L O R D C O C H R A N E ,

NAVAL COMMANDER, RADICAL, INVENTOR (1775-1860)

A Study of His Earlier Career, 1775-1818

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ABBREVIATIONS

Add. MSS.	Additional Manuscripts, British Museum, London.
Adm.	Admiralty Papers, Public Record Office, Kew.
Autobiography	Thomas Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald, Auto-biography of a Seaman (1859-60, 2 vols.)
Court Martial	W. B. Gurney, Minutes of a Court Martial... on the Trial of the Rt. Hon. James, Lord Gambier (1809)
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography (1908-1909, 22 vols.)
DP	Dundonald Papers, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
M.M.	Mariner's Mirror: The Journal of the Society for Nautical Research
Minutes of Evidence	Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Committee for Privileges to Whom was Referred the Petition of Thomas Barnes, Earl of Dundonald... (1863)
Moniteur	Supplemens au Moniteur Universel (1809)
NLS	Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
N.C.	Naval Chronicle (1799-1818, 20 vols.)
P.D.	Hansard's Parliamentary Debates
PR	Cobbett's Political Register
Select Committee	"Report from the Select Committee on Lord Cochrane's Petition..." Parliamentary Papers 1877 (338)
Trial	The Trial of Charles Random de Berenger, Sir Thomas Cochrane... (1814)

INTRODUCTION

Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, died on October 31, 1860, at his son's Kensington home, less than two months short of his eighty-fifth birthday. The news was received with a rare and considerable display of public mourning. "Seldom," remarked one commentator, "has such a loud cry risen up after the death of a popular hero."[1] Many of the lengthy, and frequently emotional, obituaries reflected both a sense of loss and the view of Cochrane as an unrequited genius who had deserved better of his country.

In Britain his career has since been largely forgotten, but it was neither uneventful nor insignificant. During the early decades of the nineteenth century Cochrane was a man of international renown. He served as a principal admiral of Chile, Brazil, Greece and the United Kingdom, and was recognized, in 1824, as, "in the estimation of the Old World and the New, the greatest man afloat."[2] Spain, Peru and Mexico attempted to enlist him in their forces, and it was rumoured, at one time, that he might be tendered the sovereignty of Greece.[3]

The son of an impoverished Scots peer, Cochrane had entered the Royal Navy in 1793. As a frigate captain during the French wars he acquired an outstanding record marked by unorthodox but successful combat and repeated difficulties with his superiors. His naval exploits, and a flamboyant career as radical member of parliament for Westminster, advocating economical, parliamentary and naval reform, made him a public figure and repaired the broken finances of the Dundonald family. In 1814, however, Cochrane was convicted, perhaps mistakenly, of a fraud on the Stock Exchange. It threatened to dispel his prospects. Removed from the Navy List, stripped of honours and temporarily expelled from the House of Commons, he eventually embarked upon a new career, as a free lance admiral, substantially contributing to the winning of the independence of Chile, Peru and Brazil, and serving at the head of the Greek navy in the rebellion against the Turks.

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1. "Lord Dundonald", Quarterly Review (CIX, 1861), 384.
2. V. Stuart, The Beloved Little Admiral: The Life and Times of Admiral of the Fleet, the Hon. Sir Henry Keppel (1967), 37.
3. F. Bamford and Gerald, Duke of Wellington, ed., The Journal of Mrs. Arbuthnot, 1820-1832 (1950), I, 222; H. R. Fox-Bourne and 11th Earl of Dundonald, The Life of Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald (1869), I, 196, 213; D. L. Moore, The Late Lord Byron (1961), 173; letter to T. J. Cochrane, 1830, NLS 2272, f. 9.

Cochrane devoted much of the remainder of his life to a successful rehabilitation of his character and the restoration of his honours and rank in the Royal Navy. He also found time to promote inventions. An acquaintance of Brunel, Stephenson and Playfair, he pioneered the steam warship, large scale chemical warfare and the principle of the caisson in bridge and tunnel engineering. Despite his return from the wilderness, however, Cochrane was unable to provide long term prosperity for his family. Like his father he permitted substantial sums to pass through his hands and bequeathed little to his heirs except honour.

Cochrane's career touches much that is of interest, but no satisfactory explanation of it has been written. Partly, this reflects the breadth of the subject, involving the history of several countries and topics as diverse as Westminster radicalism, naval warfare and engineering. Behind it, too, stands the persistently controversial nature of the man himself. His life was one of constant and bitter conflict and recrimination, and it admits of few easy interpretations. He was, wrote an American diplomat, "almost always in hot water", being "impulsive, headstrong, persevering, determined to have his way."[4] Finlay, who knew Cochrane in Greece, attributed his turbulence to "an untimely restlessness of disposition and a too strongly expressed contempt for mediocrity and conventional rules",[5] while some have seen in him a condition psychologists call paranoia.[6]

Certainly the man enjoyed accumulating enemies and grievances and he pursued both with unflagging vituperation, a characteristic exemplified not only in the "rascals" and "scoundrels" skulking throughout his correspondence but in the pages of his contentious publications. As he informed a friend in 1846, "I am drawing up a list of all the infamous acts that have been done to me through life."[7] Cochrane's difficult personality has, consequently, been hard to evaluate. Contemporaries often found him unfathomable. "Take him out of a profession in which he is without Rival," wrote one of him in 1823, "and all is Inconsistency."[8] Not surprisingly, historians have not always been more successful.

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4. E. B. Billingsley, In Defense of Neutral Rights (1967), 61.
5. G. Finlay, A History of Greece (1877), VI, 420.
6. For example, H. Cecil, A Matter of Speculation: The Case of Lord Cochrane (1965).
7. Cochrane to W. O'Byrne, July 14, 1846, Add. MSS. 36652, ff. 48-49.
8. D. J. Cubitt, Lord Cochrane and the Chilean Navy, 1818-1823 (Edinburgh University, Ph.D., 1974, 2 vols.), I, 51-52.

For more than a century the standard statement of the life of Cochrane has been the family biography published in six volumes between 1858 and 1869. The first four of these, issued as Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru and Brazil and Autobiography of a Seaman, were purportedly autobiographical, but they were, in fact, written by George Butler Earp and revised by Cochrane. The last two volumes, The Life of Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald by H. R. Fox-Bourne and the 11th Earl of Dundonald, recapitulated briefly the material in the previous books but principally filled out the missing portions, the years 1814 to 1818 and 1825 until Cochrane's death in 1860.[9]

At the time these works were greeted with widespread acclaim, and the "autobiographical" volumes went precipitately through several printings and won for Cochrane a place in the standard dictionary of British authors.[10] The Autobiography of a Seaman remained in print until 1904. It was a book, the Spectator proclaimed, "which, once read, will imprint itself on the memory for ever"; the Morning Herald contended that it "belongs to the nation" and the Observer believed it "among the most heart-stirring, perhaps, ever published"; to the Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser it was "one of the most remarkable books with which the public have been favoured for many a year."[11] Implicit in most of the reviews was a belief that Cochrane's version of past events was correct and that he had been a brilliant officer proscribed for a crime of which he was innocent. "For our country," remarked Bentley's Quarterly Review, "we would pray that she may find at her need a champion like Lord Dundonald, and that she may reward him better."[12]

The veracity of these volumes, however, has long been impeached. The Autobiography of a Seaman, for example, was castigated by J. B. Atlay in 1897 as having "little claim to be considered anything more than an historical romance" and by Lord Ellenborough in 1914 as "a fraud on the boyhood of England for over fifty years."[13] Comparing it with the minutes of Admiral Gambier's court martial of 1809 and with Chatterton's discussion of the battle of Aix Roads, Professor Richard Glover recently

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9. Tenth Earl of Dundonald, Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru and Brazil (1858-59, 2 vols.) and Autobiography of a Seaman (1859-60, 2 vols.); Fox-Bourne and 11th Earl of Dundonald, Life of Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald (1869, 2 vols.).
10. S. J. Kunitz and H. Haycroft, British Authors of the Nineteenth Century (1936), 204.
11. Spectator, Dec. 24, 1859; Morning Herald, Dec. 28, 1859; Observer, Jan. 8, 1860; Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser, Dec. 16, 1859.
12. Bentley's Quarterly Review (II, 1860), 614.
13. J. B. Atlay, The Trial of Lord Cochrane Before Lord Ellenborough (1897),

concluded that "Cochrane is just a plain and shameless liar."[14] While neither the extreme views of these writers, nor those of the contemporary reviewers, are entirely justified, it is clear that the family biography is not an adequate assessment of Cochrane's life.

