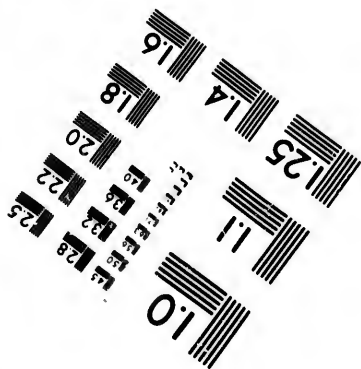
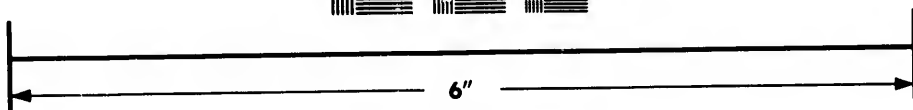
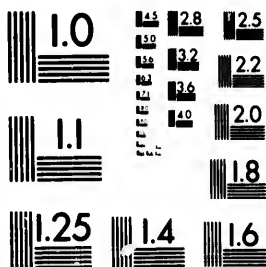


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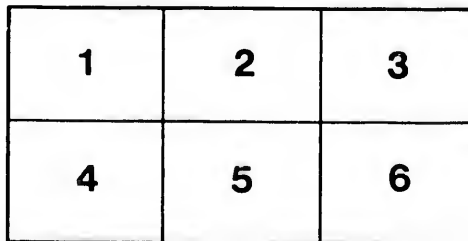
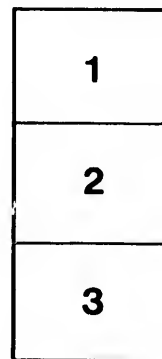
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(a) A resident member is one whose residence or place of business is within 30 miles of the Toronto post-office.

(5) All officers of the Army and Auxiliary Forces and of the Canadian Militia shall be admissible as privileged members during a period not exceeding two weeks on being introduced by a member; such privilege not to be repeated within six months.

IV.—SUBSCRIPTIONS.

An entrance fee of \$5 and \$2.50 shall be paid by each resident and non-resident member respectively, on joining the Institute, which sum shall be in lieu of the dues for the first year of membership, and on the first day of each calendar year a sum of not less than \$5 for resident, and \$2.50 for non-resident members, shall be paid as annual dues. Annual dues commence on the first day of January of each year. Membership dates from the first day of the calendar year in which the application for membership is made.

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(1) Any person desirous of being admitted to the Institute as member must be proposed by a member and seconded by another, and his name posted in the rooms of the Institute for at least two weeks prior to election. The Committee of Management shall elect all members by ballot; five thereof to form a quorum for this purpose, and two black balls shall exclude.

(a) Honorary members must be recommended by the Committee, and their names shall be posted in the rooms for at least one month before a general meeting of the members. The election of Honorary members to be by general ballot of the members at any regular meeting of the Institute at which twenty members are present, and all candidates must receive a two-thirds vote of those present.

IX.—ARREARS.

Any member who is in arrears with his subscription shall be disqualified from holding office or speaking or voting at any general meeting, or at any special general meeting, and that no new member shall have the privileges of the Institute until payment of his entrance fee.

XIII.—NON-PAYMENT OF FEES.

It shall be optional with the Committee to strike the name of any member of the roll of members, who is in arrear on, or after the first day of February, and notify him to that effect.

XIV.—ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting shall be held on the fourth Monday in January, at such hour and place in the City of Toronto as the Committee may appoint. Notice of such meeting shall be mailed to each member ten days previously. Fifteen members shall form a quorum at any general meeting of members, either special or annual.

*Monday, 15th February, 1892.*

LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HONOURABLE J. M. GIBSON, 13th Battalion,  
President, in the Chair.

## LOWER CANADA DURING 1810-14

By MR. BENJAMIN SULTE.

The History of the War in Lower Canada during 1812-15 is principally concentrated in the short period comprising the Autumn of 1813, therefore it cannot be compared to the numerous military actions which took place in the Upper Province from the Summer of 1812 to that of 1815, but a description of the state of the Province of Lower Canada from the year 1810 to 1814 is absolutely necessary in order to understand the whole situation of the Canadas of that time.

I will proceed after the following order : 1st, What took place from 1810 to 1813 ; 2nd, The events of the year 1813.

The wars which had raged in Europe from 1793 to 1800 caused England to draw largely from Canada for various supplies in the shape of timber, masts, ready-made ships, hemp, oats, etc. On the continuation of the demand from the Mother Country the population of Lower Canada had gone earnestly into extensive preparation to enable them to sell large quantities of these products, and it must be said that gold was entering abundantly into the Province. The country bordering on the river Chambly was then the best wheat land that could be found in the world ; the same with the region from Terrebonne to Three Rivers, on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence ; the same with the localities situated south of the City of Quebec. Hemp was cultivated nearly everywhere, oats

# EXTRACTS FROM CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

## CONSTITUTION.

### II.—OBJECTS.

The promotion of Military Art, Science and Literature, and for social purposes.

### III.—MEMBERSHIP.

There shall be three classes of members:—

- (a) Ordinary.
- (b) Privileged and
- (c) Honorary.

(1) Ordinary members may be either resident or non-resident, and shall be confined to officers and ex-officers of M. M. Regular and Auxiliary Forces and of the Canadian Militia, and only such shall have the right to vote.

(2) A resident member is one whose residence or place of business is within 10 miles of the Toronto post-office.

(3) All officers of the Army and Auxiliary Forces and of the Canadian Militia shall be admissible as privileged members during a period not exceeding two weeks on being introduced by a member, such privilege not to be repeated within six months.

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also; the forest contributed the substance to make tar and rosin of all sorts. The ship building in Quebec was extensive.

The short period of 1801-3, during which Europe was apparently quiet, did not stop the trade of Canada, because England was fully convinced that Napoleon, "who was then only Bonaparte," would take up arms at the first occasion, and the consequence of that foresightedness was a greater development of our trade with England, so much so that in 1802 the lumber which, till then had been standing on the shores of the St. Lawrence, was cut down and the lumbermen entered the rivers flowing into the main one, in order to obtain more of that staple article. It was at that time that the valley of the Ottawa was in some respects discovered by us, and in 1806 rafts began to float from the Gatineau to the St. Lawrence en route for Quebec.

Now that the commercial side of the Province is understood, let us try to explain the feelings and the sentiments of the population in regard to the political affairs of their Province and the threatening invasion of which rumour was already spreading amongst us. The population of the Upper Province was about 70,000 in 1806 when the French-Canadians in Lower Canada numbered about 250,000 and had very few Englishmen intermixed with them. Consequently, the Province was entirely French, and although more Englishmen had been elected to the Legislative Assembly than the number of their countrymen would justify, the great majority of that House was necessarily French. Governor-General Sir James Craig, newly arrived, had unfortunately to meet the famous case of John Henry, a spy whom Mr. Dunn, the Administrator of the Province before him, had sent to Massachusetts with a view to awake the spirit of that large State in favour of England. As I have already stated, there were rumours of an invasion of Canada from the United States. Massachusetts was, at that time, the governing power, or the Empire State of the American Republic. Her citizens had made up their mind not to join the English nor to aid their sister States, because they had a plan of their own which will be seen afterwards. Henry having failed in his mission came to Governor Craig for his salary, but was refused, and he then delivered up his correspondence to the American Government. It created a scandal which put Sir James Craig in a very delicate position, as the cry of war against Canada had been heard in Congress in Washington, coupled with expressions of defiance against England on account of the Right of Visit which the English vessels exercised on a large scale for the search of deserters. President Madison contended that this constant stopping of the American Navy by the British Cruisers was an abuse in itself and a humiliation to the Americans.

At the same time a bosom friend of Sir James Craig was elected to the Legislative Assembly, but as the Governor had taken a

severe attitude towards a certain group of the members who owned a paper published in French which was the mouth-piece of what I may call the Reformers. of those days, that friend of Sir James, called Ezechiel Hart, was refused his seat by a majority of the House. This was also the moment when orders from England were received for the re organization of the Militia, which had been for more than 30 years without any knowledge of the handling of fire arms or anything else belonging to Military life. The few corps which were called upon in this manner had to be officered by four or five of the men belonging to the group above mentioned, because of their influence in the country. Much against his will Sir James was compelled to appoint them. Then came the second Hart trouble, and as heart disease is very often fatal, this also proved a very dangerous one, for the House again rejected the newly-elected member under the pretext that he, being a Jew, could not sit in an Assembly of Christians. This was stabbing Sir James in the person of his friend, and he felt it so keenly that he dismissed the House. The general elections took place amongst a people who had already begun to suspect the Governor of ill-feeling towards themselves, and consequently the new House was stronger than ever in opposing the return of Mr. Hart. Sir James had paid a visit to Mr. Hart's house, and had resided there during the time of the votation; this was not calculated to raise the Governor in the esteem of the public at large, and Mr. Hart, who was a man of ability, thought they were going too deep into the fight, so he resigned as a candidate before the polling was over.

Everyone would think that the Session of the House would then be rendered more pleasant than the year before, but two judges having been elected members of the Legislative Assembly, a motion was put before that body to have them resign one of their two functions, Sir James blamed the House openly for doing so and the majority kicked. The situation was worse than ever, and curiously enough in the midst of that firing a bill was passed unanimously granting the Governor power to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* Act on account of certain communications concerning spies and agitators, who were said to be canvassing the Province in favour of the United States. It was also during these debates that the French Canadian group proposed that the finances of the country be left in the hands of the people of Canada, because if England had reason to complain of their persistent deficits from year to year in the Treasury of Lower Canada, it was due to the fact that the expenditures were unreasonable, and members of the House of Assembly pledged their words that they knew how to curtail these expenses and had the means to do so, but they were not listened to and, furthermore, were looked upon as malcontents or even rebels, whilst they were only reformers. Sir James again dismissed the House on the Judge question.

Amidst these troubles the celebration of the victories of the British Arms raised the soul and hearts of the population. The battles of the Nile, Trafalgar, Talavera, were celebrated by the whole of the Lower Canadian population with the utmost manifestation of loyalty. *Te Deums* were sung in the churches, sermons preached from the pulpits, and the Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. Plessis, issued circulars to encourage his flock in that direction. It must be observed here that some 50 or 60 priests of high education had found refuge in the province during the years 1795-98, after their exile from France by the Revolution. They were certainly all monarchists, and as they found in Lower Canada a people who were already by their antecedents of monarchical temperament, they made good use of a soil so well prepared for them. All the news coming from France was commented on by them, and the horrors of the Revolution depicted in a vivid manner, all the more impressive if we consider that the orators had been witnesses of most of the facts related in their sermons. Some amongst us might think that on the Consulate coming into power, with Bonaparte at its head, the mind of the French Canadians would be rather changed or rendered shaky. But, we must remember that Bonaparte and his friends were looked upon by the Canadians at large as the continuators of the revolutionary system; therefore the banquets in honour of Nelson and Wellington were attended with enthusiasm and *God Save the Queen* sung in French everywhere. Even songs were composed to commemorate the great actions which had taken place on the other side of the ocean. *Nelson est mort au sein de la victoire*, became so popular that in a book of sacred songs published in 1816, at Quebec, I find one of the canticles headed this way "Sing to the tune: Nelson est mort au sein de la victoire."

Now for a bit of contrast, let us see what was going on in the political circles. The newspaper "*Le Canadien*," in the absence of any debates in the Legislative Assembly (during recess), attracted the attention of Sir James, because it was advocating all the time the reforms above mentioned, and although its language was extremely moderate compared with that of our press at the end of this century, the Governor took objection to the criticisms which he considered were directed against himself personally, and one day a squad of soldiers invaded the printing office, removed the type and the press to a place of safety, whilst other detachments of troops proceeded to the arrest of the printer and the editors, who were all put into gaol without any other formality. Thus Mr. Bedard, who had first voted for the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, was the first to feel the effects of the new measure. His rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Militia was taken from him and his colleagues were dealt with in the same manner, with this exception though, that the latter on being offered afterwards to rejoin their homes ac-

cepted the invitation, but Bedard remained in gaol calling for his trial, and he refused absolutely to go unless he had been confronted with a regular tribunal. This sort of things of course did not increase the majority of the Governor's friends in the Legislative Assembly. Strange to say, during the debates of these years, there are very few mentions made of the Executive Council, unless sometimes when we hear an expression of contempt towards it from some of the Members of the Lower House.

One of the main grievances that the Americans entertained against England was the smuggling going on, on the Canadian frontier which separates us from the States of New York, Vermont, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Maine. Hardly any settlers had been yet established on that long line cutting through the primeval forest, and it was comparatively an easy work to carry goods from the south shore of the St. Lawrence to the entrance of any of those States. The English vessels from the ocean sailed up the St. Lawrence to Lake St. Peter, distributing the goods they carried all along the way, or at one determined spot according to the requirements of the trade. Part of that trade was the smuggling business, and the Americans very soon complained that they were flooded with English articles, when they expected to run their market with manufactures of their own. This state of things prevented forcibly the development of the American industry. Mr. Madison then could point out, as he did, the Henry negotiations, the Right of Search on board of vessels and the smuggling over the Canadian frontier, as three main grievances of his nation against the British Government.

Don't you think this state of affairs was pretty annoying to the Americans? In fact, they had their hands full of complaints, but as they were on friendly terms with the France of Bonaparte, who had sold them Louisiana, they deserved to feel a touch of the British opposition in trade and diplomacy.

Things were at this particular point, when Sir James was recalled to England. He left Quebec on the 19th of June, 1811, leaving Mr. Dunn as administrator of the Colony, and Lieutenant-General Drummond to command the forces. In the month of August, 1810, Baron de Rottenburg had replaced Colonel Brock as commandant at Quebec, Brock being sent to Upper Canada. On the 4th of June, 1811, the latter was made Major-General. He was at that time busily engaged in putting the Upper Province in a state of defence, with 1,500 regulars. His frontier extended on 1,300 miles without any fortress or engineering resources.

The whole of the regular army was divided as follows: 445 Artillery men, 3,783 Soldiers of the Line, 1,226 Fencible; all told, 5,454 men.

Napoleon prohibited the entrance of English goods into European territories, even to the neutral nations. The British

Government then passed an order-in-council counteracting the effects of the French decree. The Washington authorities joined the Emperor of the French and took no notice of the English manifesto. This was visibly a preparation for war.

Sir George Prevost arrived at Quebec on the 14th September, 1811, and went to Montreal, St. John's, Chambly, Sorel, without delay, besides taking notes and gathering information on all the points of the defences of Lower Canada.

A regiment (the 4th) of Incorporated Militia was formed during the autumn season by a draft and the men readily joined, for they thought very little of the Yankee, remembering as they did of the old wars, so easy to them against an inexperienced foe. Songs and speeches solved the question before hand.

On the 9th October, 1811, General Brock succeeded Sir Francis Gore as President and Administrator of Upper Canada. Next month Mr. Madison, President of the United States, officially called the citizens to arms. This was responded to with alacrity. Congress voted large sums of money for the enrolment of several corps. General Brock who had made application to take military service in Europe now decided to remain in Canada. The winter of 1811-12 was occupied by the United States authorities in getting ready for war. General Brock gathered up all material the army, the volunteers and the militia men of Upper Canada had been provided with from the imperial stores. On the 21st February, 1812, the Quebec Legislature opened. The public accounts of the preceding *Calendar* showed a little over £75,000 revenue and £49,000 expenditure, leaving a surplus—such practice has not, however, been continued in that province. The vessels cleared at the ports of Quebec in 1811 numbered 532 with a tonnage of 116,687; of these 37 had been built that year in Quebec, representing 12,688 tons. This state of prosperity was largely due to the fact that England required the use of all the resources of her colonies, and Canada was paramount in the matters concerning lumber, ship building and wheat growing, the three staple articles required at that time.

