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CONDUCT  
OF

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THE

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DEPARTMENT

General Order

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A N  
E N Q U I R Y  
I N T O T H E  
C O N D U C T  
O F  
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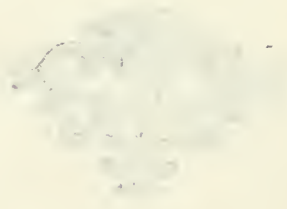
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THE

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W. A.

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A N  
E N Q U I R Y  
I N T O T H E  
C O N D U C T  
O F  
G-----l C-pe.

**T**HE *Honour* of a *State*, is founded  
in the due Attention to *Civil Ma-*  
*gistracy* : The *Glory* of a *State*,  
in the happy Conduct of *Fleets* and *Ar-*  
*mies*. In the first Case, well-timed  
Severity produces due Reverence to the  
Governing ; but well-consider'd Justice,  
B strictly

strictly pursued, wanting neither Grace nor proper Severity, is what establishes the Peace of a Kingdom, as it cherishes in Men's Minds, Unanimity and Concord, which are the Basis of their Strength and Preservation, and at once fixes Men good Subjects, good Friends, and good Soldiers. Here then we lay the Foundation of *Glory*, which we establish on *Honour*, and as the Ground-work of all, a happy Civil Magistracy. If Wars arise, or Enemies invade our Country, disturb our Tranquillity, or interfere in our Repose, *Unanimity* will make us all good Soldiers ; as martial Discipline is at best but improving Unanimity into Skill, so Unanimity is the best Means of acquiring that Skill, and of using it with Readiness and Dexterity. After this, to complete the Welfare of a State, there can only be wanted good Officers in their respective Departments, who are able by their Skill and Judgment to conduct well-laid Measures to their desir'd Crisis.

How far all States generally are defective in the first Point, I shall not take upon

upon me to say ; but as to the Second, when neither through the Course of a long Peace, Men can possibly be tried, nor can any Sovereign Power be infallible, it will therefore, at the first setting out of a War, be but mere Accident, whether the Person employ'd shall so act, as either becomes his Station, or is suited to the Glory of the State which employs him. A Man may be a good Soldier in Form, without either Genius to act with Splendor, or Courage and Conduct to command Success.

A Handsome Appearance at Court, with an Air and Address that speaks much Submission and Respect, are very good Schemes for Preferment : But the Man who so acquires it, seldom shines in that high Department to which his pretty Civility has raised him. A *Soldier* has something else to think on, something else to study ; and where one is attended to, the other is generally unknown. A very superior Genius may be Master of both, but as such seldom appear, we must take Mankind as they most generally are, and

therefrom conclude, that to be a *Courtier* and a *Soldier* but rarely meet in the same Man.

These previous Remarks are only introduced, to take off a few mistaken Prejudices that Men are too commonly subject to, in being forward to reflect on those who govern, when the Appearance of a Man, whose Heart they cannot know, inclines them to favour his Preferment; who unhappily proves not according to their Wishes, nor adds any Thing to that Weight of Glory, whereby the Dignity and Welfare of the State is preserv'd and supported: And likewise to show, that the same Skill and Judgment is not to be expected, in the first setting out of a War, as Time and Experience are capable of producing, and therefrom to draw this Conclusion, that Errors committed, and Repulses met with, should rather inspirit us to act with double Ardor, than at all discourage us from being unanimous and determin'd to destroy our Enemies, since it only shews, that we want a little  
Practice,

Practice, and when we have acquir'd that, can never fail of Success.

I wish I could pursue the pleasing Thought through the Course of these Remarks: But I am 'set down to do Justice to my Country; and altho' I could willingly have wav'd the disagreeable Task of reflecting on the Conduct of another, at any Time when my Country is not in Danger; yet, as Matters are circumstanc'd, I can neither excuse myself, either as an *Englishman* or a Soldier. The Pain of justly punishing one, or many, by transmitting him or them with Infamy to Posterity, is not to be set in Competition with the Hazard of the Loss of the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of Millions, added to the Dishonour of our Country, and every growing Evil.