Earp wrote in haste, as a truculent partisan of Cochrane, intent upon pressing the admiral's financial claims upon various governments and contrasting his exceptional services with the tardy rewards. He was concerned to exonerate Cochrane from any complicity in the fraud of 1814 and to portray him as the victim of political enemies who had conspired to bring about his ruin. Expressing many of the admiral's own eccentric, if sincere, interpretations, the "autobiographical" books were also carelessly composed, and neither Cochrane nor William Jackson, his former secretary, both aged and ill, was able to purge Earp's drafts of all the numerous inaccuracies. "The book now requires another edition," Cochrane wrote Jackson of the first volume of the Autobiography of a Seaman. "I wish the text was correct for even with your improvements I have found a dozen of blunders. If you have any more errors pray send them to me."[15]

Since the volumes issued by the family seemed so authoritative, many writers, including most of those who have written at length upon the subject, have repeated their statements with little attempt at validation. This trend has continued, discernable, for example, in the latest biographies published in 1978, despite some severe counterattacks by friends or relatives of individuals traduced by the "autobiography".[16]

The first attempt at a full length refutation of the Cochrane biography followed upon the heels of the Autobiography of a Seaman. Georgiana,

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327; Lord Ellenborough, The Guilt of Lord Cochrane in 1814 (1914), 249.

14. R. Glover, Britain at Bay: Defense Against Bonaparte, 1803-14 (1973), 16.
15. Cochrane to Jackson, Jan. 1, 1860, DP 233/29/217.
16. This criticism is applicable, in varying degrees, to all the principal biographical works upon Cochrane. E. G. Twitchett, The Life of a Seaman: Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald (1931) corrected a number of errors relating to Cochrane's earlier naval career. I. Grimble, The Sea Wolf: The Life of Admiral Cochrane (1978) drew upon the Dundonald papers to illuminate Cochrane's life after 1825 but is weak elsewhere. The most useful of the other biographies are C. Lloyd, Lord Cochrane, Seaman, Radical, Liberator (1947) and D. Thomas, Cochrane, Britannia's Last Sea-King (1978). Other studies are J. M'Gilchrist, Life and Daring Exploits of Lord Dundonald (1861); J. Allen, Life of the Earl of Dundonald (1861); W. W. Knollys, The Intrepid Exploits of Lord Cochrane (1877); J. W. Fortescue, Dundonald (1895); T. Dorling, Men o'War (1929); E. Bunster, Lord Cochrane (1949); J. P. W. Mallalieu, Extraordinary Seaman (1957); R. Valenzuela, Cochrane, Marine y Libertador, 1775-1860 (1961); W. Tute, Cochrane (1965) and F. Knight, Rebel Admiral (1968)

Lady Chatterton, the niece of James, Lord Gambier, published in 1861 her Memorials, Personal and Historical, of Admiral, Lord Gambier, the second volume of which sought to defend her uncle from the sharp criticism to which he had been subjected by Earp and Cochrane. Although the book failed to make much impact upon public opinion, it demonstrated Earp's injudicious use of documentary materials.[17]

About the same time an investigation challenged those passages in the Autobiography of a Seaman which described Cochrane's first, and secret, marriage to Katherine Barnes in 1812. Soon after Cochrane's death the 11th Earl's right to succeed his father was contested by the third son, Captain Arthur Cochrane, who had been the first boy born to the 10th Earl and his wife after their public marriage of June 22, 1818. Amongst those who came forward to support the captain's claim was William Jackson. Embarrassed by his mortgage and possibly disappointed at the scant legacy of £100 provided by the deceased admiral, Jackson attempted to place his further co-operation with the Cochrane family upon a mercenary basis. He secured £25 from the 11th Earl of Dundonald for releasing some of the old admiral's letters and £20 from Captain Cochrane, apparently in return for testimony that the latter's mother had not regarded herself as married before the ceremony of 1818. The Dundonald peerage case went to a House of Lords Committee for Privileges, and its reports, published in 1862 and 1863, were important amplifications of portions of the Autobiography of a Seaman, which they upheld. Since they contain much testimony upon the private life of the famous seaman and display both thoroughness and fair mindedness, the findings of this investigation have a lasting value.[18]

The best book to date upon Cochrane's earlier career, J. B. Atlay's The Trial of Lord Cochrane Before Lord Ellenborough, appeared in 1897. It had been commissioned by Lord Ellenborough, the grandson of the judge who had presided over Cochrane's trial, and exposed a number of factual errors in the Earp and Dundonald works. Moreover, it reasserted the case against Cochrane and attempted to reverse the popular view of his innocence of the fraud of 1814. Shortly afterwards Lord Ellenborough's own The Guilt

17. Georgiana, Lady Chatterton, Memorials, Personal and Historical, of Admiral, Lord Gambier (1861, 2 vols.), I, 251-255, II, 95-343, 365-387.
18. Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Committee for Privileges to Whom was Referred the Petition of Thomas Barnes, Earl of Dundonald...(1863); Report of the Evidence of William Jackson... (1862); Report of the Evidence of the Countess-Dowager of Dundonald... (1862); Dundonald Peerage Case on Behalf of Thomas Barnes, Earl of Dundonald... (n.d.).

of Lord Cochrane in 1814 enhanced this argument, recapitulating much of Atlay's material, but extending the inquiry to other aspects of Cochrane's career which it treated to a prejudiced criticism. The hostility of the author to Lord Cochrane distinguished it from Atlay's more reasoned assessment and greatly impeded the book's value.

Since 1914 only one full study has illuminated, to any marked degree, Cochrane's earlier career, Christopher Lloyd's Captain Marryat and the Old Navy, published in 1939. It contains a useful reconstruction of the cruises of the Imperieuse which recaptures the flavour of those campaigns, drawing much material from Marryat's autobiographical writings and the ship log books.[19] There have, however, been a number of histories containing occasional reference to Cochrane which have substantially improved understanding of certain episodes in his life.

The haphazard fashion in which the career of Lord Cochrane upto 1819 has been evaluated stands in contrast to the comprehensive reassessment now available for his five years in Chile. The standard Chilean histories of Diego Barros Arana and Francisco Encina contain elaborate accounts of the admiral's work in the Pacific, and more recently scholars such as Carlos Urrutia and Gabriel Guarda have published important studies in Spanish. These, and other valuable accounts, are reviewed by David J. Cubitt, whose Lord Cochrane and the Chilean Navy, based upon material in the Chilean archives and upon the Dundonald papers now on deposit in Edinburgh, is the best monograph on the subject in English. Much less impressive than Cubitt's careful and detailed examination are Donald E. Worcester's modest Sea Power and Chilean Independence and Michael H. Jost's The Cochrane-San Martin Conflict.[20] The former is useful, but brief. The latter, a doctorate for the Texas Christian University, while it makes use of some sources not easily acquired by English readers, is disappointing. It relies heavily upon the unreliable memoirs of Lord Cochrane and in this respect it is decidedly inferior to several smaller studies of Cochrane in Brazil and Greece which have been based principally upon contemporary evidence.[21]

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19. C. Lloyd, Captain Marryat and the Old Navy (1939), 11-115.
20. D. E. Worcester, Sea Power and Chilean Independence (1962); M. H. Jost, The Cochrane-San Martin Conflict (Texas Christian University, Ph.D., 1973). Since Cubitt's work another study in Spanish has appeared. A. de Avila Martel, Cochrane y le Independencia del Pacifico (1976) employs both British and Chilean sources.
21. B. Vale, "The Creation of the Imperial Brazilian Navy, 1822-23", M.M. (LVII, 1971), 63-88; "Lord Cochrane in Brazil, I: The Naval War of Independence, 1823", M.M. (LVII, 1971), 415-442; "Lord Cochrane in

The present dissertation is the first full scale reappraisal of Cochrane's earlier British career. It is largely drawn from the extensive family papers preserved in the National Library of Scotland, the Dundonald family papers in the Scottish Record Office, the Admiralty archives in the Public Record Office, various collections, especially the Place and the Collingwood papers, in the British Museum, and a large number of contemporary printed materials.