Sir George Prevost, in his address to the Legislature, congratulated the nation on the success of the British arms in Spain and Portugal, from which the French had been chased away. He made the remark that the unfortunate and trying events of the last few years in Europe had not affected the inhabitants of Canada who remained as quiet as ever, and somewhat as foreigners to these strange troubles. He said that England, although enjoying an isolated geographical position, had been dragged into the great movement which carried all the other nations. He seems to have had no notion of the understanding between the United States Government and Emperor Napoleon in regard to Canada. The last agreement between the two powers in question was entered into

just about that date. Sir George, having reminded the Canadians of the happy life they had led heretofore, asked them, through the Legislature, to take immediate steps to resist any possible aggressive action directed against the country. The House, to a man, responded that they were ready, and some of the speakers on that occasion observed that the people of the country were altogether with the new Governor General, making thus a rather ungratifying allusion to poor Sir James Craig. The *new* Governor answered that the things of the past were forgotten, and the present occurrences were far more serious on account of the threatening war.

John Henry made his reappearance with his claim of £500, hoping fully to create some disturbances in the administration, but Prevost with a cold rebuke referred him to England and cleared the province of the responsibility of Sir James Craig's hasty interference in the Massachusetts business. Meantime, the Lower House in Quebec kept up an open fire on the late administration. This was pure diplomacy, good policy also; because after recording their vote of loyalty to the Crown in view of an approaching war, the majority of the members desired to express their unwillingness to have a repetition of the abuses of the past. This made a good deal of noise, but it seems that both the Executive and the Legislative Assembly understood one another beforehand, and as the members had been elected in most cases to remonstrate against the doings of Sir James, all parties were fully satisfied.

Of a sudden there came a proposal from the Governor to renew or revive the bill to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and the House voted unanimously in favour of it, headed by Bedard who had suffered so much from the effect of the first measure in that line. It would seem that the Americans were again sending French emissaries to Lower Canada to move the minds of the people against England, as they had done in 1775, for the House was asked to legislate on that point, but to no purpose, as the Legislative Council did not agree with the Legislative Assembly. I cannot say why. The Militia Bill passed the Lower House after debate. Finally the Governor was empowered to enroll 2,000 men *between the ages* of 25 and 40 for three months, but in case of invasion or imminent danger he could retain them under arms during one year, after which half of them were to be replaced by recruits. Moreover the Governor was authorised to make a levy en masse of all the militia men of the province, without acceptance of any substitute, with a proviso that no militia man would be put in the English army without his consent. For this purpose the House voted £12,000, one half for drill and training of local militia; the other half for the ordinary expenses resulting therefrom. The sum of £20,000 was appropriated for various services connected with the safety of the Province. £30,000 were placed at the disposal of the Governor General on the day of the declaration of war

between England and the United States. Sir George Prevost signed on the 15th April, 1812, an ordinance to raise a corps of light infantry soon afterwards called the Voltigeurs, which he placed under the command of Major de Salaberry, recently arrived from the West Indies, where he had served under the orders of Sir George himself.

It is a remarkable feature of Canadian history, that the cadets of the best French families we had two hundred years ago, and who were selected by Louis XIV to receive commissions in the French Army in Europe, mostly all came back to Canada at the first bugle sound, and led the militia of their native land against the Iroquois or against the English troops with such superior prowess and skill. It is useless to say that these militia men of old were officered by French captains; those captains were of Canadian birth, but they had served their time in the regular army, they understood their own country, their countrymen, and knew much about their neighbours also. The same with the young men who entered the British Army under the auspices of the Duke of Kent, from 1792 to about 1800, and who were recalled to Canada for the war of 1812. These men who had seen so many sieges and battles around the world, during the terrible period of 1792 to 1811, came back home full of experience, having obtained their promotion on active service, and well remembered by everybody in what they could still call their home. Their arrival aroused the population. They had come to defend the sacred soil of Canada. They were received accordingly. Sir George Prevost had styled de Salaberry, "le Marquis de la poudre à canon." This was known throughout the Province. On the first appearance of the posters advertising for the enrolment of men of good character to serve under Major de Salaberry, the office was full of applicants, but one of the intended Voltigeurs proved to be rather rough, and de Salaberry soon accommodated him with a pair of black eyes. The next morning some one asked the unfortunate fellow the reason of this, and he answers squarely: "The man who did this to me, is not a mocking bird." In forty hours, the corps was ready. We have now 80 cadets in the British Army from the Royal Military College of Canada; I hope they will be as useful to our community in case of need, as were the cadets of Louis XIV and the protégés of the Duke of Kent.

The Legislature of Lower Canada was prorogued on the 19th of May, 1812, with the warm thanks of the Governor-General, who immediately proceeded to Upper Canada, with a view to obtain full information on the defensive resources of the country. He had previously reinstated in their position the officers of the militia, and he felt that on going to the other province, he left behind him a perfect spirit of loyalty and quietness. Security is the word which best expresses the feeling of the population of

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Lower Canada, for they were at home in every sense of the word ; they had defended that home against the Iroquois and the English for nearly two centuries, and they were prepared to fight it out against anyone, not because they were soldiers, for they had lost the habits of the camp, but their traditions were there, and they stood by them, knowing that no enemy could touch their land, unless, as in the days of the conquest, they were attacked by masses of good troops. But, as for the Yankees, our people in Lower Canada had made up their mind, these folks are not up to the mark. They even composed a song on that very point, showing that no Yankee need apply for the possession of Canada ; they looked upon the country as their own, and were ready to fight for it. Ready to sing and ready to fight, is the characteristic of the French Canadian.

On the first of May, 1812, the Washington Government seized some English vessels in their ports, and on the 18th of June, made their declaration of war. That same day Napoleon also declared war against Russia, and immediately marched across Germany for that purpose. The news from Washington arrived in Quebec on the 24th June, and on the 26th, General Brock who was on the Niagara frontier and who had previously arranged with Sir George Prevost that no aggressive hostilities would take place on the part of the British troops, or the Canadian militia, sent orders to Lake Huron to attack Michilimakinac, an American fort at the entrance of Lake Michigan. This was a pretty risky piece of business, but the fort having been carried in a brilliant manner, the Governor General sent his compliments to the General for this first and successful action of the war. It had been decided that the American citizens who happened to be in Lower Canada, were to leave the province on the first of July, but they were granted an additional fourteen days. On the 5th of July, the regulars having all left Quebec for the front, the local militia replaced them for garrison duty and a few days afterwards the same thing was done in Montreal. An order to raise and equip all the men able to bear arms in the province was issued on the 6th July, and on the 16th the Legislature met again, one day before the taking of Michilimakinac. At the end of July, the bulk of the militia were sent home, and the military authorities kept the incorporated battalions only, together with some small corps of cavalry, the Voltigeurs of Salaberry and a detachment of voyageurs nearly all taken from the men, in the employ of the North West Fur Company. The Legislature, having passed several bills in view of the circumstances, was adjourned on the 1st August.

The organization of the American army was not an easy matter, for the lack of good officers, stores and equipment. This accounts partly for their non-interference with Lower Canada ; they were also under the impression that the French

Canadians would join them as soon as the English had been driven from Upper Canada.

General Hull, who had been taken prisoner at Detroit, arrived in Montreal on the 6th September and was sent to Quebec with other prisoners from his army.

By that time it became apparent that large bodies of troops were moving from the State of New York toward the frontier of Chateauguay, St. Regis, Lacolle, Odelltown or Four Corners. The cavalry from Montreal were sent to patrol in that direction and were soon followed by some infantry of the militia, the Voltigeurs and the voyageurs. By a general order of the 1st October, the whole of the militia was again called to arms. A general movement was made by the American troops during that month; they seem to have tried in earnest to invade the two provinces at once. This I attribute to the news coming from Russia purporting that Napoleon by a successful march had reached the vicinity of Moscow. This was pretty correct, but no one yet dreamed of the fearful state of the French Army. On the other hand the Americans, whilst encouraged by the above information, saw that it would be wise, considering the season of the year, to dash into Canada and secure winter quarters before the winter set in; but they were repulsed along the whole line and had to withdraw. The affairs at St. Regis, 23rd October, Lacolle, 17th and 20th November have been described by the historians of the period.

Napoleon was then at Moscow and his prestige at its zenith, but when the Legislature assembled at Quebec on the 29th December the French army was in the act of crossing the Niemen and re-entering Poland. Its frightful state of disorganization must have been known to Europe and America, although Sir George Prevost in his speech from the throne did not allude to the possible downfall of the great disturber of nations. Active preparations for the campaign of 1813 were made during the winter. To the surprise of our people the Americans were very slow at the beginning of the summer. It was evident that they calculated upon the movements of Napoleon in Germany where he was battling against tremendous odds. After the victories of Lutzen and Butzen, which at the first glance looked like a great reverse for the French, the hostilities on our frontiers became serious. It was then near the beginning of fall. The months of September and October, 1813, were full of event. The whole of Upper Canada was occupied by the enemy, with the exception of the small tract of country between Kingston and the Cedars, but in a few days several engagements in our favour took place, and the battles of Chryslers Farm and Chateauguay brought the campaign to an end, inasmuch as the result of the battle of Leipzig in Saxony showed at that moment that the star of Napoleon was decidedly on the decline.

It has been said that at that juncture the American Govern-

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ment was willing to accept peace but that they were prevented from making any such offer by the politicians of Massachusetts who had large contracts for the supply of the army and did not wish to curtail their chances to make money.

In the spring of 1814 it was known everywhere that Napoleon was hemmed in between his capital and Champagne; therefore our neighbours did very little in the way of annoying us, and by the middle of June when they heard that fourteen of the best Peninsular regiments had arrived in Quebec they lost all hope of succeeding in their attempt to wrest Canada from Britain. From that hour it may be said the Lower Province was no more engaged in the war, notwithstanding the expedition of Sir George Prevost against Plattsburg and the keeping afterwards of a contingent of the militia under arms until 1815.

During the whole period of the war, Lower Canada not only stood loyally by the British crown, but being the sole channel of communication with the sea, became really the base of operations from which troops and supplies were constantly sent to the scene of hostilities in the sister province. Thus it appears clearly that each province had a distinct rôle to play, and that by helping each other they, contributed very materially, with the assistance of England, to the happy termination of a struggle which threatened us with danger and disaster.

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Monday, 7th March, 1892.

MAJOR JAMES MASON, Royal Grenadiers, a Vice-President, in the Chair.

## WITH THE INDIAN CONTINGENT IN EGYPT,

BY SURGEON-MAJOR W. NAPIER KEEFER,  
BENGAL ARMY, RETIRED.

Just ten years ago to-day, that is on the 7th March, 1882, I was living at a little place called Sanawur, in the Himalayan Mountains, 7,000 feet above the sea, and two miles from the convalescent depot of Kasauli.

The traveller on his way from Kalka, at the foot of the hills, to Simla, the summer headquarters of the Viceroy and Government officials, can see far up on his left the red tiled roofs of the barracks of Sanawur, nestling amongst the pines and deodars, with the grey stone gables of the officers' bungalows peeping out here and there from the dark green foliage on the northern slope of one of the Himalayan spurs.

At Sanawur, is the Lawrence Military Asylum, an institution kept up by the Government of India, for the benefit of the children of British soldiers, serving in Hindustan. This institution was founded by Sir Henry Lawrence, who, during his life, devoted a great deal of his time to this noble object, and at his death, left all his means in trust with the Government for its support, bequeathing the care of the children to them, a charge that they have faithfully attended to ever since.

You may remember that Sir Henry was killed at the Siege of Lucknow, during the mutiny, by a shell which crushed his thigh. His remains were buried in the little cemetery close to the Resi-

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dency Gardens. I have seen his tombstone there, with the modest inscription, which was written on it at his request,

“ Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty.”

There is a tablet in the little church at Sanawur, with the same inscription.

Soldiers' children are admitted to Sanawur on the application of officers commanding regiments, preference being given to orphans; next, to those who have lost their mothers. The idea is to give them a home in the pure, healthy air of the hills, out of the enervating heat of the plains, so destructive to growing European children, and far removed from the pernicious influences of barrack life. Once admitted, they are housed, fed, clothed and educated, at government expense.

There are about 500 children at Sanawur, of both sexes, and all ages from five to twenty.

There are other Lawrence Asylums in different parts of India, but the Sanawur one is the largest.

I held the appointment of Medical Officer to the institution, and a very pleasant appointment it was. The climate was equal to that of Europe—a great boon in the East—the scenery was exquisite amongst the grand old Himalayan mountains, and the work was light and interesting.

Well, it was when I was there, about this time, or a little later, in the early part of the hot weather of 1882. We do not divide the year in India into Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter, as is done in this country and in England, but into three seasons, the Hot Weather, the Rains and the Cold Season. A man says he expects to go home on leave at the beginning of next hot weather, or his wife is coming out at the end of the rains, etc. These seasons vary very much in different parts of India. In the Southern parts, about Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the hot weather begins about the middle of February, or even earlier, and lasts till the end of June; then come the rains, lasting till October, and after that a couple of months of cool weather.

In the northern parts and Punjab, the cold weather is much longer, beginning about the middle of October, and lasting till April or even May; and during the end of December and January, it is so cold in some of the stations, Peshawar and others, that ice is collected in large quantities for consumption in the hot weather. It is rather interesting the way this ice is made. Several thousands of shallow earthenware saucers or bowls are spread out over the ground in the afternoon, and filled with water. During the night, the water freezes solid, about two inches thick, and at daybreak men come round and collect these cakes of ice, which are stored in pits, hence the ice is called pit ice, very good for putting a bottle on, but no use to put into a tumbler.

Well, as I was saying, at the beginning of the hot weather of 1882, we began to hear a good deal about Egyptian affairs, and Arabi's name was pretty freely mentioned. Later on, there was no one so prominently before the public as this same Arabi. You could hardly take up a paper published in any part of the world, that had not some paragraph about him, and all the Illustrateds had pictures of him. He was generally represented in cavalry uniform, with drawn sword, mounted on a prancing Arab charger, his moustache fiercely pointed, and his expression proud and haughty, with that sort of Alexander the Great look of "bring me up some more worlds that I may conquer them." I was so accustomed to these pictures of him, that it was a great disappointment when I saw the real Arabi at Cairo—but I'll tell you about that later on.

After the news of the bombardment of Alexandria reached India, we heard of an Indian Contingent being detailed for service in Egypt, and one morning early in July, a red coated chupressie, or messenger, brought me an O. H. M. S. telegram, directing me to rejoin the headquarters of my regiment, the 13th Bengal Lancers, under orders for Egypt.

In a few days I was on my way down the mountain side, and after a drive of fifty miles in a mail cart, reached Umballa, where I took the Scinde, Punjab & Delhi R. R. to Meerut, where the 13th were stationed.

I found the regiment in all the bustle and excitement of preparation. Telegrams flying backwards and forwards between the Colonel and Army Headquarters, and shoals of orders arriving daily, settling the momentous questions about the amount of baggage we were to be allowed, how many camp followers, and what mess equipment we were to take, how the lances and sabres were to be sharpened, etc., etc. I remember one order that came. It was to have a number of mussucks made, which were to be suspended under the horses, filled with water, in case we had to make any long marches through the desert.

