) kept guard with a large Austrian force. Silesia was evacuated by the Austrians, the Russians withdrew to Poland, and the Swedes returned home.

Active preparations were made for conducting the next campaign against the Prussians on a much more formidable scale; and in March, 1761, the field was taken by the different generals. Daun, who had recovered from the effects of his wound, assumed command in Saxony; Loudon went to Silesia, where he was to be joined by a Russian force with an immense artillery train; Count O'Donnell, with 16,000 men, was posted at Zittau, in order to co-operate with Daun or Loudon as occasion required; while Lacy took up a position on the right bank of the Elbe.

Among other Irish officers then holding high rank in the Austrian army were Count Nicholas Taaffe; Count O'Rourke, a Chevalier of St. Louis; and Generals O'Kelly and Butler. The latter was at the daring surprise of Schweidnitz, in October, by Marshal Loudon, and was placed in command of that important post after its capture.

With a body of 15,000 men, Lacy ravaged the electorate of Brandenburg, and marched to within seven miles of Berlin. But the appearance of overwhelming numbers of the enemy caused him to recross the Elbe, to the great relief of the terror-stricken inhabitants of the capital.

In 1762, a compact was entered into between Prussia and Austria to observe the neutrality of Saxony and Silesia; while Peter III. of Russia, who had just succeeded to the throne, withdrew from the contest, and, in conjunction with Sweden, concluded peace with Prussia, leaving Austria to contend alone against that power.

Lacy was created field-marshal by the empress-queen in recognition of the ability and bravery displayed by him during the war, and was also invested by her with a Collar of a Commander of the Order of Maria Theresa.

The Austrians under Marshals Daun and Lacy and Count O'Donnell sustained another defeat in August, when attacking the Prussians securely posted on the heights of Peilau; Lacy's vigorous efforts to storm the heights being rendered ineffectual by the well directed fire of the foe.

A treaty concluded the Seven Years' War in the month of February, 1763, and left each of the belligerents in the precise position occupied before the war. Neither power gained the least compensation for the vast amount of blood shed, the treasure expended, and the country devastated while this atrocious strife raged. No less than 858,000 men, it is computed, perished on all sides during the war,—a sacrifice to the lust for conquest and the insatiable ambition of kings. Austria lost 140,000 men, and became involved in debt to the amount of one hundred million crowns; Prussia lost 180,000 men; France, 200,000; Russia, 120,000; England, 165,000; Sweden, 25,000; and the Circles, 28,000. Austria captured 40,000 prisoners; Prussia, an equal number.

While peace continued, Marshal Lacy—the greatest tactician of that day in the opinion of Frederick the Great—prepared for the contingencies of war. He repaired many fortresses, and placed those of Bohemia in a state of defence. The great fortress of Königgratz and the additions to Theresianstadt and Josephstadt are acknowledged evidences of his engineering skill.

The death of the Elector of Bavaria in December, 1777, kindled the flames of war anew in Germany; several princes, among whom was the Emperor Joseph, putting forth their claims for the electoral hat, Marshal Lacy, at the head of a large army, penetrated to Königgratz, while the Prussians and Saxons broke into Bohemia, and the land was once more the scep-

of a bitter struggle; but the decision of the Congress of Teschen, in favor of Charles Theodore, the Elector Palatine, put an end to the war in May, 1779.

Lacy was now getting well advanced in years, and did not again engage in active service; but, nevertheless, his adopted country continued to profit by his counsels. Elevated to a seat in the Aulic Council, he assisted the deliberations of that body by his sound advice, and caused the discipline of the army to be greatly improved; and Austria has still cause to be grateful for the economy introduced by him into the system of war finance.

On the death of Joseph II. in February, 1790, Field-Marshal Lacy exercised the functions of regent, signing protocols, high commissions, &c., till the arrival of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who ascended the throne as Leopold II. In the same year, the war then being waged with the Turks was terminated by the advice of Lacy, who arranged the negotiations for peace. When Francis II.* took the field against the French, in 1794, the venerable marshal directed the conduct of the war from Vienna.

Enfeebled by age and wounds, Field-Marshal Lacy died at Vienna on the 30th of November, 1801. He was possessed of immense wealth, having inherited the vast estates of his father, Field-Marshal Peter Lacy, of Russia. Numerous dignities had been conferred on him for his faithful services; and, till near his decease, he held more State patronage than any other subject in the empire. In his will, he bequeathed an extensive park in the environs of Vienna to the Archduke Charles, with the request that the citizens should have the free use of it. He was held in esteem alike by sovereign and people, and a magnificent funeral was accorded to his remains.

* This monarch very sensibly renounced the empty dignity of Emperor of Germany in 1805, and assumed the style and title of Francis I., Emperor of Austria and King of Bohemia and Hungary.

The Lacys of Spain.

COUNT FRANCIS ANTHONY LACY,
CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF CATALONIA.

FRANCIS ANTHONY LACY was born in Spain in 1731. He was the son of an Irish officer, who first served in France, and then passed over to Spain. Commencing his military career, at the age of sixteen, in the infantry Regiment of Ulster, he fought with it in Italy, under Count Gages, during the war with the House of Austria for the possession of Naples, &c.

In 1762, he became colonel of his regiment, and acted with great distinction in the war undertaken against Portugal by Charles III. ; and at the siege of Gibraltar, which commenced in 1780 and terminated February, 1783, he was in command of the Spanish artillery. The combined Spanish and French forces in vain essayed to recover that far-famed fortress from the British. Lacy, nevertheless, acquired high honor by his conduct. He was invested with the Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III., and made Commander of the Order of St. Jago and Titular of the rich Commandery of *Las Cazas Buenas* at Merida, in Estremadura.

Upon the establishment of peace with England, Count Lacy was sent as plenipotentiary from the court of Madrid to Gustavus III. of Sweden, and thence to Catherine II. of Russia. He earned the esteem of those sovereigns and their courts, and acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of the Spanish monarch.

Upon his return, he was raised to a seat in the Supreme Council of War, and appointed to the com-

mand of the coast of Granada. Subsequently, he attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and was made inspector-general of artillery. He was also inspector-general of the arms manufactories and munitions of war throughout Spain and its vast possessions.

In 1789, Lacy was appointed Governor and Captain-General of Catalonia. His wise administration won for him the esteem and affection of the disaffected people of that province, who had ever been a source of trouble to the Bourbon Kings of Spain, whom they cordially hated; and he paved the way for the reconciliation of the Catalans to Charles IV., accomplished by the conciliatory visit of that monarch.

The standard of military education was raised in Spain by the improvements of Count Lacy. He caused schools of chemistry, mineralogy, and pyrotechny to be established; and, through his influence, the severe discipline to which the pupils of military schools were subjected was considerably mitigated.

In person the count was tall and strikingly handsome. He possessed a fund of genuine wit, and was endowed with extreme amiability of character. Even his enemies could not refrain from lauding his integrity, his benevolence, and his Christian spirit.

Count Lacy, Captain-General of Catalonia, died at Barcelona, in his sixty-first year, on the last day of the year 1792. His obsequies were conducted with the utmost splendor and solemnity; and the Spanish journals recorded the event with high eulogies on the deceased.

DON LUIS LACY.

Patrick, brother of Count Francis Anthony Lacy, Captain-General of Catalonia, was Major of the Regiment of Ulster in Spain, and died early in life, leaving behind an infant son, named Luis. This boy was born, the 11th of January, 1775, at San Roque, not far from Gibraltar, in Andalusia. His mother entered the marriage state a second time, espousing M. de Gautier,

an officer of a corps of infantry in the Spanish army, known as the Brussels Regiment. When nine years old, LUIS LACY entered his step-father's regiment as a cadet, and proceeded with it to the West Indies.

Returning to Spain in 1789, he was placed by Charles IV. in the Regiment of Ulster among his father's countrymen. "Intrepid to temerity, calm in danger," says a French biographer, "Lacy was an officer at the age of fourteen years." He obtained a captaincy in 1792.

Upon the invasion of Spain by the armies of the French republic, in 1794, young Lacy accompanied his regiment to take part in the defence of the country. The successes of the French arms filled the Spanish court with uneasiness; but the peace of Basle (the following year) was hailed with satisfaction. Don Luis added considerably to his knowledge of the soldier's art in this campaign. No one was braver on the field; and so much did he distinguish himself, that even the French have recorded their admiration of his heroism in that contest.

About this time, Love got the gallant youth terribly involved, and damaged his prospects in life. Towards the end of 1798, his regiment was ordered to the Canary Islands, whither he proceeded with it. There he became enthralled by the beauty of a young Spanish lady, to whom he paid assiduous court. She warmly reciprocated his attachment. But he had a formidable rival in the governor and captain-general of the islands, whose rage became incontrollable on learning the fair one's preference for the handsome Lacy. Exercising a cruel and unjust use of his power, the jealous governor banished the successful lover to the island of Hiero (or Ferro), in the Canary group. From that spot, Lacy, chafing under the restraint imposed and the affront put upon him by this arbitrary ostracism, wrote letters full of fiery invective to the governor, in which he bitterly denounced the tyrannical conduct of the latter. His malignant rival caused him to be arrested and tried by court-martial for insubordination.

Through the malicious representations of the governor, the young soldier was deprived of his commission, and condemned to twelve months' imprisonment in the Fort of the Conception, at Cadiz, where he was accordingly sent. Upon the expiration of his sentence, he was ordered to live in retirement.

In vain Lacy entreated permission to serve in the army even as a simple grenadier. He was still pursued by the jealous hate of the Governor of the Canary Islands, who exerted his influence successfully with the Spanish government to deny the unfortunate Lacy the chance of retrieving his honor from the slur cast upon it by his degradation.

Reduced to extreme poverty, the ill used Lacy determined to seek his fortune elsewhere; and, journeying on foot, set out through the peninsula, crossed the Pyrenees, and arrived at Boulogne-sur-Mer in October, 1803. Here the poor wanderer enlisted as a private soldier in the 6th Regiment of the French foot. In a month, the discovery of his superior qualifications by his commanding officer procured him the rank of sergeant. The Minister of War, General Clarke (afterwards Duc de Feltre), becoming acquainted with the story of Lacy's life, narrated it to the Emperor Napoleon, who thereupon sent for the sergeant, and, pleased with his general demeanor, appointed him captain in the Irish Legion then being organized at Morlaix under Arthur O'Connor,* distinguished as one of the leaders of the Irish revolutionary movement of the last century.

Soon after, Lacy marched with his regiment to Quimper, and there made the acquaintance of a young French girl, Mademoiselle Guermer, whom he married, being then in his thirty-first year.

In his subsequent movements, he was accompanied by his wife, till attached to the army designed for the

* O'Connor was appointed general of division by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1804. He died at the Château du Bignon, in the department of Loiret, in his eighty-fifth year, April 25, 1852.

conquest of Spain, when he sent her to her home at Quimper. In 1807, he was made *chef-de-bataillon* in the legion destined to act in Spain. On learning that he was to be employed against his native country, he tendered his resignation; but its acceptance was sternly refused. Accordingly, he marched with the French army across the Pyrenees and on to Madrid, but with the full determination not to draw his sword against the land of his birth and of his father's adoption.

Charles IV. having been compelled by Napoleon to renounce all claims to the crown of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte was installed as king. Lacy, who was "distinguished," according to a French writer, "by a patriotism worthy of the Greeks and Romans," was grieved to see unhappy Spain subject for a moment to the conqueror, and annoyed to think that he should even appear to take part in establishing the ephemeral sovereignty of Joseph. Throwing up his command, he quitted Madrid, and surrendered himself prisoner to Don Gregorio de la Cuesta, captain-general of the Spanish forces.

The haughty old hidalgo—unable to withhold his admiration of the magnanimity of Lacy, who so readily ignored his ill treatment—received him with open arms, and gave him a lieutenant-colonelcy. In the war of independence, now conducted with vigor, many Irish officers distinguished themselves,—such as Don Joachim Blake, Captain-General of Aragon, &c.; Don Pedro O'Daly, Governor of Rosas; Don Gonzalo O'Farrell, Minister of War; Don John O'Donoghue, chief of Cuesta's staff; Don Henry O'Donnell, Conde de Abispal; and several others. Don Luis Lacy, too, upheld his reputation for extreme bravery, in nowise daunted by numerous defeats in the unequal struggle with well appointed French armies.

He surprised and captured 3,000 French cavalry at Toralva, and immediately afterwards was appointed to the command of the Spanish advance-guard, with the rank of brigadier-general. Among the most noted encounters in which he signalized himself were those

of Talavera and Logroño, the retreat to the Ebro, the affair of Almonacid de Zoreta on the Tagus, and the defence of Cadiz. In the conduct of the latter, he held the rank of major-general and Commander of the Isle de Leon.

In 1812, he was appointed to the chief command of the army in Galicia; and then Captain-General of Catalonia. He continued to render great service to the Spanish cause, till the French, by the aid of the British under Wellington, were driven back over the Pyrenees. On the capture of Paris by the allies in 1814, peace was restored; and Ferdinand VII. recovered the crown of Spain.

Lacy had imbibed political principles much too liberal to be palatable to the Spanish court. He had cordially supported the constitution promulgated by the Spanish Cortes,—an innovation not tolerated by the restored court; and Ferdinand, as became a royal ingrate, on his restoration to the throne, in recompense for Lacy's gallant services, basely deprived him of all his offices, but permitted him to live in retirement with his family at Vinerosa, in Valencia.

In his seclusion, however, Lacy (who was looked up to by the Spanish liberals) devoted himself to evolving a plan for the establishment of the constitution; and, at length, in conjunction with General Milano and others, he resolved on the bold stroke of proclaiming the constitution in April, 1817, and upholding it with the sword. Treachery, however, prevented the accomplishment of this design. Denounced to the government, he and others were arrested and imprisoned at Barcelona. A hasty trial by a military commission resulted in the sentence of death. Dreading a rising of the Catalonians in favor of Lacy, the government caused him to be secretly embarked at night on board a small vessel, and conveyed to the Castle of Belver on the island of Majorca. He was conducted to the castle, which was garrisoned by a regiment of Neapolitan soldiers, on the night of the 4th of July. At daybreak, next morning, he was taken to the deep fosse outside

the gates. There, before the rising of the sun, the career of the hapless Luis Lacy, which had promised so brilliantly, was to be abruptly terminated by the fire of a platoon of Italian soldiers. But he stood there, looking in the eye of death, undaunted still,—brave as at the head of his regiment in the thickest of the fray, calm and cool as if merely on parade. Inexorable fate had decreed such a death, and he met it as became a soldier. A volley, and Luis Lacy is no more of earth!

But the memory of that gallant son of Ireland did not die with him. The gratitude of the people strove to make amends for the tyranny of the sovereign. Remembering the many services performed by him in the cause of liberty,—their cause,—they resolved to do honor to his remains. In the revolution of 1820, in which Ferdinand VII. was obliged to swear that he would observe the constitution of the Cortes, Lacy's body was exhumed from the Cathedral of San Dominic, in Palma, the capital of Majorca, and conveyed with great pomp and solemnity to Barcelona, and laid beside that of his uncle, Captain-General Count Francis Anthony Lacy; and the Cortes, in honor of one who had been mainly instrumental in the establishment of the constitution, and who had died for it, declared his son "the first grenadier of the Spanish army."

Don Joachim Blake,

CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF ARAGON, CATALONIA, ETC.

AMONG the Irish who acquired high distinction in the service of Spain was JOACHIM BLAKE, the son of a Galway merchant who settled at Velez, near Malaga, in the province of Andalusia, where Joachim was born.

To gratify his desire and fit him for a soldier's life, young Blake was placed at the military school of Puerto de Santa Maria, in Old Castile. In 1773, he entered the ranks as a volunteer. His thorough knowledge of military routine soon gained him a lieutenancy; and, when war broke out between the French republic and Spain, he was promoted to the rank of major. He served with great bravery in several actions with the enemy, and was severely wounded in storming the heights of San Lorenzo de la Maga. Upon the ratification of peace in 1802, he was made brigadier.

When Bonaparte invaded Spain for the purpose of placing his brother Joseph on the throne, Blake was appointed to the command of the province of Galicia. In conjunction with Don Gregorio de la Cuesta, he engaged the French under General Lasolles at Medina del Rio Seco on the 14th July, 1808. This battle was risked in opposition to the advice of Blake, who knew, though the French were inferior in number, that, with their superior discipline and appointments, they were more than a match for the ill trained Spanish troops. The result of the action was the total discomfiture of the Spaniards, who disregarded all Blake's efforts to preserve order. They left over 7,000 killed, wounded,

and captured in the enemy's charge; hurrying away with such precipitation, that the pursuing French—upon reaching the Sequillo, the bed of which was dry—are said to have exclaimed, "*Diable!* why, Spanish rivers run away, too!"

No reflection, however, was cast upon Blake for this disaster; and so much confidence was reposed in his talents that, besides being the recipient of other honors, he was appointed Governor and Captain-General of Galicia.

In September, Blake appeared at the head of 30,000 men, threatening to turn the flank of Marshal Bessières, while he disposed a portion of his force so as to preserve communication with the town of Reynosa and protect his rear in case of retreat. He was furnished with supplies by the British General Broderick, who complained, in his despatches to the English Horse Guards, that Blake treated him with *hauteur*, and declined affording him information as to his intended operations.

With 18,000 men, Blake attacked Bilbao, in the province of Biscay, on the 12th October, and obliged General Merlin and 3,000 Frenchmen to evacuate the place, pursuing them to Zornosa, where they were succored by General Verdier.

On the approach of winter, Blake's Spaniards were reduced to the utmost privations. They were bare-footed and scantily clad. Their supply of food was scarce sufficient for sustenance, and their only shelter was the canopy of heaven. Yet they cheerfully endured their lot for the sake of their country, and, though in no condition to cope with their well provided enemies, renewed the struggle again and again, albeit repeatedly overthrown.

Animated by the hope that the desperate situation of his men would inspire them with superhuman valor, Blake ascended the valley of El Darongo with 18,000 ragged and ill fed Spaniards to attack 25,000 Frenchmen under Marshal Lefebre. But his advance-guard was driven back; and the French artillery, belching

forth grape and round shot, hurled death and destruction on the Spanish ranks. Blake vainly strove to defend the passes of the valley. He was compelled to retreat, and fell back towards Bilbao.

Marshal Soult, having learned that Blake was posted at Espinosa with 25,000 infantry and but six guns, resolved to compass his destruction. Marshal Victor was sent to put this design into execution, and came up with Blake on the 10th of November. The onslaught of the French made complete havoc among the Spaniards, of whom large numbers were killed and captured. Blake escaped with only 7,000 men to Reynosa. Attacked there by Soult's vanguard, he lost 2,000 more. He then effected his retreat to Arnedo, in the Asturias, with the remnant of his army.

In the year 1809, Blake was appointed Captain-General of the Coronilla (the Lesser Crown); that is, the provinces of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. Collecting his forces in April, he marched on Alcañiz, from which the French withdrew. With 8,000 foot and 700 horse, Marshal Suchet advanced against him the next month. Blake was posted in front of Alcañiz with 12,000 men. The French charged with all the confidence of an assured victory. Inspired by the example of their brave commander, the Spaniards received the French onset with firmness. A fierce struggle ensued. Suchet was wounded. The French wavered, gave ground, and then fled panic-stricken from the field. This victory inspired every Spaniard with hope, and caused rejoicing throughout the land. Blake was presented with an estate by the Supreme Junta as a token of the nation's gratitude, and the province of Murcia was added to his command.

With his army increased to 30,000 men, Blake now turned his attention to the recovery of Saragossa. On his march, he captured a convoy of provisions intended for a French detachment under General Faber; thus compelling the retreat of that officer, who was sent to harass his movements.

On the 14th of June,^o Blake's advanced guards

exchanged shots with the enemy at Bottorio. Next morning, with no little trouble, he disposed his unskilled soldiers in order of battle on the banks of the Huerba. The French, under Suchet, were drawn up to oppose them. As the Spanish left was extending to overlap the French right, a vigorous charge of cavalry and voltigeurs drove it back. At this juncture, Blake, in a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, had forced Suchet's centre to give way; but a violent storm arose, which so darkened the air that the combatants could scarcely see each other; and, by mutual consent, they desisted from the strife.

As the storm abated, Suchet furiously attacked Blake's right, and seized the bridge over the Huerba; thus cutting off the Spaniards' only chance of an orderly retreat. Blake, promptly massing his left and centre, fought desperately, but unsuccessfully, to retrieve this misfortune. Repulsed with great loss, the Spaniards, favored by the darkness, effected their escape to Bottorio through the surrounding ravines.

Suchet came up with Blake, on the 18th, at Belchite. The French numbered 15,000, the Spaniards but 14,000. Flushed with recent success, the former gained an easy victory over the latter, who were worn out by fatigue and disheartened by reverses. Blake lost 4,000 men, with all his baggage and ammunition. The rout was complete, the Spaniards dispersing in all directions.

Embittered by this calamitous defeat, Blake upbraided his men for their shameless behavior, declaring that their cowardice lost the battle. He demanded an inquiry into his own conduct, and, actuated by a high sense of honor, restored the estate conferred on him by the Supreme Junta after the victory of Alcañiz.

Till the fall of Gerona, on the 10th of November, Blake, aided by Don Henry O'Donnell, was chiefly employed in conveying relief to the garrison of that important post, which he more than once accomplished in the very face of the enemy.

In 1810, Blake was admitted a member of the

regency of the kingdom. He proceeded to Andalusia, and, in the following year, operated in concert with Wellington on the Guadiana after the battle of Badajos. His intended movements on Seville in June were frustrated by the prompt measures of Marshal Soult; and, effecting his retreat to Ayamonte, thence to the Isle of Camelas, he embarked his troops on board a fleet of transports, and sailed for Cadiz.

Proceeding to Valencia, he assumed the direction of affairs in that province. But he met with a series of reverses, accelerated by the jealousy of faction; the want of spirit in his unsoldierly troops, who deserted in large numbers; and the ill concealed treachery of the inhabitants, who satisfied the wants of the enemy, but declined to supply their countrymen with the necessaries of life.

At Murviedro, on the 25th of October, Blake was defeated by Suchet, losing 5,000 men. After another engagement, he was forced to retire on Valencia, where he formed an intrenched camp five miles in extent, inclosing that city. Suchet proceeded to invest his works, and defeated a large body of Spaniards, under General O'Mahy, designed for his relief. Though the French were freely supplied by the country people, Blake, with his 18,000 men, was reduced to extremities for the want of provisions. On the 2nd of December, Blake made a desperate but unsuccessful sally at the head of 10,000 men.

So destructive was the fire from the French guns, that Blake, three days after his attempt to break through the French lines, abandoned his camp, and withdrew into the city, when he was summoned by Suchet to surrender. This he refused to do, and continued the defence of the city till the 9th, when the citizens rose up against him, and insisted that it should be surrendered to the enemy. Blake's taunts and reproaches availed nothing. The Valencians were impenetrable to shame; for country, honor, glory, were of far less consequence than their ease. Don Joachim then stipulated that he should be permitted

to march with his soldiers to Alicante; but Suchet was anxious to secure the person of Blake, and declined to concede those terms.

Blake would never have yielded; but the citizens opened the gates, and he was forced to give up his sword. The pusillanimity (if not treachery) of the Valencians surrendered into the hands of the French 22 generals, 893 other officers, and 18,000 men as prisoners of war, besides 80 colors, 390 pieces of artillery, 2,000 horses, 40,000 arms, and an immense quantity of powder, ball-cartridge, and other warlike stores. Suchet's success procured for him the marked approbation of the Emperor Napoleon, who created him Duke of Albufera.

No overtures would be entertained for Blake's exchange. He was sent as a prisoner of war to France, and confined in the Château de Vincennes, near Paris, where he was kept till the fall of Napoleon. On his return to Spain, in 1814, he was appointed director-general of engineers. In the revolution of 1820, he occupied a seat in the Council of State, which he retained till the restoration of Ferdinand VII. by French intervention, when he retired into private life.

Don Joachim Blake died at Valladolid in 1827, deeply regretted by the Spanish soldiery. The leader of ill provided armies unable to cope with the well supplied and disciplined veterans of France, his career had been almost one series of reverses; but his indomitable energies rose above misfortune, and, by extraordinary efforts, he collected and reorganized his scattered forces after defeat, and boldly re-engaged the foe. His talents as a general were duly recognized by the country; and he was appointed Captain-General of the five provinces of Aragon, Catalonia, Galicia, Murcia, and Valencia. Song and story still preserve his memory in Spain.

Marshal Clarke, Duc de Feltre,

MINISTER OF WAR TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.

Not the least among those who shared in the brilliant career of Napoleon, and contributed to the grandeur of the first French empire, was Marshal CLARKE, Comte d'Hunebourg and Duc de Feltre, the son of Irish parents, who followed the Stuarts to France; his father serving as an officer in the Regiment of Berwick in the Irish Brigade.

HENRY JAMES WILLIAM CLARKE was born, October 17, 1765, at Landrecies, on the Sambre, in France. At an early age, he was left an orphan, but received every attention from his uncle (Colonel O'Shea, secretary to the Duc d'Orléans), who had him educated with a view to providing him a position in the army. He pursued his studies with diligence, and acquired a knowledge of several languages, which he spoke and wrote with ease and elegance.

In 1782, he left the *Ecole Militaire* at Paris, and entered the Regiment of Berwick as a sub-lieutenant; and, in 1784, soliciting to be transferred to a cavalry regiment, was appointed cornet of hussars. Quitting the army in 1790, he was employed as an *attaché* in the embassy to England. He returned to France the next year, and became lieutenant-colonel of a cavalry corps in 1792. During the revolution, he served with much distinction in the defence of the country against the invasion of the allies. He rendered very essential aid at the head of his dragoons in the achievements of the Army of the Rhine, especially at the capture of Speyer (or Spires) and the combat of Erchem.

In 1793, he was made general of brigade; but he was suspended, soon after, by the National Convention, deprived of his rank, and thrown into prison under the suspicion that he was in league with the aristocracy. After a while, he was permitted to retire to Alsace, where he remained under close *surveillance* till the death of Robespierre, when he was restored to favor by M. Carnot, Minister of Public Safety, who appointed him head of the bureau of military topography constituted by the *Comité de Salut Public*. Acquitting himself with judgment in his required duties, his rank of brigadier-general was restored to him in March, 1795; and, in December, he became general of division.