A primary concern of the study has been the removal of many of the misconceptions and inaccuracies which have hitherto obscured this subject. It has been found necessary to recast the traditional view of Lord Cochrane in the process. There is little evidence to suggest, for example, that he was persecuted by members of the Admiralty Board and senior officers of the Navy as he persistently alleged. Certainly, Cochrane was disliked by some of his superiors and he was not slow to detect malignance in their actions, but every major instance of spite charged to them has been found to lack substantiation.

The dissertation has attempted to extend the knowledge of Cochrane's career. He has often been depicted as an avaricious mercenary, obsessed not only with personal vendettas but also with promotion, prize money and with wringing rewards from different governments. The point is more often made than explained, and it is a harsh judgement. Unless the financial backgrcund to Cochrane's life is understood an important dynamic in it is lost. He was the heir to a prestigious but bankrupt earldom, and his childhood had been spent under the shadow of imminent ruin. In 1799, when Cochrane was twenty-three years old, the family's estate at Culross was sold. His father became the patron of pawn shops and inhospitable lodgings, and managed with difficulty to escape the workhouse.

Cochrane, consequently, caught between financial embarrassments and the ambition to restore security and status to the Dundonald title at a time when the material expectations of the peerage were generally rising, inherited the frustrations of his father. Twice he made a fortune, once from prize money between 1805 and 1809, and once from his service abroad

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Brazil, II: Prize Money, Politics and Rebellion, 1824-25", M.M. (LIX, 1973), 135-159; D. Dakin, British and American Philhellenes During the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1833 (1955).

in the years 1818 to 1828, but neither gave permanent benefit. Deprived of income after his expulsion from the Navy in 1814, Cochrane was compelled to sell his estate, Holly Hill, three years later. He returned from his adventures in Greece with his finances restored and established his family in Hanover Lodge, Regent's Park, but it, too, was sold, in 1846, and the Earl was thrust into further pecuniary difficulties. Despite the obvious financial determinants of Cochrane's career, however, the roots of the problem have not previously been explored.

It is hoped that the study serves, in addition, to illuminate some of the wider events and issues of Cochrane's time. The Dundonald family provides an excellent example of a declining peerage and illustrates some of the pressures upon landed society in Scotland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Cochrane's first years in the Royal Navy are a detailed confirmation of the outline Michael Lewis has given of the means by which "interest" might secure promotion in the service. His activities as a cruiser captain and radical member of parliament possess historical interest in their own right, and Cochrane's radicalism, in particular, has stood in need of analysis. The dissertation examines the manner in which Cochrane's grievances as a serving naval officer found ready explanations in the rhetoric of the constitutional radicals, and traces his increasing involvement with the movement for economic and parliamentary reform.

During the preparation of this dissertation many debts have been incurred, and the author wishes to express his gratitude to those who have assisted the study. Dr. J. C. G. Binfield, Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Sheffield, has given unstinting guidance to the project; Dr. Edith M. Johnston, formerly at the University of Sheffield, and Dr. John Stevenson of the University of Sheffield read portions of the dissertation and offered criticism and advice; and the present Earl of Dundonald generously granted access to the family papers. Thanks are due also to the staffs of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh; the Department of Manuscripts and the Reading Room of the British Museum, London; the Public Record Office, Kew; the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; the British Museum Newspaper Library, Colindale; the university libraries of Leeds, Lancaster, Sheffield and Warwick; and the central public libraries

in Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, Edinburgh and Birmingham. Finally, the author is also indebted to his brother, Philip, for innumerable conversations; to Douglas F. Cochrane, who supplied some material; and to Gary Ireland of Coventry for his assistance with French translations.

John Sugden,
Mey 1981.

PROLOGUE: THE DECLINE OF THE DUNDONALDS

I

"The family of Dundonald," it was reported in 1771, "once among the richest in Scotland by various misfortunes came to be reduced so low that when the present Earl came to succeed he was advised a sale of the estate of Paisley and every other subject which had belonged to his predecessors except the right of presentation of some bursars in the University of Glasgow which right of presentation is consequently all that remains with the descendants of the family as a memorial of the old Earl."[1] The "various misfortunes" by which the Dundonald family was reduced to bankruptcy are events so important to an understanding of the career of Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, that they merit an extended discussion.

Before his father, the 9th Earl, inherited the title in 1778 many of the family resources had either been dissipated or were under pressure; by the end of the century the remaining possessions had been lost. The future admiral must early have realized that the Earldom's dignity and standing would rest largely upon his own efforts and rewards. Always intensely proud and ambitious, Cochrane, like his father, directed his abundant talents towards the rehabilitation of the family and emerged from his labours frustrated and embittered. Both men emphasized the public utility of their services, won renown, but died financially embarrassed. Caught amongst the rising aspirations of the 18th and 19th century nobility, the 10th Earl's career was considerably shaped by the decline of his family.[2]

The Dundonalds boasted a distinguished history. They had once occupied land in Renfrewshire, near Paisley, but during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries accumulated additional properties, including the barony of Cowdown, Renfrew, the lands of Dundonald, Ayrshire, and the estate of Paisley, which became the family seat. For his attachment to the Stuart cause, Sir William Cochrane became Lord Cochrane of Dundonald

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1. Lord Auchinleck and J. Davidson, "Memorandum Concerning the Affairs of the Earls Dundonald", July 29, 1771, NLS 5377, ff. 72-76.
2. Information relating to the family, drawn upon in the following paragraphs, may be found in K. Parker and J. Anderson, Pedigree of the Cochranes... (1908); K. Parker, "Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald", J. B. Paul, ed., The Scots Peerage (1906), III, 334-368; J. Burke, Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage (1967), 868-871; W. Anderson, "Earl of Dundonald", The Scottish Nation (1864), II, 100-104; G. E. Cokayne, "Earl of Dundonald", The Complete Peerage (1916), IV, 526-531; DNB, IV, 615-632.

and, in 1669, the first Earl of Dundonald and Lord Cochrane of Paisley and Ochiltree. It was not until the 18th century that the eminent position of the family began to be undermined.

The Scots nobility lost little ground during the 18th century. They had, it is true, surrendered their hereditary right to sheriffdoms, regalities and stewartries in 1747. But many of the peers were Commissioners of Supply who apportioned the land tax and who, from 1696, were ultimately responsible for the provision of parish schools; many became Lords Lieutenant under the Militia Act of 1797; the Patronage Act of 1712 confirmed that the nomination of ministers of the Church of Scotland rested, as a heritable right, with the landowners; and sixteen representatives of the Scottish peerage, elected in Edinburgh, sat in the House of Lords. Economically, too, many of them did well. Land values were rising in the 18th century. The "new" men, who sought to consolidate their status by obtaining estates, and the laws of strict entail (1684), which restricted the land supply, cultivated an active market. Rents also rose during the century, especially after 1780, spurred by increases in productivity and in the prices which agricultural produce could command, and by the efforts of the lairds to induce efficiency in their tenants.[3]

Various factors, nevertheless, could erode the fortunes of the peerage. Patronage could not always be exercised without financial obligation, for the granting of bursaries or provisions for ministers necessitated expenditure. Taxes and the duties imposed in royal burghs may have fallen heavily upon the larger landlords. Much more important were the increasingly commercial marriages and family financial settlements which pinned resources to various forms of provision. The laws of entail, which ensured security for heirs by prohibiting the alienation of estates, might transform the head of a family into a life tenant of his property. Elaborate dowries were required for daughters, younger children claimed their "portions", and resources might be allocated to widows of the head of the family in the

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3. Material on the state of the peerage is drawn from T. C. Smout, "Scottish Landowners and Economic Growth, 1650-1850", Scottish Journal of Political Economy (XI, 1964), 218-234; T. C. Smout, History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830 (1970), 280-301; W. Ferguson, Scotland (1968), 166-197; H. Hamilton, An Economic History of Scotland in the 18th Century (1963); M. W. McCahill, "The Scottish Peerage and the House of Lords in the Late 18th Century", Scottish Historical Review (LI, 1972), 172-196; G. E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth

form of a jointure.