The mussuck is a skin, in which water is carried in the East. The skins used are those of the goat, sheep, calf or bullock. The hide is tanned on both sides and sewn up, with the exception of the neck, which is used as the mouth, and is guarded by a thong; the two fore feet are sewn together, and connected with the two hind feet by a strap, which passes over the shoulder of the Bheestie or water-carrier, and he carries it in this way with the weight partially resting on his hip. Almost all the water required for domestic purposes is carried in these mussucks. Bath tubs are filled, kitchen utensils supplied, and streets watered in this way. The Bheesties are amongst the most indefatigable of servants.

The larger skins are carried on a pony's or mule's back, one on each side.

We took out a supply of these mussucks to Egypt, specially

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made to fit under our horses, but I may add here, that we brought them back again unused. I fancy we would have found it very difficult to use them, for a horse would have had pretty hard work to get along, up to his fetlocks in sand, with a rider and all his accoutrements on his back, and a bulky skin of water dangling between his legs.

By the end of July the details of the Indian contingent were complete, and the different batteries and regiments set out from their respective stations, and converged on Bombay, the port of embarkation.

The officer chosen to command the force was Major General Sir Herbert Macpherson, K.C.B., V.C., with Brigadier Gen. Tanner, commanding Infantry Brigade; and Gen. Wilkinson, of the 11th Hussars, the Cherubims, commanding Cavalry Brigade, and its composition was a mixture of European and Native troops as under :

Royal Horse Artillery—1 battery of 9 pounders, 6 officers and 150 men.

Mountain Guns—1 battery of 7 pounders, 5 officers and 150 men.

These guns are called screw guns. Each gun separates into two pieces, the breech carried on one mule, the muzzle on another, the carriage on a third, the wheels on a fourth, the axle on a fifth, while six other mules carry the ammunition, the gun is mounted with the greatest rapidity and carries a long distance with great accuracy.

2nd and 6th Bengal Cavalry and 13th Bengal Lancers, 8 officers and 400 men each.

4 companies Madras Sappers and Miners, 12 officers and 400 men.

2 regiments British Infantry—The 1st Seaforth Highlanders and the 1st Manchester Regiment, 21 officers and 730 men each.

3 regiments, native Infantry—

The 7th Bengal Infantry	} Each 8 officers and 500 men.
“ 20th Punjab “	
“ 29th Bombay “	

In all—2 batteries of Artillery ;  
3 regiments of Cavalry ;  
4 companies of Sappers ;  
and 5 regiments of Infantry.

Giving a total of 114 officers and 5,000 men, with 3,500 followers, 1,700 horses, 840 ponies, and about 5,000 mules, most of the latter being for transport.

In addition to the above, 2 regiments of Madras Native Infantry were sent to Aden as a reserve:

Our regiment left Meerut on the night of the 31st July in three troop trains, numbering 8 officers, 12 native officers, 400 non-commissioned officers and men, and 120 followers with 430 horses and 230 ponies.

Each officer was allowed three servants, each native officer one, and every two native troopers had a groom with his pony between them.

It may interest you to hear something of the composition of a Native Cavalry regiment. The system is quite different from that adopted in British regiments, and different again from that in force with Native Infantry regiments.

Each regiment of Indian Cavalry (Bengal, Madras and Bombay) consists of six troops with the following establishment :

1 Commandant,	}	Total European Officers 8.
3 Squadron Commanders,		
3 " Officers,		
1 Medical " "	}	Total Native Officers 13.
3 Ressalders,		
3 Ressaiders,		
1 Woordie Major,		
6 Jemedars.		
6 Kote Duffedars,		
48 Duffedars,		
384 Sowars—2 troops added since '82.		

In the Native Army enlistment is voluntary, and recruits from the fighting classes are encouraged to enlist by recruiting sergeants, who visit the parts of the country where the best material is to be found. Generally speaking it may be said that the northern parts of India supply the best men. Southern India has been engaged in peace pursuits so long that its people have no taste for a soldier's life. Puthans, Sikhs, Punjabis, Goorkhas, Dogras and Jats fill most of the Bengal regiments, of these Puthans, Sikhs and Punjabis are fine large men, with a physique equal to that of a British soldier. Goorkhas are very small built men, but they make most excellent soldiers, cheerful in cantonments, and very plucky and undaunted on active service. Their home is Nepaul beyond the frontier, and our recruiting ground is consequently limited. There are only five regiments of Goorkhas in India, but latterly a second battalion of 900 men each has been added to each regiment. Goorkhas are not riders so they do not enlist in the cavalry.

The pay of an infantry soldier or Sepoy is 7 rs. or 3½ dollars a month, and out of this he has to feed himself and pay something towards his uniform, and even on this pittance many of them save money to send to their families.

A cavalry soldier or Sowar gets 30 rs., 15 dollars a month, but in addition to the expenditure for food and uniform incurred by a

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Sepoy, he has to pay for the keep of his horse and half wages of a grasscutter, one of these men being engaged for two troopers.

Moreover no cavalry soldier is enlisted unless he can bring with him a horse approved of by the C. O., or can furnish 200 rs. for the Chunda fund kept up for purchasing remounts. A native infantry recruit on the other hand is gladly taken if he hasn't a rag on his back, provided he is physically fit. It will be seen from this that cavalry recruits come of a better class than those for the infantry.

The pay of the native army is very inadequate, and there has long been an outcry about it. While wages generally have advanced throughout India the pay of the army has remained the same.

What tempts recruits, however, is not so much the pay as the pension, a miserable pittance at best, but of great value in the eyes of the native. He also recognizes the advantages of wearing the Sircars uniform, which in the East are numerous, enabling him to purchase everything cheaper than others, and entitling him to great respect from his fellow countrymen.

The European officers of native regiments belong to the staff corps, which was formed after the mutiny and embraces the large body of officers who existed without regiments, their men having mutinied.

The staff corps is recruited now from British regiments serving in India. Subalterns from these regiments are admitted as probationers for the staff corps according to vacancies when they have passed the higher standard in Hindostani. Probationers are attached to native regiments for a year, at the end of which time they are required to pass an examination in the interior economy of the native army and other subjects, and if successful are gazetted to appointments in the infantry or cavalry, and are also eligible for political and other staff appointments. Once in the staff corps their pay and pension are improved, and their promotion is guided by time and not by vacancies.

The native officers occupy an intermediate position between the European officers and the non-commissioned officers; in most cases they are promoted from the N. C. O.'s, but a few are native gentlemen who get direct commissions.

They take the place of captains and subalterns of companies and take a great deal of detail work off the European officers' shoulders; they are raices, that is, entitled to a chair when they come to see you and are most polite. The non-commissioned officers of the native army correspond to those of the English army.

On our arrival at Bombay, which port we reached in five days after leaving Meerut, having travelled by night only, halting each day to allow the men to cook, etc., we here embarked without delay on board ship, and you will perhaps be surprised to learn that it took six steamships to carry us; it is true the ships were not

as large as Atlantic liners, still they were all ocean going steamers chartered as transports. I think the Indian Government chartered 42 ships altogether for the contingent and transport mules. The reason we required so many ships was because the horses and ponies took up so much room in the hold. Of course any amount of cargo could have been carried in each ship with us, but there was none to take. I wish to goodness there had been in our ship, for it would have steadied her and prevented her from rolling as she did.

Our ship was the *Bundara* of the British Indian line, 2,000 tons; she carried the headquarters of the regiment with three officers, C. O., adjutant and myself, also two companies of Madras Sappers, with four officers. We had besides Capt. Davidson, of the 8th Hussars, who was going home on six months' leave, and persuaded Col. McNaughton, the C. O., to take him with us as he might have a chance of seeing something of the campaign.

We finally steamed out of the Bombay harbour on the morning of the 7th August, and the old *Bundara* plunged into the teeth of the monsoon. *How she did roll!* For the first four days we were all completely bowled over by seasickness, and even the captain was very anxious. The natives couldn't make out what was the matter with them, they had never been on the *black water*, as they call the ocean, before, and they were utterly miserable. One afternoon after we had been three days out, my Khitnudgar, or table servant, crawled into my cabin on all fours; his long black hair was hanging in tangled locks over his shoulders, his clothes, usually very neat and clean, were crumpled and dirty, and his eyes glaring and bloodshot. He stared at me for some time, as I lay reading in my berth, but said nothing.

"What do you want?" I said. "I didn't send for you."

"Murjata," he replied in a sepulchral voice. "Go away," I said, turning to my book and holding it up so as to shut him out from view; then after some minutes I looked up and saw him still in the same place on the floor. I was feeling pretty bad myself and the dejected appearance of my faithful henchmen, with the altogether unusual expression in his eye, was not reassuring, so I said: "Didn't I tell you to go away, *Kurreem Bux*; I don't want you here." He only replied: "*Murjata—sub log murjata*," i.e., "I am dying. Everyone is dying." "You brought me from my home to slay me with sea-sickness on the Black Water." I told him to go and lie down and he'd be all right soon, and he finally went away. To give you an idea of how the *Bundara* rolled. One day the water bottle and tumblers in my cabin fell out of their rack on to the floor. She was almost over that day and all the crockery in the pantry got loose. The horses suffered terribly; they all had their tails worn to rat tails and the hair rubbed off their chests and quarters. We found Soluble Phenyle did them more good than

anything. Some of them got down and couldn't be got up again. We lost 60 altogether in our regiment alone.

A word here about the horses of India may not come amiss, if you will allow me to detain you for a few minutes from the blood and carnage, which you no doubt expect to hear of later on.

The horses met with in India then are either *country bred* or *imported*. The former are divided into *country bred*, *pure*, *i.e.*, both sire and dam being native Indian horses, and *stud bred*, out of country bred mares by imported stallions.

The *imported* horses are Arabs and Walers with a small percentage of Cape horses and a very few English horses.

Roughly speaking the Indian country bred horse is not a very superior or valuable animal, though excellent ones are occasionally met with. A native's taste in horseflesh differs greatly from a European's. He likes a pink-nosed prancer and has no objection to a wall-eyed pie-bald nag with a narrow chest and a ewe neck.

The best blood in horseflesh in India is to be found in the ponies. An Indian *lat* is one of the hardiest little animals in the world. One reason why the country bred horses are not good in India arises from the want of care in breeding. It is contrary to a native's religious belief to castrate horses, so the country is flooded with inferior stallions, which go on propagating poor stock. Then again the colts are generally kept tied up in some back yard and never get a chance to stretch their legs by running about in meadows as in other countries. As, strange to say, there are no meadows or enclosed fields in India; the land is too valuable to be wasted for pasture fields, and wherever water can be got for irrigation every part of it is ploughed up by the small tenants who hold it, and the horses and cattle have to be content with the grass cut from the little strips along the water courses and on the ridges between the fields.

Some years ago the Government of India instituted large horse breeding establishments, called *Studs*, throughout the country wherever grass was plentiful.

They bought up likely country mares and imported thoroughbred English and Arab stallions. Good stables were built and plenty of good paddocks and pasture fields enclosed, and with everything well arranged, set to work to breed a good class of horses for remounts. This went on for years, but like a great many government undertakings, the expense was found to be too great for the return, so they have been abandoned.

It is true an immense number of most excellent horses were raised in the studs, but an almost larger number had to be rejected every year and sold by auction for next to nothing.

A different system is adopted now.

Thoroughbred stallions belonging to government are kept in different districts, and any native owning a mare approved of can

have her covered free. The colt is brought for inspection when a year old, and, if satisfactory, is branded, and at the end of three years government can purchase it at a fixed rate. If not approved of at either inspection the owner can sell privately. This arrangement suits the native and is much more convenient and economical for government.

Of the imported horses Arabs are too small for British cavalry or artillery remounts and too expensive as a rule for native cavalry regiments, though some Central India regiments have them. They are generally used for officers' charges and for private individuals.

Walers supply now almost all the artillery batteries and the cavalry remounts. Walers or Australian horses are really English horses bred in Australia and New South Wales. Ship loads of them come regularly to Calcutta where a Government agent inspects them, and he can select any he likes at a uniform rate of 500 rs. They are then taken in hand and trained.

It took us nine days to go from Bombay to Aden, a journey which in ordinary weather takes six days. As we neared the African coast the force of the monsoon was decreased, the rolling became less and the men began to pick up a little. They had a very vague idea of where we were going; they knew it was to *Misser* as they call Egypt, but where *Misser* was, except that it was across the Black Water, they were quite in the dark. So the following incident is not to wondered at, though it caused some amusement at the time.

As we were passing a point of land off the Arabian coast—it was the first glimpse of land the men had seen since leaving Bombay—a fine old Sikh native officer was noticed putting on his uniform and belts and buckling on his sword. The Adjutant said to him, "What is the matter, Urbel Sing? What are you doing?" "Why that is land, Sahib," he replied; "that's where the enemy are, I am getting ready to fight them."

At Aden the usual fleet of little dugout canoes with an Arab boy in each surrounded our ship, the boys calling out in the only English they have picked up, "*Hab a dive,*" "*I dive,*" "*I dive,*" "*Oh yes! I dive,*" turning up their little black faces with a grin to the ship, showing a double row of pearly teeth and a great deal of white of eye. "Ho Engleese, give me rupee, I dive under ship." They are quite naked with the exception of a narrow strip of cloth round the loins and perfectly at home in the water. If you throw a silver coin into the sea as far as you can from the ship, five or six of them immediately plunge into the water like frogs and dive down, showing the yellow soles of their feet. Presently they come up again one by one shaking their heads and grinning, and you notice that one of them has the coin between his teeth. These boys spend their days paddling about every ship that comes in and they pick up a good many coins from the passengers. They

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plaster their heads with lime which bleaches their wool a bright yellow and gives them a very weird appearance. They are a regular feature of the Aden harbour.

From Aden to Suez took us six days, but we were no longer troubled with head winds and the voyage was more pleasant.

Not far from Aden in the Straits of Bab el Mandeb is the little island of Perim which commands the entrance to the Red Sea. I have no doubt many of you have heard the story of Perim, but as it is on the way I may as well take it in.

Perim is only a little flat sandy island about three miles long and was not thought worthy of notice, but one day a great many years ago a French man-of-war steamed into the Aden harbour and was received with all the honours. The officers were invited to dinner the same evening at the garrison mess and accepted. As the dinner progressed and the influence of the good cheer began to make itself felt, the French Captain became communicative and confided to the officer commanding at Aden on whose right he was sitting that he had been dispatched by his Government to take possession of Perim. The officer commanding said nothing at the time, but before the evening was over quietly gave orders for the immediate dispatch of an officer with a detachment of troops to Perim, and next morning when the French man-of-war came in sight of Perim he found the Union Jack flying on what he had been informed was a desert island. Of course there was nothing for him to do but retrace his steps. So much for dining out.

Perim is garrisoned by a detachment of troops from Aden under a British officer. This unfortunate officer has a very lonely time of it. His duty is necessarily very light, and his spare time, which is nearly all his time, can only be spent in wandering round the sandy beach and watching the ships pass. They used to tell a story, that the officer detailed for duty there was in the habit of going straight to England and spending his tour of service there, sending his reports from London. I don't think this was very likely.

The following story is, however, true. A certain captain, whom we will call Smith, had been detailed from Aden to Perim, and the dreary life there had driven him to drink, and after a couple of months, what with the climate and the *annui* and last of all the drink, he became very ill and the apothecary in charge sent a report to Aden asking to have him relieved. In due course another officer, whom we will call Jones, arrived, and the captain when the time came seemed loath to go. However he managed to get up and shew Jones over the Island, and finally said good-bye, adding, "you'll see me back again here before long."