Charged by the Directory, in 1796, with a secret mission to the court of Vienna, General Clarke displayed so much talent in its management, that he was next employed on one of a much more delicate nature. Jealous of Bonaparte's rising fame consequent on his brilliant successes in Italy, and having an instinctive dread of his ambition, the Directory sent Clarke to watch his movements, and also to negotiate a secret treaty with Austria. Clarke accordingly proceeded to Vienna; his ostensible object being to procure the liberation of Lafayette and other prisoners confined by Austria in Olmütz. Visiting the Army of Italy, he held frequent interviews with Bonaparte, who, though affecting ignorance, was well aware of the tenor of Clarke's instructions. The diplomat's acuteness led him to perceive that the soldier's star was in the ascendant. He therefore attached himself to the interests of Bonaparte, and, in his secret report to the Directory, bestowed great praise on that general, and, at his instance, procured the recall of several commanding officers and commissaries, whose incapacity and peculation were a source of much embarrassment to the army.

A treaty of alliance with Piedmont was concluded at Turin by Clarke on the 5th of April, 1797. On the 6th of May, he and Bonaparte signed the treaty of Leoben; and, on the 17th of October, in co-opera-

tion with the victorious general-in-chief, he concluded the famous treaty of Campo Formio, so advantageous to France.

Imperatively recalled by the Directory for permitting Napoleon to arrange the terms of peace to his own satisfaction, Clarke was deprived of all his offices, in which he was not reinstated till after the revolution of the 18th *Brumaire* (9th November), 1799. Upon the elevation of Napoleon to the dignity of First Consul of France, Clarke was appointed to the military command of Lunéville and the department of the Muerthe. Charged, after the treaty between France and Russia in 1800, with the task of sending home the Russian prisoners then in the hands of France, he displayed so much consideration for the wants of the liberated men, and used so much exertion to facilitate their return home, as to elicit the marked approbation of the Emperor Paul, who, in acknowledgment of his kindness, presented him with a magnificent sword, the hilt and scabbard of which sparkled with diamonds.

Clarke was shortly after sent as ambassador to Tuscany. Returning to France in 1804, he was made a councillor of State, and admitted to the secret councils of the emperor, whom he accompanied on his campaigns. He particularly distinguished himself at Ulm and Jena; capturing, at the latter place, the colors of the Saxon Regiment of Hundt and several pieces of cannon. In 1805, he was appointed Governor-General of Upper and Lower Austria, &c., and invested with the Cordon of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. He was engaged, the next year, in treating with the plenipotentiaries of Russia and England for peace, but without coming to a definite settlement. In October, he was named Governor of Erfurt; and, on the 27th of the same month, was summoned by Napoleon to Berlin, of which city the conqueror made him governor.

Of his conduct in that capacity, Bourienne does not speak in a complimentary strain: "Thus Clarke—the inevitable Clarke—was appointed Governor of Berlin; and, under his administration, the wretched inhabitants

who could not flee were overwhelmed by every species of impost and oppression. As in the execution of every measure there operated the most servile compliance with the orders of Napoleon, so the name of Clarke is held in detestation throughout Prussia."

In obeying the stern dictates of Napoleon so implicitly, Clarke has not undeservedly merited reproach for the remorselessness of his exactions and the severity with which he punished the fractious; yet nothing can be laid to his charge that could affect his probity. All contributions levied were for the benefit of the State. Nothing found its way into Clarke's private purse. And, through his interference, the magnificent furniture of the palace at Potsdam was saved from appropriation.

Clarke was appointed Minister of War, August 9, 1807, in the room of Marshal Berthier (Duke of Neufchâtel and Prince of Wagram), which post he occupied till April 3, 1814. In 1808, he was created Count of Hunebourg; and, the next year, Duke of Feltre. As Minister of War, the Duc de Feltre displayed great ability and zeal, introducing method and order into all branches of his department, and proving himself eminently qualified for the office.

Upon the sudden descent of 60,000 English, under the Earl of Chatham, on the island of Walcheren, in 1809, Clarke took less than three weeks to mass 100,000 men to oppose their landing from the island. Thus foiled in their design on Antwerp, which they might have taken had their commander exercised a little more activity in his movements, the crest-fallen English returned home, having lost 7,000 by fever.

During the absence of Napoleon on his disastrous expedition to Russia, in 1812, an insurrection broke out in Paris in favor of the restoration of the republic; but it was soon suppressed by Clarke, who caused the leaders to be arrested and executed.

Upon the capitulation of Paris and the relegation of Napoleon to his island empire in 1814, the Duc de Feltre, in company with many of Napoleon's old friends, proffered his allegiance to Louis XVIII., and was

created a Peer of France by that monarch. The day after the return of Napoleon to France, the duke was reappointed Minister of War by the king.

Upon the reinstallation of Napoleon in power after his arrival from Elba, the Duc de Feltre accompanied the fugitive court of Louis XVIII. to Ghent, and was charged with a mission to the Prince of Wales, then Regent of England.

When the final fall of the Emperor Napoleon took place (1815), and Louis was restored to the throne, the duke was named governor of the ninth military division, and retook the portfolio of war in September. He was made a marshal of France in July, 1816.

Through the intrigues of his enemies, the Duc de Feltre at length fell into disfavor at the French court, and was removed from office. He retired to Neuville, where he died on the 28th of October, 1818, in his fifty-third year. He left three sons,—Edgar, Comte d'Hunebourg; Arthur; and Alphonse, celebrated as a composer of music.

Few statesmen have been more severely judged than Marshal Clarke, Duc de Feltre, who has been variously accused of treasonable practices, of extortion, and of acquiring wealth by the most fraudulent means. On the other hand, it is recorded that he left "only a mediocre fortune. The disinterestedness as well as the loyalty of the Duc de Feltre contrast strongly with the great riches and supple consciences of some of his companions in arms." He certainly had a passion for power and office, and contrived to ingratiate himself with the party whose ascendancy was evident; yet he was a decided enemy to peculation, thereby incurring the animosity of many individuals. Count Montholon says: "Clarke had not a military mind; he was a man of business,—a careful and honorable worker, and a great enemy to all knavery." He adds further: "Under the empire, he rendered very important services by the integrity of his administration." The count concludes that it must be a subject of regret that Clarke, at the close of his career, should have

joined a ministry which disbanded the army and delivered impregnable places into the hands of astonished enemies. The best judge of the character of Clarke was undoubtedly the Emperor Napoleon, whose testimony is unimpeachable, as he knew the man well, and was not likely to screen his faults. After alluding to Clarke's mania for genealogical research, and his weakness in regard to lineage, the emperor ("*Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*") says: "Doubtless he believes himself to-day to be in a much loftier position as the minister of a legitimate king than to have been that of a *parvenu* emperor. He enjoys great favor this moment, it is said. I wish him a continuance of it." Concerning the minister's integrity, the emperor had no doubt, and thus expresses himself: "More than once, in 1813 and in 1814, they essayed to inspire me with doubts of his fidelity. I would never interfere. I have always believed him upright and honest."

Count Daniel O'Connell.

OF those adherents of James II. who remained in Ireland after the treaty of Limerick, and managed to retain their estates, was Captain John O'Connell,* of Aghgore and Derrynane, in the county of Kerry. His son Daniel had a family of twenty-two children, among whom were Morgan, father of the great "Liberator;" and DANIEL, the youngest of the family and the subject of the present sketch.

DANIEL O'CONNELL (uncle of that Daniel O'Connell who made himself famous by his endeavors to obtain "constitutionally" the restitution of Ireland's legislative independence) was born at Derrynane in August, 1743.

Young O'Connell received a good education, and became thoroughly proficient in mathematics and the Greek and Latin languages at an early age. He subsequently acquired a knowledge of French, Italian, and German, which, as well as English and Irish, he could write and converse in with fluency.

In 1757, he went over to France, and entered the Regiment of Clare in the Irish Brigade as sub-lieutenant. He first saw service in the Seven Years' War, and acquitted himself with credit. At the close of the war, he was transferred to the Regiment of Royal Swedes, and, in 1779, served with it as major in

* The O'Connells are of the race of Eogan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages (Niall Naoighiallach), and for a long period were located in the county of Kerry. The heads of the family were transplanted to Clare by Cromwell.

the recovery of the island of Minorca from the English, to whom it had been ceded by Spain in 1763. Upon the capture of Port Mahon (the strongly fortified capital of Minorca) by the Duc de Crillon, that general specially noticed the bravery and engineering skill displayed by Major O'Connell during the siege, and recommended him for promotion. He obtained the lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment in 1782.

We find him next engaged in the futile attempt of the combined armaments of France and Spain by land and sea to recover the unconquerable rock of Gibraltar from the British, who had become possessed of it in 1704.* Called upon as an experienced engineer to consult with the council of war as to the best plan for attack upon that formidable fortress, O'Connell gave an opinion decidedly averse to the plans for a general attack by sea submitted by the Duc de Crillon and the Chevalier d'Arcon. He declared those plans would prove ineffectual, and his views were fully borne out by the sequel. Nevertheless, when the grand attack was resolved upon, he solicited a share in it, and was appointed second in command of one of the floating

* The garrison of Gibraltar was commanded by General Elliott (a Scotchman), and consisted of 7,000 men. For three years—from the 12th of January, 1780, to the 2nd February, 1783—the fort sustained the siege of the allies, consuming an immense quantity of the munitions of war in its defence. The besiegers employed 40,000 soldiers, with 200 pieces of cannon and 80 mortars, by land; while 47 sail of the line, 10 battering ships, and a swarm of other vessels, mounting in all 1,000 guns, operated by sea. But the red-hot balls fired from the fort played havoc with the fleet, considerably improving the advantages already possessed by the besieged in their unassailable position. The allies were commanded by Louis, Duc de Crillon-Mahon, who acquired the latter part of his title by the brilliant capture of Port Mahon, in Minorca. England became possessed of the Rock of Gibraltar through knavery. It was captured by a combined Dutch and English fleet, fighting for the Archduke Charles of Austria, in 1704, during the War of the Spanish Succession; but Sir George Rooke, the English admiral, took possession of it in the name of England, by whom it has been held ever since.

batteries; his regiment responding to a man to the call for volunteers. On the 13th of September, 1782, the grand attack took place. O'Connell's battery was one of the first to go into action. The fire from the fort was terrible. Storms of red-hot balls and shells poured destruction into the fleet, one of the largest Spanish vessels being soon wrapped in flames. A portion of one of O'Connell's ears was torn off by a ball; and he was wounded in several places by the bursting of a bomb at his feet. The attack on the rock by the allies ended in a defeat.

Upon the termination of hostilities, O'Connell was promoted to the colonelcy of a German corps, called the Regiment of Salm-Salm, raised in the principality of that name for the French service. This body of men he found to be in a very lax state of discipline. But, in a short while, they gave evidence of profiting by his supervision; and at a grand review of 50,000 French infantry, held in Alsace in 1787, Colonel O'Connell was publicly complimented on the efficiency of his regiment, which was conceded to be superior to every other present in point of discipline.

O'Connell was chosen a member of a commission appointed by the French government to devise plans for the remodelling of the army. The system he drew up for regulating the outlay, and the code of tactics he prepared, afforded such satisfaction that he was appointed inspector-general of infantry, and directed to carry out his own plans. His code for the regulation of military economy and discipline continued to be observed by the French armies after the revolution, and became a model gladly imitated by other nations.

The existence of the Irish Brigade in France as a distinctive corps terminated, in 1791, by virtue of a decree passed by the National Assembly on the 21st of July; and, from that date, all foreigners (the Swiss excepted) who fought for France were incorporated, clad, and paid as French soldiers. When this proposal was under consideration, the Duc de Fitzjames addressed a letter to Louis XVI., in which, after set-

ting forth the services performed for France by his father and grandfather (the Duke of Berwick), he said :—

“Sire, my grandfather came not alone into France. His brave companions are now mine, and the dearest friends of my heart. He was accompanied by thirty thousand Irishmen, who abandoned home, fortune, and honor to follow their unfortunate king. For the descendants of those brave men, whom your ancestors deemed so worthy of protection because they had been faithful to their sovereign, I now entreat the same bounty from the great-grandson of Louis XIV. It is reported that the National Assembly propose disbanding the Irish regiments as foreign troops. The blood they have shed in the cause of France ought to have procured them the right of being denizens of that kingdom, even though their capitulation had not entitled them to that privilege.

“Sire, permit me to lay at your majesty's feet the ardent wish of the Irish regiments, who are as much attached to France by gratitude as formerly they were to the House of Stuart by love and duty. If the Assembly now reject their services, they implore your majesty's recommendation to the prince of your family now reigning in Spain, presuming to assure you that the present will be worthy of being made by a King of France, and of being favorably received by a prince of your royal race.

“Fidelity and valor are their titles to recommendation. Of the former they expect an authentic testimonial from the French nation, as they have never once failed in their duty during a century; and, wherever they have fought, their valor has been conspicuous in battle.

“Sire, I entreat you to listen to this request. For myself, I ask no compensation; for me there is none. The honor of commanding them cannot be repaid. It secures my glory, *as to lead them against a foe insures immediate victory.*”

This appeal, however, had no effect, as the monarch was powerless to influence the Assembly; and thenceforth the history of the Irish Brigade in France as a distinctive corps belonged only to the past.

Upon the breaking out of the revolution in France, the Irish chose opposite sides; some clinging to the royal cause, while others gave in their adhesion to the successive forms of government that prevailed in France, owning allegiance only to the country. In treating of their conduct in this respect, a French writer makes these remarks: “The fidelity of these

noble *courtisans du malheur* was pure and chivalrous, and they are worthy of our respect and admiration. On the other hand, it would be equally unjust and blamable to condemn the brave men who, considering themselves the soldiers of France, remained faithful to her destinies, and offered their swords to the service of the republic and the empire."

Coblentz became the headquarters of the aristocratic fugitives from the fury of the revolution; and there the following address was presented to the king's brother, the Comte de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII. :—

"The officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the Irish Regiment of Berwick, filled with the sentiments of honor and of fidelity which are hereditary among them, entreat monseigneur to place at the disposal of the king the devotion which they make of their lives in order to support the royal cause, and to employ their arms with confidence on the most perilous occasions."

To this, the Comte de Provence replied :—

"I have received, gentlemen, with a genuine sensibility the letter which you have written to me. I will cause to be forwarded to the king, as soon as possible, the expression of your sentiment towards him. I answer you, by anticipation, that it will alleviate the sufferings of the king, who will receive from you with pleasure the same mark of fidelity which James II. received from your forefathers one hundred years ago. This double epoch shall for ever furnish the Regiment of Berwick with a device that shall henceforth be seen on your colors. Every faithful subject will there read his duty, and behold the model he ought to imitate. As for myself, gentlemen, be well convinced that your last act will remain for ever engraven on my soul, and that I shall reckon myself happy as often as I shall be able to give you proofs of the feelings with which it inspires me towards you."

Soon afterwards, a flag—embroidered with the Irish harp, inwreathed with shamrocks and *fleurs-de-lis*—was presented to the representatives of the Regiments of Dillon, Berwick, and Walsh, by the Comte de Provence, who thus addressed them :—

"Gentlemen, we acknowledge the inappreciable services that France has received from the Irish Brigade in the course

of the last hundred years,—services that we shall never forget, though under an impossibility of requiting them. Receive this standard as a pledge of our remembrance, a monument of our admiration and of our respect; and, in future, generous Irishmen, this shall be the motto of your spotless flag,—

‘1692—1792,

‘SEMPER ET UBIQUE FIDELIS.’”*

Upon the elevation of the same Comte de Provence to the throne of France as Louis XVIII., the Duc de Fitzjames presented to him the survivors of the Irish Brigade, who had served him so loyally, with these words: “Sire, I have the honor of presenting to your majesty the survivors of the old Irish Brigade. These gentlemen only ask for a sword and the privilege of dying at the foot of the throne.”

But the king, who had been so profuse in his professions of gratitude, and had promised that the Irish should be the Guards of the King, did not dare to offend England, who had been so instrumental in securing his position, and weakly complied with the injunction of Castlereagh that the Irish Brigade should not be restored.

During the progress of the revolution, O'Connell remained openly at Paris, though secretly watching the interests of the king, till the projected invasion of France by Austria and the allies. Pressed to take the command of a division by Carnot and Dumouriez, on the breaking out of the war, he declined; and, secretly leaving Paris for Coblenz, joined the fugitive princes, to whom he tendered his sword. He commanded a regiment of hussars under the Duke of Brunswick, and served honorably in that vain contest of the allies with the victorious armies of France.

Towards the end of 1793, O'Connell went to London, and there laid before William Pitt a plan for the campaign of 1794. It was much approved of by that minister, who offered the count the commission of colonel in the English army. The commission was at

* “Always and Everywhere Faithful.”

once accepted; the recipient agreeing to the stipulation that he should attain no higher rank, but should receive full pay for life. O'Connell, also, was instrumental in organizing an Irish Brigade for the English service, consisting of six regiments. These six regiments were thus commanded: 1, by the Duc de Fitzjames; 2, Count Anthony Walsh de Serrant; 3, Honorable Henry Dillon; 4, Count Daniel O'Connell; 5, Count Charles Walsh de Serrant; 6, Count James Henry Conway. Instead of being sent to serve on the continent, as the Irish of these regiments were led to believe, they were drafted—in order that they should not have the opportunity of passing over to the enemy—to different parts of the English possessions in America, and were thinned out by West-Indian pestilence or the snows of the northern provinces.

In 1797, Count O'Connell retired from the English army on full pay. Availing himself of the peace of Amiens, he went back to France, in 1802, to look after some property belonging to his wife. But, the relations between France and England becoming disturbed again, he became included in the decree of Napoleon (then first consul), which ordered the arrest of all British subjects throughout France. He remained in confinement till the downfall of the empire.

Upon the elevation of Louis XVIII. to the French throne, that king bestowed on O'Connell the Grand Cross of St. Louis, and restored to him his regiment, besides his rank of general. His pay as colonel in the English army was also continued to him.

The rest of his days were spent in tranquillity till 1830, when he was deprived by Louis Philippe of all his emoluments for refusing to acknowledge his sovereignty instead of that of Charles X.

Retiring to a *château* belonging to his son-in-law, at Madon, in the department of the Loire-et-Cher, he resided there till his death, which took place on the 9th of July, 1833, in his 90th year, "being the oldest colonel of the British army and the senior general of the French."

Richard Montgomery,

GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.



IN that memorable struggle between England and some of her North-American colonies, which ended in the glorious success of the latter and the formation of the United States,—a nation whose flag is regarded with respect or envy, as it may be gazed upon by the lovers of liberty or the adherents of despotism,—men of Irish birth and parentage took part, and won a prominent place in the pages of the world's history.

Of all those who assisted in securing the independence of the United States, the memory of none, perhaps, is more sacred to Americans—after Washington, the “father of his country”—than that of their great Irish soldier, RICHARD MONTGOMERY, “seventh from Washington in rank, next to him in merit, an Irishman by birth, well informed as a statesman, faultless in private life, a patriot from the heart.”*

Richard Montgomery was born at Convoy House, near Raphoe, in the county Donegal, Ireland, on the 2nd of December, 1736. At a very early age, he entered the British army as a commissioned officer, and very rapidly acquired a knowledge of his professional duties. Ordered to America with his regiment, he displayed great bravery and ability in encounters with the Indians. At the siege of Louisburg, in Cape Breton Island, 1758, by Generals Amherst and Wolfe, the high military capacity and great daring of young Montgomery attracted particular notice. We find him very much

* Bancroft.

distinguished, also, under Wolfe, in the famous victory at Quebec in 1759. Recalled to Europe, he became engaged in the Seven Years' War, fighting bravely in the Duke of Cumberland's disastrous campaign in the Low Countries. Returning home, on the termination of the war, in 1763, he remained there for some years. During that time, he had ample opportunity to study the political situation of the country, and came to the conclusion that Justice had but indifferent shelter under the British flag.

Selling out his commission in disgust, he sailed for New York. There he renewed his former acquaintance with the Livingstons, noted in those early days for their patriotism and their rooted enmity to monarchy and its institutions. Suing for the hand of the eldest daughter of Robert R. Livingston, he won it, and married her. Desiring to lead a life of peace, and avoid the strife and turmoil of the world, he settled at Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, in the State of New York, and there stocked a farm, built a mill, and otherwise employed himself in agricultural pursuits, surrounded by a circle of devoted friends, whose esteem and affection for him were a source of constant enjoyment.

The exactions of the English government led to the remonstrances of the American colonists. The Puritans who had fled from the tyranny of an aristocratic church party and of monarchy to enjoy the freedom of a new country, whose forests they cleared with their own hands, and turned into towns and villages and teeming fields and orchards; and the Irish who had sought refuge from the oppression of the English usurper,—could ill brook the determination of the home government to treat their country as a mere province, and derive from the fruits of their industry the means wherewith to support the pampered aristocracy of England. Remonstrances and appeals to the sense of boasted English justice were alike vain. England was drunk with power, and laughed to scorn the demands of the insignificant colonists as unwarranted impertinence. She imperiously imposed such taxes as she pleased, and upheld her

authority by an armed soldiery. At length a collision took place. A detachment of soldiers having been sent from Boston, Massachusetts, to seize some munitions of war stored at the town of Lexington, in that State, encountered on the ever-memorable 19th of April, 1775, a handful of American "minute-men," determined to oppose the seizure. Enraged, the British fired on the Americans, killing seven, wounding nine, and causing the remainder (about fifty) to disperse. Old and young came to the assistance of their countrymen. At Concord, they made a stand against the soldiers. The latter found their match in the raw and undisciplined, but determined, Americans, and were forced to beat a shameful retreat on Boston. Through the length and breadth of the land, the news spread like wild-fire. The people rose and unfurled the flag of independence; and proud England was compelled to humble herself and permit the colonists to form a distinct nation, which now rivals her in power and importance.

By reason of his sound views and ardent advocacy of the independence of his adopted country, Montgomery won the esteem of the people, and was elected by them to represent the county of Dutchess, in the first provincial convention held in New York, in 1775. In that assembly of patriot fathers, he distinguished himself by his "unaffected modesty, promptness of decision, and soundness of judgment."

Later in the same year, he was elected by Congress a brigadier-general in the newly organized army of the united colonies. Though a thorough soldier, Montgomery delighted not in the shedding of blood; and, with the hope that he had given up the trade of war for ever, had converted his sword into a ploughshare. Yet, when his adopted country called on him in her hour of need, he hastened to obey, though even then his modesty would have dispensed with the rank conferred on him, which he neither expected nor desired; but, as he expressed it, "the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed."

On the breaking out of the revolution in America, Canada remained loyal to England, even assisting that power in its endeavors to repress the revolt of the other colonies. Guy Carleton, the Governor of Canada, proclaimed all the revolutionists and their aiders and abettors as traitors, and organized expeditions against them. Washington urgently pressed the importance of the invasion of Canada; and Congress, in order to protect the country against the aggressions of Carleton, was obliged to adopt the advice of Washington.

An invasion of Canada having been therefore resolved on, General Montgomery was despatched in August, 1775, to unite with General Schuyler for that purpose. Unwilling to wait the tardy movements of Schuyler, Montgomery set out at once to attack St. John's, which he reached early in September. He was speedily followed by Schuyler, who assumed command; but the latter, being in failing health, only wasted time in the neighborhood, and even wrote to Congress, urging the withdrawal of the troops from Canada, and representing the object of the expedition as utterly hopeless with the force at his command. Congress declined to accede to his wishes; and Schuyler was at length compelled, through increasing illness, to relinquish the command, which devolved upon Montgomery.

With a force of about 2,000 men at his disposal, General Montgomery immediately proceeded to invest St. John's. In undertaking this task, he had unusual difficulties to contend with. His munitions of war had run short; the weather was extremely cold and wet; sickness prevailed among his troops; and, above all, the men composing his army knew not how to obey, and required a remarkably firm will to rule them. In their new-born assertion of independence, Montgomery's troops assumed the right of obtruding their opinions on the direction of the campaign, and expected to be consulted on all undertakings; and, when the term of service for which they had been called out by Congress had expired, they were satisfied that they had done their duty, and insisted on returning home. "The New

Englishers," wrote Montgomery, "are the worst stuff imaginable for soldiers. They are homesick; their regiments are melted away, and yet not a man dead of any distemper. There is such an equality among them, that the officers have no authority; and there are very few among them in whose spirit I have confidence. The privates are all generals, but not soldiers; and so jealous, that it is impossible, though a man risk his person, to escape the imputation of treachery." General Schuyler had previously complained to Congress of the Connecticut soldiers. In that complaint, he declared: "If Job had been a general in my situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience."

Montgomery was, however, equal to the occasion; and, by a judicious appeal to their good sense and a determination to enforce discipline, reduced his soldiers to order, and secured their thorough regard. His measures, too, in the conduct of the siege won him praise from all; and his reputation increased steadily.

During the progress of the siege, he despatched a small force to capture Chambly, on the road to Montreal. A siege of about forty hours reduced the town to submission; and it surrendered on the 10th of October, giving up 160 prisoners, the colors of the 7th Regiment, 17 guns, and 6 tons of powder. The ammunition thus procured was of great assistance to Montgomery; and he was enabled to push on his operations against St. John's with vigor. The arrival of Colonel Wooster, of Connecticut, also greatly strengthened his hands.

Governor Carleton and Colonel McLean, at the head of separate forces, advanced to the relief of the besieged; but the vigilant Montgomery detailed two parties to watch their movements. At Longueuil, Colonel Warner, with 300 men and one gun, defeated the attempt of Carleton to cross the St. Lawrence; and, on learning of the governor's discomfiture, McLean retired to Quebec. Thus Montgomery was left to prosecute the siege of St. John's, unmolested by the enemy in his rear. Pushing on his works, he had them completed on the 30th of October, and, keeping up an

incessant fire by day and night, compelled the surrender of St. John's on the 3rd of November. The garrison, numbering 600, was permitted to march out with the honors of war.

Montgomery now turned his attention to Montreal, and, pushing on there as rapidly as the wretched state of the roads would permit, entered that town on the 12th of November, and took possession of it without opposition. The revolutionists had counted on the co-operation of the Canadians; but they met with but few sympathizers, the mass of the people being unwilling to disturb the relations with England, dubious, perhaps, of the issue of the contest. From Montreal, General Montgomery issued an address to the people of Canada, in which he urged them to make common cause with the united colonies, and send representatives to the national Congress; declaring that he only spoke in their interests, and that he had no "ambition but that of serving the public."