The 18th century, moreover, witnessed expectations of improved living standards by the peerage. As early as 1732 it was remarked that "the Heads and Heirs of very ancient Families" were "obliged to live up to the nominal Value of their Estates, often beyond it, merely to support their Credit and Figure in their Countries."[4] The trend in Scotland was probably reinforced by the 'Scottish Enlightenment' and the Union of 1707, which made the Scottish nobility more receptive to English influence and conscious of their standing with their more prosperous counterparts south of the border. Extravagant sums were spent upon the improvement of gardens and mansions, and on the social round. Furthermore, as the market for agricultural produce and raw material expanded after the mid century, the move towards exploiting estate resources more efficiently began to occupy many of the peers. The most expensive of such "improvement" schemes, perhaps, was coal mining, especially if the seams lay deep in the ground. Excavating deep coal measures required much outlay in equipment to drain, support and ventilate the shafts and to employ sufficient labour, particularly after acts of 1775 and 1799 severed the bondage of the Scots miners to their lords. An excessive expenditure might not easily be recuperated, and recourse to loans frequently aggravated the problem, since interest rates could easily consume annual returns on embryonic projects whilst leaving the principal debts untouched.

All of these factors eroded the fortunes of the Dundonald family in the 18th century. John, the 4th Earl, spent much on both philanthropic concerns and the improvement of his Paisley estate. Provisions for his two daughters totalled £60,000 (Scots), and further losses to the family were incurred as a result of a dispute over the title between Thomas, the 6th Earl, and the Marquess of Clydesdale, a grandson of the 4th Earl by one of his daughters. After litigation, Thomas secured the title and such parts of the family property as had been entailed, but the unentailed possessions passed to Clydesdale. The 6th Earl received, in 1727, a charter to lands in Peebles, Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr and

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Century (1963); F. M. L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963); D. Spring, The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century (1963).

4. Mingay, op. cit., 84.

Dumbarton, but sold his Kilmaranock estate. His successor was William, 7th Earl of Dundonald. He spent money improving the town of Paisley, but was killed in action at Louisburg on July 9, 1758, and the title reverted to the head of the younger branch of the family, the Earl's cousin, Thomas, then Commissioner for Excise in Scotland. By that time, it is clear that the Dundonald title was in serious financial difficulty: indeed, as early as 1708 the Paisley estate had been used as security for loans.[5]

Through the younger branch of the family, however, the title acquired new properties, including the estate of Culross on the north bank of the Firth of Forth. The 8th Earl's father, William Cochrane of Ochiltree, had obtained Culross by his marriage to Lady Mary Bruce, daughter of the Earl of Kincardine, whose estates were nearby. Dundonald had connexions, too, with the other influential landowners neighbouring Culross, the Prestons of Valleyfield, through a marriage of his sister to Sir George Preston, and could, therefore, count upon considerable local support. However, Culross passed to the 8th Earl's younger brother, Charles, and the Earl himself made use of Lamancha, a 17th century mansion in Newlands Parish, Peebleshire, acquired in 1726.[6]

With Lamancha, and eventually Culross, at his disposal, Dundonald had no reason to retain the properties inherited with the title, burdened as they were with debts. Consequently, he sold his Paisley estate to James, Earl of Abercorn, in 1764, waiving the taillie of Paisley (1726) and a deed of entail (February 13, 1727). Neither of these documents included a clause of "de non alienando", nor had they been registered, and so they could not prevent the Earl converting the estate to cash. From the proceeds, some debts were settled, and Belleville house, near Edinburgh, was purchased, leaving a balance of £13,250 with which it was hoped the title could be secured. In 1766 the Earl agreed to place this sum into the hands of a trustee as a loan, with the understanding that both it and a further £3000, to be contributed by his brother Basil, since 1761 Commissioner for Excise in Scotland, would be used for the benefit of the heir and to provide pensions of £530 per annum to Katherine, the Countess Dowager, and 2400

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5. Accompts of Charge and Discharge Between Thomas, Earl of Dundonald, and Andrew Stuart, Writer to the Signet, 1758-61, NLS 5372, f. 12.
6. J. W. Buchan and H. Paton, ed., A History of Peebleshire (1925-27), III, 60, 62.

marks to Jane, the present Countess. In accordance with this settlement, £13,250 was placed into the custody of Sir Lawrence Dundas and his son by a bond of October 5, 1770. The failure of Dundonald's heir, Archibald, Lord Cochrane, to consummate a conditional clause of entailing Culross when he became of age, however, later legally disqualified him from claiming the money on the basis of this contract.[7]

In 1765 the 8th Earl, or his heir, owned three estates, Culross, Lamancha and Belleville, some smaller properties and the balance of the proceeds from the sale of Paisley, and there is no reason to suppose that the family could not have enjoyed continued security with sensible management. Nevertheless, the Earl pursued an extravagant course. Between February 1762 and March 1764 £1280 was paid to the Countess Dowager in fulfillment of an agreement. The Earl's personal expenses from January 1762 to June 1768 amounted to £1449.12.4, less than the £1814.17.9 he spent on his sons and daughter between June 1764 and August 1769. Adjudications on the Paisley estate, between July 1764 and 1768, cost £957.7.11. Merchants' bills during April 1762 to February 1768 summed £250.0.2 and expenses to "writers" in December 1761 to July 1765 accounted for a further £13.8.0. One item, designated "sundries", included the cost of the support of two Church ministers, land rents, windows and window taxes and the maintenance of the Westkirk parish poor house and totalled £417.16.9.[8]