In a few days after this Jones was walking round the Island when he saw something unusual on the beach. Going up to it he was horrified to see Smith's face stiff and rigid staring up at him.

It came about in this way. Smith, on his arrival at Aden, passed a medical board, and being ordered home was put on board a ship just leaving. A day or two out he died and was buried at sea. In some way or other the body got out of the sack in which it was dropped overboard and came to the surface, drifting on to the beach at Perim, so that poor Smith's prediction that he would return came true after all.

The great trouble at Aden and Perim is the want of water. It rains there about once in three years, and water at Aden is collected in enormous tanks; a great deal is also obtained by condensation.

There are some fresh water springs which come up under the sea near the African coast. The natives know of these and dive down with jars and skins which they hold with their mouths over the springs till they are filled and then ascend to the surface.

On our arrival at Suez we were very glad to find that we were in plenty of time for the operations, as Sir Garnet Wolseley had just changed the base of his operations and was bringing the bulk of his forces round by the canal to Ismailia to make a flank attack in that direction. We were ordered to proceed in our transports up the canal to Lake Timsah, and here we found a grand display of ships of all the prominent English and American lines: P. & O., Orient, Cunard, White Star, Allan, Inman, etc.

We were disembarked on the 25th August without delay and encamped on the sandy plain adjoining Ismailia. The horses were swung out of the hold and put on lighters, but they kicked about so much that it was found better to drop them into the water and let them swim ashore; such a hubbub and confusion as there was to be sure. One of the first things I noticed was the great size of the horses of the troops that had come from England compared with ours. Sir Owen Lanyon Tanner told our C. O. that we would be in great request to take the day picket duty, as the Life Guardsmen and Dragoon Guards were suffering very much from the heat.

We heard some particulars of a fight that had taken place a few days before our arrival at a place called Chalouf on the canal. Some of Arab' troops were trying to dam the Sweet Water Canal and cut off the water supply. They had got under shelter there and couldn't be dislodged. A force consisting of some of the 72nd Highlanders and some of the Marines under Col. Jones were peppering away at them from the opposite side of the canal, and the *Seagull* and *Mosquito* came up the canal from Suez and punished them pretty well with gatlings. Lient Lang of the Highlanders won great *kudos* by swimming across the canal and getting a boat over in which he took across some of his men and the Egyptians were driven off, leaving several wounded men on the ground. They were taken on board the *Seagull* and attended to. One of them had his lower jaw very badly smashed by a

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gating shot, and the surgeons managed to piece it pretty well together and bandage him up; then as he seemed low they tried to get him to take some nourishment. Beef tea was poured down his mouth, but he spit it out. Brandy was tried, but he spluttered and nearly choked over it. Then someone suggested that the Egyptians were great smokers and perhaps he'd like a cigarette, so one was rolled for him, lit and put between his teeth—he had only two left in the lower jaw, the others had been blown away. He viewed the preparations with satisfaction, and when he felt the cigarette in his teeth puffed away merrily. It did him little good though, poor fellow, for he died next day.

On 28th August the fight at Kassassin took place, and Arabi's soldiers were driven off with very little difficulty, leaving a great number of tents standing and several carloads of provisions. They returned however in the night in force, when Sir Baker Russell made his celebrated charge with the Household Cavalry and 7th Dragoon Guards, capturing the Egyptian guns. This was the first time the Household Cavalry had been in action since Waterloo. Lieut. Gribble, 3rd D. G., was reported missing after this action. His horse bolted with him into the midst of the enemy. The boom of the cannon was heard at Ismailia, and about midnight orders came for our advance. I remember Col. McNaughton coming into camp at a gallop and giving orders for us to go on at once. We had to get up and move off in short order. We left our tents and baggage behind and rode off with only a blanket rolled up in front of the saddles. The sand was very heavy, our horses sinking into it over their fetlocks, so our progress was very slow and it was just daybreak as we arrived at Mahsamah. I'll never forget the appearance of that camp as we rode through it in the chilly grey dawn. There wasn't a tent, a tree, a baggage waggon or a particle of shelter of any kind, just a bare bleak open expanse of sand on which, stretched out in rows, were the sleeping forms of hundreds of British soldiers, absolutely without covering of any sort, just lying there in their scarlet tunics and blue overalls, with their heads resting on their helmets for a pillow and their rifles at their sides.

The air at night on the desert is very crisp and chilly, and exposure to it, after the great heat of the day, without covering, is one of the most prolific causes of dysentery.

After a short halt, we rode on to Kassassin, and joined the camp there. We were there for more than two weeks, and managed to make ourselves fairly comfortable, by utilizing some of the deserted tents of the Egyptians. I got three poles, and a strip of canvas about 6 feet wide, and 20 feet long, torn from one of Arabi's tents, and by tying one pole horizontally to the two uprights stuck in the sand, and stretching the canvas across it, managed to shelter myself from the fierce midday sun.

Kassassin was our advanced post, and was only nine miles from Tel-el-Kebir. We were there for two weeks, and during that time were kept pretty busy with picket and escort duty. I am speaking of the 13th Regiment. Meanwhile, troops and supplies were being steadily moved up to us from Ismailia. There was a good deal of trouble about transport. Arabi had carried off all the engines and destroyed the rails where he could, but we got some engines round from Alexandria, and had some scratch baggage trains soon in use.

We suffered a great deal of inconvenience from want of good water at Kassassin. We were encamped in the Sweet Water canal, but Arabi had defiled it above by throwing a number of dead Arabs into it, and several carcasses of horses. We employed men to clean out the canal as well as we could, but the water was foul and muddy. The troops coming from home were supplied with pocket filters, but these filters didn't seem to be of much use, as the water that came from them was anything but clear. I found a very simple way was to use the sand and gravel of the desert, filling half a tin box with them, and allowing the water to filter through, and trickle out at a hole in the bottom of the tin. It came out clear as crystal. Nile water when filtered is excellent.

The flies at Kassassin were an awful nuisance. Everyone has heard of the flies of Egypt. In appearance, they are just like the house flies of any other country, but it is their manners that are so abominable. Perhaps, however, it is all in the bringing up. Most Englishmen have a peculiar aversion to flies, and won't allow any of their familiarities. Directly one attempts to become friendly, and with a sociable buzz lights on his face, he brushes him off, whereas an Egyptian allows him to remain. It may be, that in this way, they have grown to be so persistent in their attentions. They won't be frightened off by a whisk of your hand; you must either actually knock them off, or take them by the hind legs and pull them off.

It is no uncommon sight to see an Egyptian with half a dozen flies reposing calmly on his face, two or three in the corner of each eye. It is in this manner, no doubt, that ophthalmia is propagated in the land of the Pharaohs, and one sees so many blind men there.

It was while we were halted at Kassassin, that we heard rumours of the massacre of the members of the *Palmer* expedition.

This expedition was despatched from Egypt to Syria, for the purpose of purchasing camel for transport purposes for the Indian Contingent. The members of it were Professor Palmer, Capt. Gill and Lieutenant Charrington. Professor Edward Palmer was a distinguished Oriental scholar, and proficient in the Arabic, Persian and Hindostani languages. He was Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University.

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Captain Gill, R.E., was a traveller of note, and was attached to the Intelligence Department of the War Office.

Lieutenant Charrington, R.N., was Flag Lieutenant to Sir William Hewett, Commander in Chief on the East India station. These three gentlemen set out on the 8th August from the *Wells of Moses*, near Suez, said by tradition to be the place where Moses and Miriam and the children of Israel sang their song of triumph after the passage of the Red Sea.

Their object, as I said before, was the purchase of camels, and they had with them £3,000 in gold. Moreover they had no escort or guard of any kind.

Their destination was Nakhil, in the Syrian Desert, but Captain Gill had orders to branch off northwards and cut the telegraph wires between Egypt and Turkey, to prevent Arabi carrying on conversation with our old ally, the Sultan.

It was said also that Professor Palmer had some instructions about negotiations to be carried on with the Bedouins of the desert, in order to prevent them from falling on Sir Garnet Wolsely's rear, after his arrival at Ismailia, and this gold was to be used as a bribe for this purpose.

They were never seen again, and rumours came in, afterwards fully confirmed, that all three had been enticed towards a narrow neck of land surrounded by a precipice, and that the Arabs suddenly cut off their retreat and gave them the alternative of jumping over the precipice or being shot. It was said that Professor Palmer selected to jump and was dashed to pieces, while the other two boldly faced their cruel and treacherous assassins and met their death.

There was a story told of Captain Gill, vouched for by a friend of his. Some years before this, when he was a struggling subaltern in the Sappers, he was walking down Fleet Street one windy morning when an old gentleman in front of him lost his hat. Mr. Gill ran after the topper, and picking it up, brushed it off and returned it to its owner. The old gentleman thanked him very cordially, spoke of the pleasure it was to find young gentlemen putting themselves out for old gentlemen, a politeness that was becoming rare nowadays and asked our young friend his name.

When he heard it, he said: "Why, bless my soul, that's very strange, my name is Gill too;" then after some further conversation and renewed thanks from the old gentleman he departed, adding as he left, "never neglect to be polite, young man." Some years after this, Gill, who had meantime got his promotion to a captaincy, received a letter from a firm of lawyers informing him that he had been left a handsome legacy by the old gentleman—his namesake. Captain Gill was enabled in consequence to leave the service and follow his favourite pursuit of travelling.

## ACTION AT KASSASSIN ON 9TH SEPTEMBER.

On 9th September, we had our first action; it came about in this way: The cavalry in camp, in the performance of their regular duty of being the eyes and ears of the army, were posted as pickets all round our position. In the day time the line of vedettes extended round the camp at a distance of two miles, and the duty was taken by the native cavalry as being better able to stand the heat, while the night pickets were supplied by the British cavalry and the line was drawn in to half a mile from camp.

Now there was a standing order in our regiment at *Kassassin* for the men to have their horses saddled and be all ready to mount half an hour before day-break and to remain at their horses' heads in readiness till half an hour after day-break, when they off-saddled and were dismissed. This had gone on morning after morning and was felt to be irksome by the men, considering that their work was pretty well cut out for them all day, but on the morning of the 9th September the utility of the order was realized.

On this morning Colonel Pennington, of the 13th B.L., was cavalry field officer of the day and he was out an hour before day-break posting his pickets and relieving the British troopers. As he was moving out some two miles from camp with thirty Sowars, he suddenly came on three squadrons of the enemy's cavalry with some infantry advancing in regular fighting order. Instead of retiring before this force, so superior in numbers to his own, he promptly despatched one of his troopers back to camp to give the alarm, and dismounting the others poured a volley into the Egyptians and kept up a brisk fire from his carbines. Seeing, however, that the enemy was spreading out and endeavouring to surround him, he mounted his men again and charged them, and so furious was his onslaught that he succeeded in killing 10 of them and made the rest retire to their main body.

Meanwhile the Sowar had arrived in camp and given the alarm, and our regiment and the 2nd B. C. being all ready galloped out at once. We drew up about half a mile from the enemy, and it was just light enough for me to make out a long red, white and blue line in the distance. Looking through a field glass I saw that it was a brigade of artillery facing us; the red line was the fezzes on their heads, while the white and blue were from the white jackets and blue overalls. I could make out a number of men galloping about up and down the line, and I said to Atkinson of our regiment, "What are they doing." "Oh they're only swaggering about," he said; and almost before the words were out of his mouth there was a white puff of smoke from the middle of the line, followed by a flash of light, and then came one of the most unpleasant sounds anyone ever listened to, namely the angry whur-r-r of a shell coming towards us, fortunately it was high over our heads, and

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striking the sand 100 yards behind us it burst into a thousand fragments, throwing up the sand with a loud explosion. In less than 10 seconds came another puff of smoke with the same demoralizing whur, and this time the shell struck the sand 50 yards in front of us, then another crash into the space between the two regiments. Horses reared and plunged and many riders were unseated, but strange to say no one was struck. I have often heard it said, and my own limited experience agrees with the statement, that artillery fire is the most demoralizing thing you can subject troops to, and yet it is less destructive than any other. It certainly is anything but pleasant to hear the horrible, hissing whur-r-r of the shell as it tears through the air, not knowing where it is going to strike you.

The shells began to fly thick around us now, and it was clearly no place for cavalry; so we were extended and withdrawn, retiring through our advancing guns, which had been sent after us. They advanced, unlimbered, and poured their shells into the Egyptians; and for an hour or more a sharp artillery engagement went on. The Egyptians then began to retire, our men pursuing them, mountain guns and infantry after them, on and on till some of the force got nearly up to the entrenchments of Tel-el-Kebir. We of the cavalry kept advancing, but were not sent in pursuit. At one place we passed through a number of dead bodies of Arabs slain in the action of the 28th, still unburied. The stench was awful; the bodies were swollen to a tremendous size; there were no crows or vultures, strange to say, in the desert to devour them. Once, when we were halted after a short advance, I saw a small group of artillerymen with an ammunition waggon, and a sergeant came over to say he had a wounded man there, so I took over a stretcher, and found a gunner sitting on a limber with one of his legs below the knee smashed by a shell. The surgeon of his battery had only had time to bandage the fractured leg to the sound one with a wide leather bandage, and then had to go on with his battery. The poor fellow was sitting up on the carriage, with the blood dropping down on the sand below. I got him off into the stretcher, made him as comfortable as I could, and sent him back to the field hospital. It was fortunate I was able to give him the stretcher, for just as he got into it an orderly came up with orders for the ammunition waggon to go on, and the poor wounded gunner would either have had to go on with it, jolted up and down suffering agony, or be left on the sand on the chance of some of our people coming up with a stretcher.

The whole action lasted about three hours, and we were back in camp before eleven o'clock. On our way back an Egyptian soldier came drifting towards us. He had lost his rifle and ammunition and also his fez. He pointed to his head, and I found that he had been struck by a shell, which had torn the scalp and carried

off a piece of his skull about an inch square, laying bare the brain, the bloodvessels of which could be seen plainly pulsating. The strange part of the wound was that there was hardly any blood from it, and it seemed to have so little effect upon him. He was jabbering away in Arabic, and walked perfectly well without assistance. I brought him into camp, and handed him over to the Headquarters Staff, who wanted to get some information out of him about the disposition of Arabi's forces. At the battle of Kassassin it was estimated that Arabi's forces numbered 16,000; he had come so close to our camp at one point that his shells actually came in amongst the tents, and this reconnaissance in force of his showed that they were prepared to act on the offensive. The body of Lieut. Gribble, 3rd Dragoon Guards, who was missing since the night-charge of the 28th, was found on this occasion.

On the 10th September, all of Sir Garnet's troops had arrived at Kassassin, and the 11th and 12th were spent in preparations for the great struggle, giving the men a rest, and a few reconnaissances were made.

#### TEL-EL-KEBIR.

On the evening of the 12th, Sir Garnet Wolsely ordered the whole force to be in readiness to march that night for an attack next morning on the enemy at Tel-el-Kebir.

The distance between Kassassin and Tel-el-Kebir is nine miles, the ground a flat expanse of desert covered with sand which had a sort of gravelly crust on the top, readily breaking up by footsteps. There was a slight rise from Kassassin to Tel-el-Kebir.

The entrenchments at Tel-el-Kebir extended from the canal and railway, which run parallel and close together here, for three and a-half miles in a northerly direction. They consisted of a strong line of earthworks with a deep trench in front, and with bastions at intervals, armed with Krupp guns, jutting out so as to enable the artillery to enfilade any attacking force. Behind was a second line of earthworks, manned in the same way with guns, while in rear were innumerable shelter trenches and small redoubts mounting two and four guns each. Shortly after sunset the infantry division began their forward march, and bivouacked in the open about four miles out.