Men of a simple Turn of Mind, see Professions like Sciences, in a pure mechanic Light; they dive not into the mysterious or extended Branches; are mere Schoolmasters, that attend to Words, rather than to Things: They teach Boys

*Latin* as Parrots are taught to prate ; and value themselves highly on being able to put the twenty-four Letters properly together in a foreign Dialect. The Mechanic Soldier is just the same Kind of Creature : He has been accustom'd to certain Forms, which on some Occasions, or with Enemies who act by the same mechanic Rules, and with equal Caution, want not a certain Degree of Excellence. But the great Excellence of a Soldier lies in quite another Sphere : His Business is to form a true Judgment of the Enemy, and direct the Motions and Dispositions of his Troops accordingly ; his Adjutant, without ten Grains of common Sense, can do all the rest by the usual mechanic Rule. *Cæsar* fought the *Gauls* one Way, the *Romans* another ; and *Xenophon* made a wide Difference in forming his Troops against the *Persians*, and when oppos'd to *Greeks*. All wise Generals have ever done the same Thing : They never considered the Formation of an Army by any absolute sett Rule, but as Incidents, and the different Kind of People they had to fight with, directed.

Rude

Rude Troops breaking in upon an Army by Violence, is much the same, as a mad unexperienced Fellow running Head-long on a fine Fencer ; he parries here, retreats there, plays with his Adversary till he has spent his Spirits, and then disarms or dispatches him. To suffer Troops to be broke by a sudden Shock, is a fatal Error in the Military Science ; a fine Fencer in War, if I may use the Expression, will rather give Way to the first Shock of rude resolv'd Troops, than suffer a single Man to be disorder'd. If at *Dettinghen* the Body of Foot, on whom the black Musqueteers of *France* bore down with Impetuosity, had not opened to let them pass, they might have been defeated at the first Onset ; but by their good Conduct, in opening to them a seeming free Passage, the Attack took a very different Turn.

In the late Battle of *Fontenoy*, the Bravery of our Troops became in some Measure useless, by the Manner of the *French* Planting their Batteries, and taking Care rather to have them well-guarded, than the

the Bodies of Men supported, who were to oppose the first Fury of the *British* Troops, as well knowing that were they oblig'd to retreat, the others could not follow; but if they lost their Cannon, the main Point would have been carried, and consequently their Army defeated.

Those two Instances are sufficient to show two material Errors in G-----l C---'s Conduct; but there is a third, of which Sir *Walter Raleigh* speaks, and which the late Duke of *Argyle* had, if I am rightly inform'd, consider'd thoroughly; which is the attacking, rather than suffering to be attack'd, whereby the Force, Vigour, and Courage of the Assailant is doubled: By this Conduct the Highlanders, in the late Rebellion, were beat by one of our Wings, and dispersed, while, on the contrary, the other was beat by the Highlanders on the same Principle. The Duke of *Marlborough* gain'd all his Victories by the like Conduct, and *Cromwel* always esteem'd it essential to Victory.

Thus



Thus far, I hope, my general Reflections are well authoriz'd, and suited to the Point in View; which naturally leads us into the Scene of Action, hitherto esteem'd incomprehensible.

The Reader is now desir'd to cast his Eye on the Plan of the Battle publish'd by *George Hawkins*, at *Milton's Head* in *Fleetstreet*, and to consider the Accounts publish'd in the *History of the Rebellion*, and in the *London Courant*. This I mention, that it may not be presum'd I am forming the Oeconomy of the Battle out of my own Head.

The Situation of our Cannon on the Right, guarded only by an hundred Men, is a Circumstance that first strikes me; and the suffering the main Body of the Enemy to bend their Force thither, and that Guard no Way supported, is truly Matter of Astonishment. But it is no Kind of Wonder, that those Men deserted the Cannon on the first Attack; it would have shock'd the most experienc'd Vete-

rans to have seen themselves so expos'd to the Attack of 1000 Men, and could presume nothing less than Treachery. The next Attack naturally fell upon the Dragoons of the Right, who seeing the Cannon so idly lost, and turn'd upon themselves, naturally enough quitted the Field of Battle. This leaves the Right Wing open and expos'd, to the Violence of the next Attack ; who seeing the Cannon lost, and the Dragoons who cover'd them gone, fir'd in Confusion, and then threw down their Arms ; what was done on the other Wing, seems not very material ; it was the Business of the Highland Officers so to behave, as to prevent our Troops on the Left from supporting those of the Right, who being at once both in Confusion and flank'd, naturally bore in upon the main Body ; and the Left Wing being drove in at the same Time upon the Centre, and altogether driven tumultuously on the *Corps de Reserve*, I think this infamous Affair is very easily accounted for, without any Prejudice either to the Courage of the inferior Officers or common Soldiers.