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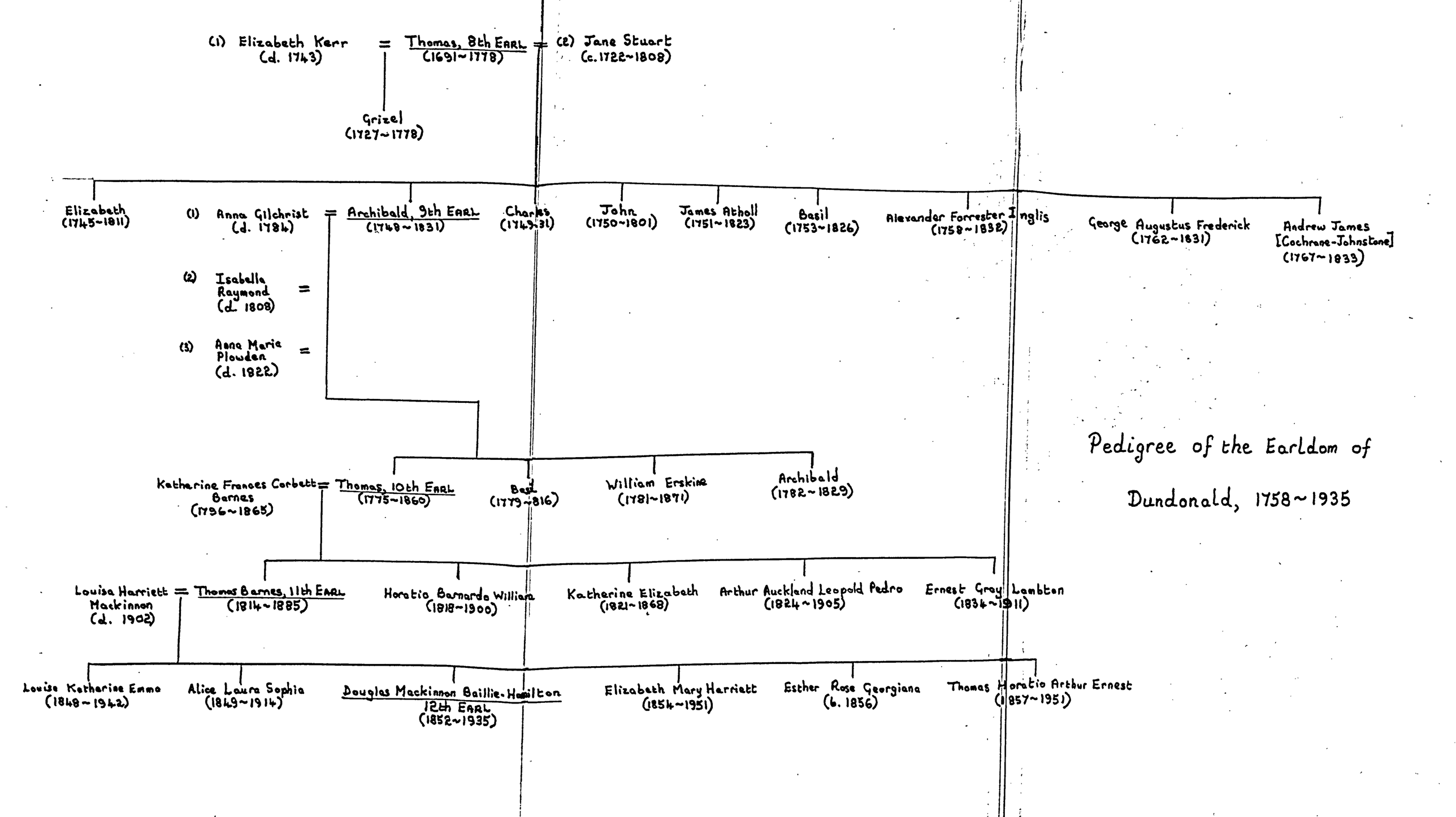
7. Sources for the financial agreements of the Dundonald family, unless otherwise indicated, are: Auchinleck and Davidson, "Memorandum Concerning the Earls Dundonald", NLS 5377, ff. 72-76; "Memorial with Respect to the Taillie of Paisley and the Claim to the Balance of Sir Laurence Dundas' Bond Made by the younger Children of Thomas, Earl of Dundonald", ibid, ff. 104-115; "Memorial and Queries for Jane, Countess Dowager of Dundonald", 1781, ibid, ff. 173-216; "Memorial for Captain William Robertson against Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, Arthur Cuthbert and James Hunter Blair and Others...", 1781, NLS 5378, ff. 1-11; "Memorial for the Hon. Commissioner Basil Cochrane, James Hunter Blair and Other Creditors of Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, against Capt. William Robertson", ibid, ff. 29-32; "Memorial for the Trustees and Creditors of the late Earl of Dundonald", Feb. 12, 1783, ibid, ff. 33-49; R. Dundas, The Petition of Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, Basil Cochrane, James Hunter Blair and Others... (Edinburgh, July 1, 1784), ibid, ff. 66-72; W. Nairne, Answers for Alexander Stuart of Torrence, Andrew Stuart and Others, Trustees Appointed by Thomas, Earl of Dundonald... (Edinburgh, July 27, 1784), ibid, ff. 173-183; G. Fergusson, The Petition of Jane, Countess Dowager of Dundonald, and Others, Creditors and and Trustees for the Creditors of Thomas, Late Earl of Dundonald (Edinburgh, May 20, 1791), ibid, ff. 108-115.
8. Statement of 1769, NLS 5377, ff. 22-39.



Pedigree of the Earldom of Dundonald, 1758~1935

By far the largest items of expenditure concerned payments on money borrowed. A total of £2503.6.7 was paid out on account of transactions of the previous Earls from November 1761 to the end of 1766, but this was dwarfed by the sum of £10,058.17.1 necessary as payments, between December 1761 and November 1766, on money borrowed by the 8th Earl. Probably most of the loans related to efforts afoot at the time to "improve" Lamancha, and to purchases that had been made about Culross between 1752 and 1769 which had cost Dundonald nearly three thousand pounds.[9]

Whatever the propriety of the 8th Earl's spending, his son, Archibald, the father of the famous admiral, must claim the dubious distinction of extinguishing the family fortunes. This talented but lonely and eccentric figure, whose characteristics reappeared so persistently in his successor, merits a full-length study, but it is possible here only to explore his role in dissipating the Dundonald estates.[10]

Archibald, Lord Cochrane, was born on January 1, 1748. From 1749 until September 1752 he was raised by his uncle, Charles, upon whose death, on September 19, 1752, he inherited Culross by a settlement of July 1749. The boy spent a year at Hackney School, 1759 to 1760, and four years later purchased a cornet's commission in Albemarle's 3rd Regiment of Dragoon Guards. In February 1764 he began touring the Continent, running up expenses which totalled £1999.3.10 in July 1768. He sold his commission in the Guards in 1768 for £1100, at a profit of £50.[11]

The same year Cochrane returned to England and entered the Royal Navy, serving as midshipman under Captains Stair Douglas and John Macbride, and as acting lieutenant of the Weasel, Captain Paisley, on a voyage to the Guinea coast which ended in 1770. His career at sea

9. Statement of A. Stuart, 1771, NLS 8277, ff. 47-50; estimate, Nov. 1771, NLS 5377, ff. 51, 53; Mr. Burnett, estimate, NLS 5379, f. 83.
10. Contemporary sketches can be found in "Earl of Dundonald", Public Characters, 1809-1810 (1809), 375-389; Gentleman's Magazine (Aug. 1831), pt. ii, 172-173. A biography was prepared for the 12th Earl of Dundonald by Douglas Sladen, David Hooper and A. I. Dibbin between 1918 and 1930. The Life and Works of Archibald Cochrane, 9th Earl of Dundonald was completed but not published, and can be found in DP 233/114, 123, 111-113-N. Some of Dundonald's industrial projects are described by A. and N. L. Clow, "Lord Dundonald", Economic History Review (XII, 1942), 47-58, and The Chemical Revolution (1952), ch. 4, 18, 21.
11. NLS 8277, ff. 14-15, 21-22; Scots Magazine (XXVII, 1765), 56; NLS

then abruptly ended. The Admiralty refused to promote him lieutenant before he had seen sufficient service as midshipman, and Cochrane considered the latter rank incompatible with his social standing. Despite the disappointment it gave to some of his friends, especially Andrew Stuart, Archibald's lawyer and uncle, Lord Cochrane turned his back upon the sea and applied himself to "improving" his estate of Culross.[12]

It was a favoured property, consisting in 1793 of some 1700 Scots acres, over half of it let land and the balance pine forest. Rich reserves of coal, salt, iron and fire clay lay beneath the soil. The mansion, Culross Abbey House, built by Edward, Lord Bruce of Kinross, who died in 1610, was described as an elegant, spacious residence, possessing an impressive front set between two turrets and displaying hanging gardens towards the Forth. East of it stretched the Valleyfield estate, while west stood the ancient church with the Bruce family vault, and the "street" sweeping down into the little village of Culross that formed the centre of the royal burgh.[13]

II

The exploitation of Culross had already been begun by Dundonald, who had constructed salt pans there in 1768 and 1769. Lord Cochrane, inheriting the estate from his uncle, hoped to develop the coal, but he found that the deep seams threatened prohibitive costs of production. Culross could certainly be offered as collateral for loans, but in that case, burdened with debts, the estate could not have been entailed for the Dundonald line, as envisaged by the family since 1766. "I am confident," wrote Cochrane in 1772, "that there are so many and such valuable seams of coal in the Culross estate that when the coal is laid upon and the works once set a going which may be done in a short space, there will arise from the coal and salt alone an annual revenue to the family at least six times more than the yearly rent of the landed estate.

5377, ff. 55-60; Lord and Charles Cochrane to Col. Stuart, July 29, 1766, NLS 2568, ff. 1-2.