About half past one on the morning of the 13th, the men were silently aroused and advanced in order of battle. The distribution of the force was as follows: On the extreme right were 2 batteries of Royal Horse Artillery, and the bulk of the cavalry under Drury Lowe. My regiment was in this division, and our orders were to sweep round to the rear of the enemy's entrenchments.

Next came the Irish Brigade and the Royal Marines under General Graham, supported by the Guards' Brigade under the

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Duke of Connaught, then in the centre of the force the artillery massed under Col. Goodenough with 42 guns, then Alison's Highland Brigade supported by the 4th Brigade under Colonel Ashburnham in rear, and finally on the extreme left and across the canal the Indian Contingent under Sir Herbert Macpherson.

The total force comprised :

12,277 Infantry,  
2,785 Cavalry,  
61 Guns,  
214 Naval Brigade with 6 gattlings.

It will be seen that the extreme right and left of this force were composed of cavalry, the right and left wings proper were formed of infantry, while the centre consisted of a powerful brigade of artillery.

The enemy's strength was estimated at 20,000 regulars with 6,000 Bedouins and 70 guns.

Our troops silently advanced without being noticed till Graham's brigade was within 500 yards of the entrenchment, when, at three minutes before 5 o'clock, the booming of a gun showed that they had been seen; they were then ordered to charge, and with a loud cheer they rushed forward lying down at intervals to fire. On reaching the entrenchments they leaped into the midst of the Egyptians and a hand-to-hand conflict ensued, but not for long, as the enemy were quickly overcome by the furious dash and fled. Behind the first line lay a second strongly defended by guns, and the men pressed on, driving the enemy from the parapets, and gaining shelter-trench after shelter-trench till the whole position was taken.

Further to the left the Highlanders had advanced to within 300 yards of the enemy before the alarm was given, and then to the inspiring sound of the bagpipes, they carried the first line of entrenchments without firing a shot, literally at the bayonets point, and then advancing more carefully and firing steadily made a rush into the second line of entrenchments. This was the finishing stroke to the battle, and the whole Egyptian army fled in the utmost disorder.

Arabi galloped back to Belbeis where he found an engine and got into Cairo the same evening, saying that he had won the battle and that Garnet Wolseley and Beauchamp Seymour were coming after him in chains; he also said "This is the time now to give up Cairo to the soldiers to be looted and burnt," but the Cairenes didn't quite believe him and preferred to wait for further news.

As I said before, my regiment, the 13th, with the 2nd B. C., formed part of Drury-Lowe's cavalry division. We left Kassassin at one o'clock, and rode silently across the desert far off to our right, the only sounds being the occasional clatter of a sabre

against the spurs, and the crunch, crunch of the crust of gravel under the horses' feet. After about two hours' riding we were halted and dismounted.

Before leaving camp the orders had been very strict that no foot soldier or follower of any kind was to accompany the cavalry, so I called my three servants and explained matters to them: "there is going to be a great *Laraie*," I said, "and the *hookum* is that no one on foot is to come with us," "so you'd better stick to the infantry *foge* and catch hold of a mule's tail or anything handy to help you along, and remember that after the first meal eaten there will be scores of baggage mules empty and you can mount them and ride," and I told them to look out for me the next day, and try to get up to me. They all said "Bahut Acha," "God is good and will help us."

Well, when we halted I lay flat on my back in the sand, holding my horse's bridle and looked up at the stars for an hour or so. It was a lovely, clear, starlight night—and then just as the eastern hemisphere seemed to lighten a little came a quiet order down the line to mount. As we were getting into our places I saw far off to the left a *flash* in the sky like sheet lightning. It was the first gun from the enemy's ramparts, and then came another ever so far from the first. Major Ryves who was next me said "they're at it already;" we then moved off and soon got the order to trot, and now there was a constant succession of flashes followed by the boom of the guns. We seemed to be two or three miles from the left of the entrenchments, and soon we were tearing along at a furious gallop. As daylight crept on we could make out figures hurrying away to the rear of the entrenchments. One of the first things I noticed was a huge camel looming up against the sky line and rapidly trotting off, then came *whurr*-crash and a shell burst in front of us. We were seen and the enemy's guns were upon us, tearing up the sand in front and on either side of us, but fortunately without touching us; and on and on we went at a headlong charge nearing those dark fleeing objects, and presently the horse artillery guns with us halted and taking up position began to throw shells over our heads into the midst of the flying enemy. I never like the guns firing over my head. I once saw six of our own men bowled over by our guns throwing shells in this way, and sure enough as we rode along crash came one of our own shells from behind throwing its death-dealing splinters all around us. "Only a time fuse burst short," they say, but what havoc those defective time fuses can wreak! Soon we were in the midst of them. Such a scene? I'll never forget it; hundreds and thousands of Soudanese, Nubians, Arabs and Egyptians hurrying along helter-skelter with rifles in their hands and ammunition in their pouches—poor ignorant fools, if they had only thrown them aside. With a yell the fierce-looking Sikhs and Punjabies with lance upraised were upon them, spearing them

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right and left. Many a poor Arab soldier I saw with hands uplifted supplicating for his life—*too late*—the lance was in his heart, and with a groan he sank on the sands, writhing in agony as his life-blood poured out in great gushes. Artillery waggons tore past, camels laden with baggage hurried along, riderless horses galloped wildly hither and thither, and everywhere the ground was strewn and littered with rifles, ammunition boxes, carpets, tent poles, cross belts, everything you could think of belonging to a camp. We never paused, but rode on through their midst full gallop. I had my revolver levelled in my right hand ready to defend myself, but fortunately had no occasion to use it, while I directed my foaming horse with the reins in my left.

Soon the order went forth to stay the slaughter. The Arabs were told by signals to lay down their arms and were then spared. This was necessary as in many cases they fired on our men after we had passed them. As we tore along through that disorderly rabble of flying soldiers, I saw some sad sights. One in particular I remember: two men were seated on the sand and as I passed them they looked up, their soft brown eyes staring at me with that peculiar hunted expression which I dare say many of you have noticed when taking up a wounded partridge or rabbit that you have shot—and mixed with that expression it seemed to me there was one of relief, that it was all over. No more weary forced marches at night, no more tiresome parades and no more toiling in the trenches. Still again it must have seemed hard to them on that beautiful clear fresh autumn morning, the crisp cool air sweeping over the desert in invigorating draughts and the glorious morning sun just peeping above the horizon—thus in the full vigour of their youth to lay down their lives, for full well they knew their wounds were mortal, the destructive shell fragment had torn into their vitals, and their life-blood was welling out, showing through their tunics in great spreading scarlet stains. Soon, very soon, I knew those clear eyes would be covered with a film, that laboured breathing would end in a choking oppression and they would fall back on the sand, to be left till huddled together in some pit grave with the nameless dead.

Still *on and on* we went till we drew near to the railway line in rear of the entrenchments, and then I saw three trains with engines puffing up their white smoke in their effort to get up steam and glide off with their cargo of flying soldiers, for crowds of the enemy had huddled into these trains as fast as they could, hoping thus to get rapidly away. Then came an order to head the train, and off our men tore, shouting as they took up the order, "*Hulla, Hulla, Hulla, Train pukkerö.*" We galloped along by the side of the train trying to get to the engine and shoot down the engine driver. There was a long line of first and second class carriages, and no one was visible in them, but as we got abreast of them a very brisk fire

came pouring from all the windows; they had been hiding on the floor. *Ping—Ping—Ping, Whizz—Whizz—Ping—Whizz,* went the bullets above and below me, under my horse and over my head. "*Now it's coming,*" I thought, but no! providentially nothing hit me, though I saw men drop on all sides and horses shiver as the bullets struck them, then stumble and fall. It was only a few minutes and then the speed of the engine increased and the train got away. Those three trains got off, but there was still another nearer to their camp which had been stopped by a camel and a shell; the train was trying to back out, when a shell struck the rear carriage and smashed the axle, then a large yellow camel crossing the track was knocked down by this broken last car, which ran up on its legs and effectually blocked the train. The camel was roaring with pain, and some excited Sepoy was trying to get it out, shouting out "this is my loot."

The battle was over now, the whole thing hadn't lasted more than half an hour before the retreat began, and in another half hour we were round the rear of the entrenchment and the firing had ceased. I remember talking to an artillery officer, near the blocked train; he said he had got separated from his battery and wanted to know if I had seen anything of it. As we were talking, I saw a revolver pouch lying on the sand, so, saying that was what I wanted, I got off my horse and picked it up. He said, "and there's a water bottle, just what I want," and secured it, and then he told me that in riding along he had felt a sharp blow on his stomach, producing a sickish sensation and was sure he had been hit, especially as he felt his thighs getting wet, which he put down to blood flowing from his wound, but not feeling worse he examined and found that his water bottle had swung round in front and been struck by a bullet which had entered it and let the water out. It was as he said, "a pretty narrow squeak," and he meant to keep the bottle, with the bullet rattling in it.

A few minutes after this the regiment was dismounted and the 2nd B.C. came up in our direction and dismounted also; and as the two regiments were chatting and comparing notes, suddenly one of the troopers called out "*Booshmen Ata,*" i. e., "*the enemy is coming,*" and looking towards the entrenchments, sure enough a squadron of Arabi's cavalry came charging down upon us. In some way or other they had remained behind the general stampede, and finding themselves hemmed in had put a bold front on it, and, some with drawn swords, others with carbines levelled, spread out like a fan, they came down upon us, hoping to get past us before we could be mounted and after them. The 2nd and Lancers quickly mounted and galloped off in pursuit, and it became a very exciting race, a veritable death struggle. I saw two of the poor Egyptians bite the dust; in both instances the Lancer riding rapidly after the enemy in hot pursuit, with lance lowered and body leaning well forward on

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his horse, the Egyptian well forward also with carbine ready, eagerly waiting the most favourable moment to swing round and lodge its contents in his pursuer. Nearer and nearer presses the Lancer till with a forward lunge he thrusts his lance well into his victim's body between the shoulder blades, and strange to say in both instances, pursued and pursuer both toppled over into the sand, while both horses stumbled and fell. The Lancer was soon on his feet, while both horses struggled up and looked around them dazed, but the poor Egyptian lay writhing on the ground with the point of the lance coming out through his chest, the bamboo handle having broken off at his back.

The total loss on our side at Tel-el-Kebir was 9 officers, 45 men, killed; 27 officers, 355 men, wounded; missing, 30; while the Egyptian loss was about 1,500.

Shortly after this we were summoned by bugle call for the advance, and without any rest or the slightest refreshment for man or beast we set out for Belbeis in pursuit of Arabi. As we rode along the canal the heat became intense, and the men were constantly falling out to run down the bank and sip the putrid water. The whole way from Tel-el-Kebir to Belbeis was strewn with cartridge boxes, carbines, Remington rifles, cross belts, Persian rugs, gun carriages and various articles of camp equipage. They did tell a story of some soldier giving what he took to be a cartridge box, a kick with his ammupition boot, when a lot of gold coins rolled out, but I never heard the story corroborated.

As we rode along the sandy path, or rather no path, to Belbeis, at one of our temporary halts my three servants joined me, and each of them had a present for me that they had picked up. One gave me three greasy cakes, which I was very glad to eat; another gave me a silver watch, which he said he had found on the battlefield. I strongly suspect he had taken it from some poor fellow's body. I kept it as a memento.

At Belbeis we very nearly caught Arabi, but under cover of some skirmishers' fire he got off to the railway and found an engine which took him in to Cairo. We halted at Belbeis till three o'clock next morning, and then rode on to Cairo, doing the 66 miles in two days without food or shelter, and when Drury-Lowe arrived at the outskirts of Cairo on the afternoon of the 14th, he had with him just 1,000 cavalry and mounted infantry, but he spread his men out in a single line and we advanced, presenting a very extended front to the Abbassieh ramparts. There were 50 Armstrong and Krupp guns there in position, and Arabi had 10,000 men under arms in the city, so it was pretty plucky of 1,000 tired-out horsemen to threaten this formidable host.

## OCCUPATION OF CAIRO.

The Governor of Cairo sent us a flag of truce immediately we arrived, however, and Drury-Lowe sent in detachments to occupy the citadel, the fort and the railway station and then felt that the city was in his hands. The remainder of us bivouacked out on the sands that night. Next morning I saw Arabi for the first time. He was a prisoner in the 7th Dragoon quarter guard, having surrendered to Drury-Lowe the night before. He was in his stocking feet, white stockings at that, his beard was of a week's growth and presented a very untidy, stubbly appearance, his shoulders were round and stooping, his dark green double-breasted tunic was unbuttoned, and his whole attitude was one of cringing submission and humility. Well he had played his cards and lost.

That same day, 15th September, we moved into the Abbassieh Barracks and settled down in quarters there for a fortnight. The inhabitants of Cairo had been having a very hard time of it, and they were very thankful we had come. Dr. Sonsino, an Italian, who had been in Cairo throughout, called on me one day and drove me all over the city and took me to call on the Governor and many of the leading people. Everywhere there were sad stories of suffering and distress, and everywhere there was satisfaction that we had arrived and order promised to be restored. The Egyptians are great smokers and coffee drinkers; at every house we went to we were hardly seated before a bleary-eyed attendant brought in a tray with tiny little cups of coffee and cigarettes. Dr. Sonsino took me one day to the Kasr-el-Nil Hospital where most of the wounded Egyptian soldiers had been brought from the battlefield. One very peculiar case I saw. A man was seated on a bed and the Egyptian surgeons were putting stitches in what was left of his face. A shell had carried away his eyes, nose, mouth, chin and forehead, and looking at him, one couldn't tell whether it was the front or the back of his head that you saw; it was one mass of raw ulcerated bleeding flesh, in the centre of which was a small hole, into which they poured some fluid nourishment, then bandaged him up, and helping him to rise he actually walked to his cot.

It was a Wednesday when I saw him, and Tel-el-Kebir was fought on a Tuesday, so that he had been alive for a week and a day after receiving this awful wound. Moreover, he had only been found on the Friday after the action, hiding in some cane brake, his wound covered with a mass of flies. Some Eastern people have a most wonderful tenacity of life.

On the 1st October, the whole of Sir Garnet's army passed in review before the Khedive, at the Abdin Palace, and a few days after that, we set out on our return voyage to India.

Before this, however, the Queen had expressed a wish to see one of her Indian Regiments. To have selected one would have

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caused too much jealousy, so it was decided to pick out men from all the regiments. Accordingly two native officers and two non-commissioned officers from each regiment were chosen and sent home in charge of Colonel Pennington of the 13th, and Captain McKay of the 29th Bombay regiment. They were a party of thirty, and on their arrival in England, were treated with great kindness.

The two officers of my regiment told me lots of wonderful stories of their visit on their return. They were greatly pleased with the arsenal at Woolwich, the armour in the Tower of London and the dockyards at Liverpool, but did not care much for the pictures in the National Gallery, or the Alhambra. They were all provided with overcoats and warm underclothing and were each given a guinea a day pocket money. They were taken to see a great many sights and several receptions were given them, one at Lord Hartington's. It was a puzzling thing for the entertainers to provide suitable refreshments for them, as natives of India are so particular about their food and all have different customs. A Sikh will drink anything from gin to maraschino, but feels insulted by your offering him a cigar or tobacco in any shape. Whereas a Mahomedan will smoke anything you choose to give him, but would be greatly offended by your suggesting his taking a glass of wine or spirits. The Koran forbids all that.