In this Disposition, the Rebels were really ten Men to their one; and therefore, under all these Circumstances, the endeavouring to rally the Troops became quite useless; the Business was effectually done, and a Man need but form to himself a clear Idea of these concurrent Circumstances, and plainly see that all human Aid was vain.

If the Reader will please to retreat to the Plan again, and remove the Cannon and the Guard that attended it, to the Centre of the Body of Reserve, and fancy to himself, at the same time, the main Body of the Rebels coming furiously down on the Front of our Army, which he must suppose opening to the Right and Left from the Centre, leaving a void Space, open to the Body of Reserve, and making together three Sides of a Quadrangle, and the Rebels rushing furiously in, he will form to himself a very natural and obvious Idea of what must have been their Fate.

I do not care to perplex the Reader with the Variety of Evolutions and Dispositions

an Army is capable of forming into on different Emergencies ; it is sufficient to shew one that is clear and intelligible, which may give sufficient Light to a judicious Mind, and put him on contriving many more. In the whole, there is nothing more clear than the Wrongness of the Disposition : For in the first Place, Cannon should be always so station'd, as not to be easily carried by an Enemy ; if it must be so situate as not easily to be reinforc'd with an additional Guard, if requir'd, it should either have a very strong Guard, or be rais'd within deep Entrenchments, or both, otherwise it had better remain in the Rear of the Front Lines, to be drawn up and us'd occasionally. Where there is but few Cannon between both Armies, it is of the last Consequence, that if it can't be plac'd to do good, it may, at least, do no Harm ; it had better be any where than in the Hands of the Enemy ; this, I believe, is clear to the meanest Apprehension : But how it can be conceiv'd that an hundred Men was a proper Guard, without Entrenchment or Reinforcement, is not quite so easy.

The

The general Notion of their being surpriz'd is quite ridiculous, since it is agreed on all Hands, they had the whole Night and Part of the Day before, to put themselves into what Order they pleas'd ; and why it was put to the Hazard of suffering the Cannon to be detach'd from the main Body during the Night, seems perfect Infatuation, and is such Kind of Generalship, as not to be met with in History.

I remember its being said by a *French* Officer, after their Army being beat by the Duke of *Marlborough* in the late War, and himself taken Prisoner, Change Generals with us, and we'll fight you over again : By which he seem'd to intimate, that neither the Officers nor Soldiers wanted Courage, but that both wanted a General.

It is most certainly true, that the Commander in Chief is the main Spring of Action ; as that is dull or active, the whole Machine moves accordingly : There are Abundance of ill-natur'd Circumstances  
con-

concerning this Action, some of them not well authoris'd, and the rest insignificant. I shall name one of the last Class, which is, that, from a Motive I don't chuse to mention, no Orders were given to fire till the Rebels were close upon our Troops; but if I have a right Idea of the Battle, and the Time, they could not be seen far, and that the main Body of the Rebels had surpriz'd the Cannon, before our Main Body knew any Thing of the Matter, else it is natural to believe, some Part would have mov'd to its Defence; but as that was not the Case, I presume they knew nothing of the Matter until it was too late, or what is as bad, that the General had form'd the Army, in such a certain Manner, as that the Disposition was not to be alter'd, let the Circumstances vary as they might; if so, it was a Piece of Pedantry very unbecoming a Commander in Chief, and upon a Plan quite new and uncommon. However, it may be so, since it is very natural to ordinary Understandings to be capable of looking but one Way at a Time, and that not always the best.