"Without Quebec," says Bancroft, "Canada remained unconquered; and honor forbade him to turn back before attempting its capture. Men, money, and artillery were wanting. In the face of a Canadian winter, he nevertheless resolved to go down to Quebec, and pledged his word that on his part there should be no negligence of duty, no infirmity of purpose."

In September, General Washington had despatched Benedict Arnold,* with about 1,100 men, to the assistance of Montgomery. This detachment, very heavily burdened,—after having undergone, in a most unfavorable season, the utmost privations and hardships in its long and arduous march through trackless woods and swamps, and over swift-running streams and rugged hills,—arrived at Point Lévi, on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, opposite Quebec, on the 13th November,

* Though this officer rendered essential service to the American cause in the beginning by his bravery and acknowledged talent, he subsequently turned traitor, and sold himself to the English, thus causing his memory to become infamous for ever

reduced to about 850 men from desertions and death. Before daybreak, the next morning, 700—the remainder being left at Point Lévi—were landed undiscovered at Wolfe's Cove, on the Quebec side; the canoes employed being brought into requisition three times to convey the party across the river. "The feeble band," says Bancroft, "met no resistance as they climbed the oblique paths to the Plains of Abraham. Wolfe had come, commanding the river with a fleet; they, in frail bark canoes, hardly capable of holding a fourth of their number at a time; Wolfe, with a well appointed army of thousands; they, with less than 600 effective men, or a total of about 700, and those in rags, barefooted, and worn down with fatigue; Wolfe, with artillery; they, with muskets only, and those muskets so damaged that one hundred were unfit for service; Wolfe, with unlimited stores of ammunition; they, with spoiled cartridges and a very little damaged powder."

On the evening of the 14th, Arnold appeared before the gates of Quebec, and demanded its surrender. No heed being paid to him, he defied the British to come outside the walls. They, however, deemed it prudent to remain where they were; and, for three days, Arnold camped within a mile and a half of the town, intercepting all supplies. A strict examination, on the fourth day, of the state of the ammunition showing but five rounds to each man, caused Arnold to remove to Point-aux-Trembles, about eight leagues above Quebec, and there await the orders of Montgomery.

The forces under Montgomery were now reduced to 800 men by the return home of some companies, who refused to stay after their term of enlistment had expired, more especially as a severe winter had set in. Leaving garrisons to secure the conquered towns, Montgomery set out with 300 men and supplies to Point-aux-Trembles, where he joined Arnold on the 3rd of December. At noon, on the 5th, with his entire force now amounting to but 875 men, Montgomery appeared before the walls of Quebec, to "take the strongest fortified city in America, defended by more than 200

cannon of heavy metal, and a garrison of twice the number of the besiegers." The garrison of Quebec, including regulars, sailors, and militia, amounted in all to 1,778 effective men ; furthermore, Carleton had not been idle in securing ample supplies of provisions, and putting the place in a posture to sustain a long siege.

Montgomery at once saw the impracticability of a siege against such a well prepared city with the very inferior resources at his command, and with men impatient of delay and bent on returning home at the termination of their service, then near at hand. With the hope of inducing Carleton to sally from the walls, he alternately defied and threatened him ; but that astute governor had too much respect for Montgomery's reputation as a soldier, and moreover, having served as quartermaster-general in Wolfe's army sixteen years before, was fully sensible that the capture of Quebec by the English was owing to the fatal mistake committed by Montcalm in giving battle on the open field. Having failed, also, to open correspondence with any of the citizens, some of whom he had hoped would be favorable to the American cause, Montgomery decided on carrying Quebec by a *coup-de-main*, confident that the unflinching bravery of his men, when animated by his example, would be more than a match for the English garrison.

To draw off attention from his real design, Montgomery caused some mortars to be placed on St. Roque's, and a battery to be erected on the Heights of Abraham, about 700 yards south-west of St. John's Gate. The ground being frozen quite hard and covered with a great depth of snow, no earth could be procured ; and the battery was therefore constructed of fascines and of gabions filled with snow, which was converted into ice by the application of water.

Time pressed ; most of his men would take their leave in the opening of the new year ; pleurisy and small-pox began their ravages in the camp ; and his snow-constructed battery soon melted before the fire of the fortress.

Taking advantage of a severe snowstorm, which set in on the 30th December, Montgomery arranged for the attack at two o'clock on the following morning. His design was to assault different points simultaneously, and thus alarm the enemy along the whole line of defence. Two small parties were to divert attention at St. John's Gate on the south-west, and Cape Diamond, from whence the signal-rocket was to be fired; while the real attack was to be made on the lower town by Arnold from the west and north, and by Montgomery from the south and east.

When night came, the different parties moved on to their assigned task. Montgomery and 300 men groped their way in the darkness, through a blinding storm of hail, to Wolfe's Cove, and thence along the river shore for two miles. Struggling manfully against the furious wind and the pitiless pelting of the driving hail, with hands almost frozen to their muskets, those hardy sons of freedom pushed on to the enemy's works; now climbing rocks covered with snow and ice, and anon sliding down glassy declivities. The first barrier was reached by Montgomery before daybreak (31st December, 1775) with a small party, the greater number straggling in the rear. Taking possession of the barrier, which had been abandoned, he proceeded to reconnoitre the second line of defence. The signal-rocket had been sent up sooner than was directed; and the watchful garrison, who had been warned of the intended attack by a deserter, observed the signal, and made preparations to resist the assault.

Fire-balls were thrown by the garrison to light up the scene; and Montgomery saw that instant action was necessary. Determined to carry the work before him,—which lay at the end of a pathway, on one side of which rose high rocks and on the other yawned a chasm,—he pushed forward, calling on all who had come up (numbering about sixty) to follow. “Men of New York!” he cried, “you will not fear to follow where your general leads. Push on, brave boys! Quebec is ours!” With alacrity they pressed forward after their

heroic leader, resolute to do or die in the cause of liberty. But, when they arrived within fifty yards of the enemy's works, a deadly discharge of grape belched forth from the cannons' mouths; and Montgomery, with twelve of his gallant men, fell dead in the cold snow.

Upon the fall of Montgomery, who was hit in three places, his men lost all heart, and beat a hasty retreat. In the attack on the north-east side, Arnold was wounded and carried off disabled to the rear. Morgan, taking his place, with a gallant dash took the battery at Sault-au-Matelot, and entered the town with about 200 men. Failing in the attack on a second barrier, he and his men were enveloped by a greatly superior force; and a desperate fight ensued, resulting in the surrender of the Americans.

Thus failed the attempt on Quebec. The Americans lost 60 in killed and wounded, with over 300 taken prisoners. The British loss was inconsiderable.

The narration of the attempt upon Quebec is thus wound up by Bancroft:—

“When the battle was over, thirteen bodies were found at the place now known as *Près-de-Ville*. The body of Cheesman, whose career had been a brief but gallant one, had fallen over the rocks. In the pathway lay Macpherson,—a youth as spotless as the new-fallen snow which was his winding-sheet; full of genius for war, lovely in temper, honored by the affection and confidence of his chief; dear to the army, leaving not his like behind him. There, too, by his side lay Richard Montgomery on the spot where he fell. At his death, he was in the first month of his fortieth year. He was tall and slender, well limbed, of a graceful address and a strong and active frame. He could endure fatigue and all changes and severities of climate. His judgment was cool, though he kindled in action, imparting confidence and sympathetic courage. Never himself negligent of duty, never avoiding danger, discriminating and energetic, he had the power of conducting freemen by their voluntary love and esteem. An experienced soldier, he was also well versed in letters, particularly in natural science. In private life, he was a good husband, brother, and son, an amiable and faithful friend. The rectitude of his heart shone forth in his actions, which were habitually and unaffectedly directed by a nice moral sense. He overcame difficulties which others shunned to encounter. Foes and friends paid tribute to his worth. The

Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Council of Quebec, and all the principal officers of the garrison, buried him and his aide-de-camp, Macpherson, with the honors of war.

"At the news of his death, 'the whole city of Philadelphia was in tears; every person seemed to have lost his dearest relative or dearest friend.' Congress proclaimed for him 'their grateful remembrance, profound respect, and high veneration; and desiring to transmit to future ages a truly worthy example of patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death,' they reared a marble monument 'TO THE GLORY OF RICHARD MONTGOMERY.'

"In the British Parliament, the great defenders of liberty vied with each other in his praise. Barré,* his veteran fellow-soldier in the late war, wept profusely as he expatiated on their fast friendship and participation of service in that season of enterprise and glory, and, holding up the British commanders in review, pronounced a glowing tribute to his superior merits. Edmund Burke contrasted the condition of the 8,000 men, starved, disgraced, and shut up within the single town of Boston, with the movements of the hero who in one campaign had conquered two-thirds of Canada. 'I,' replied North, 'cannot join in lamenting the death of Montgomery as a public loss. He was brave, he was able, he was humane, he was generous; but still he was only a brave, able, humane, and generous rebel. Curse on his virtues! they've undone his country!' 'The term of "rebel," retorted Fox, 'is no certain mark of disgrace. All the great assertors of liberty, the saviours of their country, the benefactors of mankind in all ages, have been called "rebels." We owe the constitution which enables us to sit in this house to a rebellion.'

"So passed away the spirit of Montgomery, with the love of all that knew him, the grief of the nascent republic, and the eulogies of the world."

In 1818, the government of the State of New York, by permission of the Canadian authorities, caused Montgomery's remains to be removed from Quebec, and placed beneath the monument erected to his memory in front of St. Paul's Church, in the city of New York. His memory is also perpetuated in the names of several counties and towns throughout the United States; for example, Montgomery, the capital of Alabama.

* "Isaac Barré, an Irishman of humble birth, eloquent, ambitious, and fearless."

Andrew Jackson,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the eighteenth century, there dwelt near Carrickfergus, in Ireland, a family named Jackson. This family was very poor, relying on the subsistence obtained from a small patch of ground tilled by the father, assisted by the bare pittance earned by the mother (Elizabeth, *née* Hutchinson), who belonged to a family of hard-working linen-weavers. Want and poverty—to which the restrictions imposed on Irish trade had reduced large numbers of the people of Ireland—at length compelled the Jacksons to emigrate to America, that they might there secure the independence it was impossible to acquire at home.

Arrived in America, in 1765, they settled on the banks of the Twelve-Mile Creek, a branch of the Catawba River, in South Carolina. Early in 1767, the husband and father died; and the widowed mother, with her children, removed to the Waxhaw Creek, in North Carolina, where numbers of her countrypeople (among whom were some of her relatives) had made their homes. There ANDREW JACKSON came into the world, shortly after his father's death, on the 15th of March, 1767.

As the lad grew up, he became passionately fond of athletic sports, in which he excelled all of his companions of the same age. He was noted as “a frolicsome, mischievous, generous, brave, and resolute boy,” and was naturally the pet of his mother, whose ardent desire was to fit him for the church; but her limited

means could not procure him the necessary education, and the wild-spirited boy, besides, showed no aptitude for study. But he readily committed to heart the stories recounted to him of the wrongs suffered by his people in their old home, and learned to cherish a rooted antipathy to tyranny.

When the united colonies rose to assert their independence of England, Hugh and Robert Jackson (Andrew's two brothers) took up arms in the cause of American liberty. Hugh, the eldest brother, was killed while fighting for his adopted country at Stono, June, 1779. His mother's grief wounded Andrew to the soul. He longed to avenge his brother's death; and, by his earnest entreaties, obtained permission to join his brother Robert; the ravages of the British troops in the south, which might extend at any moment to their own door, giving additional force to his request. With their mother's blessing and prayers for a watchful Providence to guard them, the two brothers went forth to battle for the right. They were present—when Andrew was not quite fourteen years old, but with a heart as brave as a lion's—at the defeat of Gunter, at Hanging Rock, in 1780.

In 1781, Robert and Andrew fell into the hands of the English, by whom they were harshly treated and thrown into prison. The unceasing exertions of the mother, however, effected her beloved sons' exchange; but they were restored to her dangerously ill. Robert soon after died; and Andrew's slow recovery was the cause of increased anguish to his afflicted mother. That patriotic and noble-hearted woman solicited and obtained permission to attend the sick prisoners from her neighborhood on board the British ships lying in Charleston Harbor. While engaged in this Christian duty, she contracted a fever, and soon after expired, leaving her son Andrew to pursue his way alone in the world.

Thrown upon his own resources by the death of his mother, Andrew, upon the termination of the war, entered a lawyer's office and commenced the study of

the law. Before he was twenty years old, he was admitted to practice in the North-Carolina courts. In 1788, he was appointed solicitor (or prosecutor) for the western portion of North Carolina (now the State of Tennessee), and soon obtained a large practice. Becoming acquainted with Mrs. Rachel Robards, daughter of Colonel John Donelson, of Virginia, he married that lady in 1791.

In a little while, Jackson became possessed of much wealth, and owned a great deal of land. Upon the organization of the State of Tennessee in 1796, he was one of those convened for the purpose of preparing a constitution for the new State, and was appointed on the committee who drew up that instrument. In the autumn of the same year, he was sent to represent the new State in the national Congress.

In 1797, he became a senator of the United States, and entered the upper house on the 22nd of November; but, in the following year, he resigned his seat, and was elected by the Legislature to the position of judge in the Supreme Court of Tennessee. In 1801, he was elected major-general of the State militia. Becoming pecuniarily embarrassed, he resigned his judgeship in 1804, in order that he might devote himself to business, retrieve his losses, and discharge his liabilities. He sold a good deal of his property to pay his debts, and entered extensively into trade, raising cotton, corn, and cattle.

The arbitrary and impudent "right" that England insisted upon exercising to search American vessels, and press sailors into her service on the plea that they were her subjects, led to a declaration of war against her by the United States in 1812. General Jackson, anxious to assist in the chastisement of the enemy of his own and his parents' countries, at once placed himself and his division of the Tennessee militia at the disposal of the general government. He was ordered to Natchez, and, while there, received orders to disband his troops; but, before doing so, he marched them back to Nashville, where they had been first

called out. During the return march, the troops suffered much hardship, and ran short of supplies. On this occasion, the toughness and endurance displayed by Jackson earned for him the *soubriquet* of "Old Hickory," by which he was popularly known among the Americans. It is also said that the name was applied to him through the example he set his men of feeding on hickory-nuts when they were destitute of provisions.

Incited by the English, several of the Indian tribes rose against the Americans. On the 30th August, 1813, the Creek Indians fell upon Fort Mims, and massacred all who fell into their hands. The Tennessee militia was called out; and Jackson, though suffering from extreme illness, proceeded to inflict punishment on the red man. His operations, however, were retarded for a time by a defective commissariat; but, on the 9th of November, he came up with the Indians at Talladega, and put them to rout after some desperate fighting. In January, 1814, he again defeated them in two battles; and on the 27th of March, at the head of 2,000 men, he attacked the warlike Creeks in a very strong position at Tohopeka, on the Horseshoe, a peninsula in the Tallapoosa River. Both parties addressed themselves to the battle with vigorous determination, and the fighting was desperate. The Indians numbered only 900; but the strength of their position counterpoised the numerical superiority of Jackson's troops. The fight terminated in the total defeat of the Indians, with the loss of 750; the victors losing 201.

This last victory decided the contest between the white man and the red man for ever. Jackson's great successes completely broke the power of the latter in North America; and, though in the future the Indians might annoy by desultory outbreaks, they were no longer formidable as when the tribes confederated for mutual advantage, and together made war upon, or repelled the encroachments of, the white race. Shortly after, a treaty was effected with the Indians

by Jackson, to whom, in admiration of his great personal bravery and the decisiveness and rapidity of his attacks, they applied the epithets of "Sharp Knife" and "Pointed Arrow." Three miles square of land were bestowed upon Jackson by the chiefs in token of their esteem for him. Congress, however, refused its sanction to his acceptance of the gift, but manifested its appreciation of the great skill and energy he displayed in the Indian warfare by appointing him major-general in the regular army, May 31.

In the summer of 1814, the English occupied Pensacola, in Florida, though that province then belonged to Spain, and from thence despatched expeditions to aid the Indians and operate against the United States. General Jackson forthwith applied to the Secretary of War for permission to attack Pensacola, but, not receiving an immediate reply, assumed the responsibility of the enterprise himself, and set about making preparations for that object in Mobile. At the head of 3,000 men, he seized Pensacola on the 6th of November, compelling the British to evacuate the harbor. Returning to Mobile, he despatched a force against the Indians, who were expelled from Florida.

To resist the intended attack of the English on New Orleans, he sent forward the most of his troops to that city, and reached there himself on the 2nd of December. He found the defences of the city in a most wretched condition, and immediately set about putting them into such a state of efficiency as the materials at hand would permit.

On the 14th of December, a powerful English fleet captured five American gun-boats and a schooner, which were employed in the protection of New Orleans; and, on the 23rd, the vanguard of the English army, under General Keane, pitched its camp within nine miles of the city. That same evening Jackson assailed the enemy's camp with about 2,000 men. A very hotly contested action ensued. The English fared badly, and would have been utterly routed, but for the timely arrival of re-enforcements to their assistance.

Jackson then fell back to a canal within four miles of the city, where his famous line of defence was constructed.

General Sir E. Pakenham arrived on Christmas Day, and assumed command of the British forces. In three days after, he attacked the American lines, but was repulsed. On the 1st of January, 1815, he again attacked them, failing as before.

Jackson's troops were mostly raw and inexperienced; but they made up for their deficiency in discipline by their bravery and the alacrity and enthusiasm which they displayed when led against the enemy. By the 16th of January, both sides had received re-enforcements, and the contest was renewed offensively and defensively with vigor; Jackson giving the English plenty of employment by his incessant night attacks.

Accounts on both sides are conflicting in respect to the number and efficiency of the men engaged; and each charges the other with gross exaggeration on one part and gross understatement on the other. It would appear, though, that the anxiety of the English to palliate a disgrace to their arms would cause their account to be less worthy of credence, than the statement actuated by the vanity of the Americans. The best American authorities state the English forces to have been at least 14,000 effective soldiers and sailors, well supplied with the munitions of war; but some English writers declare that they only numbered 8,000, while others admit a total of 12,000. The Americans put down their own force at 5,000 men; but there are English writers who insist that there were a vast deal more, some placing the number even as high as 25,000. American official records prove, however, that whatever was the amount of men at Jackson's disposal, no arms were available for more than the number returned; viz., 5,000.

The line of defence constructed by Jackson rested on the left bank of the Mississippi River, and was a mile in length. It was served with only 12 guns, and defended with 3,200 men; 800 more being posted in

other places at hand. This position was not only strengthened by the resoluteness of its defenders, but by the slipperiness of the soil, which rendered the breastworks difficult to assault. The weak point of the line—its flank on the river side—was protected by batteries on the opposite bank, manned by seamen, supported by militia.

On the night of the 7th January, Colonel Thornton, with an English force, crossed the river to carry the flanking batteries on the right bank, the capture of which would considerably endanger Jackson's position. Next morning the English, under General Pakenham, made a grand assault against the main line. But Jackson had sworn "by the Eternal" that he would "smash" his foes, and he stood well prepared for their onslaught. The English rushed confidently to the attack; but they were met by a deadly fire from the American muskets, and, unable to stand before it, fell back with considerable loss. In this attempt, General Pakenham was killed, General Gibbs was mortally wounded, and General Keane severely. Another attempt was pluckily made by the English, but was equally unsuccessful; and they were obliged to give way. A battery near the river, however, fell into their hands, but was prudently abandoned; and Colonel Thornton succeeded in compelling the Americans on the right bank to abandon their position, but not before they had spiked their guns and thrown their ammunition into the river.

General Lambert, who had assumed command of the English, sent a flag of truce to Jackson, requesting an armistice, which was accorded. On the 18th, the British retreated, leaving behind them 80 of their wounded in the care of the Americans.

There was considerable disparity in the loss sustained on both sides. In the conflict on the right bank, neither party suffered much; but, in the main attack, the British lost 2,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; while the Americans lost but 13,—that is, 7 killed and 6 wounded. The battle of New Orleans was the last

of the war, peace having been concluded between the belligerents a month previous.

Even Jackson's enemies could not withhold their admiration of his greatness. He was thus eulogized in "Blackwood's Magazine:"—

"General Jackson behaved with humanity and generosity to all his prisoners, which did him as great honor as his conduct in the defence. We do not hesitate to call him a great man. Unappalled by the landing of a formidable army of British veterans, he infused fresh courage into the hearts of his countrymen, naturally brave. The danger was great; but the Americans under him had no fear of even such a foe. Strong as their position was,—'a mile long, full of men,'—it was found impregnable, not because of cotton bags only and parapets, but because of patriots deadly with steady hands, keen eyes, and stern hearts, invincible where they stood,—unerring marksmen, whatever were their numbers,—with a commander endowed with a genius for war, and in all respects equal to the glorious duty he had taken upon himself in his country's cause."

The brilliant success of General Jackson achieved for him a wide-spread popularity; and he was appointed by the government to the command-in-chief of the southern military division of the United States. He was also offered the office of Secretary of War by President Monroe, but declined that honor.

In 1817, he took the field against the Seminole Indians, and was completely successful in his operations against them. Two British subjects—Arbuthnot (a Scotchman) and Ambrister (a native of the Bahamas)—having fallen into his hands, he tried them for inciting the Indians to hostilities, and, finding them guilty, caused them to be hanged. He again forcibly seized Pensacola. These proceedings created a great sensation in both the United States and Europe. The people of England were considerably irritated by the executions; and the two countries, it is said, were on the verge of another war, which was, however, prevented by the prudence of the English ministry.

In 1819, General Jackson paid a visit to the North. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm; *fêtes* were given in his honor; and the corporation of New

York employed the artist Vanderlyn to paint his portrait.

Jackson was next successfully employed in the negotiation for the cession of Florida by Spain to the United States; and, when that was accomplished, he was appointed governor of the territory, March 10, 1821. He did not hold the position longer than a few months.

In 1823, he was chosen by the Legislature of Tennessee to represent that State in the Senate at Washington, and was also nominated as a candidate for the presidency of the United States. Of the four candidates who contested the election in the following year, he received the highest number of votes from the Electoral College; but, not having a majority of all the votes recorded, a ballot was taken in the national House of Representatives, as required by law. The result was the election of John Quincy Adams.

Jackson thereupon retired from public life, but resought election as president in 1828, contesting the field with President Adams. He was this time completely successful, obtaining 178 electoral votes against 83 recorded for the outgoing president. Accordingly, on the 4th of March, 1829, Andrew Jackson, the son of a poor Irishman and a poor Irishwoman, was inaugurated President of the United States. When he sought, in 1832, to be re-elected to the highest honor that can be conferred on a citizen of the United States, it was believed in political circles that he would be defeated, so great had been the interests he had offended, and so powerful the influence of his antagonists. But the people had faith in the integrity of their president, and returned him by an overwhelming majority over the rival candidates, Messrs. Clay and Wirt. He thus held the office of chief magistrate of that great republic for eight years.

Party spirit ran high during the administration of President Jackson, and the measures upheld by him met with violent opposition; but he guided the helm of State with a firm hand, even going so far as to

remove from office many who were politically opposed to him. Strongly averse to the maintenance of a national bank, as placing too much power in the hands of the government, he vetoed a bill, which had received the assent of Congress, to grant a recharter to the Bank of the United States in July, 1832. The tariff laws existing at the time in the interest of native productions fostered bitter feelings and caused wide breaches between parties. A powerful party, headed by John C. Calhoun, threatened that the revenue laws should be nullified if they were not repealed; and measures were concerted by a State convention in South Carolina to resist their imposition. The president was himself opposed to a high tariff; but he declared that it should be maintained till constitutionally modified, and that one State should submit as well as another, threatening with dire consequences all who broke the law.

Jackson's opposition to the bank was continued during his second term of office, and created such angry controversies as to be termed the "bank war." A formidable party in the Senate carried a resolution in that chamber, by 26 to 20, condemnatory of the president for causing, in opposition to the declared will of Congress, the sale of stock belonging to government in the bank, and for directing that deposits of the public money therein should cease; but the lower house approved of his measures. Towards the end of his administration, the gold currency gained strength; and the public was enabled to see and appreciate the wisdom of the president's resistance to the establishment of a national bank. In the Senate, the vote of censure against him was expunged by 24 to 19.

Under his presidency, Arkansas and Michigan were admitted into the Union, thus increasing the States to twice the original number; the Creek Indians were removed from Florida, and the Cherokees from Georgia, to other lands set apart for them; and the people had the pleasure of seeing the national debt extinguished. Amicable relations were maintained by President

Jackson with foreign nations ; and advantageous commercial treaties were entered into with several countries and renewed with others. The growing power of the United States compelled the rest of the world to regard that nation with respect ; and France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal made ample amends for spoliations on American commerce. The good relations with France were, indeed, interrupted by the strong language used by the president ; but they were soon restored. " His administration, as a whole," we are told, " was successful ; and he retired with undiminished popularity after witnessing the election of his favorite, President Van Buren."

On the 4th of March, 1837, President Andrew Jackson retired finally from public life, his term of office having expired. Leaving Washington, he withdrew to the " Hermitage," near Nashville, Tennessee, where he resided until his death, which took place on the 8th of June, 1845. His death was caused by dropsy ; but, we learn, " he had been subject throughout life to various diseases, which were, no doubt, the cause of his irritability of temper, to which he was prone to give way." Irascible as he undoubtedly was, he was easily conciliated.

An American writer thus estimates the character of Jackson :—

" He was a thoroughly honest man, as straightforward in action as his thoughts were unsophisticated. If his hot temper led him into more than one affair that injured his reputation, the instances of his humanity and benevolence, proceeding from warmth of heart, are far more numerous. His charities were frequent and unostentatious ; and, in his last days, he made an open profession of those religious sentiments which he had always entertained. His chief intellectual gifts were energy and intuitive judgment. * * * Jackson's energy enabled him to win victories over powerful foes in politics and in war ; and, to the last, he remained popular, the result of his integrity, his courage, and his scorn of all the arts of political life."

His memory, though likely to remain for ever green in the hearts of the American people without the aid

of monuments of brass or marble, is preserved by statues and the naming of numerous places in his honor. No less than eighteen counties in the United States are called Jackson, which is also the name of the capital of Mississippi.