Fruit was generally found a pretty safe thing, they had no caste prejudices about eating it.

Col. Pennington told me he was pestered by polite notes from ladies in good position in London wanting to know if he would allow some of those delightful Indian warriors to come to their houses, and asking what form of entertainment would be most acceptable to them; a dinner, a musical party, a reception or a dance. To all he returned the same reply, that it was not the wish of Government to have them go to any entertainment except those they provided for them.

Orders were very strict, too, that no callers were to be admitted, but in spite of this he found a bevy of ladies one afternoon at Sutherland House, where the contingent were quartered, having afternoon tea with the Ressalders and Jemedars, and listening with open-mouthed astonishment to the wonderful tales of the East related to them by an English-speaking native officer.

The Queen was much interested in her native warriors, and pinned their medals on with her own hand. She gave each of them a little present and an engraving of herself to take back with them.

We had a very pleasant return voyage to India. The Red Sea and Indian Ocean were like the proverbial sheets of glass, and after a short halt at Bombay we returned by troop train to Meerut, arriving there on the 31st October exactly three months from the day we left.

So ended our share in the campaign. On our return the Government of India issued a notification expressing their pleasure at the fact "that the Indian Contingent had taken an honourable and important part in the operations," and the Viceroy congratulated the troops on having added fresh lustre to the reputation of the Indian Army.

When it is borne in mind that the Indian troops do not enlist for foreign service, it reflects the greatest credit upon them that, when called upon to take part in this campaign, waving aside the traditions of their race, and their religious prejudices against crossing the Black Water, they willingly, cheerfully, and eagerly responded to the call. Their behaviour on this occasion shows that in any great European struggle, they who would compute the military strength of Great Britain must include the possibility of vast additions being made to it from the fighting races of Hindustan who have thus manifested their readiness to serve their Queen, and to uphold the dignity of her Empire.

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Wednesday, 24th March, 1892.

MAJOR JAMES MASON, Vice-President, in the Chair.

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## THE GROWTH OF A MILITARY SPIRIT IN CANADA

By LIEUT.-COL. W. E. O'BRIEN, M.P.,  
35TH BATTALION.

The two races which mainly contribute to the making of the Canadian people possess a birthright of military spirit derived from long lines of warlike ancestry. With this spirit none were more fully possessed than the pioneers of New France, whose leaders were soldiers of distinction, and of whom many were veterans trained in the wars in which internal discord and foreign aggression had involved their native country during the two centuries which preceded the conquest of Quebec. Others were scions of that *noblesse* which had little but a name and a sword to offer to its younger members; and all alike were compelled by necessity, from the beginning of the French occupation of Canada to its close, to be constantly in arms for the protection of their lives and properties. But the spirit thus brought into the infant colony, and fostered by circumstances during its growth, was characteristic of the race from which it was derived. The French are essentially a military people. For them military glory has always had a fatal attraction. In the days of the Grand Monarque, as in the turmoil of the Revolution, and the dazzling period of the First Empire, the national pride exhausted the life of the people in the vain attempt to establish a military supremacy in Europe. And so, in later times, the indulgence in a similar spirit led to the disastrous results of the German war. And it is mainly to this spirit of military adventure that we owe the existence of that colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence, which now forms so important an element in the Confederation of Canada.

The men of British birth, from whom we in this Province proudly claim descent, must be judged by a different standard. Of the English people it has been said that they are a warlike, rather than a military people—always ready to fight, but caring little for the pomp and circumstance of war. No people, in time of war,

sympathize more keenly with their soldiers in the sufferings and hardships incidental to their work, or feel more pride in the victories they gain. Yet, in time of peace, the red coat is no passport to respect or consideration. Too often, indeed, we have seen it regarded rather as a sign of social inferiority than of honourable distinction. Despite the Queen's regulations, the officer doffs his uniform as an encumbrance to be got rid of as soon as possible when parade is over. He votes the service a bore, and his profession one to be ignored as much as possible. Fortunately for his country, he is, notwithstanding this affectation, at heart every inch a soldier, and he will lead, and his men will follow, whatever the odds to be encountered, or the hardships to be endured. To this absence of the military, as distinguished from the warlike, spirit, may perhaps be due the fact that, while always ready to fight, England is never ready for war, and not till they are actually wanted does the nation bestir itself to provide the necessary means. But from this warlike stock we inherit, with all its imperfections, a spirit which has made the British race produce such fighting men on land and sea as no other race can boast, either for desperate valour or enduring fortitude, and whose history, from Crecy to Waterloo, and from Waterloo to the last conflict in a remote corner of India, is one of almost unbroken victory.

The qualities thus inherited were not permitted to be lost for want of opportunity to exercise them, on the part of either British or French colonists. The life of the latter was one of continual watchfulness and peril. The crafty and merciless Iroquois, whose natural ferocity was whetted by a desire for vengeance upon the French for their ill-advised attack upon their tribe by Champlain in 1609, gave them no peace night or day. They literally had to toil in the field or the workshop with their muskets by their sides, while some member of the family was on watch for the foe. Their houses were forts, and they were glad when they could say of their dwelling "it had not been burned this year or more"; and besides this constant Indian warfare, the French colonist was generally at feud with his English neighbour, and was frequently summoned to join in those expeditions to the frontier, which periodically occur in the history of that period. Though peace might prevail along the English channel, the hatchet was seldom buried in the debatable grounds between Lake Champlain and the Hudson, and in the valley of the Ohio, while on the Atlantic coast and shores of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence hostilities were of general prevalence. Between the ancestors of our present peaceful habitants and their New England rivals there was not only the old antipathy of race, but the deep-seated hostility between the Puritan and the Catholic. There was fierce competition in the Indian trade. There was the suspicion and mistrust engendered by mutual aggression and national jealousy—in short, there were between these two popula-

tions all the elements of thorough hatred and ill-will, and no opportunity was lost of inflicting every species of injury by the one upon the other. With tolerably even fortune this warfare continued, Braddock's defeat giving the advantage rather to the arms of France, till the elder Pitt began to rule, and his imperious will, diffusing itself into all the affairs of state, energy and capacity in every department, directed and supported the valour of soldiers and sailors. Every blow then struck home. France and Spain were successfully humbled, and shorn of many of their choicest possessions. And, though the master-hand was withdrawn before the work was finally accomplished, the Treaty of Paris set the seal to the charter of the great colonial Empire of Britain. The conquest of Canada, the most important event of this period, put an end to the long conflict between the rival colonists, and, for a time, peace prevailed in the North American continent, and no doubt the return to France of many of the chief inhabitants of Canada and of the regular troops largely reduced the fighting population, while the change of allegiance naturally checked the military spirit of those who remained, and who were free to pursue their industrial avocations in peace.

Yet one cannot pass from this period without paying a tribute of respect to the gallantry of a people who, left entirely to their own resources, so long defended their country against the formidable armaments which threatened them. Cut off by a hostile fleet from all chance of succour from France, attacked by three powerful armies supported by all the resources of their old New England foes, resistance was hopeless. They nevertheless persevered, though the number of their assailants has been computed as nearly equal to that of the whole population of the Province. The defeat of Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, by Montcalm, his subsequent defence of Quebec, and the hard-fought action at Sillery were military achievements of the highest order, which cast a halo of glory over the closing scenes of the French *regime* in North America worthy of its most heroic days.

Such, prior to the conquest, had been the military training of the French Canadians, and it would indeed be strange if, springing from such a source, developed and disciplined in so severe a school, with such a glorious reputation to maintain, the warlike spirit of the race had failed in after years to bring forth fruits worthy of its name and honourable to its lineage.

The position of the English colonist in America was, for a long period, very similar to that which I have described as the lot of the French-Canadian. In one respect the populations were very dissimilar. The French were homogeneous. French and French Catholics only were permitted to live on that sacred soil when the conversion of the heathen Indians was one of the chief motives of colonization. There the Church reigned supreme, defying even the

edicts of the most resolute of the Royal Governors, and exercising all the tyranny incidental to a spiritual oligarchy. In the English colonies, on the other hand, we have a variety of races, and still greater variety of creeds and political sentiments. In the New England States the Puritan exiles had liberty to carry out to the fullest extent their peculiar doctrines in Church and State, and the spiritual despotism then established differed only in dogma from that which prevailed on the banks of the St. Lawrence. In New York the Dutch settlers formed a community of their own. Pennsylvania was the home of the Quakers, the most tolerant in matters of religion, and, on principle, opposed to the use of arms. Maryland was settled by Roman Catholic refugees. Virginia and the Carolinas were as strongly cavalier as New England was Puritan. A large emigration of Ulster Presbyterians added another element to the population, which made itself felt at a later period. Thus every type of English political and religious thought was represented, and the virtues and failings of each were brought into striking contrast. Between the different Provinces there was but little community of interest, and still less community of feeling or harmony of action. This was remarkably the case in all matters relating to military affairs. The Virginians would not aid the New Englanders in their contests with the French and Indians on the northern border. The New Englanders would do nothing for the defence of Virginia when the attack came from the west. And in all the expeditions that were organized for the reduction of the French power in Canada, the British Government found great difficulty in bringing about unity of action or combination of forces. But, with the difference thus pointed out, the life of the English colonist was very much like that of his French neighbour. Though he had not the Iroquois to contend with, he had a pretty constant Indian warfare on hand, chiefly brought about by his own grasping disposition and unfair dealing with the red man. Both in the north and west he was constantly at war with the French, and in all the great expeditions against them he took a leading part. Towards the close of the war he was especially active. The Provincial forces formed a large part of the army which reduced Louisburgh. Ten thousand of them were with Abercrombie in the fatal attack upon Ticonderoga, and took part in the subsequent operations under Amherst. They formed the force which, under Prideaux and Johnson, made its way to Niagara, where they captured the French stronghold and cut off all communication between Quebec and the western posts. Thus, during the administration of Mr. Pitt, they saw war upon a large scale, and took part in its most important operations. With the expulsion of the French from Canada these operations came to a close, and the warlike energies of the British colonist found well-earned repose.

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deal. That there were errors and misunderstandings on both sides must be admitted. There were many acts of the Administration which were ill-advised. There was much in the action of the Americans for which there was no excuse. The chapter in our history is a painful one, and it is not likely—hardly, indeed, possible—that similar events can again occur. One bright page in the chapter I may allude to, and that is the courage and fortitude which carried England through that calamitous period, the most critical in her history, when, besides the revolt in America, which, humanly speaking, she would have crushed but for foreign intervention, she had to contend single-handed against the combined forces of France, Spain and Holland, and the hostility, thinly disguised under the name of neutrality, of the Northern Powers. Yet all their efforts failed, and England emerged from the contest, weakened indeed by the loss of America, but, in other respects, in a better condition than the powers which had so wantonly assailed her.

But, in its results, the struggle had a most important bearing upon the future of Canada. Of the attack made upon this country by the revolted Americans and its failure, little need be said. The French-Canadians wisely refused to listen to the republican emissaries, but in the actual conflict they took but little part. In England they had found a generous foe. The Americans had always been their bitterest enemies. Yet, under the existing conditions, it was not likely that they would feel that keen interest in the strife between the two countries, which, at a later period, they abundantly manifested under somewhat similar circumstances. The close of the war left the American loyalists in a deplorable plight. Not only had they, by their adherence to the Crown, incurred the bitterest enmity of the successful faction, which manifested itself in every form of insult and injury, but such of their property as had escaped destruction was confiscated, and they and their families were left in the utmost destitution. Every effort was made by the British Government to induce Congress to treat them with something like justice and lenity, but that body, acting on the same plea which, on recent occasions, has enabled it to evade its national responsibility, declared its inability to control the action of the several States, and the faint recommendation which it did agree to make to the State Governments was, by all but one, treated with contempt. The British Government finally dealt with the matter in no illiberal spirit, but the immediate result of the action of the States was to drive from the country a large proportion of its best inhabitants, to stamp the character of the American people in their dealings with foreign States with that combination of arrogance and meanness from which they have never been able to emancipate themselves, and to transfer to Canadian soil a body of men whose name of U. E. Loyalists has ever

been regarded throughout the Empire as a title of the highest distinction. Besides all other claims to our respect, these men brought to Canada a military spirit of the greatest value, the influence of which has never been lost. Most of them had served in the war. All were animated with a feeling of hostility towards the land from which they were driven, which neither time nor change has caused to be forgotten.

The advent of the U. E. Loyalists, with the warlike instincts of their race fully developed by actual conflict, and sharpened by the touchstone of persecution, established in the country a decidedly military spirit and aptitude for war, besides destroying the germs of any desire that might have arisen for association with the Americans. Combined with this, there was a constant influx of military immigrants of all ranks, to whom every encouragement was given to settle in the country, and whose descendants in various parts of the Dominion have never lost the military instinct. The consequence of all this was, that when, in 1812, the Americans, anticipating an easy victory over the scattered population of Canada, entered the country, preceded by an issue of bombastic proclamations, they found themselves confronted by a warlike people, whose militia sprang to arms at the first call of danger, and proved themselves, in every conflict, worthy of their name and race. Men of British and French descent, and especially the sons of the U. E. Loyalists, vied with each other in noble emulation, and, during the whole period of the war, never relaxed in the determination to maintain intact the heritage of their fathers. Into the details of the war of 1812 it is needless here to enter. They are, or they ought to be, familiar to all present. But they proved conclusively two things—first, that previous events, combined with the other causes referred to, had imbued the people of Canada with a thoroughly warlike spirit; secondly, that, with such a spirit existing amongst us, Canada, as an integral portion of the Empire, need not fear any foreign foe. The spirit with which the Canadians carried on the contest proves the first. The result of the contest proves the second. When it began, England was in the critical period of her strife with Napoleon. Almost alone she had undertaken to beat down that colossal power which dominated Europe. And it was in alliance with the most ruthless tyrant that modern times have known that the Democracy of America took occasion to attack her. And yet they failed, and signally failed. Under the most favourable circumstances for themselves, they failed. It is needless to draw the moral.

In 1837 there was again a call to arms. With the political events of that time I have nothing to do, but the spirit and alacrity with which the call was responded to, or rather the spontaneous rising of the whole population at the first note of danger, proved the spirit which pervaded every breast.

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In 1855 began the formation of the force which has grown to be a truly national one—the Active Militia—Her Majesty's Army in Canada. No country has any right to claim the attribute of nationality which is not prepared, out of its own resources, to maintain order within its borders, and to resist aggression from without. In 1855 the then Province of Canada took the first step in that direction, and the movement, being the voluntary action of the people, was proof of the steady growth of the military spirit. Then came the Trent affair, when the people with one voice declared that, though the quarrel was an Imperial one, and for which they were in no sense responsible, they were willing, as part of the Empire, to assume their share of Imperial defence. The Fenian raids followed, directed against Canada, not because the Canadians had done any wrong to Ireland, but because Canada, a portion of the British Empire, was most vulnerable to attack. This was an important epoch in our history. For the first time a purely Canadian force, equipped with Canadian money, drilled and commanded by Canadian officers, took the field, for self-defence it is true, but in an Imperial quarrel. The Trent affair and the Fenian raids made two things clear: first, the alacrity with which, in case of need, Canada would spring to arms; secondly, the promptitude with which Great Britain both could and would send forces to her aid. Shortly after the Fenian raid the active force was organized nearly upon its present footing, and with Confederation it was extended over the whole Dominion. But before the Dominion had arrived at the years of manhood the North-West rebellion gave a practical test of the spirit of the people, and of the capacity of its force. The events of that period are too fresh in our recollection to require any special notice at my hands. That it was from first to last a military achievement of which neither the Government, the people, nor those engaged need be ashamed, is, I think, generally admitted. It gave proof, at any rate, if proof were needed, that the war-like spirit of the Canadians had kept pace with their progress in other respects—that the shades of Wolfe and Montcalm, of Brock and De Salaberry, of our U. E. Loyalist ancestors, and of all the unnamed heroes of our earlier days, might look down with pride upon the Canada of 1885, and rejoice to think that it was worthy of its sires.