The fighting of *Englishmen* in the Dark, is, in general, a very wrong Step ; it is bad in an Attack ; but in suffering themselves to be attack'd, much worse ; more especially, without being so prepar'd by Disposition and Retrenchments, as might render it morally impossible for the Enemy to succeed. Every Man of Common Sense, tho' an absolute Stranger to the Art of War, yet if he expected an Enemy to attack his House in the Night, would not draw out his Men, and set them in a formal Line, but would place them in such Disposition as might guard it in every Quarter, and yet so as that they might instantly be together in a Body, if necessary : He would not say, if he had Cannon, place them here or there, absolutely, let the Enemy come which Way they will, but would so dispose them, as that they might be commanded at any Place in an Instant. This, I say, would be the Case of common Understanding, but a General should know much more ; he should not only know how to provide against an Enemy, but by infinite Slight, Artifice, and Contrivance,

trivance, know how to draw an Enemy into almost any Snare he could lay for him ; the common Course of Things is but the Business of ordinary Minds, and mere fighting the Genius of a common Soldier ; a General's Parts and Education, his Wit and Capacity should as far surpass their Understandings, as his Post does in Dignity ; without this they differ only in the Work of Fortune, not of Merit ; and a General is but a common Soldier, with an important Commission in his Pocket. In the whole, all Ages and Times have evinced, that to be a mere mechanic Soldier, is much the least Part of a General. - But as every Man is willing to rise if he can, so if a Man be rais'd to a Dignity superior to his Capacity, and happens to fail in no Part but that ; that is to say, is neither a Coward nor a Traitor ; in such a Case, those who rais'd him, should be tender in their Punishments, because it was as much their Mistake as his Misfortune. From whence the Reader is to draw this Conclusion, That my Aim is not at the Man, but the General ; and as his Conduct stands the Test of a more narrow Enquiry, so  
 must



must my Remarks be approv'd or condemn'd.

I have been all my Life-time extremely concern'd to see by what an odd Road Men travel to Preferment ; that making one's self useful or agreeable to Men in Power, in Matters noways relative to the Means of our Rising, as singing a Song, making a Pun, dressing well, &c. &c. should give a Man a Title to be an Admiral, a Bishop, or a General. One does not know how to connect these Things together ; yet there are amongst Men, and those not very strong metaphysical Reasoners, who can give a very pretty Account of this Matter ; they say, get a Patron who can serve you, and be sure to please him, instead of attending to your Improvement, and you'll be in the best Road to Preferment. And however this may seem to be only saying a Thing is so, because it is so, I'll defy a Man that has studied all his Lifetime to find out a better.

There are indeed some who are so much in the Favour of the other Sex, as not  
 D only

only to acquire Preferment thereby, but even that dream for them, which seems to have been the Case of a Lady lately at *Edinburgh*, who at once both dream'd and rhim'd about our G-----l. I don't chuse to repeat more than one Line of this poetic Dream, because it is something like executing of a Man before his Time.---  
The Line is,---

*And the Ribbon shall be chang'd to Rope.*

'Tis possible a Circumstance like this, if it happens to prove true, may bring the Scriptures again into some Repute, if only for the Sake of the Dreams therein inserted, and that may possibly be the Means of our bearing a higher Affection and Regard for our Country (which seems at present partly lost, through Ignorance, Infatuation and Negligence) as we find the *Jews* did, and were so long happy. But we don't find either in that, or any other History, that those who gave themselves up to Carelessness and Folly were ever long a Nation.

As the Genius and Virtue of a People decay, those of the higher Rank degenerate in a duplicate Proportion, and as from these, either in Person or by their Favourites, the whole Machine is usually work'd, so must all its Operations be.

Rebellion is esteem'd by all the worst Kind of War, as it contributes to depopulate a Country, and establishes an Hereditary Hatred amongst those who survive the common Calamity. On the other hand, if it must happen at all, it is better before we are too much lost in Luxury and Forgetfulness; and to balance, in some measure, the Mischief it is capable of producing, it may contribute to make us ourselves again, to relish the Sweets of Liberty, and calm Repose, under a Sovereign we ought to esteem, and consequently bring at once before us, all the Horrors of arbitrary Power, Tyranny, and Misery, and what may perhaps be of equal Importance to our future Welfare, distinguish our Friends from our Enemies, and teach some of our great Men to know, that if  
for

for the future they would be well defend  
ed, they should only interest themselves  
with the Sovereign for the Preferment of  
such Men, who rather attend to their Pro  
fessions, and shine there, than at Court  
and Leves; always concluding, that he  
who neglects his Business, to wait on  
Nods and Smiles, is fitter to be Pimp to a  
Bawdy-House, than to command Fleets  
and Armies.

F I N I S