Some days after the death of Andrew Jackson, an oration was delivered in his honor, at Washington, by Bancroft, the American historian. In that oration occurs the following glowing eulogy:—

“No man in private life so possessed the hearts of all around him; no public man of this country ever returned to private life with such an abiding mastery over the affections of the people; no man with truer instinct received American ideas; no man expressed them so completely, or so boldly, or so sincerely. He was as sincere a man as ever lived. He was wholly, always, and altogether sincere and true. Up to the last, he dared do any thing that it was right to do. He united personal courage and moral courage beyond any man of whom history keeps the record. Not danger, not an army in battle array, not wounds, not wide-spread clamor, not age, not the anguish of disease, could impair in the least degree the vigor of his steadfast mind. The heroes of antiquity would have contemplated with awe the unmatched hardihood of his character; and Napoleon, had he possessed his disinterested will, could never have been vanquished. Jackson never was vanquished. He was always fortunate. He conquered the wilderness; he conquered the savage; he conquered the bravest veterans trained on the battle-fields of Europe; he conquered everywhere in statesmanship; and, when Death came to get the mastery over him, he turned that last enemy aside as tranquilly as he had done the feeblest of his adversaries, and passed from earth in the triumphant consciousness of immortality.”

Michael Corcoran,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE UNITED-STATES ARMY.

MICHAEL CORCORAN was born at Carrowkeel, in the county of Sligo, Ireland, on the 21st of September, 1827. At the age of nineteen, he became a member of the revenue police force, whose business was to guard the coast against smugglers and prevent the unlicensed distillation of spirits. In this capacity, he served for three years at Creislough, county Donegal.

Satisfied that it was contrary to the obligations of a patriotic Irishman to act as the servant of the English government, he withdrew from the police in 1849, and emigrated to America, fondly trusting that he might be of use to his own land at some future day. For a little while, after his arrival in the New World, he endured much privation. Having succeeded in procuring employment, he won the confidence and good will of his employer by his assiduity and integrity, and eventually became proprietor of the Hibernian Hall, 42, Prince's Street, New York. Through friendly influence, he also secured a situation in the post-office.

Corcoran was endowed with a passion for military study, largely prompted by his desire to draw the sword in the cause of Irish freedom. In order, therefore, to learn the duties of a soldier, he joined the 69th Regiment of New-York-State Militia, composed mainly of his own countrymen, and commanded by Colonel James Ryan. The genial disposition and the marked ability of the new recruit rendered him a general favorite; and, by election, he rapidly rose from the ranks through the grades of orderly sergeant and first lieutenant to

that of captain. While he held this last rank, a riot broke out in Staten Island, New-York Harbor, in resistance to the quarantine regulations. The disturbance was so serious that the authorities despatched the militia to the scene to restore order. Here Captain Corcoran manifested so much coolness and decision, that the inspector-general characterized him as the best officer of equal rank in the 1st Division. In August, 1859, Captain Corcoran was elected colonel of his regiment in place of Colonel Ryan, resigned.

In the year 1860, His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, heir apparent to the throne of England, paid a visit to Canada under the guardianship of the Duke of Newcastle; and, by permission of his mother, the queen, extended his tour to the United States. The prince travelled under the *incognito* of Baron Renfrew, as if desirous of dispensing with ceremonious receptions. Nevertheless, the authorities received him royally. On the arrival of the prince in New York, a general order was promulgated by Major-General Sandford, commanding the militia to parade in honor of his highness. The Irish blood of Colonel Corcoran was roused; and he refused to obey the order requiring him to do honor to one so closely connected with the British crown. This breach of discipline was followed by the colonel's immediate arrest and trial by court-martial. In all probability, the result of the trial would have been his dismissal from the command of the regiment, but that his adopted country had need of him.

The Southern States, having formed themselves into a confederacy to sever their connection with the United States, took up arms in 1861; and a long and bloody civil war ensued. Upon the breaking out of hostilities, President Lincoln directed that the court convened to try Colonel Corcoran should be dissolved, and the charges against him dismissed. On being reinstated in the command of the 69th, the colonel was ordered to embark his regiment on board the steamer "James Adger" for the seat of war. The order was obeyed

with alacrity. In his general order to the regiment on this occasion, the gallant colonel said: "The commandant feels proud that his first duty, after being relieved from a long arrest, is to have the honor of promulgating an order to the regiment to rally to the support of the constitution and laws of the United States." On the 23rd of April, the 69th was publicly presented with a silk flag by the wife of Judge Daly. Colonel Corcoran, in receiving the colors, assured the fair donor that it "should never suffer a stain of dishonor while a man of the 69th remained alive to defend it."

The first duty assigned to the 69th, after its disembarkation at Annapolis, in Maryland, was to guard the railroad leading from there to Washington. Thence it was removed to Arlington Heights, in Virginia, where the men constructed a fort, named Fort Corcoran in honor of the colonel. Thomas Francis Meagher and a company of Zouaves shortly after arrived, and joined the regiment. On the 16th of July, the 69th marched to join the brigade under Colonel Sherman.

Retiring before the Federal (or Union) troops under General McDowell, the Confederate outposts evacuated successively Fairfax Courthouse, Germantown, and Centreville; and, between the latter place and Manassas Junction (about thirty-five miles from Washington), took up an advantageous position in the woods and defiles through which ran the run (or stream) known as Bull Run. Beauregard, the general in command of the Confederates, here determined to make a stand till he was joined by Jackson's and Johnston's troops from the Shenandoah Valley.

The opposing armies were nearly equal in number. The Federal army consisted of 43,000 men; but it was placed at a disadvantage by the return home of several volunteer regiments, who refused to stay longer than the required term (three months), which had just expired. The time of the 69th and the 13th Brooklyn (another Irish corps) had also come to an end; but they volunteered to remain and see the fight out.

On the 18th of July, General Tyler, in command of the right wing of the Union army, ordered Colonel Richardson and the 4th Brigade, with a battery of flying artillery and some cavalry, to reconnoitre Bull Run. Having crossed the stream two miles ahead, Richardson threw shells into the woods, when a brisk cannonade from the concealed Confederates caused him to throw forward bodies of skirmishers, who were received with a galling fire of musketry. Forming line, the Federals advanced, when they were met by the 1st Virginia Volunteers, who, keeping up a dropping fire, retreated in good order, leading Richardson into an ambuscade. Hastily falling back, he was relieved by Sherman's brigade, Colonel Corcoran and the 69th in advance. The enemy's position was again shelled, but with no apparent effect.

On the 21st of July occurred the first real battle (known as that of Bull Run) between the armies of the North and South. The Confederate lines extended for nine miles from Union Mills on the right to Stone Bridge on the left, and were greatly strengthened by batteries of artillery artfully concealed in the woods. Early in the morning, the Federal columns moved to the attack.

Hunter's division commenced the engagement on the Confederate left at Stone Bridge, where the foe was weakest. The Confederates in that quarter, under General Evans, being outflanked, gave way. Tyler's division effected the passage of the stream, though obstinately opposed; and affairs became critical for the Southerners, when Beauregard ordered an advance of his right on the Federal lines, while he despatched re-enforcements to support his left. The conflict in the latter quarter became desperate. Keys's and Sherman's troops having advanced to the support of Hunter, the Southerners were forced back to the cover of their batteries, from whence a terrible fire of shot and shell repulsed charge after charge of the Union troops.

Corcoran was at length ordered to lead his men to the assault. Divesting themselves of their coats and

knapsacks, they advanced up hill and across an open field, and dashed at the wood where the concealed foe, in front and flank, poured shot and shell thick and fast upon them. In vain the gallant 69th charged and recharged. The Southern batteries were too well manned, and re-enforcements were fast arriving to their support. Colonel Sherman, in command of the brigade, seeing the heavy losses sustained by the 69th, ordered Colonel Corcoran to fall back to shelter. The men were highly complimented by General McDowell, who rode up to acknowledge the gallantry of their conduct.

In this bloody contest, the tall, soldierly figure of Colonel Corcoran was conspicuous on his horse, bravely assisting his men. Lieutenant-Colonel Haggerty, a native of Donegal, was shot through the heart; and Captain Thomas Francis Meagher had his horse killed under him. In the thick of the fight, the bearer of the green flag was shot down. John D. Keefe, of Meagher's Zouaves, took charge of the flag; but he was soon after wounded, and it was torn from his grasp by a Confederate soldier. Shooting down the Southerner, Keefe recovered the colors, and took one from the enemy immediately after. He was, however, overpowered and taken prisoner with the trophy and his own flag. But the gallant fellow was not to be so easily worsted. With a revolver, which he had managed to conceal about his person, he shot two of his captors, and effected his escape, bringing with him an officer's sword and a prisoner.

The opportune arrival of a force under General Kirby Smith turned the scale of battle in favor of the Confederate arms. The Federal troops lost heart. A panic set in. The reserves retreated on Washington. Teamsters' waggons, artillery, ambulances, blocked up the road. Everybody looked to himself; dismounted officers and private soldiers availing themselves of artillery horses to expedite their flight. Terror-stricken civilians,—including members of Congress, editors, and ladies,—who had come to see the rebels whipped

and the rebellion crushed in its incipiency, added considerably to the confusion by their frantic endeavors to seek a place of safety. The Confederate batteries opened a destructive fire on the retreating masses, and the pursuit of the Confederate cavalry served to accelerate the "skedaddle" to Washington.

But, in the midst of this disastrous rout, Corcoran maintained the discipline of his regiment and the honor of the Irish name. The 69th retired in good order, with colors flying. Down on them, like an avalanche, rode the Black Horse. Corcoran instantly formed square, Generals McDowell and Sherman taking shelter in the centre. The cavalry attack was gallantly repulsed. But the 69th had also to contend against the stampede of retreating friends. A Confederate officer, who was an eyewitness of the conduct of the Irish, likened them to "a rock in the whirlpool rushing past them." In order to get his men out of the way of the ambulances and waggons which were hurried recklessly on, Corcoran gave the word to wheel to the right. The uproar that prevailed prevented the men from hearing the command; and, in the confusion, the colonel got separated from them. At the same time, the Confederate cavalry charged again, when Corcoran was wounded in the leg. With seven others,—including Captain James McIvor, Lieutenant Edward Connolly, Color-Sergeant John Murphy, and Sergeant William O'Donohue,—he held a party of the enemy's horse at bay, till his officers prevailed upon him to surrender, so that he should not uselessly sacrifice the lives of the handful of men with him.

The loss of the Federals in this battle was 2,000 men, with most of their artillery, stores, and arms; the 69th losing about 150 men. The enemy lost 1,500.

Friend and foe were loud in their eulogies of the conduct of the Irish in the battle of Bull Run. On the return home of the 69th, it was enthusiastically received in Washington, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; and a perfect ovation was accorded to it in New York.

When Colonel Corcoran and his brave companions

were made prisoners, they were despatched to Richmond, Virginia, and there consigned to prison. Corcoran was confined in a felon's cell, and treated so rigorously that it was resolved in the Congress of the United States to treat all prisoners taken by the Federals in like manner, unless the Confederates adopted milder measures with all who fell into their hands.

The Washington cabinet having resolved upon executing some captured Southern privateers as pirates, the Confederate authorities selected Colonel Corcoran and others for execution, in order, by these reprisals, to deter the United-States government from continuing the practice. No way daunted at the fate in store for him, the brave-hearted colonel, in the most noble manner, urged the government of the United States, by letter, "to act on its own conviction of just policy," as he would cheerfully accept the issue. The intended execution, however, was not carried out; and Corcoran was subsequently removed to Charleston, South Carolina. After being detained a close prisoner for thirteen months, an exchange was effected; and he was restored to liberty in August, 1862.

As Colonel Corcoran set out on his return home, an unbounded welcome was extended to him everywhere; and his progress through Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia was one of triumph. In New York, his reception exceeded in magnificence all former attempts at display in that city. In the very city where, about two years before, he had refused to obey an order to do honor to the eldest son of the Queen of England, he now received such an ovation as no prince could expect from the spontaneous enthusiasm of a republican people. All classes united to honor the Irishman who had proved his devotion to his adopted country, though his love for his own land was palpably predominant to every other feeling. Civic bodies and private individuals contended in generous rivalry to show him marks of their respect. Swords and medals were publicly presented to him; and, were he so minded, the rest of his life might have been spent in ease, as

offers of lucrative civil appointments were showered upon him.

An organization was at once set on foot to raise a brigade of Irishmen, to be commanded by Corcoran, who was commissioned as brigadier-general. This brigade was completed in two months, and was styled the Corcoran Legion. It was composed of the 69th National Guards, Colonel Matthew Murphy commanding; the 155th, Colonel William McEvily; the 164th, Colonel John P. McMahan; the 170th, Colonel McDermott; and the 175th, Colonel M. K. Bryan,—all New-York volunteers. The last-named regiment was subsequently transferred to another brigade.

On the 19th of January, 1863, at the camp of the Corcoran Legion, Suffolk, Virginia, a deputation from the New-York Common Council waited on General Corcoran to present him with a sword in the name of the "Empire City." The brigade was formed in hollow square; and the sword was presented to the general, in an appropriate speech, by the president of the board of aldermen. Major-General Peck and other officers were present on the occasion.

The first opportunity the legion had of distinguishing itself was on the 30th of January, 1863. Three regiments of Confederate infantry, with 14 pieces of artillery and about 100 cavalry, under General Pryor, crossed the Blackwater. General Corcoran at once advanced at the head of a detachment to hold Pryor in check, and came up with him near a deserted house, from which the action that ensued took its name. The encounter was a very fierce one, and resulted in the discomfiture of the Confederates, despite their superiority in numbers. An order was issued a few days afterwards by General Peck, thanking General Corcoran and his men for their gallant conduct in the fight at Deserted House, though "most of the regiments were under fire for the first time, and furnished those so unfortunate as not to have a part in the expedition with examples of patriotism worthy of imitation."

In April, the Confederate Generals Longstreet and Hill, with an army of 30,000 men, laid siege to Suffolk. Corcoran, with 5,000 men, made a *reconnaissance* of the Southerners, and drove those whom he attacked from their breastworks. Longstreet raised the siege, and Corcoran was despatched to harass his retreating army. Most of the Northern army was withdrawn from Suffolk, and Corcoran and his legion were left to guard it. Thence they were removed to Plymouth, and eventually to Fairfax Courthouse, in which place a sharp look-out was required, and many brushes were sustained with the enemy.

At this latter place, General Corcoran arranged to spend the Christmas season with becoming festivities, and invited General Thomas Francis Meagher and several other distinguished guests from New York and elsewhere to spend the holidays with him. General Meagher, having arrived, accompanied General Corcoran and staff on a round of inspection. On their return, Corcoran, having mounted the very spirited horse belonging to Meagher, in order to try its mettle, challenged the party to race; and very soon distanced the whole lot, a turn of the road concealing him from view. When the rest rode up, they found the general lying on the ground insensible, and his horse standing by. How he was thrown is not known. This sad accident caused his death, which occurred the following night, December 22, 1863.

“Thus died,” says Captain Conyngham (the author of “The Irish Brigade and its Campaigns” in America), “in the prime of manhood, as brave a soldier and as sterling an Irishman as ever lived. He was a loss to America; for his name and reputation were talismanic to collect his countrymen to his standard. He was a loss to Ireland; for the dearest wish of his heart was to live to strike for her independence. And from his experience as a soldier, his wisdom as a general, and his prudence and foresight as a man, who knows what he would have accomplished had he lived?”

Thomas Francis Meagher,

LEADER OF THE IRISH BRIGADE IN AMERICA.

THE highly gifted orator and ardent Irish patriot, THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER,* made his advent in this world at the city of Waterford on the 3rd of August, 1823. His father was a merchant, and for some time represented the borough of Waterford in the English Parliament. Young Meagher, after studying a short while at Clongowes-Wood College, in Kildare, was sent to the Jesuits' College at Stonyhurst, England, to finish his education, and there stored up those treasures of learning that so eminently fitted him for the arena of life.

The agitation devised by O'Connell, for the constitutional release of Ireland from the rule of an English Parliament, was exciting the Irish people from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear. Men of all classes enthusiastically joined in the movement, and Thomas Francis Meagher was not behindhand. The great declamatory powers exhibited by the young orator at repeal meetings at once attracted the notice of the great repealer, and by him Meagher was brought prominently before the public, whom he fascinated with his brilliant oratory, considerably adding to O'Connell's prestige, and materially assisting the movement.

But there were spirits in Ireland who felt that the movement for "repeal" was utterly impotent, unless

* The O'Meaghairs are one of those families styled Cianachta, who derive their origin from Cian, the third son of Oilioll-Olum, King of Munster.



THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER,
LEADER OF THE IRISH BRIGADE IN AMERICA.

the sword were unsheathed to enforce its demands. The advocates of this bolder policy organized another party,—that of “Young Ireland,”—which received its inspiration from those immortal spirits, Mitchel, Davis, and O’Brien. Meagher, scorning the sentiment that the shedding of human blood was too great a price to pay for liberty, at once forsook the timid followers of the moral-suasion policy, and identified himself with those brave-hearted men who boldly dared to wage battle for their country’s independence against one of earth’s greatest empires.

Thomas Davis had passed away, and left a void in the ranks of the Irish patriots not easy to be filled. John Mitchel was thrown into prison, and, for the new offence of “treason-felony,” sentenced to penal servitude for fourteen years. His noble conduct on his trial, and his fierce defiance of the English government, filled his countrymen with impassioned zeal; and, with renewed ardor, they devoted themselves to the salvation of the country.

The English were alarmed at the spread of revolutionary ideas among the Irish, who were forming themselves into clubs all over the island. The alarm increased when they found that the warning examples they had made rather tended to add fuel to the fire of disaffection than allay it; and the government, fearing that delay would perfect the organization of the people and give opportunity for competent military chiefs to lead them, cunningly determined to precipitate an outbreak. By a very handy contrivance, which permits the *free and glorious* British constitution to be used with all the powers of despotism without involving its odium, the government effected its purpose. The *Habeas Corpus* Act—which Britons take such pride in as the preserver of their personal liberty—was abrogated in Ireland for so long as it suited the pleasure of the English government, and numbers were arrested and thrown into prison without any assigned cause. Thus Smith O’Brien and his associates, driven to extremities, were compelled to call the country to arms

before any plan had been resolved upon. O'Brien's appeal to Tipperary was answered by the peasantry flocking round him with every kind of weapon they could procure. Unwilling to despoil the landed proprietors, and unable to provide for the maintenance of his followers, already dispirited by the terrible famine which the English government had so complacently allowed to sap the strength of the Irish, Smith O'Brien saw his forces dwindle away before him; and the revolution was virtually at an end in July, 1848, though followed shortly after by a few desperate but futile attempts made in Munster by O'Mahony, Savage, and Brennan.

Many arrests were made; and, of the captured leaders, O'Brien, Meagher, MacManus, and O'Donohoe were tried for high treason by pliant judges and packed juries, and sentenced to be executed at Clonmel Gaol. The prisoners calmly heard the verdict which announced their doom, and, scorning to seek refuge in exculpation when asked why sentence of death should not be passed upon them, proudly and fearlessly maintained the righteousness of their cause. Meagher, in his speech, gave this manly exposition of the reasons that prompted him to take up arms against England:—

“I do not despair of my old country, her peace, her glory, her liberty! For that country I can do no more than bid her hope. To lift this island up; to make her a benefactor to humanity, instead of being the meanest beggar in the world; to restore her to her native power and her ancient constitution,—this has been my ambition; and my ambition has been my crime. Judged by the law of England, I know this crime entails the penalty of death; but the history of Ireland explains this crime, and justifies it. Judged by that history, I am no criminal; I deserve no punishment. Judged by that history, the treason of which I stand convicted loses all its guilt; is sanctified as a duty; will be ennobled as a sacrifice.”

“Ministers,” says John Mitchel, “after much deliberation, decided on sparing their [the prisoners'] lives, and commuting their punishment to transportation for life. This was done under the false pretence of clemency; but it was, in truth, the most refined

cruelty. It was, moreover, illegal; there being no law to authorize such a commutation. The prisoners, therefore, objected through their counsel,—they had no use for life under such circumstances,—and demanded to have the extreme benefit of the law. Ministers, however, were resolved to be merciful; introduced an act into Parliament empowering the queen to transport them; had it passed at once; and immediately shipped them off to herd with felons in the penal colony of Van Diemen's Land."

In that penal land to which they were sent, the prisoners were, after a while, allowed to live at their pleasure, but were limited to a certain district. There Meagher formed the acquaintance of a young lady,—the daughter of a wealthy settler,—fell in love with her, and married her. Upon the birth of their child, in 1852, he effected his escape to America. His wife sailed for Ireland, and afterwards joined him in the land of his refuge; but her delicate health necessitated her return to Ireland. She died at the house of her husband's father in Waterford. About two years after, Meagher married a daughter of Jacob Townsend, a wealthy merchant of New York.

On Meagher's arrival in America, after his escape from captivity, he was the recipient of an enthusiastic welcome. Making a tour of the United States, he gave a series of lectures, and then devoted himself to the practice of the law. Commissioned by the United-States government, he travelled through Costa Rica, in Central America, and succeeded in establishing friendly relations between that country and the United States. In 1856, he started the "Irish News" (a weekly paper), and conducted it ably for about three years. As a journalist and lecturer, he continued to employ himself with success till the outbreak of the civil war between the North and the South in 1861.

When an appeal was made to the country by the government to preserve the integrity of the Union, and put down the rebellion of the Southern States, Meagher, animated by a desire to win military distinc-

tion, raised a company of volunteers, to be attached to the 69th Regiment, under the designation of the "Irish Zouaves." He was present with his company at Bull Run, where the first great battle of the war was fought, and conducted himself gallantly in that disastrous fight. On the return to New York, the 69th re-enlisted for three years, and Captain Meagher received the rank of colonel. A brigade was then organized, the command of which was offered to Major-General Shields;* but that gallant soldier declined, on the ground that no one was so fairly entitled to it as Colonel Meagher, who had been mainly instrumental in its organization.

The new Irish Brigade consisted of the 69th, composed of 745 men, and commanded by Colonel Nugent; the 88th, with 800 men, under Colonel Baker; and the 63rd, with 1,000 men, under Colonel Enwright. These regiments were all raised in New-York State.

Previous to the departure of the brigade for the seat

* James Shields was born (1810) in the village of Altmore' county Tyrone, within five miles of Dungannon. At the age of sixteen, he emigrated to New York, and, joining the army there as second lieutenant, fought in the war against the Seminole Indians in Florida. Settling in Illinois, he devoted himself to the study of the law, and was elected to the Legislature of that State. Becoming distinguished in his legal and political career, he was appointed by the vote of both houses of the Legislature to fill the office of associate justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1843. On the breaking out of the war between the United States and Mexico, he received the commission of brigadier-general; and acted with great distinction through the war, being particularly noted at the capture of Vera Cruz, the storming of Cerro Gordo (where he was desperately wounded), and the actions at Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec. For his glorious conduct at the second-named place, he was brevetted major-general, and became known as the "Hero of Cerro Gordo." To the great ability, coolness, and courage of General James Shields, the despatches of General Winfield Scott bear honorable witness. On the breaking out of the civil war between the Southern and Northern States, Shields was placed in command of a division under General Banks, and, during the operations in the Shenandoah Valley, gave "Stonewall" Jackson—one of the most able of the Confederate generals—a thrashing at Winchester, Charlestown, Martinsburg, and Strasburg.

of war, each regiment was presented with a splendid set of American and Irish colors by the ladies of New York. The design on the regimental flags was a richly embroidered harp on a green ground, surmounted by a sunburst and having a wreath of shamrocks underneath. Beneath all was blazoned forth, in Irish characters, the proud motto from Oisín: "They shall never retreat from the charge of the lances." The ceremony of presentation was a most imposing one, and was attended by the *élite* of New York.

The brigade was ordered to Alexandria, where it was assigned to the division of Major-General Sumner, who is reported to have said that the only trouble he had ever experienced with Irish soldiers was to keep up with them in the charge.

A deputation of officers from the brigade waited on President Lincoln, and urged the appointment of Colonel Meagher to the command of the Irish Brigade. The president received the deputation cordially, and, passing a high compliment upon Colonel Meagher for his gallantry at Bull Run, promised to give the request his hearty support, and, next day, submitted the appointment to the Senate for confirmation.

On the 5th of February, 1862, Brigadier-General Meagher took formal command of the Irish Brigade, his commission having been duly confirmed by the United-States Senate. Among those present on the occasion was General Shields, the hero of Cerro Gordo, who congratulated the men on their efficiency, and exhorted them never to forget that to them was "intrusted the reputation, never yet sullied or stained, of an old military nation. Two worlds," he said, "are watching you. Training, temperance, industry,—hard and continued industry,—will do the rest."

The Confederates had proved that it was not so easy to put them down as was at first anticipated, and had made considerable progress in the war. Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the new Confederacy, now became the objective point of M'Clellan's operations; the capture of which city would put an end to the

struggle. The Northern general accordingly set his army in motion to occupy the peninsula lying between the York and Pamunkey Rivers on the northern side and the James River on the south. M'Clellan had to move from the northern base of the peninsula, while Richmond lay at its southern head; and, between the two positions, the Chickahominy ran easterly from the north-west. Upon this contemplated movement of the Federal general, the Confederates made corresponding efforts to protect Richmond, on the safety of which their cause depended.

To conduct his operations against Richmond with its formidable fortifications, protected by 90,000 Confederates in and about it, M'Clellan had but 95,000 effective troops, being hampered in his prosecution of the war by the incapacity or jealousy of the Northern authorities.

On the 10th of March, 1862, the Northern army, under M'Clellan, commenced moving on Centreville and Manassas. The Confederates deliberately retired before its advance. On the 10th of April, M'Clellan sat down in front of Yorktown (memorable for the surrender of the British under Lord Cornwallis to the American army in 1781), garrisoned by General Magruder and 15,000 men; and, on the 4th of May, the place was evacuated by the Confederates. At Williamsburg, the Confederates were driven out after a fierce contest; and General Lee, in whom the command-in-chief was now vested, massed them in force near the Chickahominy River, which M'Clellan crossed, occupying the southern side on the 20th of May.

On the 31st of May, the Confederate General Johnston fell on the Northern left, near Fair-Oaks Station, with an overwhelming force, and, after severe fighting, drove back the divisions under Generals Casey and Couch, capturing many prisoners; but the arrival of Generals Kearney and Sumner checked the progress of the Confederates.

During the raging of this battle, the Irish Brigade, attached to General Richardson's division, was far in

the rear, quietly reposing in camp. Ordered to the front, the brigade crossed the Chickahominy, and continued its march over extremely difficult ground. When Richardson arrived on the field, his division was ordered to co-operate with Kearney (who held his position of the previous night), and was disposed as follows: French on the railroad leading to Savage Station, Howard in the second line, and Meagher in the third.