12. Memorial, c. 1771, NLS 5375, ff. 14-15; Stuart to Sandwich, Apr. 24, 1773, ibid, ff. 10-13; Sandwich to Stuart, Apr. 25, 1773, ibid, f. 16; Dundonald to Stuart, July 11, 1778, ibid, ff. 24-25; Stuart to Dalrymple, Jan. 10, 1783, NLS 5379, ff. 8-10; Dundonald to Barrington, Apr. 13, 1799, DP 233/71/36.
13. Dundonald, Description of the Estate and Abbey of Culross (1793), 3-7, 23-34; R. Rolland and W. M'Alpine in J. Sinclair, ed., Statistical Account of Scotland (1794), X, 136; D. Beveridge, Culross and Tulliallan (1885), II, 135-136; C. Ryskamp and F. A. Pottle, ed., Boswell: The Ominous Years, 1774-1776 (1963), 5-6; Memorial, Nov. 16, 1781,

But as the coal cannot be laid upon and set a going without a considerable advance of money a strict entail upon the land estate out of which alone that money can be raised amounts to a total forfeiture of an estate at least six times better than that which is endeavoured to be preserved. It is losing the kernel for the sake of the shell..."

Conceivably, he could have chosen to live comfortably upon his estate, but, awake to the potential of Culross, Cochrane determined to raise money upon his property, postponing an entail. "The heir of the family would then be possessed both of the land estate and of a great addition to his fortune by having one of the greatest coal works in Scotland which from the extent of the fields of coal known to be in the ground could not be exhausted for many generations to come. I would then have the satisfaction of having done a great thing for my family and of having it in my power as much as it is at present in my inclination to assist my brothers which I most solemnly declare are the great motives which make me so zealous in this scheme."[14]

Dundonald, too, was then in difficulties. His income, from rents through Lamancha, Belleville and properties about Culross, from interest earned by the Dundas reserve, and from a pension upon the Culross estate, totalled over £1000 per annum; but of this the Countess Dowager claimed £530 as an annuity, and the debts of the Earl stood at £2644.14.9, of which £100 was due on loans made by the former holders of the title. It was to meet his needs, as well as those of Lord Cochrane, that Andrew Stuart worked out a settlement signed by both parties on September 20, 1771.[15]

Dundonald made his son a gift of the properties he had bought at Culross and of the lease of the Comrie coalfield. To help him meet £3141.14.0 in debts which Cochrane had already contracted, Dundonald also allowed his heir £3200 of the Dundas money. This eased the burdens upon Cochrane's scant annual income of £300 in rents and £240 from the salt pans, and, by the addition of the extra properties about the estate, enhanced the returns to £660 annually. Moreover, in order to secure the title, Dundonald agreed that the balance of the Dundas money, less some £3000 needed to settle his own debts and £700 due to Lady Mary Cochrane

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NLS 8277, ff. 93-97.

14. Cochrane to Dundonald and Commissioner Cochrane, May 25, 1772, NLS 5373, ff. 9-18.
15. Agreement, Sept. 20, 1771, NLS 8277, f. 9; statement and notes, July and November 1771, ibid, ff. 4-7, 12-35; NLS 5377, ff. 45-50.

upon the death of Katherine, the Countess Dowager, would pass to his son, providing the latter entailed Culross.

The settlement, however, was less satisfactory than it appeared. By acquiring the additional properties about Culross, Cochrane incurred a debt of £500 upon them. He was, furthermore, asked to pay annuities to his sister, Grizel, and to other relatives, worth in all £245.5.6, as well as some of the interest from the Dundas money. About half his income would, therefore, be consumed, leaving him a sum similar to the £297 per annum which the settlement, in theory, left the Earl. It was certainly incapable of meeting the expenditure which Cochrane was planning, especially when, through lack of coal, the produce from the salt pans collapsed.

In view of these circumstances, Cochrane believed that Culross would still be necessary as security for loans and the estate was not entailed. A number of arrangements in connection with the coal works exacerbated his position. He paid one Clark rent for use of the Comrie coal reserves, and on May 10, 1771 had obtained from Patrick Heron of Valleyfield a lease to take coal from that estate, the two transactions costing Cochrane £135 annually. A third lease, of the coal workings at Kincardine, was obtained from Sir William Erskine in 1772.[16] Consequently, within a few months of the family settlement, Lord Cochrane complained that he had inadequate resources to prosecute the works. His friends, he said, "treat all my schemes as ideal and chimerical", while "fifty ill natured reports are circulating about the country to the disadvantage of myself and circumstances."[17]

Dundonald's concerns were not with Culross but with the needs of his younger children. To provide for them, he executed trust deeds on January 6, 1772 and October 25, 1777 allocating Lamancha, a property called Clockmiln, and "all sundry other lands and Heritable estate which shall belong to me at the time of my death and all sundry goods, gear and effects of whatever kind, quality or denomination, the same maybe, and all and sundry debts and sums of money and whole of other personal estate which shall belong or be owing to me at the time of my death" towards liquidating his debts and supplying his wife and younger

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16. Cochrane to Dundonald and Basil Cochrane, May 25, 1772, NLS 5373, ff. 9-18; Andrew Stuart notes, NLS 8277, f. 22; Report by Messrs. Henderson, Grieve &c. as to Forest of Culross, Tullyallan Coal &c. (Oct. 1795), DP 233/183.
17. Cochrane to A. Stuart, Mar. 9, 1772, NLS 8277, ff. 44-47.

children with a legacy.[18] Undoubtedly, Dundonald intended the Dundas money, which he had already assigned to his heir, to be excluded from this arrangement, but, since Cochrane did not entail Culross, it was subsequently held that the contracts between the Earl and his successor were invalid, and that the Dundas money, by the trust deeds, also belonged to the other members of the family.

A conflict was brewing over the dwindling Dundonald resources. The Earl wanted his son to entail Culross for the title, and place with it such family heirlooms as the ruined castle of Dundonald and its adjoining land, the burial place in Dundonald church, and lands in Lanark which supplied the Glasgow bursaries.[19] On August 10, 1772 Cochrane agreed to do so, providing he could raise money for his projects upon Lamancha. The remainder of the family, except the Countess (who was to rely upon Culross for her jointure), would be dependant upon the Dundas money. Reconsidering his bargain, however, the Earl feared to surrender Lamancha, because Culross, burdened as it was with heritable debts, offered but weak security to himself and his wife. Consequently, on April 28, 1774 the parties contracted that Cochrane should entail Culross and make use of the Dundas money, while Lamancha would revert to Dundonald and the younger children. It was in accordance with this settlement that Cochrane withdrew £1000 from the Dundas money, although, since he did not entail his estate, he disqualified himself, legally, from ownership of both that amount and the balance remaining.

Unable to obtain more from Dundonald, Lord Cochrane borrowed elsewhere. In October 1774 he married Anna Gilchrist of Annsfield and drew her father, Captain James Gilchrist, into his financial transactions.[20] Both Gilchrist and Dundonald stood as guarantors to a loan of £10,000 obtained on April 3, 1776 from Arthur Cuthbert, for which Cochrane offered heritable bonds on Culross as collateral. The Earl agreed that the Dundas money, exclusive of pensions for Katherine and Jane, his wife, might serve as additional security, but it was stipulated that if Cuthbert used any part of this sum a corresponding proportion of the heritable securities on Culross abandoned by him in consequence would

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18. "Memorial and Queries for Jane", NLS 5377, ff. 173-216.
19. J. Sinclair, Statistical Account of Scotland (1793), VII, 619.
20. Cochrane to J. Gilchrist, Oct. 17, 1774, DP 233/105/A3; Cochrane to J. Gilchrist, DP 233/105/A19.

be assigned to Dundonald. The following year James Hunter Blair, John Tait, Samuel Mitchelson and Commissioner Cochrane, unaware of the terms of Cuthbert's loan and believing Culross to be still good security, undertook to guarantee interest upon further loans of £3000 from James Ker and the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance Company. It was these debts which precipitated Cochrane's bankruptcy.