But it seems to me that the most satisfactory evidence of the existence and steady growth of the military spirit of Canada is to be found in the fact that such a force as we have now in this country is, under existing conditions, maintained at all. Neither to the officers nor men who compose it does it afford anything of profit or advantage, either social, political or pecuniary. In every kind of business or industrial pursuit membership in it is a drawback. To officers in particular it involves a loss of time and money, as well as a considerable amount of labour. The Govern-

ment recognize the force as a necessary element in our political existence, but grudge it the starvation allowance which Parliament willingly votes. Employers of labour give it no encouragement—too often do their best to hinder it. Yet, under such conditions it exists, and it flourishes. Why? Simply because in the hearts of the people there is an ingrained military spirit which will find means of development. Because there is in them the spirit of their forefathers—the spirit whose growth in the foregoing remarks I have endeavoured to trace, whose manifestations at various periods in our history I have tried to point out—the spirit which first led to the settlement of America, and which was fed and nourished by the very conditions of the existence of the early pioneers. We see it displayed in the fierce contests for the sovereignty of North America. It animated the captors of Louisburg, and it raged in the breasts of those engaged in the death struggle on the Plains of Abraham. It nerved the U. E. Loyalists in the heroic sacrifice which drove them from every enjoyment of life to exile, hardship and penury. It led the militia of 1812 to victory at Queenston, Lundy's Lane and Chateauguay. It caused them to rise in fury in 1866 to repel the insensate Fenian invasion, and to struggle for places in the ranks of those who were sent to face the probable danger of the North-West rising. And, more than all, its steady glow keeps alive, despite the drawbacks I have mentioned, the force to which we are all proud to belong.

From the existence of the Active Force under present conditions I draw another conclusion of great practical moment. I believe that as at present constituted it is eminently suited to the country. It is so inexpensive, the whole cost being less than 25 cents per annum upon each of the population, that the most severe economist cannot find fault on that score. Being a purely voluntary force, and chiefly supported by the independent yeomanry of the country, it involves no serious burden upon our industrial resources, and affects only those who willingly assume the task. The headquarters of each corps being local, it enlists in its support a variety of local interests, and the people of the locality take a pride and interest in the efficiency of the corps, and willingly aid in its support. By simply increasing the number of men per company its numerical strength can be doubled without any additional cost for officers or staff, and that strength could be kept up by regular recruiting at the various company and regimental headquarters. To increase its efficiency in drill all that is necessary is to call it out, for it has its own instructors always ready for use, and of the aptitude of the men for learning all the duties of a soldier I need say nothing. Experience has shown that it can be rapidly assembled, and rapidly mobilized. While democratic in theory, as regards the social status of its officers, the men have a wholesome sense of discipline which checks too much familiarity between

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them and their officers, even when the latter may be socially on the same level with themselves; and, as far as my observation goes, they most respect those officers who most respect themselves, and have a proper idea of what is due, if not to themselves, at least to the commission which they hold. But, say our critics, the force is composed of such shifting material that the men drilled one year are gone the next, and therefore the money spent upon them is wasted. To some extent this may be true, but, on the other hand, the very weak point of the system has its advantages. It keeps the military spirit constantly fermenting. It diffuses a knowledge of soldiering, however slight, through a large part of the adult population, and there is always a nucleus of drilled men existing in every corps who cling to it from pure love of it, who set an example, and given a pattern to the recruit, teach him his duties, instil into him a proper sense of *esprit du corps*, and impart an air of soldierly bearing. In every regiment there are enough of such men competent for the position of non-commissioned officers, and frequently for that of commissioned officers; enough also to take up and discharge all duties when the regiment is called out, while the recruits are being instructed. And the result is, taking the rural corps as a whole, that the regiment can be moved from one place to another, can be put into a train and taken out of it, marched into camp, mount its guards and pickets, pitch its tents, issue and cook its rations, maintain the strictest discipline, and all the time go on with its instruction in drill in a purpose-like and business fashion, and making progress in every military duty in a manner that astonishes the officer of the regular army. Now, can anyone suggest a system better suited to the habits and ideas of the people, or one that will bring about as good results from the same expenditure either of money or industry? What possible system of a small regular force, such as is suggested by some, could equal it for effective results in case of any serious difficulty? Having read the endless suggestions and criticisms which are from time to time poured forth through the press, and having what few of the critics have, a pretty thorough knowledge of the present system, its weak as well as its strong points, of its very apparent deficiencies, and of its real capacity — the former much more plain to the eye than the latter — I have no hesitation in saying that the present force, mainly created and developed by the military spirit of the country, and mainly dependent upon it for support, has, by the very fact of its existence at the present, proved itself well suited to the country, and to the resources at its command. And I am conservative enough to believe that we shall do better to improve and develop a system which has served us well in the past, and is serving us better in the present, than in troubling ourselves with the speculations of those who are too proud to enter the present force, and who spend their military spirit in pointing out the deficiencies which we in the ranks are steadily trying to overcome.

I have spoken of the difficulties under which this force is maintained, which bear so hardly upon those engaged in it. Certainly the country, which has such a force upon such easy terms, has no right to complain. We, however, who have so long borne the burden, have the right to ask that it be made less severe, as easily it might be. The best methods of accomplishing this could not properly be discussed in connection with the subject now under consideration, but thus much may be said, that the military spirit of which we have been speaking would sustain the Government in any reasonable expenditure required to meet existing deficiencies, especially when that expenditure would go directly to the improvement of the rank and file, and not to those accessories which, however useful, are not of absolute necessity.

But it will be asked, and the question is a pertinent one, and must be answered—admitting your contention to be correct, and the existence and growth of this warrior spirit to be proved, of what value is it—what are you going to make of it? A political necessity, the conditions of which may change at any time, compels us now to spend a certain sum upon military preparations, and in the spending of that money a few enthusiastic persons like to employ themselves in playing at soldiering. It amuses them, and it does not hurt the country; but, after all, what is it but mere pastime? The only possibility of war is one in which we should be powerless. Any attempt at resistance would be useless. We should be as a child in the hands of a giant, and immediate submission would be our inevitable lot. Now, I will not attempt to answer this question from a military point of view, though seventy-five thousand of such men as in forty-eight hours the Minister of Militia could put in the field simply by doubling the strength of existing companies, would, backed by the sea and land forces which ten days would bring to our assistance, be no despicable force. But as upon the answer largely depends the future of this country, I will answer it in the spirit in which it was answered by Sir Isaac Brock just eighty years ago, when, with as heavy odds against him as we could have to meet to-day, he undertook the defence of the Canadian frontier—a defence which but for his untimely death would have been more successful and glorious than it was. He did not sit down to consider whether with ten thousand men he could meet him that came against him with twenty thousand. He simply told the people of Canada that the country was theirs, and that it was their plain duty, when wrongfully attacked, to take up arms in its defence. And in a similar spirit should we answer the question to-day. If we are not prepared to defend our country and keep it ours, we should not have undertaken to make it. We should not assume national responsibilities unless we are prepared to accept the conditions with which they are connected, and by which alone they can be maintained. And till human

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nature is reformed, and Christianity really governs the world, preparation for self-defence, and the readiness to endure all that it may impose, is the first of national necessities. We have gone too far upon the path of national progress now to draw back from the fulfilment of this obvious duty. We cannot shrink from it unless we are prepared to abandon the work in which we have been engaged—to show ourselves false to every sentiment of manhood and patriotism—unworthy of our name and race, and of all the glorious traditions of the past. There is, then, a legitimate field for the exercise of the warlike spirit of our people, and an absolute necessity for its careful development; and while the work is one in which all should bear a part, yet mainly upon those who, in no idle spirit of display, but with an earnest desire to fit themselves for the stern duties of the field, have undertaken the task of forming our Militia into an efficient military force, will rest the burden of showing that the growth of a military spirit in Canada is no idle dream—that it is a real, living element in our national life and our national progress, and as essential to its complete development as any of those which it is the duty of Government to foster and encourage. Acting upon such a conviction we should go manfully and steadfastly on with our work, satisfied that while engaged in a task suited to our tastes and capacities, we are also fulfilling a duty second to none in its importance and value to the country—as much of benefit to it as of credit, to ourselves.

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SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
**SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING**  
OF THE MEMBERS OF  
**THE CANADIAN MILITARY INSTITUTE.**

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*Monday, 25th January, 1892.*

LIEUT-COLONEL THE HONOURABLE J. M. GIBSON, President, in the  
Chair.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting having been published and distributed amongst the members, it was moved by Mr. Casimir Dickson and duly carried, that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with and that they be taken as read.

The Annual Report of the Committee of Management was then presented together with the Treasurer's Statement, duly audited.

The Report was as follows:—

On the 1st January, 1891, the membership consisted of 284 resident and non-resident members. Since that time 41 have been elected during the year; other changes being a loss of ten gentlemen by resignation, and four having failed to pay the fees their names were struck off by the Committee. Four deaths amongst members have also occurred, viz: W. T. O'Rielly, Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities of Ontario, York Militia; Lieutenant G. A. Badgerow, of the Queen's Own Rifles, killed by being thrown from his horse; James Foster, formerly Major in the same corps, and Colonel Henry Leigh, 93rd Highlanders, of Plymouth, Eng. Allowing for additions to and losses in the membership, the actual membership is now 307.

The Institute has been liberally used by the members as well as by 164 officers of the Militia who have been granted the privileges of the Institute at various times.

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The Treasurer's Statement, which showed a cash balance at the last General Meeting, will be laid before you. The receipts from all sources during the past year amount to \$2,618.23, the expenditure \$2,496.20, leaving a balance to the credit of the Institute of \$122.02.

The valuable and interesting lectures delivered by Lieut-Colonel R. Z. Rogers, 40th B., and Capt. E. A. Cruikshank, 44th B., upon "Incidents in the Early Military History of Canada," and "The Battlefields of the Niagara Peninsula" respectively, have been printed and distributed to the members. Numerous applications from the outside public, interested in these subjects, have been received for copies of the pamphlets. For the coming season the committee has much pleasure in stating that Colonel Walker Powell, Lieut-Colonels W. E. O'Brien, M.P.; F. C. Denison, C.M.G., M.P.; Mr. Benjamin Sulte, Surgeon-Major W. Napier Keefer late Bengal Army, and Lieut-Colonel T. J. Duchesnay, D.A.G., have kindly consented to read papers upon subjects of Canadian and military interest.

About 400 volumes have been added to the Library during the past year. The members, through His Excellency Lord Stanley of Preston, owe the War Department more than a debt of gratitude, it having presented all the recent publications and maps issued from the Intelligence Branch, and expressed its pleasure in continuing to forward other books as issued from time to time. The Institute is also indebted amongst others to Sir Adolphe Caron, Minister of Militia, and to Colonel Walker Powell, Adjutant General, in enabling the Library to acquire a set of Militia Reports from Confederation to date. Accessions to the Library through private generosity have been numerous, including many valuable works. As the formation and extension of a Military Library cannot readily be accomplished by the voluntary contribution of books, a special fund and special work is needed for this purpose, the Treasurer finding many outlets for the funds in his hands. How this fund should be raised is a subject for the members to deal with.

Mr. Myles, the Honorary Treasurer, has again shown the active interest he takes in the Institute in presenting the members with the War Game and maps complete.

There has been a want of any clear understanding between the Institute and the Military Institute Company as to payment of an amount additional to the rent of the rooms, so as to enable the Company to create a reserve fund for refurnishing. The Company claim that the original understanding was that in addition to the rent ten per centum should be paid on the amount of the paid-up stock of the Company, said to be \$1,200, while there does not appear to be any agreement on the part of the Institute to assume this additional obligation. The Committee having considered the

matter, have made a proposal to the Directors of the Committee to the effect that for the past year the Institute shall pay interest, or its equivalent, at the rate of six per centum on \$1,200, in addition to the actual amount paid as rent.

In conclusion the Committee recommends for the favourable consideration of the meeting the proposed changes and alterations in the Constitution, which it is anticipated will advance the progress of, and facilitate the working of the Institute.

The Treasurer's Statement for 1891, of which the following is a synopsis, together with a statement of the assets and liabilities, was then presented :—

RECEIPTS.	
Cash Balance from 1890.....	\$173 29
Members' Subscriptions.....	1033 30
Newspapers, Lectures sold.....	24 00
Revenue from other sources.....	395 21
Interest.....	5 36
	<u>\$1631 16</u>
EXPENSES.	
Rent.....	\$496 00
Wages.....	585 00
Washing.....	9 24
Livery for boy.....	17 00
Newspapers and magazines.....	78 25
Insurance.....	11 25
Gas.....	62 37
Postage, express charges, etc.....	18 98
Books, binding, etc.....	71 30
Printing.....	99 90
Piano, rent of.....	10 50
General expenses.....	40 05
Bank charges.....	30
	<u>\$1509 14</u>
Balance cash to credit.....	122 02
	<u>\$1631 16</u>

Examined and found correct.

C. C. BENNETT, Capl., Q.O.R.,  
Hon. Auditor.

TORONTO, 1st Jan., 1892.

#### ASSETS AND LIABILITIES.

ASSETS.	
Cash on hand.....	\$122 02
Value of library, house-furnishings, etc.....	455 00
Outstanding fees, say.....	60 00
Periodicals, unexpired portion.....	15 00
Rent paid in advance.....	83 33
	<u>\$735 35</u>

## LIABILITIES.

Gas .....	\$12 95	
Outstanding accounts .....	70 40	83 35
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Excess of assets over liabilities .....	\$652 00	

C. C. BENNETT, Capt., Q.O.R.

*Hon. Auditor.*

TORONTO, 1ST JAN., 1892.

It was moved by Col. Denison, seconded by Major Delamere,—

“ That the reports as read be received and adopted.”

Carried.

Col. F. C. Denison moved, seconded by Col. Dawson,—

“ That the Secretary write His Excellency the Governor General, expressing the sincere thanks of the members of the Institute to His Excellency and the War Office for supplying the various publications of the Intelligence Branch.”

The proposed changes in the Constitution were then taken up.

It was moved by Major Delamere, seconded by Major Mason,—

“ That Clause IV. be amended so as to read: ‘An entrance fee of \$5 and \$2.50 shall be paid by each resident and non-resident member respectively on joining the Institute, which sum shall be in lieu of the dues for the first year of membership, and on the first day of each calendar year a sum of not less than \$5 for resident and \$2.50 for non-resident members shall be paid as annual dues. Annual dues commence on the 1st January of each year. Membership dates from the first day of the calendar year in which the application for membership is made.’”

It was moved by Mr. Irving, seconded by Major Delamere,—

“ That Clause VII. be amended so as to read: ‘The officers shall be a President, six Vice-Presidents (four of the latter to be non-resident members), a Secretary and a Treasurer who, together with six other ordinary members elected for that purpose at the annual general meeting, shall form a Committee charged with the entire management of the Institute. Five to form a quorum.’”

It was moved by Mr. Irving, seconded by Major Mead,—

“ That Clause XVI. be amended by inserting the words ‘the Constitution or By-laws may be altered’ for ‘the Rules may be altered.’”