On the next morning (1st of June), the enemy, moving rapidly down in columns, burst upon French's brigade, and a most bloody conflict ensued. Howard's brigade was ordered to the assistance of French. In the advance, General Howard got his arm shattered, and was, after a second wound, obliged to retire. General Meagher now ordered the 69th to form in line on the edge of a wood hard by, which it did amid the fire of the enemy, and then halted, awaiting further orders. The 88th then advanced through the wood to seize a house in the open plain beyond. At this moment, General Sumner rode up, and cried out that he staked his position on the valor of the men of the Irish Brigade, and knew they would not flinch. Led forward by Colonel Patrick Kelly, Captain Egan's and Captain William Hogan's companies gained the house under a withering fire of shot and shell from the enemy's batteries.

The rebel advance was now checked by the fire of the Irish Brigade; and a general charge of the bayonet by the troops under Hooker and Sickles put the enemy to flight. Rallying, however, the Confederates returned to the charge, and made a desperate onset on Richardson's division. French's and Howard's brigades met them with a determined resistance; while Meagher and his men, pouring a sweeping fire into them, committed fearful havoc on their ranks, and, by a dashing bayonet charge, beat them back.

Thus ended the battle of Fair Oaks, which consumed two days' time. The baffled enemy retired precipitately, yielding the victory to the Federals, which was due in

no slight degree to the Irish, as was most readily conceded on all sides. Among those who distinguished themselves in that fight was Lieutenant Temple Emmet (grandson of the great Irish patriot, Thomas Addis Emmet), aide-de-camp to General Meagher.

The Confederate loss amounted to 6,783, including General J. Johnston (wounded), Brigadier-General Pettigrew (wounded and captured), and Brigadier-General A. C. Davis (killed). The loss on the Federal side was 5,737, including General Howard and Colonel Riker, both badly wounded. The Irish Brigade lost about 100.

By an order of the 9th of June, the 29th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, under command of Colonel Ebenezer Pierce, was attached to the brigade.

M'Clellan's advance on Richmond, after the battle of Fair Oaks, not being properly supported, he was compelled to retire beyond the Chickahominy before the immensely superior force brought to bear on him by Lee, re-enforced by Jackson. On the 26th June, Jackson made a demonstration on the Federal right; and, on the following day, General Fitz-John Porter, in command of over 30,000 Northern troops, withstood the Confederate attack for hours with varying success, till the superior numbers of the enemy compelled him to relinquish the woods held by him. Affairs became critical. In vain bodies of cavalry were despatched by M'Clellan to regain the position. They were hurled back pell-mell by the fierce fire of the foe, who, following them up, broke the Federal lines, and caused a general retreat to a hill in the rear.

Had not this onset of the enemy been checked, M'Clellan would not have been able to effect a retreat, and his army would have been lost. Meagher and his brigade, supported by that of General French, were ordered up as a last chance. On they rushed, heedless of the messengers of death pouring thick and fast upon them; their ringing cheers and the responsive shouts of their comrades surging above the din of battle. As they pushed on, they came up to Colonel Cass and

a handful of men—the remnant of the 9th Irish Massachusetts, which had been in the thick of the fight all day—fighting “like tigers at bay.” When the brigade appeared, the fugitives rallied, and shouted their glad cries of welcome. The impetuous charge of these fresh troops stayed the furious onslaught of the enemy. Wavering at first, the enemy then fell back, and the green flags were triumphant. Under the protection of the Irish Brigade, the artillery was enabled to take up a good position, and open a raking fire on the enemy; and stragglers, returning from all directions, were formed in line behind the batteries. The Confederates having given way at this point, the Irish Brigade was ordered to the right to relieve General Sykes and the United-States regulars, who were hard pressed. With undaunted energy, the gallant brigade, headed by the dashing Meagher, sprang forward under a fierce fire of shot and shell, and gave the regulars the opportunity of retiring to the rear. So ended the battle of Gaines’s Mill.

Darkness set in, and Meagher and his gallant band, hungry and weary, lay under arms all night, with the enemy’s fires in full blaze before them, to guard the passages to the bridge on the Chickahominy, over which M’Clellan’s army was in full retreat. All had safely passed a little before dawn, when the brigade got orders to march. In his retreat, Meagher was charged by some of the Southern cavalry; but he drove them back, and, having reached the other side of the river in safety, destroyed the bridge.

M’Clellan’s retreating army was followed up by Lee with wonderful celerity, and the former was nearly enveloped on all sides. On the evening of the 29th June, General Sumner was attacked at Savage Station by the enemy under General Huger. The Southerners were at first repulsed by a hot artillery fire; but they renewed the charge with vehemence, and a desperate hand-to-hand conflict took place, in which Meagher and his brigade played a distinguished part, driving the Confederates back to their very batteries, and cap-

turing two guns. In this fight, Colonel Pierce, of the 29th Massachusetts Regiment, had his arm torn off by a cannon-shot.

Sumner's corps now fell back on White-Oak Swamp. Since the 26th, the troops had been fighting by day and marching by night, with no time to rest or prepare food. While all felt equal to the occasion, none evinced more coolness or undaunted courage in the midst of the greatest hardships and the fiercest fighting than General Meagher and the Irish Brigade.

On the 30th of June, the enemy poured on the Federal right wing a tremendous artillery fire, which was vigorously responded to. With a large force, General Wise, at the same time, moved down from Charles-City Cross Roads to get between the Federals and the James River; but some gun-boats, from a portion of the river known as Turkey Bend, opened such a terrible fire from their immense guns, that the Southerners wavered. Seeing this, M'Clellan signalled the gun-boats to cease firing; and a general charge was ordered, in which the brigade participated with its accustomed *élan*. Unable to stand the shock, the enemy turned and fled.

Despite the rapid and brilliant manœuvres of Lee, with his overwhelming forces, to intercept M'Clellan's retreat, the latter succeeded in reaching Malvern Hill on the morning of the 1st July, and taking up a position. The left of the Northern army, under Porter, rested on Malvern Hill; while Keyes's corps, on the right, stretched to the James River. Gun-boats under Commodore Rogers were placed in position on the river to protect the Federal flanks. Some attacks were made by the enemy during the day on Kearney and Couch, near the centre, but without effect; and the combat was carried on with artillery till about evening, when an attack in force was made on Porter and Couch by columns of infantry, supported by artillery. The Confederates, however, were driven back by a well directed fire, followed by a bayonet charge. Again the Confederates returned, this time in overwhelming

numbers, and the carnage was fearful. Orders were at once despatched to General Meagher to march his brigade to the assistance of General Porter.

As the brigade dashed up the hill, supported by General Sickles's brigade, it was greeted with cheers by the retiring lines, among which was the heroic remnant of the 9th Massachusetts Irish Volunteers, bearing the dying Colonel Cass to the rear. Slackening its pace, the brigade moved slowly and steadily forward, sending volley after volley with murderous effect into the masses of the enemy, while a hurricane of shot and shell swept through and over its own ranks. One by one the gallant Irish dropped; but the survivors still pressed on, throwing away their red-hot pieces, and coolly picking up others from the hands of the fallen. The enemy was determined, and prepared for a final struggle. The firing grew more terrific. A storm of lead from all arms was poured into the face of the brigade; but it did not recede one jot. On it dashed, a living and irresistible wall, against the enemy, who was compelled to retreat. Darkness put an end to the carnage. Thus, at the cost of the Irish Brigade, whose dead and dying lined the battle-field, M'Clellan was enabled to effect his retreat across the James River, and intrench himself at Harrison's Landing.

M'Clellan stated his total loss during the seven days' fighting as 15,249 officers and men, besides stores, artillery, &c. The Confederate loss in killed and wounded was somewhat greater. About 700 were lost to the Irish Brigade. Twenty Confederate colors became the trophies of the Irish.

During the stay at Harrison's Landing, General Meagher solicited and obtained leave to return to New York to recruit for the ranks of the brigade. He was received with a perfect ovation; and his eloquence had the desired effect on numbers of his fellow-countrymen.

Cliquism was dissatisfied with M'Clellan's operations. He was assigned to an inactive command; and every thing was expected from the vaunts of Generals Banks and Pope. Receiving orders to evacuate the

peninsula, M'Clellan recrossed the Chickahominy, and, marching to the foot of the peninsula, embarked his troops at Yorktown, Newport News, &c., for the Potomac, from whence they were sent off in detail to assist General Pope. Meanwhile, "Stonewall" Jackson had defeated Banks; and, at Bull Run, a second disastrous defeat was sustained by the Northern arms under Pope, after two days' fighting, on the 30th of August, 1862. Pope's retreating army was followed close by the Confederates, and escaped total annihilation by the timely arrival of Generals Kearney and Stevens, who held the Confederates in check at Chantilly on the 2nd of September, and enabled Pope to reach the defences around Washington. Kearney and Stevens were among the slain in the action at Chantilly.

Lee now advanced in force against Washington, through Maryland, capturing Harper's Ferry. The alarmed Federal government at once placed General M'Clellan in full command. His first act was to drive the Southerners under General Ambrose Hill from their strong position in the passes of the South Mountain and neighborhood, and compel them to fall back on the main army under Lee, who withdrew his forces across the Antietam towards Sharpsburg, and drew up in line of battle on the west bank of that river.

M'Clellan closely pursued, and disposed his army as follows for the ensuing engagement: Sumner's and Hooker's corps were posted on the right, near Keadysville, on the Sharpsburg Turnpike; the Irish Brigade, in Richardson's division, forming part of Sumner's corps, was on the extreme right, resting on the Antietam; Porter's corps occupied the centre, protecting the bridge; Burnside held the left; Mansfield's corps was massed in rear of Sumner and Hooker; and Franklin and Couch held a position in front of Brownsville. The artillery commanded all the approaches to the river.

Lee's line of battle extended from the Antietam to the Potomac, by which rivers his flanks were protected.

The unevenness of the ground rendered his position doubly strong, and afforded concealment to his reserves. His artillery was most favorably placed, being in great force on his right; and the bridges were well guarded by sharpshooters and artillery.

The strength of each army was: Federals, 87,164, including 4,320 cavalry; Confederates, 97,445, including 6,400 cavalry. The number of guns on the side of the Confederates was 400.

M'Clellan arranged his plans thus; Hooker was ordered to cross the creek on the right, to be supported by Sumner, Franklin, and Mansfield; the artillery, supported by infantry, was to push forward and carry the heights on the left; and Burnside was to cross the bridge, attack the enemy's right, and cut off his retreat by moving on Sharpsburg.

On the afternoon of the 16th, General Hooker forded the Antietam without opposition, and secured a strong position on the enemy's left. Early next morning, the action was renewed; and, having been joined by General Mansfield the night before, Hooker drove the Confederates to the shelter of their works after some hours' desperate fighting. Having received a wound in the foot, he was carried from the field. General Sedgwick, of Sumner's corps, now moved forward to the attack; but the terrible fire of musketry and artillery from the enemy's works drove Sedgwick's division back in confusion, and he had to be carried wounded from the field.

To create a diversion in favor of the attack on the enemy's right, General Sumner ordered General French to move forward his division. In a sweeping charge, French's men drove back the Confederates; but a galling fire from a strong position checked the advance of French, and the slaughter of his troops became awful. Richardson was now ordered to the support of French; and, coming up on the left of the latter, he disposed his division as follows: The Irish Brigade on the right, Caldwell's brigade on the left, and Colonel Brooke's brigade in reserve.

Amid the cheers of French's retiring division, the Irish, led by General Meagher, who had resumed his command, dashed gallantly up the hill where the enemy was waiting to receive them. They were greeted with such a continuous stream of lead as never before, perhaps, tested the intrepidity of an advancing column, and brave fellows dropped in quick succession; yet their comrades pressed on, mindful of nothing but that there was work for them to do, and they must do it. Having reached the brow of the hill, the brigade, by an impetuous charge, drove the enemy to a second line of defence some feet lower than the surrounding surface, where a large force of infantry was massed.

A most terrible conflict now ensued. Intrenched in the sunken road, and partially screened from view, the Confederates poured a deadly fire into the ranks of the advancing brigade. Eight bearers of the green flag had fallen in succession, when Captain James M'Gee, of the 69th, rushed forward amid a storm of leaden hail, seized the bullet-riddled flag, and waved it defiantly aloft in the face of the foe. For three hours that sanguinary and unequal conflict raged; the men of the brigade flinging away their red-hot muskets, and replacing them by the cool pieces of the dead or dying.

From a commanding eminence, General M'Clellan anxiously watched the strife. His chances of victory depended on the valor of the Irish Brigade. Convinced that all was over from the frequent disappearance of the flag, and the fearful gaps made in the ranks of the brigade, one of his staff cried out, "General, the day is lost! the Irish fly!" M'Clellan's brow, which was deepening with anxiety, cleared, as he joyfully exclaimed, "No, no! their flags are up! They are charging again!"

Once again, with a cheer that rose above the noise of the battle, the Irish dashed on, and drove the Confederates back with awful slaughter. Great havoc having been committed in the ranks of the brigade, Caldwell's brigade, supported by four other regiments,

was ordered up to its relief; and the fresh troops, following up the work of the Irish, completely routed the enemy.

To the conduct of the Irish brigade on that occasion, the commander-in-chief, General M'Clellan, bears the following testimony:—

“Meagher's brigade, advancing steadily, soon became engaged with the enemy, posted to the left, and in front of Roulette's house. It continued to advance under a heavy fire nearly to the crest of the hill overlooking Piper's house; the enemy being posted in a continuation of the sunken road and corn-field before referred to. Here the brave Irish Brigade opened upon the enemy a terrific musketry fire. All of General Sumner's corps was now engaged,—General Sedgwick on the right, General French in the centre, and General Richardson on the left.

“The Irish Brigade sustained its well earned reputation. After suffering terribly in officers and men, and strewing the ground with their enemies as they drove them back, their ammunition nearly expended, and their commander, General Meagher, disabled by a fall from his horse, shot under him, this brigade was ordered to give place to General Caldwell's brigade, which advanced to a short distance in its rear.

“The lines were passed by the Irish Brigade breaking by company to the rear, and General Caldwell's by company to the front, as steady as on drill.”

The Confederates, having been beaten on their left, endeavored to regain their position by sending reinforcements to the front; but Richardson's division drove them back, and took possession of Piper's house. Here General Richardson was mortally wounded by a piece of a shell; and General Hancock assumed command of the division. The Irish Brigade was again ordered forward, and, in conjunction with the 14th Connecticut and 108th New-York Volunteers, took up a position in the centre, close to the enemy. “Stonewall” Jackson vainly essayed to recover his ground, and was compelled to retire in confusion.

The Federal left, under Burnside, was also hotly engaged. After having effected the passage of the Antietam, Burnside succeeded in dislodging Longstreet's troops, who were intrenched on a steep hill. A terrible punishment was inflicted on both sides.

Rallying, the Confederates drove the Federals back, and retook the hill, but were in turn dislodged again. Night put an end to the struggle, leaving the Unionists masters of the field.

On the evening of the 18th, Lee commenced his retreat to the Virginia side of the Potomac River, sending Stuart's cavalry to menace M'Clellan's rear in order to divert attention from his purpose. "Stone-wall" Jackson covered the retreat; and, on the 19th, the whole of the Confederate army had crossed the Potomac.

M'Clellan did not think it advisable to follow up his victory too soon, as his diminished numbers and insufficiency of supplies rendered a struggle with so formidable an enemy extremely doubtful; while the issue at stake was too great to venture just at that moment. In event of the defeat of the Northern forces, Lee would march on Washington, and find it easy of capture.

The losses sustained on the Federal side in the battle of the Antietam were 12,409 in killed and wounded, including a large number of officers, among the most distinguished of whom were Generals Richardson (commanding the division to which the Irish Brigade was attached), Mansfield, and Hartsuff (killed); and Generals Hooker, Sedgwick, Dana, Duryea, Ricketts, and Rodman (wounded). The casualties incurred by the Irish Brigade were 11 officers and 97 men killed, and 14 officers and 384 men wounded,—in all 506. General Meagher's horse was shot under him in the thickest of the fight; and, being stunned by the fall, the general was carried to the rear.

The loss of the Confederates—as officially stated by them—was 9,000. Among the killed were Generals Stark and Branch; and among the wounded, Generals Anderson, Armstead, Lancton, Jones, Ripley, Ransom, and Wright.

After the battle of the Antietam, the 116th Pennsylvania Regiment of Volunteers, under Colonel Denis Heenan, was assigned to General Meagher's command;

and the 28th Massachusetts Regiment was also placed under him at Warrenton.

On the 2nd of December, the war-torn flags of the Irish Brigade were despatched by General Meagher, in care of Captain James E. Magee, to the custody of Daniel Devlin, City Chamberlain and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Irish Brigade, in New York. In return, a committee of American citizens, headed by Henry F. Spaulding, presented a new set of colors. In his speech, on delivering the new flags to the representatives of the brigade, Mr. Spaulding said:—

“Allow us, American-born citizens, to present them in grateful commemoration of the gallant deeds of your brigade in the Army of the Potomac, on the battle-fields of Virginia and Maryland, in the war to maintain the national domain and the honor and integrity of the American Union. They are intended to replace the old flags which you have borne so long with honor, and which you have returned to the donors all battle-torn and riddled. When you unfurl these new banners to General Meagher, say to him, for us, that his brilliant and heroic conduct, and that of the Irish Brigade under his command, win the unqualified praise of all. Tell his brave soldiers that they would be yet prouder could they see with what enthusiasm their services are appreciated. On the soil of their adoption, they have added fresh and enduring pages to the chivalric history of their native land.”

During the battle of Fredericksburg, the new flags were presented to the brigade. On that occasion, a grand banquet was held, from which the revellers rushed to the fight.

M'Clellan, having been dispossessed of the command of the Federal forces because of his disapproval of a hurried march on Richmond without adequate supplies, was succeeded as commander-in-chief by General Burnside. On assuming command, the latter—to insure his reputation and hold his position for a time at least—moved his forces to the lower Rappahannock.

The Confederate forces under Lee were massed in and around Fredericksburg, on the opposite side of the river. On the 17th November, General Sumner appeared before Fredericksburg, and demanded its sur-

render, and General Burnside himself repeated the demand on the 21st but without success; and the Confederates busily occupied themselves in fortifying their already strong position. Lee's troops were posted as follows on the hills in the rear of the city: Longstreet's corps occupied the left; Anderson held Marye's Heights; Hood connected that position with the right, where Ambrose Hill's and Early's divisions rested; D. H. Hill's corps was held in reserve; while Stuart's mounted division, light artillery, and infantry protected both flanks.

On the night of the 10th of December, Burnside made preparations for a general attack. pontoons were conveyed to the river, and a large number of guns (143) were placed in position before the city. Sumner received orders to cross the river and scale Marye's Heights, while Hooker was to throw himself in force on the enemy's centre, and Franklin was to cross and operate on the left flank (Longstreet's command). Early on the morning of the 11th, an attempt was made by the engineers to throw pontoons across the river in three places; but a deadly fire of musketry from a cluster of houses on the opposite bank compelled them to desist. It became necessary that the hostile party should be dislodged. A well directed fire of artillery cleared the spot; and, in response to a call for volunteers, Colonel Hall and 400 men made their way across the stream. Hall captured 100 of the Southern riflemen, killing or scattering the remainder. The construction of the bridges—thus secure from material opposition—was completed, and Howard's division passed over.

Under cover of a dense fog the next morning, the Federals moved across the river in force, Sumner's corps being in advance. The city of Fredericksburg having been taken possession of, the Confederate guns on the first ridge of hills opened fire on it; and the artillery play continued lively for the rest of the day.

On the following day (the 13th), the battle opened with skirmishing on the Federal left, gradually ex-

tending to the right, when the fight became general. General Meagher ordered his men to place green sprigs in their caps, himself setting the example. About twelve o'clock, French's division, supported by Zooke's, Meagher's, and Caldwell's brigades, advanced to the attack of Marye's Heights. "Noonday," it is said, "was turned to dusk by the smoke and storm of battle." While waiting in the rear of the town for the word to advance, Meagher's men divested themselves of their haversacks and blankets. French's division suffered dreadfully; and Zooke's brigade, under a tremendous fire, which rapidly thinned its ranks, advanced in fine order. Meagher's impatient men were at length greeted with the words, "Irish Brigade, advance!" and on they dashed, in the face of a murderous fire of all arms, against the most formidable portion of the Confederate works. Wide gaps were opened in their ranks by the hostile fire as they advanced up the heights; but they pressed bravely on, and drove the enemy from his first and second line of breastworks, till they stood within sixty yards of his batteries, when they were subjected, in flank and face, to the fire of artillery and rifles from unassailable positions. The carnage in this terrible conflict was so great, that the advance of the Irish Brigade was impeded by piles of dead bodies, to which it was doomed to contribute its share from its own ranks.

In other parts of the battle-field, the Federals were equally unsuccessful, in vain rushing up to the very guns of the enemy, who drove them back with considerable loss; but the most disastrous attack was that on Marye's Heights, in which the Irish Brigade participated.

Among the various testimonies borne to the gallant conduct of the Irish Brigade on this occasion is the following from the pen of Dr. William H. Russell, the special correspondent of the London "Times:"—

"The battle, which had dashed furiously against the lines of Generals Hood, A. P. Hill, and Early, was little more than child's play, as compared with the onslaught directed by the

Federals in the immediate neighborhood of Fredericksburg. The impression that the Confederate batteries would not fire heavily upon the Federals advancing in this quarter, for fear of injuring the town of Fredericksburg, is believed to have prevailed among the Northern generals. How bitterly they deceived themselves, subsequent events served to show. To the Irish division, commanded by General Meagher, was principally committed the desperate task of bursting out of the town of Fredericksburg, and forming, under the withering fire of the Confederate batteries, to attack Marye's Heights, towering immediately in their front. Never at Fontenoy, Albuera, or at Waterloo, was more undaunted courage displayed by the sons of Erin than during those six frantic dashes which they directed against the almost impregnable position of their foe. There are stories that General Meagher harangued his troops in impassioned language on the morning of the 13th, and plied them well with whiskey found in the cellars of Fredericksburg. After witnessing the gallantry and devotion exhibited by his troops, and viewing the hillsides for acres strewn with their corpses thick as autumnal leaves, the spectator can remember nothing but their desperate courage, and regret that it was not exhibited in a holier cause.* That any mortal man could have carried the position before which they were wantonly sacrificed, defended as it was, it seems to me idle for a moment to believe. But the bodies which lie in dense masses within forty yards of the muzzles of Colonel Walton's guns are the best evidence what manner of men they were who pressed on to death with the dauntlessness of a race which has gained glory on a thousand battle-fields, and never more richly deserved it than at the foot of Marye's Heights on the 13th day of December, 1862."

"The flag of the 69th," says Captain Conyngham, "was lost during the fight, and the men felt very uneasy

* Let no one who reads this be simple enough to believe for an instant that Dr. Russell means—by "a holier cause"—the cause of their own country. Such an idea was very far from his thoughts. The expression did not mean to convey any thing, and was merely an indefinable idea that glided inadvertently off the point of his pen; or, perhaps, sympathizing with the Confederates, he chafed that such brave men should be found opposing them. Though the learned doctor would undoubtedly concede—ay, loudly proclaim—that a man can find no holier cause to fight for than the cause of his native land, yet would he be among the first to denounce an Irishman for so doing; for, with the son of Erin,—

"'Tis treason to love her, and death to defend."

about it; for it was their proud boast that they had never lost a flag. Next day the color-sergeant was discovered sitting up against a tree, dead, and his hands clasped on his breast as if protecting something. Near him was the staff of the missing flag. When removing the body, the men found the flag wrapped around it, with a bullet-hole right through it and his heart."

A short time after the battle, the brigade was paraded for inspection. The commander of Company F of the 88th was absent; and, when Hancock (general of the division) rode up, he found that company represented by but three men. General Hancock, who was a great disciplinarian and had a sharp eye for irregularities, observing the men standing by themselves, shouted out, with an oath, "Why don't you close up with your company?" One of the men, saluting, replied, "*We* are the company, general." "The devil you are!" was the surprised rejoinder; and, with inexpressible admiration beaming in his eye, the general passed on.

The remnant of the brigade returned to its quarters at Falmouth, and General Meagher obtained leave of absence to go to New York, where he was present at a grand requiem Mass held in honor of the dead of the Irish Brigade at St. Patrick's Cathedral. About the middle of February, the general returned to camp, after having waited on President Lincoln to ask that the brigade might be relieved from duty, and return to New York to recruit its shattered ranks. Having waited in vain for compliance with his demand, he wrote to the Secretary of War to request that the three original regiments of the brigade—the 69th, the 63rd, and the 88th—be temporarily relieved, so that they might be enabled to recruit; their numbers having been reduced from the original strength of 2,250 to 91 officers and 531 men. His application was grounded on the fact that the like favor had been conceded to other regiments, that it was no more than justice to the men, and that it was the only plan by which their ranks might be filled up.

After the battle of Chancellorsville (fought on 3rd May),—in which Hooker, who had superseded Burnside, sustained a severe defeat from the Confederate arms, and in which General Meagher and his brave little band distinguished themselves by their accustomed gallantry in the rear of the retreating Federals,—Meagher renewed his application to have the brigade relieved from duty for a breathing space. Receiving no satisfaction, General Meagher tendered his resignation, resenting the injustice that had been done his men, and deeming it incompatible with his dignity to retain the rank, without the command, of a brigadier-general. His resignation was accepted on the 14th of May. In his parting address to the brigade, he said: “The Irish Brigade no longer existing, I felt that it would be perpetuating a great deception were I to retain the authority and rank of a brigadier-general, nominally commanding the same. I therefore, conscientiously, though reluctantly, resigned my command.” The brigade was then reduced to but 500 men.

Previous to the departure of General Meagher from the camp, he was presented with a farewell address from all the officers and men of the brigade, in which they expressed their regret at his resignation, and their appreciation of his motives, with assurances of their unbounded affection and esteem for him personally.

Hooker was succeeded in the chief command of the Federal army by General Meade. The latter general fought the fiercest battle of the war at Gettysburg (July 1 to 3, 1863), in which several general officers were killed and disabled on both sides, and several thousand Confederates captured. In this great victory, the remnant of the Irish Brigade, commanded by Colonel Patrick Kelly, maintained its veteran reputation, and was instrumental in driving the Confederates from one of their strongest positions. In December, 1863, the brigade's term of service expired; but the men at once re-enlisted, obtaining thirty days' furlough to visit their homes. In New York, the veterans were received by General Meagher and other distinguished

officers, and entertained at a banquet, where their former commander addressed them in an eloquent speech. In the course of his speech, he said: "History has no power to bestow upon me any higher distinction than that I have been the general in command of the Irish Brigade." Returning thanks to the toast proposed in his honor, the general took the opportunity of calling upon the men of the brigade to refute certain allegations set afloat that he had recklessly "exposed the lives of the officers and men of his command." With one voice they denied those allegations, and declared that he had never led them into danger, but when ordered to do so, and that he was always at the head of his column in the headlong charge or blazing conflict.