He took some consolation, at the time, from a belief that he had prior claim to the Dundas money, then a little over £5700, a delusion from which he was sharply awakened after his father's death in 1778. The old Earl owed at least £7500 when he died, and all of his property, 20 acres at Clockmiln, 28½ acres at Belleville and the estate of Lamancha, were burdened with heritable debts. His wife received an annuity of £500 from Lamancha and the Dundas money interest, as well as a Crown pension, but she was advised to dispose of her estates. Accordingly, Belleville and Lamancha were sold, but the financial situation remained so bleak that the late Earl's trustees agitated to sequester the sums held by the Dundas family. A legal process of "multiple poinding" to determine the ownership of these monies commenced in June 1779 and it drove a wedge between the family, pitting the new Earl of Dundonald against his mother, his brothers and his sister.[21]

The quarrel occurred at a time of increasing perplexity for Dundonald. A contract the Earl had made to supply the Carron Company with coal collapsed in June 1780 when the Culross colliers, infuriated by the arrears in the payment of their wages, deserted the works. Alarm spread amongst the creditors and there were clamours for satisfaction. Cuthbert, in particular, harassed Dundonald, and on March 23, 1780 proceeded in law against the Culross estate. By that time Dundonald's annual profits from his coal and salt works, when functioning, were £1321.9.9, his estate rental brought in another £514.4.8 a year and the interest on the Dundas money and revenue from other sources increased the whole to an annual income of £2177.17.9. But his debts now totalled £28,011.14.3 and they commanded rates of interest so severe that it was estimated that only a little over £300 remained each year for the Earl to devote to the prosecution of his industries.[22]

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21. NLS 5377, ff. 90-102, 129-132; NLS 5378, ff. 15-18, 73-75, 84-93; Adam Stewart to A. Stuart, July 26, 1784, NLS 5373, ff. 146-147; Buchan and Paton, op. cit., III, 62-64.
22. A. Webster to Stuart, June 15, 1780, NLS 8277, ff. 68-69; Webster, Memorial Respecting Lord Dundonald's Affairs, 1780 (Edinburgh, Apr. 1780), ibid, ff. 56-60.

Dr. Alexander Webster undertook a rescue bid, and tried to sell twenty-two £300 shares in Culross forest, then valued at £11,511. The shares were to be redeemable within ten years, when qualified opinion considered the forest might be worth £17,000. A number of Dundonald's friends rallied around the project, among them Lords Abercorn and Rosebery, Commissioner Cochrane, Mitchelson, John Glassford, Mrs. Gilchrist, William Forbes the banker, Captain Robert Preston, Sir John Stuart and even Andrew Stuart, who considered "that the situation of his (Dundonald's) affairs are such and the tendency of his plans so very hazardous that... the consequences of being involved with him would be ruin to a man of moderate fortune."[23] Webster insisted that "there will not be a feather bed or a silver spoon left in the house of Culross" unless the scheme succeeded, but, despite a meeting of the subscribers in John's Coffee House, Edinburgh, on April 23, 1781, his efforts proved unavailing.[24]

Dundonald was more successful. He travelled to Newcastle where he arranged to lease his salt and coal works for 21 years to William Chapman, David Crawford and James Liddell. The group agreed to finance the works, pay £100 to both Erskine and Charles Preston for the use of coal in their estates, pay £700 a year to the Earl's trustees and pass 40% of their net profits to Dundonald himself. The latter, to whom the lease was sent on May 30, 1781, agreed that his share should be passed to his trustees as a contribution towards the redemption of his debt. This was welcome news to the creditors when they met on June 11, 1781. Dundonald's debts were given at £32,000, and the management of his estate was consigned to trustees who let the lands for an annual rent of £528.18.1. All but one creditor, Cuthbert, agreed to postpone placing Culross upon the market, hoping that its value would increase with development.[25]

"If Cuthbert was paid off," wrote Jane, the Countess Dowager, "I think sunshine might yet break in upon his (Dundonald's) affairs." But Cuthbert remained unappeased, despite receiving £2000 of his outstanding £13,000 and the regular interest payments that were now given to all the creditors. Frustrated by the delays in realising money from Culross, he switched his attack to the Dundas money. This led Captain Robertson,

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23. Stuart to Webster, Oct. 27, 1780, NLS 8277, ff. 77-78.
24. Webster to Stuart, Nov. 16, 1780, Jan. 2, 1781, NLS 8277, ff. 81-84; Webster, Memorial and Representation to the Noblemen and Gentlemen who have agreed to Purchase the Forest of Culross... (Edinburgh, Apr. 6, 1781), ibid, ff. 88-89; Webster, Jan. 20, 1781, NLS 583, ff. 388-389; Mitchelson to Dundonald (3 letters), Apr.-May, 1781, DP 233/105/B2,B3,B5.
25. Memorial for Dundonald's creditors, Nov. 16, 1781, NLS 8277, ff. 93-97;

a creditor of the 8th Earl upon the same security, to contend that, should Cuthbert exhaust the Dundas funds, the heritable Culross bonds proportionately abandoned by the preferential creditor should pass to Robertson. However, the captain's attempt to stand at the head of the Culross estate creditors after the satisfaction of Cuthbert was strongly resisted by Commissioner Cochrane, Blair, Mitchelson, Mr. Ramsay and John Tait.[26]

Early in 1780 the cause came before the Lords Ordinary, but the late Earl's trustees forcefully explained in May 1783 that Dundonald himself, by failing to entail Culross, had no claim to the Dundas money, which, by the trust deed of 1774, reverted to the 8th Earl's creditors and the rest of his family. Dundonald tried to contest this interpretation by reference to the 1726 taillie of Paisley and the subsequent entail of that estate, but legal flaws in both documents prevented them from restraining a dissipation of the assets of the Paisley property. He further attempted to demonstrate that some conditions of the 1771 contract had been fulfilled, and he drew attention to the marriage agreement between his parents, dated September 5, 1744, which guaranteed that Lamancha and all heritable properties would pass to the heir, except for £111.13.4 and half the furniture which was to be awarded Jane. On October 26, 1784 Dundonald caused a warrant to be issued for the recovery of the 1744 contract and other documents required for legal purposes, but his desperate recourse was unsuccessful. He could scarcely claim Lamancha or Belleville without incurring, too, the heritable debts which burdened them, and apparently Alexander Keith and the Excise Corporation were both willing to make the heir liable for money owed by his father.[27]

Having failed in this measure, Dundonald could not save the Dundas money, and preference was eventually given to the heritable creditors, Jane's annuities, the remainder of the 8th Earl's creditors and, finally,

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Marsh and Creed to Preston, Dec. 5, 1781, ibid, f. 98; Jane to Stuart, Dec. 7, 1782, NLS 5374, ff. 31-34; Mitchelson to Dundonald, May 18, 30, DP 233/105/B4, B6.

26. Jane to Stuart, Dec. 7, 1782, NLS 5374, ff. 31-34; Mitchelson to Stuart, Nov. 22, 1781, NLS 5373, f. 28; Webster to Stuart, Dec. 14, 1781, ibid, ff. 30-32.
27. Stuart to Adam Stewart, July 15, 1784, Feb. 1, 1785, NLS 5373, ff. 131-137, 169-185; A. Stewart to Stuart, July 8, Aug. 10, Dec. 3, 1784, ibid, ff. 127-128, 150-151, 165-168; Summons of a Reduction and Improbation on Assets and Monies of Eighth Earl (Edinburgh, Oct. 26, 1784), NLS 5378, ff. 184-190.

the 9th Earl's creditors. It is doubtful if any of it remained to be distributed to the latter. Dundonald's fortunes had sunk to new depths, and the Cochrane family divided in mutual recrimination. "Lord Dundonald," wrote his mother, "has been in various minds and has wrote such letters to different men of business here as exposes himself and family in a cruel manner...In short he runs over a long rigmarole story of how injustice has been done him by all friends. I am afraid Dundonald's mind must be disturbed or his head in some degree turned...He has beggared himself and forgets it was his own doing. He now endeavours to make others believe his family and friends have fleeced him...(but) people of business here either laugh at him or condemn him."[28] The loss of the Dundas money and the passing of the management of Culross to other hands marked an ominous turn in the Earl's affairs.

III

While the Dundas money had been lost to Dundonald, leasing the Culross works in 1781 solved the immediate problem of mustering sufficient capital to maintain coal production. Dundonald's prospects rested, furthermore, not simply upon the supply of raw material, but also upon a process he had invented in 1780 and patented the following year. It ranks as the first commercial exploitation of the by-products of coal, and since its principal manufacture, coal tar, is now the basis of enormous drugs, perfumes, explosives and dyes industries, it was an innovation of the greatest ultimate importance.