It was moved by Mr. Irving, seconded by Col. Dawson,—

“ That Clause XIV. be amended by the addition of the following sentence: ‘Fifteen members shall form a quorum at any general meeting of members, either special or annual.’”

It was moved by Mr. Irving, seconded by Capt. Heward,—

“ In order to permit the Committee to appoint corresponding members and any other officials as may be considered necessary,

that the following be added to Clause IX.: 'The Committee shall also have power to appoint such official or officials as may be considered necessary to improve the working of the Institute.'

The following changes in the By-laws were also adopted:—

It was moved by Col. Denison, seconded by Major Mason,—

"That Section 31 be amended by the addition of a new subsection, to be numbered 3. All questions except the election of Officers and Honorary Members shall be decided by a show of hands, unless a ballot be demanded."

It was moved by Mr. Irving, seconded by Capt. Tidswell,—

"That Section 6 be amended so as to read: 'In the absence of the President, the senior Vice-President present (*i.e.* by military rank) shall perform the duties of the President.'"

It was moved by Mr. Irving, seconded by Mr. Matheson,—

"That Section 9 become Section 10, and that the following be Section 9: 'Any member who is in arrear with his subscription shall be disqualified from holding office, or speaking or voting at any general meeting, or at any special general meeting, and no new member shall have the privileges of the Institute until payment of his entrance fee.'"

The meeting having appointed Lieut.-Col. Otter, D.A.G., and Capt. C. C. Bennett to be Scrutineers at the election of officers, they declare the following to have been duly elected:—

As *President*—Lieut.-Colonel the Honourable J. M. Gibson, 13th Battalion, Hamilton.

As *Vice-Presidents*—Lieut.-Col. W. E. O'Brien, Lieut.-Col. F. C. Denison, Lieut.-Col. W. H. Lindsay, Major Frank King, Major G. R. Starke, Major James Mason.

As *Members of Committee of Management*—Major J. M. Delamere, Major J. H. Mead, Capt. W. G. Mutton, Capt. J. T. Symons, Capt. F. A. Fleming, Capt. S. A. Heward.

As *Treasurer*—Mr. Robert Myles, T. F. B.

As *Secretary*—Mr. L. H. Irving, R. L.

Capt. C. C. Bennett and Mr. G. B. Behan were elected Auditors for the year 1892.

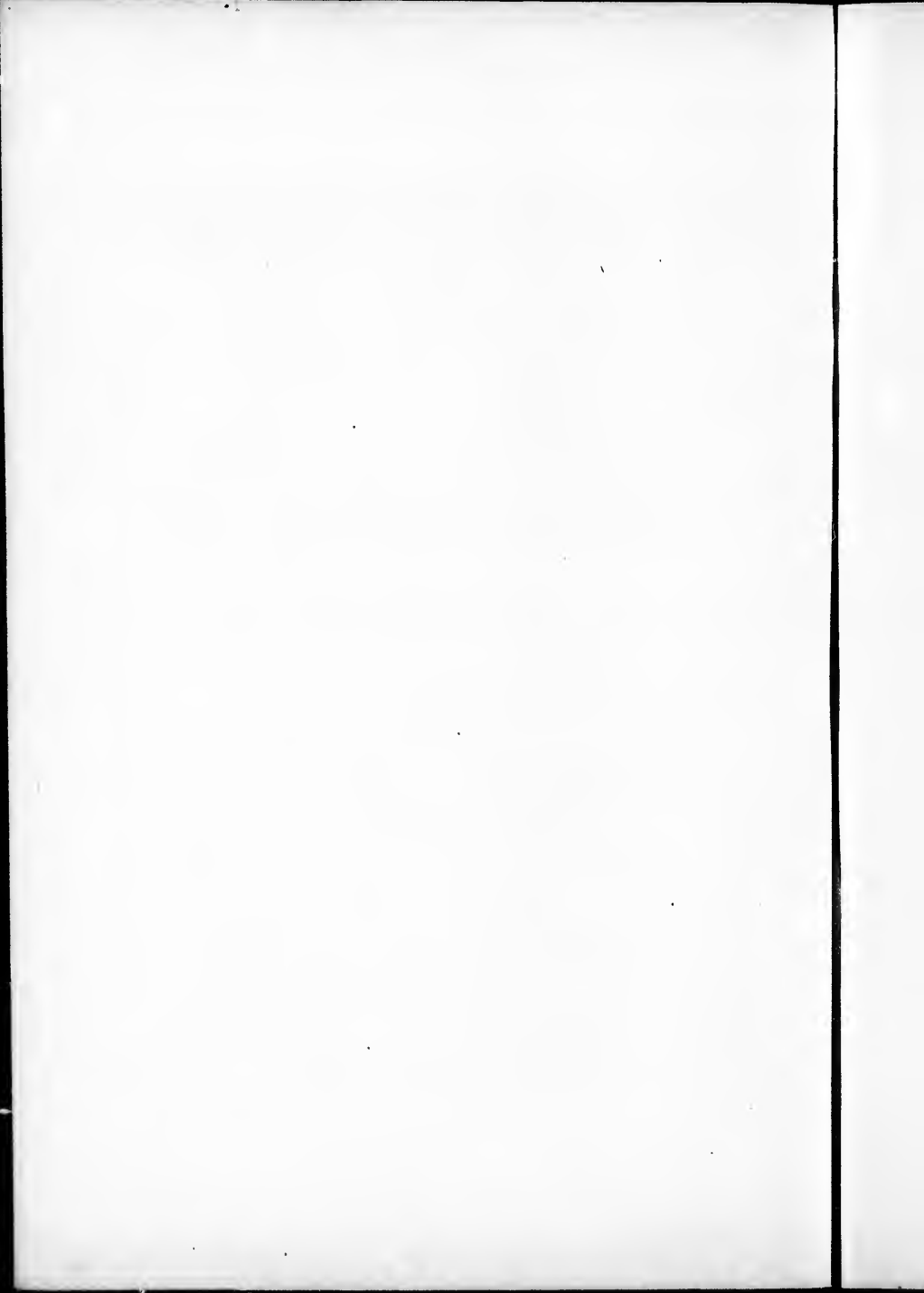
A vote of thanks was accorded to the *Canadian Militia Gazette* and the Press of Toronto for their kindness in assisting the Institute by publishing lectures and reports of meetings.

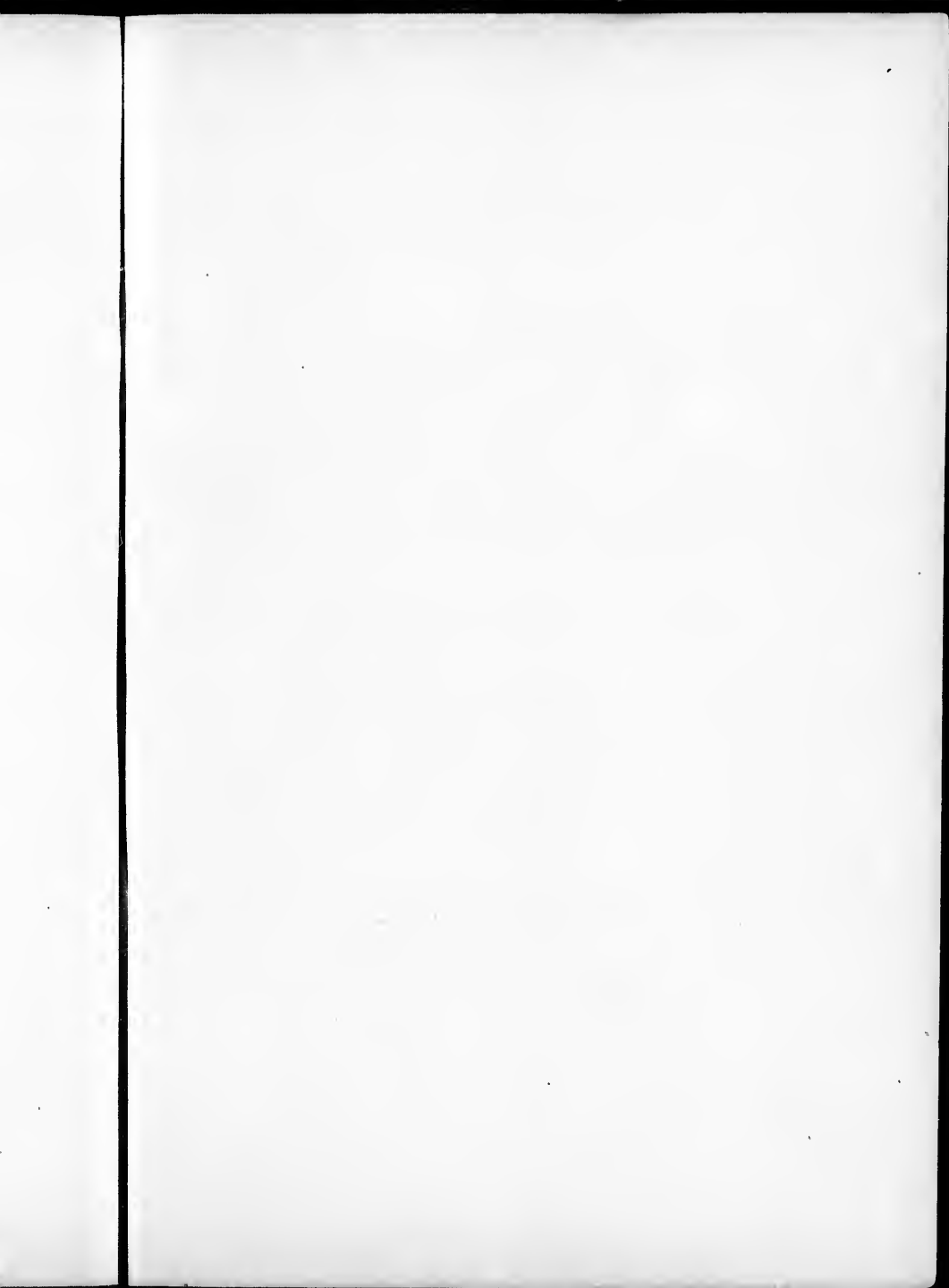
Upon the President enquiring whether there was any further business, Captain Mutton stated that at the last general meeting of the members the question of enlarging the premises was referred to the then incoming Committee. The Committee had discussed this suggestion, as well as that of having a billiard table. He would now ask for an expression of opinion from the members. Major Mason, Capt. Pellatt, Major Delamere, Major Mead and others having made various suggestions, it was moved by Col. Otter, seconded by Capt. Pellatt, and carried,—

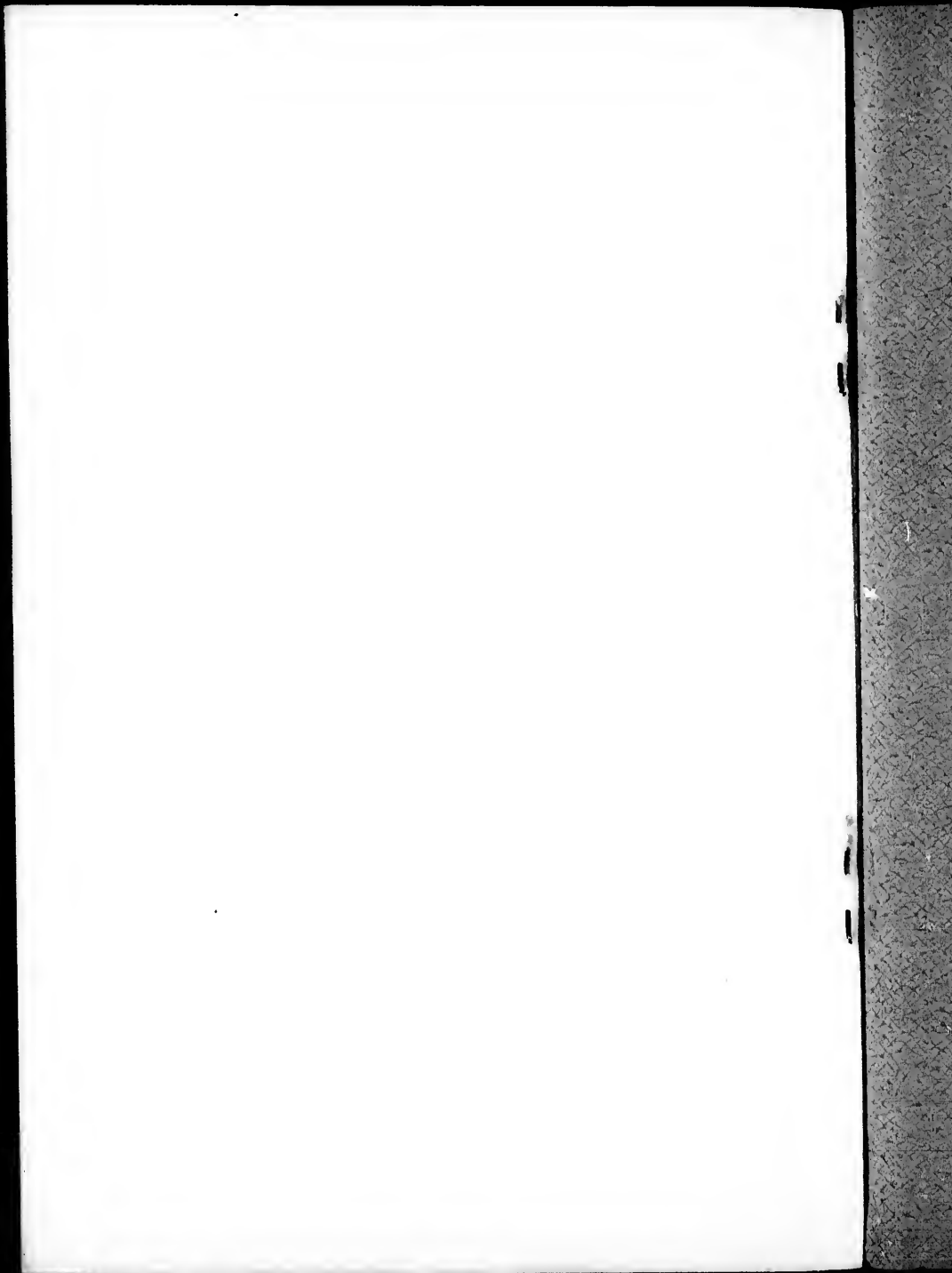
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"That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to rent the remaining rooms on the flat occupied by the Institute, and to procure a billiard table, and that the Committee be requested to take the matter into consideration in co-operation with the Directors of the Military Institute Company, and if practicable to take action in the matter."

The meeting then adjourned.









## BY-LAWS.

### I.—ELECTION OF OFFICERS, ETC.

(1) The Officers and Committee, together with the Auditors, shall be elected by ballot at the Annual General Meeting of the members, held in January.

(4) Non-resident members shall be entitled to vote by proxy for the election of Officers, persons holding proxies to be members.

It is confidently anticipated that the Institute, by furnishing information upon military subjects, in the form of Lectures, a Library, Reading Room, etc., and providing as well many of the conveniences of a Club, will be the means of materially increasing the efficiency of the Militia force of Canada.

The Committee looks for a liberal support from those who now are, or have been, connected as officers with any of the military bodies of the Empire, and would ask for an early application for membership, which may be made to the Secretary, or any of the Committee.

The Institute is accumulating a library of works pertaining to Canadian Military History, and to military subjects generally. As it is desirable to make the library as nearly complete as possible, donations of single works or of collections are solicited. All books received will be acknowledged.

Information as to the aims and objects of the Institute may be obtained from the following corresponding members:—

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