The following pen-and-ink portrait of General Meagher is given by Captain D. P. Conyngham in his "Irish Brigade and its Campaigns:"—

"His head is round and fair-sized; his hair, which is a little inclined to gray, is brushed sideways. His features are strong and distinct, with rather prominent nose and firmly set lips. His face is shaven, except a moustache and slight imperial. He is of medium height, well and finely built, with a great depth of chest and fine development of muscle and frame. * * * Meet him in sociable moments, he is overflowing with wit and humor of the raciest kind; caustic and cutting against intriguers, speculators, and political charlatans, but genial and flowing towards his friends. Full of buoyant vivacity, wit, humor, and historical lore, there is no more genial, instructive, or delightful companion than General Thomas Francis Meagher."

After the resignation of Meagher, the brigade ceased to be such in reality until the opening of General Grant's campaigns. Under that general, it signalized itself in the bloody fights before Richmond.

In 1864, Meagher was appointed to the command of a division stationed at Chattanooga, in Tennessee, which was threatened by the Confederates after the battle of Nashville; but the excellent state of defence in which the town was kept deterred the enemy from attempting an attack. The ability displayed by General

Meagher in his command was highly spoken of by Major-General Steadman.

His troops having been drafted in detachments to join General Sherman in 1865, General Meagher was left without active command; and, as the war shortly after terminated by the surrender of the Confederate General Lee at Richmond, he again resigned.

Meagher was brevetted major-general by President Andrew Johnson, and sent to Montana to fill the position of secretary to that territory, of which he became acting governor during the absence of Governor Egerton. In that far-off land, the brilliant orator, the dashing soldier, and the ardent Irish patriot, General Thomas Francis Meagher, met a melancholy end by drowning on the 1st of July, 1867. Wearied with the long journeys necessitated to procure arms and equipments for the militia which he had organized to resist the attacks of hostile Indians on the settlements, he reached Fort Benton, on the Missouri, on the evening of the day just mentioned. Unable to obtain accommodation at that post, he took up his quarters in a state-room of the steamer "G. A. Thompson." Here he employed himself in writing letters. About ten o'clock at night, he left his room, and proceeded on deck. In the dark, he stumbled against a coil of rope, lost his balance, and was precipitated over the unguarded deck into the river, which was rushing along at the rate of ten miles an hour. His cry of agony was heard; but all efforts to save him or recover his body proved unavailing.

Miscellaneous.

COUNT WALTER BOURKE.

WHEN James II., seeking to recover the throne which he had abandoned to the Prince of Orange, appealed to the Irish people for assistance, WALTER BOURKE, of Turlough, in the county of Mayo, was among those who gave him their support. Walter was the eldest son of Richard Bourke and his wife Celia (*née* O'Shaughnessy), and was descended from MacWilliam Oughter (the Upper). He represented Mayo in the Irish Parliament of 1689, and raised a regiment of foot, with which he fought at the Boyne on the side of James.

At the battle of Aughrim, fought between Ginkell and St. Ruth (July 22, 1691), Colonel Walter Bourke was posted with his regiment at the Castle of Aughrim, which lay on the Irish left and commanded the only defile by which cavalry could assail St. Ruth's position. Bourke's men were unfortunately supplied—through some wretched blunder—with balls too large for the calibre of their muskets. Thus the enemy's cavalry was enabled to pass the castle unmolested. This circumstance, and the death of St. Ruth at the same time, changed the fortune of the day, and gave the victory to the Dutch general. The castle was assailed by two regiments of infantry, when Bourke sallied out, and, engaging them in a hand-to-hand conflict, gave them such rough treatment, that he would have succeeded in cutting his way through them, but for the arrival of some squadrons of horse to their support. So desperate was the engagement, that only Bourke

and 52 of his men were left alive. The survivors were made prisoners.

Upon the signing of the treaty of Limerick, they were all released, and Colonel Bourke accompanied those of his countrymen who passed over to France. On his arrival there, he was commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Athlone, and was sent to serve in Italy under Marshal Catinat. He shared in the victory obtained by that general over the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene at Marsaglia (October 4, 1693). The following month he was raised to the command of his regiment.

During the next few years, Bourke's corps was sensibly diminished by its campaigns; and, in 1698, the remnant was united with other Irish troops to form a regiment for the Duke of Berwick, Colonel Bourke being attached as colonel of the second rank. In the following year, he was granted the full command of another Irish regiment of foot, designated by his own name. He joined Villeroi with it in 1701, and fought under him at Chiari, in Italy, against Prince Eugene, when the victory was claimed by both sides. Serving with distinction in nearly all the engagements in Italy between the French and imperialists till 1704, Bourke was brevetted brigadier. He next took part with his regiment in the operations in Spain, and was made major-general in 1709. Transferred to the army of the Duke of Berwick in 1710, he acted under him through all his campaigns till the capture of Barcelona in 1714.

Louis XIV., having resolved to retrench his establishment, reorganized his army upon the promulgation of the peace of Utrecht, and disbanded large numbers. In view of these changes, General Bourke solicited and obtained permission to enter the service of Spain. King Philip gladly availed himself of the proffered service; but, before arrangements could be concluded, Death interposed, and claimed Bourke as his own.

Major-General Count Walter Bourke died at Barcelona in March, 1715. By his marriage with Miss

Catherine Nolan, he had several daughters and a son Richard. That son became an officer in the French army. Count Bourke's Regiment entered the employment of Philip V.

THOMAS BOURKE (son of John Bourke, Lord Brittas, and Catherine, daughter of Colonel Gordon O'Neill) attained the rank of lieutenant-general in the service of Sardinia.

Count EDMOND BOURKE (born of Irish parents, in 1761, at St. Croix, in the West Indies) rose to eminence in Denmark, and was employed as ambassador from that country to the courts of Naples (1797), Madrid (1801), and Paris (1820). He died at Vichy, in 1821, while undergoing the treatment of its famed waters.

A large number of Burkes served as officers in the Irish Brigade, among whom MICHAEL BURKE is prominently mentioned. He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Irish cavalry corps, called the Regiment of Albemarle, and served with honor in various campaigns till the treaty of Utrecht. He became brigadier in 1711, and retired from active service in 1715.

COUNT RICHARD EDMOND CUSACK.

Richard Cusack (grandson of Patrick Cusack, who sacrificed life and fortune in the interests of the first Charles Stuart), having vainly sought a restoration of his grandfather's property on the accession of the second Charles, withdrew from Ireland to the continent, and entered the Spanish army. He left three sons. The first, Gerald Alexander, served in the Irish Brigade of France for fifty-three years, and became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Roth and a Chevalier of St. Louis. His death occurred in 1743. The second, Charles, joined the Regiment of Lee. Passing into Spain, he rose to the rank of major-general in that country, and was made a Commander of the Order of

St. Jago. He died in 1748, while Governor of Melazzo, in Sicily. The third son, RICHARD EDMOND CUSACK, was born in Flanders in 1687.

In 1702, while only in his fifteenth year, young Cusack joined the Regiment of Dorrington. He was present at the siege of Kehl the following year, and participated in the victory at Hochstädt (September 20). After the disastrous battle of Blenheim, in 1704, he obtained a lieutenancy. He fought at the great battle of Malplaquet (September 11, 1709), holding the rank of captain. Having honorably acquitted himself in the various campaigns in Flanders, he obtained the full command of a company in 1731, and gallantly led it in subsequent engagements. In 1736, he was created a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis for meritorious conduct. He was appointed to the command of a company of grenadiers in 1743, and was recommended for promotion after the battle of Dettingen in June of that year. He acquitted himself with such distinguished bravery on the glorious field of Fontenoy, that the King of France bestowed on him a pension of 600 francs for life. During the campaign of 1747, he was made a brigadier, and appointed by Count Thomond to guard the bridge of Valheim, near Mechlin, preparatory to the operations on Maëstricht. This post he maintained for six weeks with only a force of 600 men. At the victory over the allies at Laffeldt, in July, he attracted the special notice of King Louis, who rewarded him for his valor by an additional pension of 1,000 francs.

Cusack received the brevet of major-general in 1759, when he retired from the army, having fought the battles of France for fifty-six years. The veteran soldier was appointed to the government of the towns of Guerande, Croisick, and Port-du-St.-Nazaire, in Bretagne. He also obtained the Commandery of the Hospital of St. Manceid, in Armagnac,—a dependency of the Order of St. Jago of Spain, of which he was a knight.

Count Cusack died at Corbeil, on the Seine, in 1770,

at the advanced age of eighty-two years. He left but one daughter, who had been united in marriage to the Marquis l'Espinasse-Langeac.

COUNT BETAGH.

COUNT BETAGH was the grandson of Francis Betagh, of Moynalty, who was outlawed, and deprived of large estates in the county of Meath, on the charge of having been actively concerned in the revolution of 1641, though only nine years of age; the witnesses suborned to give a color of justice to the proceedings having been guilty of the most barefaced perjury. Young Betagh joined the Irish Brigade, and, in that corps, performed good service for France. In 1744, he was captain in Fitzgerald's Regiment of Irish Horse, and subsequently became its major and acting colonel.

In the Seven Years' War, Major Betagh led his regiment under Marshal d'Etrées when he entered Hanover. In the summer of 1757, at Hastenbach, the Duc d'Etrées encountered the Duke of Cumberland, who displayed the brilliancy of his generalship by beating a disgraceful retreat when victory was in his hands. Pursued by the Duc de Richelieu, who had superseded D'Etrées in the command, the English prince continued his retreat till the French came up with him at Closter-Seven, when he capitulated with his whole army, and returned, covered with humiliation, to the court of his father, George II., who was deeply mortified at this disgrace.

On the 5th of November, 50,000 French and Austrians, under the Prince de Soubise and the Prince of Hildburghausen, were shamefully beaten at Rosbach, in Prussian Saxony, by Frederick the Great of Prussia with an army far short of half the number opposed to him. Overwhelming as was the disaster, the Irish upheld their reputation for indomitable valor in this battle. The Prussian cavalry, under General Seidlitz, having outflanked the Franco-Austrian right, charged the Austrian cavalry on that flank at full gallop.

Betagh and his Irish horse, with some French regiments, were ordered up to assist in repelling the attack. The Prussians assaulted them so fiercely, that the French retired, leaving the Irish and Austrians to settle the issue with their foes. In this conflict, Major Betagh was wounded; his brother, who served with him, was killed; and his men were nearly all cut up. The desperate resistance offered by the Irish excited the wonder of the enemy. Frederick himself bears testimony to the bravery exhibited by them at Rosbach.

The Irish infantry, too, acted a distinguished part that day. When the rest of the army was in disorder, the Irish and Swiss regiments maintained their ground against both horse and foot. The great soldier-king, astounded by the firmness with which these heroes withstood the tremendous shock of numerous bodies of all arms, expressed his unfeigned admiration of that "wall of red bricks," as he termed them in allusion to the distinguishing scarlet uniforms which they wore. The loss of the allied army amounted to 10,000 men, besides colors, artillery, &c.

After this battle, Major Betagh was created a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis. His regiment having been overthrown and utterly ruined in the surprise of the French at Graebenstein by the allies, he was appointed colonel-en-second to the Regiment of Clare. He was raised to the rank of major-general in 1770, and most probably retired from active service before his death.

COUNT CHRISTOPHER NUGENT.

CHRISTOPHER NUGENT was the son of Francis Nugent, of Dardistown, in the county of Meath, and his wife Lady Bridget, sister to Walter Dongan, Earl of Limerick. He became member for the borough of Fore in the Irish Parliament of 1689, and attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel of cavalry in the army of James II.

Withdrawing to France after the treaty of Limerick,

he was placed in charge of the two troops of Irish Horse Guards, and served with them in Flanders. At the battle of Landen, where he fought with marked bravery, he received four wounds. The numerous battles in which the Horse Guards were subsequently engaged had so diminished their numbers, that they were disbanded in February, 1698, and the survivors drafted into the Regiment of Dorrington. Nugent was attached as *mestre-de-camp* to the newly formed Regiment of Sheldon. In Italy, he fought with distinction at the battle of Chiari in 1701, and also at Luzzara in 1702.

At the battle of Speyer, in Bavaria (November 15, 1703), between Marshal Tallard and the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, when the day was going against the French, Colonel Christopher Nugent, at the head of about 200 Irish cavalry, gallantly charged two regiments of the imperial cuirassiers, and completely routed them, thus changing the fortune of war, and paving the way to victory for the French arms. The allies lost above 6,000 men, with colors, cannon, &c.; while the French are said to have lost but 600 men. The gallant Nugent received seven wounds; and Colonel Bernard MacGennis, a very brave Irish officer, was killed. Macgennis had four sons, who all sacrificed their lives in the service of France.

In June, 1706, Nugent was appointed full Colonel of the Regiment of Sheldon, which then became the Regiment of Nugent. He led it with great gallantry at the famous battles of Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, and other places till the peace of 1714. Having accompanied Prince James Francis Edward Stuart to Scotland in 1715, he was deprived of his commission by the French court as a concession to the remonstrances of the British ambassador; but he was created major-general of cavalry in 1718. His regiment, which had been taken from him as a mere matter of form, was transferred to his son, the Comte de Nugent, then but seventeen years of age. This regiment subsequently became that of Fitzjames, and was

disbanded towards the end of 1762, having dwindled down to a mere shred, consequent on the glorious stand it had always maintained in its many fights.

Major-General Christopher Nugent died in 1731.

Among other brave soldiers of the name noticed with distinction are:—

Major-General JOHN NUGENT, Earl of Westmeath. He first served as a cadet in the Horse Guards of King James in Ireland. Passing over to France, he was attached as lieutenant to Sheldon's Regiment of Horse, and continued to serve with it till 1748, when he resigned his commission as lieutenant-colonel in that corps, and retired from the army. The rank of major-general had been conferred on him some few years before. He became fifth Earl of Westmeath, on the decease of his elder brother in Ireland, in 1752. In two years after, he died at Nivelles, in Brabant, being nearly eighty-three years old.

Lieutenant-General PETER NUGENT. He is first mentioned, in 1717, as lieutenant in the Regiment of Nugent, with which he valorously served in all its subsequent campaigns. For his gallant conduct at the battle of Fontenoy, he was made a brigadier on the field. In 1748, he obtained the lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment, resigned by Major-General John Nugent; and, in 1762, he was created a lieutenant-general.

The last survivor of those heroic exiles who composed the immortal Irish Brigade, whose glorious deeds attested so well their fidelity to the country of their adoption, was LOUIS-FRANÇOIS-BASILE-ANTOINE-AIME, Comte DE NUGENT, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, &c. He died at the Château de Mesnuls, near Montfort l'Amaury, in France, on the 8th of July, 1859, in the eighty-first year of his age, leaving a large family and a circle of numerous friends to mourn his departure from amongst them.

In the service of Venice, CHRISTOPHER NUGENT, a native of the county of Longford, attained to the rank of major-general.

LAVAL NUGENT (of the Westmeath family), Field-Marshal of Austria, was born in Ireland in 1777. He entered the Austrian army in 1794, and became colonel in 1809. After having fulfilled a mission to the court of London in 1813, he obtained the grade of major-general, and took part in the operations against the French. Sent to France on the occupation of that country by the allies, he received the command of the department of the Bouches-du-Rhone. In 1816, he accepted the appointment of Captain-General of the Kingdom of Naples, and completely reorganized its army. In 1820, he re-entered the Austrian service as field-marshal-lieutenant. With 30,000 Austrians, he proceeded, in 1848, to the succor of Marshal Radetzki, then opposed to the troops of Charles Albert, King of Sardinia. In 1849, he assisted in suppressing the revolution in Hungary, and was soon after nominated field-marshal. Besides the rank of field-marshal, he acquired the proprietorship of a regiment of infantry and the titles and dignities of count, imperial chamberlain, councillor of State, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Roman prince, Hungarian magnate, Croatian stelnick, &c. Count Nugent died on his estate in Croatia, in 1863, in his eighty-sixth year.

O'CARROLL.

FRANCIS O'CARROLL made common cause with his countrymen in favor of James II., for which he was attainted by the government of William III. in 1691. He became colonel of dragoons and a brigadier in the Irish army, and was noted for his bravery on the field. Going over to France, he was appointed to the command of the Irish regiment known as the Queen's Dismounted Dragoons. He fell at the great victory of Marsaglia, in 1693, while fighting gloriously at the

head of his regiment; and was reported, among others, as "worthy of lasting memory."

DANIEL O'CARROLL, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Queen's Dismounted Dragoons in 1697, bore himself with great bravery in the campaigns in Italy and Spain during the War of the Spanish Succession. For his conduct in Italy in 1705, he was highly eulogized by the Duc de Vendome, who, in a despatch to Louis XIV., described his bravery in an attack on one of Eugene's strong posts near Genivolta as "so brilliant, that it deserves the grant of a distinguished reward from your majesty." O'Carroll was afterwards attached to the Regiment of Berwick, and died, while lieutenant-colonel of that corps, in 1712.

O'NEILL.

This name—so illustrious in Ireland since the days of its founder, Niall of the Nine Hostages—has flourished with honor in soils less congenial than its own; and so numerous were those who upheld its ancient lustre in foreign lands, that it becomes difficult to make a selection of the most distinguished.

Among the descendants of that mighty warrior of old who became adopted sons of France was GORDON O'NEILL. He was the son of Sir Phelim O'Neill (celebrated in the revolution in Ireland in 1641) and the Lady Jane Gordon, Baroness of Strabane, daughter of the Marquis of Huntly,—a Scotch nobleman. Gordon O'Neill represented Tyrone in the Irish Parliament in 1689, and was also lord-lieutenant of that county. When the war broke out between William and James, he raised a regiment of foot in the cause of the latter monarch, and fought with conspicuous valor at the Boyne and other fields. At the battle of Aughrim, he was stationed on the right of the Irish army, and bravely assisted in the discomfiture of the English just preceding the untoward death of St. Ruth. In the attack which resulted in the third re-

pulse of the enemy, Colonel O'Neill was hotly engaged, and captured three pieces of artillery; but, upon the reversal of fortune against the Irish, consequent on the fall of their general, the gallant colonel was left for dead on the field, covered with wounds, and fell into the hands of the English, who, also supposing him dead, stripped him. It having been soon discovered, however, that he was alive, his wounds were tended, and he was sent prisoner to Dublin. Released by the terms of the treaty of Limerick, he went over to France, where he was appointed to the colonelcy of the Irish infantry Regiment of Charlemont. He served with honor in the campaigns in Germany till the peace of Ryswick, and attained the rank of brigadier. In 1698, the remains of his regiment and the Queen's Dismounted Dragoons were formed into the Regiment of Galmoy, to which he was attached as colonel. By his marriage with a Protestant lady, he had a daughter Catherine, who espoused John Bourke, fourth Lord Brittas and ninth Lord Castle-Connell. Brigadier Gordon O'Neill died in 1704.

JOHN O'NEILL (born on January 20, 1737, at Derry-noose, county of Armagh) left Ireland when young to obtain his education in France. After finishing his studies, he entered the Regiment of Clare (December, 1753) as a cadet. Serving with honor in the various wars in which France was engaged from 1759 to 1798, he passed, through successive grades, to the rank of major-general; having also acquired the distinction of Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis. In 1799, he was permitted to retire by the French government, receiving a pension of 3,000 francs. He died at Paris (March, 1811) in his seventy-fifth year. Major-General O'Neill left a son Charles, who, after acquiring the rank of colonel, the Cross of St. Louis, the Cordon of the Legion of Honor, &c., died at Paris in 1844.

O'Neills rose to eminence in other countries about the same period as their namesakes in France. Perhaps

the most marked was DON CARLOS FELIX O'NEILL, son of that Sir Neal O'Neill who was killed at the Boyne. He chose to enter the service of Spain, which had benefited beforetime by the prowess of Eoghan Ruadh and other illustrious members of his race. He became a lieutenant-general of the Spanish army, having been Governor of Havana for some time. He died at Madrid (September, 1791) at the great age of a hundred and ten years.

DON ARTHUR O'NEILL, for his bravery and ability, was rewarded by Charles IV. of Spain, in the end of the last century, with the governor-generalship of Yucatan, in Central America.

The representative of the name in Spain recently was DON JUAN ANTONIO LUIS O'NEILL Y CASTILLA, Marqués de la Granja, de Valdeosera, de Caltojar, and Conde de Benajiar.

ROTH.

MICHAEL ROTH was born in Kilkenny on the 27th of September, 1665. In 1686, he was commissioned as lieutenant in the Irish Foot Guards, commanded by the Duke of Ormond. In the war of 1688 to 1691, he served as Captain of the King's Company in the same corps. On the conclusion of hostilities, he went to France, and served that country with distinction on numerous battle-fields. He was made lieutenant-colonel in 1698, and attained the rank of colonel in 1701. In 1710, he was appointed *maréchal-de-camp*. As second in command at Bethune, in the same year, under Lieutenant-General du Puy Vauban, nephew of the great engineer, he displayed such signal courage and ability in the defence of that place against the allies, that he was created a Commander of the Order of St. Louis. The capture of Bethune cost the allies 3,600 men in killed and wounded. General Roth headed several sorties against the enemy during the siege; and it is recorded that "he gave the most de-

cisive evidences of valor, of prudence, and of firmness, and very much contributed to the fine defence which M. du Puy Vauban made during thirty-five days of open trenches." In 1718, he received the coloneley of his regiment, and, in two years after, was made lieutenant-general. In 1733, he resigned the coloneley of his regiment to his son, and retired from active service. He died (May 2, 1741) in his seventy-sixth year.

His son, CHARLES EDWARD ROTH, was born in France in 1710, and, when nineteen years of age, was commissioned as a captain in the regiment of his father. In 1733, he became colonel by his father's resignation. He fought as brigadier at Fontenoy. Attempting to join Charles Edward Stuart in Scotland in 1746, he fell into the hands of the English, but was shortly after released. At the victory of Laffeldt (2nd July, 1747), he was particularly distinguished, and was created lieutenant-general the following year. In the Seven Years' War, he was appointed lieutenant-general of the Irish and Scotch troops in the French army. He died (August 19, 1766) at the age of fifty-six.

COUNT PATRICK LAWLESS.

PATRICK LAWLESS was the son of Walter Lawless, High Sheriff of the County of Kilkenny, and his wife Anne (*née* Bryan). In the contest between James II. and William III. in Ireland, Patrick Lawless attained the rank of major in the service of the former king. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Aughrim. Set at liberty on the termination of the war, he went to France, and from thence passed into the service of Philip V. of Spain, by whom he was appointed to the coloneley of his Irish Guard.

King Philip was indebted for many important benefits to the great ability and bravery of the Irish soldier. After the peace of Utrecht, Lawless was appointed ambassador from Spain to England, and acted subsequently in the same capacity at the French court.

He rose to the rank of lieutenant-general in the Spanish army, and was made Governor of the Island of Majorca.

COUNT GEORGE BROWN,

FIELD-MARSHAL OF RUSSIA.

One of the most distinguished Irish officers who served in Russia, next to Field-Marshal Peter Lacy, was GEORGE BROWN, a native of Limerick. He was born in June, 1698. When twenty-seven years old, he quitted Ireland, and took service with the elector-palatine. In 1730, he entered the Russian army with the grade of captain-lieutenant, and rapidly gained promotion.

Sent into Hungary to assist the Austrians in repelling the invasion of the Turks, he was made prisoner at the unfortunate affair of Krotzka, in which the infidel was victorious. He was treated with the utmost barbarity by his captors, who stripped him naked and bound him back to back with another prisoner, in which state he was kept for the space of two days. Taken to Adrianople, he was sold into slavery, and passed through the hands of four different masters, each of whom treated him with extreme cruelty. An Irish gentleman, attached to the French embassy at Constantinople, having become acquainted by chance with Brown's deplorable condition, communicated the fact to the ambassador, M. de Villeneuve, who at once generously paid the poor captive's ransom, and had him sent back to Russia.

On Brown's arrival at St. Petersburg, he made known to the Russian court certain secrets, which he had discovered while in slavery, in connection with the plans of the Sublime Porte. This service obtained for him the rank of general-major. During the Seven Years' War, he fought with distinction against the Prussians. He was created field-marshal by Peter III., and also Governor of Livonia. Getting well advanced in years, he tendered the resignation of his post to the

Czarina Catherine II.; but she declined to receive it with these words: "Count, nothing can separate us but death."

Field-Marshal Count Brown died (September, 1792) in his ninety-fifth year. He had been a fast friend of Field-Marshal Peter Lacy, and had married one of his daughters.

COUNT ALEXANDER O'REILLY,

CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF ANDALUSIA.

ALEXANDER O'REILLY, descended from Malmore O'Reilly, commonly called Myles the Slasher, was born in 1722, near Oldcastle, in the county of Meath. Passing over to the continent, he joined an Irish regiment in the Spanish army as sub-lieutenant; and, in Italy, during the War of the Spanish Succession, received a wound which lamed him for life.

Entering the service of Austria in 1751, he fought under Marshal Lacy, against the Prussians, in the Seven Years' War. He next enlisted under the banner of France, and subsequently returned to Spain, highly recommended to the king by the French Marshal de Broglie. He was appointed to the command of a regiment of cavalry, and fought at its head in the war against Portugal. His intimate knowledge of tactics caused the king to commit the instruction of the infantry to his charge; and the thoroughness of his system soon became manifest in the better discipline of the troops.

With the rank of major-general, he was sent to Havana, ceded to Spain by the treaty of Fontainebleau. After having restored and strengthened the fortifications of the island of Cuba, he returned to Spain, and was appointed inspector-general of infantry. He was next sent to Louisiana, the people of which had rebelled against its cession to Spain by France. Arriving in New Orleans in August, 1769, he compelled the French inhabitants, by prompt and rather unscrupulous measures, to acknowledge the authority

of Spain. Upon his return to Madrid, Charles III. received him with great favor, and loaded him with honors.

In 1774, Count O'Reilly was despatched with a large armament to take Algiers, and punish its piratical people for the depredations committed by them on the high seas in utter disregard of protest or treaty, and without respect to nations, whether friendly or hostile. But the expedition was a complete failure. Nevertheless, O'Reilly, who was in high favor with the king, received fresh honors, and was placed in charge of the military school at Puerta de Santa Maria, in Old Castile. He was shortly after created Captain-General of Andalusia and Governor of Cadiz.

On the death of his patron, Charles III., in 1788, O'Reilly was compelled by the machinations of his enemies to retire in disgrace to Catalonia. But, on the invasion of Spain by the armies of republican France in 1794, he was recalled from his retirement by Charles IV., and, as the most efficient general in Spain, invested with the command of the army designed to repel the French.

On his way to assume the command in accordance with the orders of the king, Count O'Reilly was seized with a sudden illness, and died in his seventy-third year.

COUNT ANDREW O'REILLY.

ANDREW O'REILLY (second son of James O'Reilly, of Ballincough, in the county of Westmeath, and his wife Barbara, granddaughter of the fourth Earl of Westmeath) was born in 1740. Leaving Ireland when quite young, he entered the Austrian army, and rapidly won his way to high rank by the ability and courage which he displayed in the Seven Years' War and in the war against the Turks.

Having become the accepted suitor of a beautiful Bohemian heiress, the Countess Wuyrlena, he was challenged to mortal combat by a rejected rival, Count

Klebensberg. A long and bloody duel was fought with swords near Cracow, in which O'Reilly received several serious wounds; but he at length terminated the contest by running his antagonist through the body. No other impediment offering, he espoused the countess.

In the war between Austria and France, in the end of the last century, O'Reilly acquired great distinction, and became general officer in 1793. He took a prominent part in the battle of Marengo (June 14, 1800); and we learn from M. Thiers, that Melas, the Austrian general, "placed General O'Reilly on the left, and Generals Kaim and Haddick on the right, to gain the road to Piacenza, the object of so many efforts and the salvation of the Austrian army."

At the battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805), when Napoleon inflicted such a terrible punishment on the Austrian and Prussian armies, General O'Reilly, at the head of a cavalry corps, saved the Austrians from complete destruction.

In May, 1809, O'Reilly was appointed Governor of Vienna. Napoleon appeared before the city, and stormed its suburbs. The bombardment of the French having set the city on fire in several places, O'Reilly despatched a deputation to Napoleon with proposals for an honorable capitulation. These the French emperor conceded, at the same time eulogizing the conduct of O'Reilly in the highest terms.

Some few days after, O'Reilly and his countryman, Lieutenant-General Brady, signalized themselves under the Archduke Charles, when that unlucky general received such a severe castigation from the French emperor at Aspern, on the Danube, both sides suffering a terrible loss. A furious encounter occurred between the French cavalry and a column of Austrian infantry led by Brady. The Austrians, animated by the example of their general, strove to maintain their ground with unparalleled bravery; but a sweeping charge of the French horse turned their flanks, and penetrated their depths. At this moment, O'Reilly rode up with his light dragoons, but was checked in his advance

by the vigorous onset of the French. His dragoons were completely enveloped by the enemy, who, exulting in victory, called upon O'Reilly to surrender. The latter replied by ordering his men to discharge their carbines. An obstinate struggle ensued, in which the French were obliged to give way. O'Reilly and his men bivouacked unmolested on the lost battle-field that night.

Peace was brought about in October by the proposed union of Napoleon and Maria Louisa of Austria; and honors and rewards were scattered among the Austrians, of which Count O'Reilly received a due share. He attained the highest rank in the Austrian army except that of field-marshal; and was High Chamberlain of the Empire, Commander of the Order of Maria Theresa, and Colonel-Proprietor of the 3rd Regiment of Light Horse.

Count Andrew O'Reilly died at Vienna (1832) in the ninety-third year of his age.

THE O'DONNELLS OF SPAIN.

Since the flight of Rory O'Donnell, with Hugh O'Neill, in 1607, to avoid falling into the power of the Scoto-English King James I., the children of the illustrious race of Conall, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, have perpetuated in foreign lands the honor of their ancient house, which, for centuries, shone with such lustre in Ireland; and, in the military annals of Spain, no name is more conspicuous in latter times, perhaps, than that of O'Donnell.

In the beginning of the present century, we find, amongst other Irish officers prominently engaged in the wars in Spain waged against the invasion of the French, four brothers; namely, HENRY, CHARLES, JOSEPH, and ALEXANDER O'DONNELL.

CHARLES served under Don Joachim Blake with much distinction in the efforts to drive the French out of Spain, attaining the rank of general. In the war

for the restoration of Ferdinand VII. in 1823, he took the side of the king, and performed great service for the royal cause against the constitutionalists, for which he was created a count and Captain-General of Old Castile.

JOSEPH attained the rank of general in the war against the French, and was appointed, in 1812, to succeed General Blake when that officer was captured by the French at Valencia. In July of that year, with about 7,000 men, General O'Donnell fought the battle of Castalla with General Harispe, and was completely routed, losing half his men. This defeat brought Don Joseph into disgrace with the Cortes, who censured him severely. In exculpation, O'Donnell protested that his defeat was mainly owing to the incapacity and disobedience of San Estavan, the officer in command of the cavalry.

ALEXANDER was commander of a Spanish infantry regiment, which was captured at Espinosa and entered the French ranks. It subsequently fell into the hands of the Russians on Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. On its return to Spain, it distinguished itself, under the lead of Alexander O'Donnell, on the side of the constitutionalists, till the restoration of the royal family in 1823.

HENRY, Count of Abispal,—the eldest of the four brothers,—after passing through the subordinate ranks, became colonel in 1809. He was employed under Don Joachim Blake that year in the attempt to relieve Gerona, which was so nobly defended by General Alvarez and his brave Catalans against a blockading force of 18,000 Frenchmen, with 40,000 more operating in the neighborhood under St. Cyr. In August, by Blake's order, Henry O'Donnell successfully conveyed into the beleaguered city 2,000 mules laden with flour. General Wimpfen was sent by Blake, in September,

to break through the French lines with 10,000 men. Wimpfen failed to accomplish his purpose; but O'Donnell, with only 1,000 men, brilliantly effected a passage through the enemy on the 26th of the month, and introduced 200 laden mules into Gerona.

On the 13th of October, he made a brilliant sortie from the city, and cut his way through the enemy's lines, sword in hand, forcing General Sauham to fly in his shirt. But, spite of the efforts to assist the brave defenders of Gerona, Alvarez was compelled to surrender it on the 12th December.

Upon Blake being called to command in Andalusia in 1810, O'Donnell was appointed to succeed him in Catalonia. In an engagement with Sauham at the Col de Sespina, he repulsed that general with great loss. With 12,000 men (mostly irregulars), he fought a desperate battle with 5,000 Frenchmen at Vich, from whence he retreated to Tarragona, leaving 3,000 dead behind. Falling on Marshal Augereau (then retreating from Tarragona to Barcelona with 20,000 men), O'Donnell forced him to seek refuge in Gerona.

He was next employed in trying to effect the relief successively of Hostalric and Lerida, and made many brave but fruitless efforts for the accomplishment of that purpose. In conveying relief to the latter place, he sustained a terrible defeat at Margalef, losing 5,000 men.

With a force of 10,000, he threw himself into Tortosa, which was being besieged by Marshals Suchet and Macdonald. On the 3rd of July, issuing out of the city, he fell with fury on the French intrenchments, committed fearful havoc on Laval's troops, and then withdrew to Tarragona. Having cut off Macdonald's communications with Ampurias, O'Donnell marched from Casa de Silva on the 14th, and fell suddenly upon Schwartz at Abispal, slaying 200 of his troops, and capturing the rest.

In 1811, O'Donnell was created Conde de Abispal, but was obliged to retire for a while from active service, suffering from numerous wounds. He was then made

a member of the council of the regency. In 1812, he co-operated with Wellington in the campaign which resulted in the victory of Vittoria; the first reserve corps of the Spanish army being commanded by the Count of Abispal, and the second by the gallant Don Luis Lacy.

While Wellington was pushing the siege of San Sebastian, in 1813 the Count of Abispal was occupied in blocking up the French in Pamplona (or Pampeluna). In the overthrow of Soult at Pamplona (commonly known as the Battle of the Pyrenees), the count was posted on the right of Marshal Murillo. He took part with the Prince of Anglona in all the operations on the Lower Pyrenees in 1814, and also, though suffering from old and new wounds, in the invasion of France and the march on Paris. On his return to Spain, the count received the appointment of Captain-General of Andalusia; and, in 1818, became Governor of Cadiz.

In the Constitutional War of 1820-23, he adhered to Ferdinand VII., from whom he received the Grand Cordon of the Order of Charles III., and was appointed Governor of Madrid and field-marshal.

Seceding afterwards to the constitutionalists, he was obliged to take refuge in France, and died at Montpellier on the 16th of May, 1834.

LEOPOLD O'DONNELL, son of the Count of Abispal, became a colonel in the Spanish army. In the war that broke out between the Carlists and Christinos, young O'Donnell was an adherent of the queen's party. On the 2nd May, 1835, he—being on his way to Pamplona to have his nuptials celebrated with a young and lovely Spanish heiress of high rank—was with Quesada when attacked by the famous guerilla leader, Zumalacarregui. Quesada was defeated; and O'Donnell fell into the hands of the Carlists while endeavoring to rally the discomfited Christinos. By Zumalacarregui's orders, O'Donnell and all the other prisoners were shot in cold blood.

MARSHAL LEOPOLD O'DONNELL,

DUKE OF TETUAN.

LEOPOLD O'DONNELL was born in Spain in 1808, while the country was involved in deadly strife with a foreign invader. Like all his family, he evinced a passion for military renown, and entered the army at an early age, attaining the rank of colonel before he was twenty-five years old. Taking the side of the young queen, Isabella, against the pretensions of her uncle, Don Carlos, to the crown of Spain,* O'Donnell became chief of the staff in 1838, and was appointed to the command of the Army of the Centre. In July, 1839, he forced Cabrera to raise the siege of Lucena, for which service he was nominated general of brigade.

In 1840, having espoused the cause of the Queen-mother Christina against the regency of Espartero, he was compelled to retire with her to France, but was permitted to return in the following year by Espartero, who held the reins of power as regent. Upon his arrival in Spain, O'Donnell set about organizing a movement to overthrow the regent's government, and raised a formidable insurrection for that purpose; but its failure again obliged him to seek refuge in France.

Espartero fell from power in 1843; and O'Donnell was thus enabled to return once more to Spain, when he was sent to fill the post of Governor and Captain-

* Philip V. introduced the Salic law into Spain, by which females were excluded from the throne. This law was abrogated in 1830 by Ferdinand VII. in favor of his infant daughter Isabella. Upon the death of Ferdinand in 1833, without male issue, Isabella was proclaimed queen, with her mother, Maria Christina, as regent. Don Carlos, brother of the dead king, refused to acknowledge his niece, and took up arms to assert his right as heir to the crown under the old law. The civil war thus brought about has been prolonged, with occasional lulls, to the present day; the grandson and namesake of Don Carlos still maintaining the contest to the prejudice of the peace of the country. In this fratricidal strife, the members of the O'Donnell family ranged themselves on opposite sides.

General of Cuba. During his residence in the "Queen of the Antilles," he amassed a considerable fortune.

Recalled to Spain in 1845, he took a seat in the Senate, and busied himself with political intrigues. So much embarrassment did he cause the government, that Narvaez, the President of the Council, conferred on him the office of director-general of infantry in order to nullify his antagonism. He was deprived of that office in 1851. Setting himself against Christina, the queen-mother, he persistently opposed her government, and, in the beginning of 1854, was implicated in a plot against her. A decree was issued for his arrest; but he eluded the design on his liberty by concealment. In June, he put himself at the head of two regiments of insurgents, was defeated by the royal troops at Vicalbaro, and escaped into Portugal. By a royal decree, he was deprived of all his employments, titles, and decorations. In July, he addressed a revolutionary manifesto to the people of Madrid, in which he declared for the re-establishment of the constitution of 1837; the emancipation of Queen Isabella from the control of a regency; the perpetual banishment of the queen-mother; the modification of the laws regulating elections and the press; the reduction of taxes; and other popular measures. Most of the general officers joined him with their troops; and, on the 17th of July, the progressionists, headed by O'Donnell, made themselves masters of Madrid. In a few days, Queen Isabella sent for Espartero, and instructed him to form a new ministry. A decree of the 1st of August announced O'Donnell as Minister of War and captain-general of the forces. Shortly after, he received the title of Count of Lucena in recognition of his brilliant exploit at that town in 1839.

In the preamble of a decree, drawn up by the Minister of the Interior, relative to repressive measures for the press, it was stated that recent disturbances in certain parts of the country were mainly owing to the malevolence of the clergy and the reactionist party. O'Donnell, who declared that the disturbances were due solely

to socialism, refused to append his signature to the decree; and a disagreement arose, which ended in the dissolution of the ministry.

On the 14th of July, 1856, O'Donnell was named President of the Council by the queen, and charged with the reconstruction of the cabinet. An insurrection broke out in Madrid on the same day, and spread thence to other parts of the country, where it assumed formidable proportions; but it was almost immediately suppressed by the prompt action of the government. The new ministry—composed half of liberals and half of reactionists—did not last long. O'Donnell resigned his portfolio to Narvaez in October, and was decorated with the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honor in the same month. Narvaez having tendered his resignation in June, 1858, O'Donnell again came into power as President of the Council and Minister of War and of the Colonies.

Spain having declared war against Morocco in 1859, O'Donnell took command of the expedition sent to invade the latter country, and, by his decisive measures, terminated the war in favor of Spain. This success procured O'Donnell the rank of a grandee of the first class under the title of Duke of Tetuan,—the scene of his principal victory over the Moors on the 6th of February, 1860.

He resigned his office in the cabinet in February, 1863, in consequence of the refusal of Queen Isabella to dissolve the chambers, and was succeeded by Concha. He returned to power at the head of another ministry in June, 1865, but was replaced by Narvaez in 1866.

Leopold O'Donnell, Duke of Tetuan, Count of Lucena, Marshal of Spain, &c., died on the 5th of November, 1867, in his fifty-ninth year.

PHILIP KEARNEY.

PHILIP KEARNEY was born in the United States, of Irish parents. When war was declared between the United States and Mexico in 1845, he joined the army

of his native country, and lost his arm in its cause. His skill and daring in battle quickly gained him promotion, and established his reputation as a thorough soldier. So great was the terror with which he inspired the Mexicans by his rapid movements and dashing exploits, that they applied to him the *soubriquet* of the "One-armed Devil."

Upon the breaking out of the civil war in the United States, he was assigned a brigade in the Northern army, and signalized himself in his enterprises against the Confederates. Attached to the Army of the Potomac, under M'Clellan, he fought with great bravery in the battles of the peninsula, when the Northern forces made their first move on Richmond. At the battle of Williamsburg (May, 1862), General Kearney, with his division, moving up to the support of Hooker, became engaged against desperate odds; but his determined gallantry operated effectively against the Confederates, who retreated during the night.

Through all this campaign,—in the advance on Richmond and the subsequent retreat,—Kearney was one of the most efficient generals in M'Clellan's army, and was one of those most dreaded by the enemy. The estimation in which he was held by the Confederates may be gathered from the following incident: A youthful Southerner, whose thigh was fractured by a shell-splinter at Fair Oaks, having fallen into the hands of the Federals after the battle, was removed to hospital, where he was examined by Dr. Reynolds, of the 88th Regiment, Irish Brigade. The doctor—interrogated by the young prisoner as to his chance of speedy recovery—shook his head commiseratingly, and pronounced the wound an ugly one. "Well, doctor," said the lad, "I may thank myself for that. I heard that whoever would shoot that one-handed devil, Phil Kearney, would be promoted. So I set out on my own hook to get a crack at him, and got this for my pains."

Under the command-in-chief of General Pope, the Northern arms met a second disastrous reverse at Bull

Run on the 30th of August, 1862. That unlucky general lost 10,000 men, several batteries of artillery, and nearly all his supplies. The Federals retreated on Washington, closely pursued by Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson. But Kearney and Stevens, with their divisions, checked the pursuit of Jackson at Chantilly on the 3rd of September, and thus enabled Pope to effect his retreat in safety with the main army. In this contest, the gallant Kearney, covered with wounds, fell gloriously fighting at the head of his division.

THOMAS SMYTH.

This distinguished officer was born on Christmas Day, 1832, at Fermoy, in the county of Cork. In the year 1854, he went to Philadelphia, and there entered the employment of his uncle, who kept a carriage factory. For four years he industriously applied himself to acquire a knowledge of the trade, and then removed to Wilmington, Delaware, where he started business on his own account.

When the South rose up in arms to cut the connection with the North, THOMAS SMYTH took side with the North to maintain the integrity of the Union. Joining the 24th Pennsylvania Volunteers, he served with them as captain for three months, and was then appointed major in the 1st Delaware Volunteers. He soon won the rank of colonel by his gallantry.

Upon the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel James Kelly, of the 69th, to a captaincy in the 16th Regular Infantry in March, 1864, Colonel Smyth was appointed to succeed him in the command of the Irish Brigade. Smyth's thorough discipline soon rendered new recruits effective soldiers; and his modest, affable demeanor made him extremely popular with the brigade.

Early in May, the Army of the Potomac, under Grant, advanced to the attack of Lee in command of the Confederates; and Colonel Smyth and the Irish Brigade took an active part in the battles that followed. At the battle of Spottsylvania, on the 15th May, Smyth

fought with great gallantry at the head of the brigade, and received a severe wound. The brigade was aided by the Corcoran Legion; and, though dreadful havoc was made in the ranks of those brave Irishmen, the survivors still pressed on through showers of grape and rifle-balls, and captured the enemy's works. Among the bravest of those slain on that fatal day were Captains Kelly and Blake, of the 69th New York; Major A. J. Lawler, of the 28th Massachusetts; and Captain O'Shea, of Bantry, who had been thrown into prison in Ireland in 1858, charged with complicity in a design to subvert the authority of the British crown in that country.

Colonel Richard Byrnes, having returned from New York with a party of recruits on the 20th of May, assumed command of the brigade by right of his seniority of rank; and Colonel Smyth was placed in charge of a brigade in his old division. Before his departure, he was presented with an address expressive of the esteem and affection of the officers and men of the Irish Brigade, to whom he had become endeared by his bravery and kindly disposition during the brief period he had acted as their commanding officer.

At the battle of Cold Harbor (June 3), the Irish gained the enemy's breastworks on the top of a hill, and maintained it for two hours against fearful odds. In this contest, they suffered terribly, and were at length obliged to fall back, fighting desperately as they withdrew. Colonel Byrnes, in command of the brigade, was mortally wounded; and Colonel MacMahon, of the Corcoran Legion, was shot dead while planting his colors on the enemy's breastworks. Soon after, Colonel Patrick Kelly was appointed to the command of the Irish Brigade; and on the 16th of June, at the battle of Petersburg, where thousands fell, that gallant officer was killed at the head of the brigade.

In September, Colonel Smyth was promoted to the rank of general of brigade, and, on all occasions during the succeeding campaigns, continued to display his ability and bravery as a soldier.

Being closely pressed by Grant, and cut off from Lynchburg by Sheridan, General Lee, the commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces, surrendered to Grant on the 9th of April, 1865. Soon after, Johnston surrendered to Sherman in North Carolina; and the war was virtually at an end. Just three days before Lee's surrender, General Smyth, while riding out on picket duty, at Sailor's Creek, near Farmville, was mortally wounded in the neck by a shot from one of the enemy's sharpshooters. His death was deeply deplored by his countrymen, who admired his sterling qualities as a man and his skill as a soldier. They knew him as a thorough patriot, and looked to him as one who would serve Ireland in her need as he had served his adopted country; for the great desire of his life was that she might become a free and independent nation.

PATRICK RONAYNE CLEBURNE,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

PATRICK RONAYNE CLEBURNE was a native of Cork, Ireland. When eighteen years old, he enlisted as a private in the British army. Three years after, his discharge was purchased by friends; and he proceeded to the United States. Arriving there, he settled in Helena, Arkansas, where he made the law his profession.

Upon the revolt of the Southern States against the Union, he embraced their cause, enlisting in the ranks of the Confederate army. Not long after, passing through the grade of captain, he obtained the command of a regiment.

In the attack of General Albert Sydney Johnston on General Grant (April 6, 1862) at Shiloh Church, near Pittsburg, on the Tennessee River, Cleburne commanded a brigade, and pressed hot on the retreating Federals. Next day, re-enforcements having reached Grant, the Southerners retired to Corinth, Tennessee, unpursued. During this fight, Cleburne's brigade suffered more than any other in the Southern army.

In September of the same year (at Richmond, Kentucky), Cleburne, in conjunction with Kirby Smith, particularly signalized himself against the Northern forces, and "was mainly instrumental in winning a victory, which, in the number of prisoners and amount of stores captured, and in the utter dispersion and destruction of the opposing force, was one of the most complete of the war." While gallantly aiding his men, a bullet passed through his mouth and out through his left cheek, but did not long incapacitate him from duty. A vote of thanks was accorded him by the Confederate Congress "for his gallant and meritorious conduct" on this occasion. In the battle of Perryville, on the 8th of October, he was again wounded while charging at the head of his brigade.

At the battle of Murfreesboro, on the last day of the year 1862, Cleburne (having been promoted to the rank of major-general) drove back in succession five lines of battle which Rosencranz (the Northern general) sent to sustain his right wing. The battle, however, resulted in favor of the Northerners.

Till September, 1863, Major-General Cleburne was engaged only in desultory warfare; but, on the 19th and 20th of that month, at the Chickamauga, he greatly contributed to the defeat of Rosencranz.

General Grant (having superseded Rosencranz in the command of the Northern forces), in conjunction with General Sherman, attacked the Confederates at Missionary Ridge, and carried their position at Lookout Mountain on the left. General Cleburne commanded the Southern right, and repeatedly repulsed the assaults of General Sherman in that quarter, capturing a large number of prisoners and colors, and, when the tide of battle turned against the Southerners, was the last to withdraw, gallantly protecting the rear of the retreating army. On the following day, General Hooker came up with Cleburne at Ringgold Gap, but got such a warm reception, that he abandoned further pursuit. Once again the Confederate Congress voted Cleburne its thanks for his services.

Under General J. E. Johnston, Cleburne took active part in opposing the invasion of Georgia by General Sherman in 1864. The struggle was desperately maintained by the Southerners, though opposed to forces superior in numbers and resolute in their attacks. On the 21st of July, the Federals made an attempt to turn the Confederate right and penetrate to Atalanta, then encircled on the north side by the Southern army under General Hood, who had succeeded General Johnston. Ordered to oppose the Federal design, Cleburne, though obliged to contend against large odds and subjected to fire in front and flank, repulsed the attack of the Federals. This action was described by Cleburne as the "bitterest fight" of his life. On the 22nd, General Hardee's corps, consisting of Cleburne's division and three others, carried the Federal intrenchments on the left. As many as twenty-seven out of thirty field-officers in Cleburne's division were placed *hors de combat* in this attack.

On the 26th of August, Sherman began to turn the position of the Confederates. To dislodge a Federal force which had taken up a position twenty-five miles south of Atalanta, General Hood despatched Generals Lee and Hardee. The attempt was a failure; but Cleburne—who achieved the only success—carried a portion of the Northern works, and captured some guns. Having received a large accession of troops, General Sherman assumed the offensive; and the Southerners found it necessary to evacuate Atalanta. The task of protecting the retreat devolved upon General Hardee's corps; and Cleburne, whose division formed part of it, rendered very valuable service.

On the 30th of November, 1864, while leading his troops to the very breastworks of the enemy at Franklin, in Tennessee, General Cleburne fell, pierced with a score of bullets, his horse sharing the same fate.

Major-General W. T. Hardee, in the conclusion of the sketch published in Maguire's "Irish in America," thus shows the high estimation in which the Irish soldier was held:—

“Two continents now claim his name; eight millions of people revere his memory; two great communities raise monuments to his virtues; and History will take up his fame and hand it down to time for exempling, wherever a courage without stain, a manhood without blemish, an integrity that knew no compromise, and a patriotism that withheld no sacrifice are honored of mankind.”

Cleburne's division contained one regiment of Irishmen, “who, on every field, illustrated the characteristics of the race that furnishes the world with soldiers.” The ensign of Cleburne's division was a blue flag, which had been provided for it by General Hardee, commanding the corps to which the division was attached. Though subsequently it was decreed that no flag should be carried but the Confederate colors, Cleburne's division—and the only one—was allowed to retain its battle-torn flags. “Where this division defended,” says Hardee, “no odds broke its lines; where it attacked, no numbers resisted its onslaught, save only once at Franklin,—and there is the grave of Cleburne and his heroic division.”

The following are also noted among the Irish exiles who attained high rank in foreign countries:—

PIERCE BUTLER, Lord Galmoy, Privy Councillor of Ireland and Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Kilkenny in the reign of James II., was actively employed in the war against the Prince of Orange, and attained the rank of major-general of cavalry in the Irish army. He was one of the contracting parties with Sarsfield to the treaty of Limerick in 1691. Serving afterwards with distinction in the armies of France and Spain, he obtained the rank of lieutenant-general in both countries. He died, when eighty-nine years old, at Paris, in June, 1740. Many others of that noble Norman-Irish family served with honor in foreign lands. So highly was the name esteemed by the Marquis de Lafayette, that, when that illustrious nobleman was aiding the cause of American independence with his sword, he declared, we are told, “whenever he wanted any thing done well, he got a Butler to do it.”

PATRICK D'ARCY (born in Galway, September 27, 1723), prevented by the abominable penal laws from obtaining a suitable education at home, was consigned by his parents to an uncle in France, where he diligently applied himself to study, and acquired great proficiency in mathematics. Entering the army, he won a captaincy in the Regiment of Condé. In 1746, crossing the channel to aid the cause of Charles Edward Stuart, then in Scotland vainly endeavoring to win back the crown of his fathers, D'Arcy was made prisoner by the English. Released shortly after, he returned to Paris, and devoted all the spare moments he could snatch from his military duties to the study of problems in mechanics and electricity, the result of which he gave to the world, together with an essay on artillery and hydraulic machines. At the age of twenty-six years, he was admitted a member of the *Académie Royale des Sciences*. Fighting bravely in the Seven Years' War, he became brigadier-general and a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis. In 1770, he was appointed major-general. Shortly after, he retired from active service. His decease took place on the 18th October, 1779. Count D'Arcy was not only noted as a soldier and a *savant*, but as one who was ever ready to assist with purse and advice the needy among his exiled countrymen.

DOMINICK SARSFIELD, fourth Viscount Kilmallock, was descended from the same stock as Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, whose sister he espoused. Deprived of his estates and outlawed by Cromwell, he sought service abroad, and, concealing his name, enlisted as a private soldier in a French regiment, in which he attained the rank of sergeant. Returning to Dublin with James II. in 1689, he was made a member of the Privy Council for Ireland, and appointed to the colonelcy of a regiment of foot, and particularly distinguished himself at the successful defence of Limerick against the Prince of Orange. Upon the withdrawal of the Irish to France, after the capitulation of

Limerick, he accompanied them, and received a lieutenancy in the troop of Horse Guards of which his brother-in-law, the Earl of Lucan, was commander. In 1693, he obtained the command of the King's Regiment of Dragoons *à pied*. He died about 1709, and was succeeded in the title by his brother David, who distinguished himself in Spain, falling at the battle of Villaviciosa in December, 1710.

We find a descendant of the Limerick Sarsfields in the person of JACQUES-HYACINTHE, Vicomte DE SARFIELD, attaining to high distinction in the French service. He joined the *Gardes Françaises* in 1740, when about twenty-three years old, and took an active part in the various campaigns. Winning his way up by successive grades, he was made lieutenant-general and inspector-general of horse and dragoons in 1781. He died in 1787, whilst governor of the citadel of Lille and commander for the king in the province of Hainault and the Cambresis, leaving but one daughter.

EDMOND SARFIELD (born at Cork in 1736) was a lieutenant-colonel in the Regiment of Walsh and a Chevalier of St. Louis.

MURROUGH O'BRIEN, of Carrigogunnell, in Limerick county, accompanied Count George Hamilton to France in 1671, and fought under him in the German campaigns. He obtained a captaincy in 1688, and was transferred to the Regiment of Clare in 1691, performing good service in all the actions in which that corps was engaged, and winning gradual promotion. On the death of Lord Clare, caused by wounds received in the battle of Ramillies, O'Brien was appointed colonel of his regiment. In 1719, he attained the rank of major-general. He died in 1720, leaving a son Daniel, who was created Earl of Lismore by "James III.," and became colonel of a French infantry regiment, Knight of St. Lazarus, and Grand Cross Knight of St. Louis. Daniel, Earl of Lismore,

died at Rome in 1759, aged seventy-six years, while officiating as French minister at that city. With his son, James Daniel O'Brien, the Stuart title of Lismore expired.

RICHARD FRANCIS TALBOT (born in 1710) was the son of William Talbot (of Haggardstown, in Louth county), Earl of Tyrconnel, nephew to the famous Tyrconnel, Viceroy of Ireland for James II. William Talbot was attainted by the Williamite government, and, joining the French army, served in it with distinction. His son Richard obtained the command of a company in Nugent's Regiment of Horse in 1729, and served France with honor in all the engagements in which that gallant Irish corps was concerned. Richard won his way to the rank of major-general of cavalry. On the death of his father, he succeeded to the title of Earl of Tyrconnel. Quitting the army after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, he was appointed by Louis XV. ambassador from the court of France to Frederick the Great of Prussia. He died at Berlin in March, 1752, while fulfilling his diplomatic mission. A Berlin journal of that time thus announces his decease: "Messire Richard Francis Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, Peer of the Kingdom of Ireland, Marshal of the Camps and of the Armies of the King of France, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Most Christian Majesty at this court, died, on the 12th of this month, in the forty-second year of his age, after a long sickness. He was extremely regretted, from the general esteem which he had acquired here."

NICHOLAS FITZGERALD first entered the army in Ireland as a cadet in 1653. He passed over to France, in 1691, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In that country, he earned the reputation of being equal in courage and capacity to any officer of his rank in the army. He became major-general in 1708, and was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Oudenarde

in July of that year. About three weeks after, he died of his wounds at Ghent.

JAMES FITZGERALD entered the Regiment of Dillon as a supernumerary lieutenant in 1730, and commanded a company in the same regiment at Fontenoy. In 1761, on the death of Lord Clare, he was appointed to the command of the Regiment of Clare during the minority of the young earl, afterwards Marshal Count Thomond. He was made major-general in 1762, and died the following year.

JOHN GAYDON, of Irishtown, Kildare, was lieutenant-colonel in Sarsfield's Regiment of Horse in 1689. On proceeding to France in 1691, he was made cornet in the Irish Guards, and won his way to the rank of major-general in 1719. He died in September, 1721, aged sixty-two years. His brother Richard was one of those who assisted the Chevalier Wogan in rescuing the daughter of Prince James Sobieski from captivity, and uniting her in marriage to the son of James II.

NATHANIEL HOOKE, on his arrival in France from Ireland in 1691, was created, by James II., Baron de Hooke, of Hooke Castle, in the county of Waterford. He was employed both as a soldier and a diplomat. In the latter capacity, he was despatched on various occasions to Scotland and England, and to different European courts, in the interests of the Stuarts; and at Ramillies, Malplaquet, and other fields, he showed his courage as a soldier. He was made a major-general in 1718, and a Commander of the Order of St. Louis in 1721. He died at Paris (October, 1738) when seventy-five years old.

JAMES CREAGH (born in Cork county, 1701) was distinguished on the glorious field of Fontenoy. He was a captain in the Regiment of Clare at the time. Engaged in the irresistible charge which swept away the formidable column commanded by the Duke of Cum-

berland, Captain Creagh was shot in the breast by a bullet, which shattered his Cross of St. Louis, and passed completely through his body. He was at first supposed to be dead ; but, signs of life having been perceived in his body, he was removed from the field, and received proper attention. Several pieces of the cross were extracted from the wound, and he recovered. He became major-general in 1771, and retired on a pension at the same time.

ROBERT DILLON (born at Tuaghmore, in the county of Roscommon, November, 1712) crossed over to France when a boy, and entered the Regiment of Roth as a cadet. On the decease of James Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, in 1746, he inherited the title as ninth earl. Passing through all the subordinate grades, he became colonel of his regiment in 1766. He was raised to the rank of major-general in April, 1767. He died at Paris in March, 1770.

WILLIAM O'SHAUGHNESSY, of Galway, son of Roger O'Shaughnessy (the chief of the name), was, at the age of fifteen, appointed captain of a company in the Regiment of O'Brien in 1689, and accompanied that corps in the following year to France, where his rank was confirmed. Winning his way step by step, he was made major-general in 1734. He died (January, 1744) when seventy years of age, having spent the best part of his life in active service.

DANIEL O'DONNELL, of the princely line of Tir-Connell, took the side of James against William in the war in Ireland. Proceeding to France in 1691, he there received the commission of captain. He became brigadier in 1719, and died at the age of seventy at St. Germain-en-Laye, without issue, in July, 1735.

MATTHEW COOKE first served, on his arrival in France from Ireland (1691), as ensign in the Irish Foot

Guards. By his bravery on continental battle-fields, he won his way to the rank of lieutenant-general in the French army in 1734. He died in August, 1740, aged eighty-two years.

Another MATTHEW COOKE became a major-general of French cavalry. He commenced his military career in 1714 as a *mousquetaire*, and died (July, 1762) at the age of sixty-three.

JAMES MACDONNELL, of Mayo, became a count, general, and imperial chamberlain of Austria. He died in 1766, leaving his title to his nephew Francis MacDonnell, of Ireland. The descendants of his relatives (as late as 1842) derived pecuniary benefits from Vienna under his will.

FRANCIS TAAFFE, Earl of Carlingford, became imperial chamberlain, councillor, lieutenant-general of cavalry, and field-marshal in the Austrian service. He was also a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece of Spain. His death occurred in 1704. Other Taaffes of the same family became eminent in the Austrian service.

OLIVER O'GARA (a descendant of Cian, son of Oilioll-Olum) was one of the members for the county of Sligo in the Irish Parliament of 1689. He served in the war against William of Orange as a colonel of infantry, and, at the conclusion of the treaty of Limerick, was one of the hostages delivered by Sarsfield to Ginkell for the due return and safety of the English vessels used to transport the Irish troops to France. When the hostages were released, upon the return of the vessels, O'Gara went to France, where he was appointed lieutenant-colonel to the Regiment of Dorrington. He became Colonel of the Queen's Dismounted Dragoons, and distinguished himself by his bravery in the service of France and Spain. By

his marriage with the Lady Mary Fleming, daughter of the Baron of Slane, he had four sons. Three commanded Irish regiments in the Spanish army; and Charles, the youngest, whose lot was cast in Austria, became a count, imperial chamberlain, councillor of State, Knight of the Golden Fleece, &c., and died, possessed of great wealth, about 1776.

DON GONZALO O'FARRELL, Minister of War at Madrid, was born (January, 1754) at Havana. He first bore arms in the war against the Moors of Barbary; assisted at the capture of Minorca in February, 1782; was present at the siege of Gibraltar in the same year; and was very greatly distinguished in the resistance of Spain to the invasion of republican France, winning his way to the rank of lieutenant-general, which was conferred on him in September, 1796. In 1798, he was appointed ambassador by the Spanish court to Berlin. In 1807, he commanded a division of Spanish troops in Tuscany. Recalled to Spain in 1808, he was appointed a member of the Supreme Junta. Upon the occupation of Madrid by Joseph Bonaparte, O'Farrell accepted the post of Minister of War to that short-lived king. When Ferdinand VII. mounted the throne in 1814, O'Farrell offered an explanation of his conduct in taking sides with Joseph, but was declared a traitor, adjudged deserving of death, and deprived of all his property. He escaped to Paris, where he died in June, 1831.

HENRY CROFTON was one of the bravest officers in the service of Philip V. of Spain, and rendered that monarch many important services in the War of the Spanish Succession. He became a lieutenant-general, and died in 1722.

JOHN COMERFORD, of Tipperary, was a distinguished officer in the service of Philip V. during the long War of the Spanish Succession. He attained the rank of major-general.

General Don JOHN O'DONOGHUE was distinguished in the beginning of this century as chief of Cuesta's staff in the Spanish struggle against the French invasion. He died in 1816 while Viceroy of Mexico.

General O'HIGGINS was appointed Viceroy of Peru by Ferdinand VI. of Spain, and held that post during three successive reigns. In 1797, he brought the Araucanians on the Chilian coast under complete subjection to Spanish rule, after a long struggle, in which he displayed great ability and energy.

Commodore JOHN BARRY was born in Wexford, Ireland, in 1745. At eleven years of age, he went to America, and followed the calling of a sailor on board merchant-ships till the breaking out of the revolution. Embracing the cause of the colonies, he was one of the first who received a commission as a naval officer from Congress. In command of the "Lexington" (14 guns), in February, 1766, he took the English tender "Edward" after a sharp action. He joined the army for a short period as aide-de-camp to General Cadwallader, and rendered good service in the operations about Trenton. In the "Alliance," on May 29, 1781, he took the "Atalanta" (between 20 and 30 guns) and her consort, the "Trepassy," after a fierce fight, in which he was badly wounded. On the 21st December, 1781, he sailed from Boston with the Marquis de Lafayette and the Comte de Noailles to France on important business. On his return, he took a number of prizes as well as a frigate of equal size to his own. The frigate was retaken, however, by a superior English force. On the cessation of the war, the Irish sailor was employed by the American government to superintend the building of the frigate "United States," of which he was appointed captain. In 1794, Barry was named senior officer of the navy, and was the first commodore created by the Congress of the United States. He died on September 13, 1803.

Marshal MacMahon,

PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.

THE most favored representative, now living, of those Irishmen who were compelled by penal laws to eat the bread of exile, is the Duc de Magenta, President of the French Republic. He is of an ancient and princely line; his family claiming descent from Mahon, grandson of Brian Borumha, King of Ireland. The marshal's great-grandfather, Patrick MacMahon, was born in 1684, and, by his marriage with Margaret O'Sullivan, had three sons, all born in Limerick, from whence they were sent to France to obtain the education denied them at home by the tyranny of their rulers. Two of the brothers entered the French army; and the youngest brother, embracing holy orders, became Catholic Bishop of Killaloe.

The eldest brother, John Baptist MacMahon, became Marquis d'Eguilly in 1763, and, besides daughters, had two sons,—Louis, Marquis de Viange, and Maurice-François, Comte de Charnay.

The Marquis Charles-Laure de MacMahon (son of the second brother) was the father of the Comte MARIE-EDME-PATRICE MAURICE DE MACMAHON, who was born in July, 1808, at the Château de Sully, near Autun, in the department of Saone-et-Loire, France. Young MacMahon first studied at a collegiate institution in Autun, from whence, in 1825, he was transferred to the military school of St. Cyr.

In 1830, the youthful aspirant for military fame proceeded to Algeria, where, as aide-de-camp to General Achard, he first took part in active service. In an



MARSHAL MACMAHON,
PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.

engagement on the Mouzaia, he performed, with the most brilliant success, the extremely hazardous undertaking of conveying despatches to Blidah through a whole army of Arabs. Bullets whistled round him thick as hail, and the swiftly mounted sons of the desert pressed after him in hot pursuit; but the young soldier baffled his enemies by forcing his horse to leap down a frightful abyss. The horse was killed; but MacMahon, none the worse for the shaking he got, safely accomplished his mission. This brilliant exploit procured him the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

Recalled to France, he took part in the expedition to Antwerp in 1832, and there won the Cross of the Order of Leopold, and, in the following year, obtained a captaincy.

Again sent to Algeria in 1836, he acted successively as aide-de-camp to Generals Bro, Danrémont, D'Houdetot, and Changarnier. In 1837, he was wounded at the siege of Constantine, while serving as aide-de-camp to General Danrémont, and was thereupon made an Officer of the Legion of Honor. Signalizing himself on the staff of General Changarnier in 1840, he was appointed major of a regiment of *chasseurs-à-pied*. He continued to serve with distinction till the close of the Algerian war, greatly contributing to the subjugation of the renowned Abd-el-Kader, and winning promotion rapidly. In 1842, he was made a lieutenant-colonel in the Foreign Legion; in 1845, he became Colonel of the 41st Regiment of the Line; in 1848, he was promoted to the command of a brigade; and, in 1849, he was made a Commander of the Legion of Honor, and appointed Governor of Oran and Constantine. He became Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor and general of division in 1852.

The Russian War broke out not long afterwards, in which France and England combined with Turkey against the aggressions of Russia on the last-named country; the allies carrying the war into the southern dominions of the enemy. Marshal Canrobert having been obliged to resign his command in the Crimea on

account of ill health, General Péliissier was appointed by the Emperor Napoleon III. to take his place; and MacMahon was sent to take command of the 1st Division in the 2nd Corps of the Army of the East, then lying before Sebastopol in conjunction with the English. The chiefs of the allied armies, having determined to make a grand assault on the besieged city, assigned to MacMahon the task of carrying the formidable works of the Malakoff; while the English were to attack the Redan. On the 8th of September, 1855, the grand assault took place. Marshal Péliissier, who commanded in chief, having learned that the Malakoff was mined by the Russians, sent orders to MacMahon to return; but that brave soldier heroically replied: "Never! I will hold my ground dead or alive!" The English took the Redan, after having been twice repulsed; but the French, under General MacMahon, rushing to the charge with irresistible *élan*, despite a furious fire and a most deadly resistance, carried the Malakoff at the first assault,—the Russians being compelled to evacuate Sebastopol. Shortly after, the terms of peace were arranged between the contending parties. For the very important part played by him in effecting the capture of Sebastopol, MacMahon was invested with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, and raised to the dignity of senator, by Napoleon III. He was also nominated Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath by the Queen of England.

MacMahon was again despatched to Algeria to assist in quelling the hostile Arabs, and, in 1858, was placed in command of the sea and land forces of that province.

Recalled from the African colony to take part in the war which had broken out against Austria, he was appointed to the chief command of the 2nd *Corps d'Armée* in Italy, and played a very conspicuous part in the Italian campaign of 1859. On the 3rd and 4th of June, he gained the celebrated victories over the Austrians at Turbigo and Magenta. At the latter place, when the day was turning against the French, the gallantry of MacMahon retrieved their position and

saved the honor of France. In speaking of this battle, a French writer says :—

“MacMahon, with a force under his command, had early in the day crossed the river farther up to execute a flank movement, and had already marched some miles away from the scene where the hottest fury of battle was raging. The thunder of cannon, nevertheless, reached his ear. He listened eagerly to that terrible music of war, and, with a warrior's instinct, interpreted its meaning. With the quick intelligence of a great military chief, he saw at once how matters stood ; and, hastily reversing his orders, he doubled upon the Austrians. It was the decisive moment of battle. The fortune of empires was that instant weighed in the balance, and the sword of Dal-Caiss* turned the scale. The might of the Teuton reeled before the headlong charge of the Gallic legion ; the Austrians were utterly routed, and fled in disorder, leaving 7,000 prisoners in the hands of the conquerors, and 20,000 killed and wounded on the field of battle.”

For this brilliant victory, MacMahon was rewarded on the field by the emperor with the *bâton* of a marshal ; and was also created a duke of the empire, with the title of Duc de Magenta.

Upon the return of Marshal MacMahon to Paris, after the conclusion of peace, he was presented with a costly sword and an address by a deputation from Ireland. The following is a portion of the address :—

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY MARSHAL MACMAHON, DUKE OF
MAGENTA.

“It is from that isle, the native land of your ancestors ; it is in the name of a nation which—through all the vicissitudes of its history, through good as through ill fortune—has ever known how (even 'mid blood and tears) to recognize worth, and to show its sympathy for true valor,—that we come to offer this tribute of affection to the genius and bravery of the gallant warrior who has once more identified the hereditary chivalry of Erin with the glory of France.

* * * * *

“By this tribute which Ireland lays at your feet, illustrious warrior, she transmits to you, by us, the expression of her love and admiration.”

* MacMahon is one of the Dal-Caiss ; that is, of the race of Cormac Cas, son of Oilíoll-Olum, King of Munster.

To this address, upon accepting the sword, the Duc de Magenta replied:—

“Gentlemen, I am exceedingly touched by the sentiments which you have expressed to me; and I request you to say to the Irishmen whom you represent how grateful I feel for the testimony of esteem and sympathy which you offer me in their name. This testimony, by its spontaneous character, has proved to me that green Erin has preserved those chivalrous ideas, that vivacity and warmth of heart, which have at all times distinguished her. I shall, one day, leave to my eldest son Patrick this magnificent sword. It shall be for him, as it is for me, a new pledge of those close ties which ought to unite him for ever to the noble country of his ancestors.”

In 1861, he declined permission to engrave his family arms at the base of a statue of St. Patrick, erected by the Irish of Lille in the church of Moulins, to which he had liberally subscribed. He gave as his reason for refusing this intended honor, that the memorial was “got up, not for one individual, but for all the Irish of Lille.”

In October, 1862, the Duc de Magenta was placed in command of the 3rd *Corps d'Armée*; and, towards the end of 1864, he was appointed Governor-General of Algeria. By vigorous measures, he repressed the revolt of the tribes in that country; and, by great personal sacrifices, considerably alleviated the distress occasioned by the breaking out of a famine.

Upon the declaration of the recent war between France and Prussia, the Duc de Magenta was recalled from Algeria, and assigned to a high command in the French army. In that disastrous war, when whole armies were captured or destroyed, MacMahon maintained intact his reputation as a soldier of undoubted skill and bravery. The overwhelming hosts which Germany poured into France proved too much for the nation, where intrigue and divided counsels hastened the work of the enemy.

When Marshal Bazaine was besieged in Metz, the Duc de Magenta made desperate efforts to relieve him, but without success. Near Wörth, MacMahon was attacked by the Crown Prince of Prussia with a vastly

superior force. The French displayed the utmost heroism; and the battle raged obstinately from an early hour in the morning till four o'clock in the afternoon, when MacMahon was obliged to order a retreat. In this fight, nearly all the officers on MacMahon's staff were killed; and his horse was shot under him.

Shortly after the battle, the marshal issued the following address to his army:—

“SOLDIERS,—On the 6th of August, the fortune of war betrayed your courage. You lost your positions only after a heroic resistance, which lasted not less than nine hours. You were 35,000 against 140,000, and were overwhelmed by numbers. Under such conditions, a defeat is glorious; and history will record, that, at the battle of Fröschwiller, the French displayed the greatest valor. You have experienced heavy loss; but that of the enemy is heavier still. If he did not pursue you, it was because you had hit him so hard. The emperor is satisfied with you; and the whole country thanks you for having so worthily upheld the honor of your flag. We have had a great ordeal to go through. You must forget it. The 1st Corps is about to be reorganized; and, with God's help, we shall soon take a brilliant revenge.
“MACMAHON.”

The marshal's prayer was not to be gratified. Having been joined by the Emperor Napoleon, MacMahon took up a position around Sedan, and, on the 1st of September, 1870, gave battle to the Prussians. The French numbered 110,000, and the enemy 240,000, with over 600 guns. At an early hour in the morning, MacMahon was so severely wounded, that he was obliged to relinquish his command to General Ducrot, whom he ordered to retreat on Mézières, and occupy the heights above Sedan,—a plan which would have been the most judicious to pursue, as subsequent events proved. Upon the removal of MacMahon from the field, Ducrot proceeded to carry out his instructions; but, unfortunately, General de Wimpffen, arriving with orders from the emperor (then in Sedan), assumed command as Ducrot's senior officer, and issued counter-orders to those already given. He then directed an advance against the Prussians. The result was the total defeat of the French, and the surrender of the emperor at Sedan on the following day.

The capitulation of Sedan and Metz insured the success of the Germans, and enabled them to devote attention to Paris, the surrender of which terminated the war, and placed unhappy France at the mercy of an unscrupulous conqueror, who filled the nations with dismay at the exorbitant exactions imposed upon the suffering country as the price of her freedom.

In April, 1871, Marshal MacMahon was appointed to the chief command of the French army by a decree of the provisional government of Versailles. Entering Paris, he restored order by quelling the faction of the Commune, which had taken possession of that city.

On the 24th May, 1873, M. Thiers, who had so ably guided France through the shoals and quicksands which threatened to engulf her, tendered his resignation as President of the French Republic, the other members of the government having previously resigned. This resignation was in consequence of the defeat, by an adverse resolution in the National Assembly, of a conservative republican constitution proposed by the government. Amidst a stormy scene, the resignation of M. Thiers was accepted, on division, by 368 votes against 339. Voting for a new president was instantly proceeded with, which resulted in the election of Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, by 390 votes; the members on the left (supporters of the retiring government) abstaining from taking part in the division.

M. Buffet, the President of the National Assembly, at the head of a deputation, at once waited upon MacMahon to announce his elevation to the position of President of the French nation, and found the gallant soldier very reluctant to accept an office of so much responsibility. The Assembly meanwhile continued sitting to await the result of the interview. Upon the return of the deputation to announce Marshal MacMahon's acceptance of the post, M. Buffet said: "I ought to say, that to overcome his resistance, objections, and scruples, we had to appeal to his devotion to the country, of which he has already given so many proofs, and of which he has given a more striking

proof in accepting such high and difficult functions with the confidence of the Assembly.”

Thus called upon by the country to assume the high and responsible position of chief magistrate of the nation, Marshal MacMahon felt that he was bound, as a patriot, to acquiesce in the desire of the people, as expressed by their representatives; and, accordingly, he addressed the following letter to the deputation, in which he evinces a determination to faithfully watch over the interests of the country:—

“GENTLEMEN,—I obey the will of the Assembly,—the depository of the national sovereignty,—and accept the functions of President of the Republic. A heavy responsibility is thrust upon my patriotism; but with the aid of God and the devotion of the army, which will always be an army of the land and the supporter of all honest men, we will continue together the work of liberating our territory and of restoring moral order throughout the country. We will maintain internal peace and the principles upon which society rests. That this shall be the case, I pledge my word as an honest man and a soldier.”

On the 26th of May, the following message from the new president was read to the National Assembly by the Duc de Broglie, Minister for Foreign Affairs:—

“Called to the presidency by the National Assembly, I have exercised my power by choosing a ministry taken from your ranks. I am animated by a sentiment of respect for your wishes, and a desire always scrupulously to execute them. I believe the majority invariably constitutes the law in a parliamentary *régime*; and this is still more the case in the present instance, where, by virtue of the existing laws, the first magistrate of the republic is the delegate of the Assembly and the delegate of the law. The Assembly had two great tasks to fulfil,—the liberation of the territory, and the restoration of order in a state of society disturbed by the spirit of revolution. The first of these objects has been pursued amid the unanimity of the national representatives. We can say with pride, the redemption of our territory has met with no opponent. It would have been impossible to accomplish it if the country had not lent itself to the task with heroic patience; and it has been ably conducted by a man from whom a disagreement on questions of home policy alone could induce you to separate. I rely upon you to complete this task. The excellent relations which the former government had established with foreign powers lead us to adopt the same line of

conduct. We desire the maintenance of peace and the re-organization of the army, which we shall actively persevere in effecting, animated only by a legitimate desire to repair the strength and retain the rank which belong to France. The home-policy of the government will be imbued with a character of social conservatism. All the laws you have voted possess that characteristic. The government is resolutely conservative. We have numerous laws to enact. The bills on the re-organization of the army and municipalities and educational reform are drawn up; and I believe I have selected ministers who are competent to discuss them. You will discuss the bills which you instructed our predecessors to submit to you, and those already before you; and the government will examine them, and give you the result of their careful consideration. But, previous to that, the government must act, and must introduce into and impress upon the administration the spirit of conservatism, and cause the laws to be respected by appointing agents who will make them respected, and respect them themselves. The government will not fail in this duty, and will defend society against all factions. The post in which you have placed me is that of a sentinel who has to watch over the interests of your sovereign power."

MacMahon has proved himself one of the most able soldiers of the present day; and he has been justly termed, by a French writer, "the true type of a military hero." On the field, he is perfectly cool and collected, even in the most trying circumstances. With a glance of lightning rapidity, he takes in the position of affairs, and decides promptly on the necessary measures, which are conducted by him with vigorous activity. In discipline, he is a martinet; yet his generous and affable nature has endeared him to the soldiery, and he is a favorite with the wildest and most unruly in the ranks.

The elevation of MacMahon to the dignity of President of the French Republic was greeted with general enthusiasm. He has shown himself a worthy successor of M. Thiers, and continues to maintain his station with dignity and honor in the midst of the strife of parties that agitates Paris. With such confidence has he inspired the National Assembly, that very recently that body passed a law confirming his authority for seven years as the head of the government.

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