The process is easily described. Coal was heated in an oven and the resultant vapour tapped into a pipe and conveyed to a water reservoir, where it was condensed. Residual coke and cinders obtained from the heating were found useful for salt and malt boilers and furnaces. During the condensation of the vapour, a quantity of hydrogen gas was emitted and led away, and the tar itself was transmitted through another pipe to a still where it was separated from volatile spirit and oil, both of which were also commercial products. The emergent coal tar was very black, containing less water than other tars, but it could be laid on smoothly and possessed a fine skin. Before it could be applied it required to be freed of alkaline water and brought to the

28. Jane to James Stuart, Apr. 30, 1789, NLS 8329, ff. 114-117.

correct consistency by boiling into "half stuff", in which condition it penetrated wood, repelled water and insects, and preserved iron from rust. Mixed with brimstone and rosin, it acquired additional adhesive qualities. Dundonald contended that his product was especially suitable for protecting ship hulls, nails, bolts, gun bores, buoys, jetties, floodgates, roofs and other objects of wood or iron liable to decay or rust. He offered, for similar purposes, especially the preservation of masts, his coal varnish, manufactured from rosin and essential oil of coal.[29]

It was upon this invention that Dundonald in 1781 placed his hopes for the salvation of Culross. Before the end of 1782 he had erected four of a proposed twenty kilns at Culross, and had won the enthusiasm of James Liddell, Sir John Dalrymple and the chemist, Joseph Black. Some £900 had been expended upon the venture, but it was estimated that funds of upto £40,000 would be required to launch it upon a sufficient scale. For some time, the Earl was unsure as to how he might proceed, and contemplated throwing his discovery open to the public for a reward. Alternatively, he believed that parliament might, if persuaded of the feasibility of the project, extend the patent for another fourteen years and allow him sufficient time to raise money for the prosecution of his enterprize.[30]

Liddell, operating upon the last assumption, attempted to secure the support of the Earl of Surrey in an appeal to Parliament, and Dundonald and Dalrymple wrote to Andrew Stuart to enlist his influence. The lawyer, ever doubtful, consulted both John Glassford, an entrepreneur, and Joseph Black for expert opinion on the matter, and was convinced by the testimony he received. Black had no doubt of Dundonald's mastery of his subject. He reported that the Earl was already selling coal tar as fast as it could be manufactured for 21 shillings a

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29. Act, Geo. III, Cap. XLII (1785), NLS 8277, ff. 134-139; "Address and Proposals from Sir John Dalrymple, Bart. on the Subject of the Coal Tar and Iron Branches of Trade", 1784, copy in DP 233/112/2; Dundonald, Account of the Qualities and Uses of Coal Tar and Varnish (1785); British Tar Co., Description of and Directions for Using... Coal Tar and Varnish... (n.d.); Dundonald, Sept. 11, 1789, DP 233/107/L7; E. T. Svedenstierna, Svedenstierna's Tour of Great Britain, 1802-1803 (1973), 67-78; Clow and Clow, Chemical Revolution (1952), 399.
30. Dundonald to Stuart, Dec. 11, 1782, NLS 5379, ff. 3-4; Black to Stuart, Jan. 25, 1783, ibid, ff. 16-18; Dundonald to Jane, Nov. 19, 1782, ibid, ff. 1-2; Jane to Stuart, Dec. 7, 1782, NLS 5374, ff. 31-34.

barrel, varnish at 3 shillings a barrel and cinders at 1/10d. to 3 shillings a load. Moreover, Hutton and Davy, leading manufacturers of sal ammoniac, were interested in using the volatile alkali in their own products. Even if, as Glassford suspected, Black overestimated peacetime prices of tar the chemist's contention that weekly profits on twenty kilns would be £20 to £39 indicated a rosy future for the invention. In May 1783 Dundonald's brother, James, added his own calculations. The coal tar process, he believed, might save the country upwards of £50,000 a year on bounties and foreign tar imports, and he pointed out that the patent operated upon materials currently discarded as waste. Foundries charred 350,000 tons of coal per annum, sufficient to supply, by Dundonald's method, 116,666 barrels of tar, in excess of that used by the whole of British shipping.[31]

Taking up one of his brother's suggestions, the Earl issued a pamphlet containing testimonials which suggested widespread and satisfactory use of the coal tar in Scotland. "No other tar but coal tar," wrote J. Gray of Leith, "is now used in this corner for vessels' bottoms."[32] Such advertisement drew interest, and encouraged Matthew Boulton and Walker of Rotherham to visit Culross and inspect the Earl's works. The tract was followed by a petition to Parliament, and a committee was established which called witnesses to help determine the value of the invention: Bryan Higgins, a well known manufacturer; John Hall, master of the Swan; Captain J. Shanks; George Dyer, a London merchant, and John Cochrane, Dundonald's brother. As a result of a favourable recommendation, Parliament extended the earlier patent, allowing the inventor a monopoly of his process in Britain and North America from June 1, 1785.[33]

In view of this, and further successful trials of coal tar in the West Indies and Holland, the scheme appeared promising and the only dissenting voices seem to have been the locals who, unable to fathom the reclusive and irreligious Earl, designated him "daft

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31. Dundonald to Stuart, Dec. 11, 1782, NLS 5379, ff. 3-4; Black to Stuart, Jan. 25, 1783, ibid, ff. 16-18; J. Cochrane to Stuart, Mar. 31, 1783, May 22, 1783, enc. "Facts and Hints Concerning Lord Dundonald's Extract of Tar from Coal", ibid, ff. 23-47; Dalrymple to Stuart, Dec. 12, 1782, ibid, ff. 5-7; Stuart to Dalrymple, Jan. 10, 1783, ibid, ff. 8-10; Stuart to Black, Mar. 7, 1783, ibid, ff. 20-21a.
32. Dundonald, Account of the Qualities of Coal Tar... (1785), 22.
33. Bill for Investing in Archibald, Earl of Dundonald...the Sole Use and Property of a Method of Extracting or Making Pitch, Essential Oils, Volatile Alkali, Mineral Acids, Salts and Cinders from Pit

Dundonald" and left wild stories of his activities.[34] Optimism was enhanced in 1788 by Dundonald's second marriage, to Mrs. Isabella Mayne, reportedly worth a fortune of £50,000. Part of her wealth consisted of £22,500 in 3 per cent consols, and it was agreed, after further rancour between Dundonald and Stuart, that £10,000 would be realised, preferably for use in the promotion of the coal tar concern. Mrs. Mayne, however, was to retain some 5% of the profits, and the remaining £12,500 left in consols would be allocated to any children of the marriage, to Mrs. Mayne herself or, failing both, to Dundonald. Undoubtedly these and other arrangements managed, for a time, to keep the newly formed British Tar Company in a healthy condition. Upto May 1788 an expenditure of £22,400 yielded an annual profit of about £5000, but, in the space of a year, the prospect diminished. Debts of the company between 1789 and 1793 rose from £42,000 to £48,000.[35]

Dundonald, almost inevitably, accused his brothers, who assisted him to operate his patent, of mismanagement. Instead of gradually expanding within its means, the company had borrowed large sums and used them to erect eight works between 1786 and 1788, half of them in England, all situated near blast furnaces and consisting of 20 tar kilns. Each works produced 120 tons of distilled coal a week and far more coal tar than the market was capable of absorbing. Much of it, possibly half, had consequently to be exported at a loss to the East and West Indies. When profits failed, the company was unable to meet the debts it had contracted. Even some of the by products of the process, essential oil of coal and ammonia, proved to be "unsaleable at any price."[36]

The British Tar Company had not accurately gauged the extent of its market. Widespread maritime and naval use of coal tar, for example, had

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Coal (Edinburgh, 1785), NLS 5379, ff. 59-62; notes of a parliamentary committee, ibid, ff. 63-66; Jane to Stuart, Dec. 23, 1783, NLS 5374, ff. 70-75.

34. W. May to British Tar Co., Oct. 22, 1786, NLS 1808, f. 171; W. Sibbald & Co. to British Tar Co., Oct. 12, 1787, ibid, f. 172; J. Brown, July 1814, PR, July 1814, XXVI, 77-78; Beveridge, op. cit., II, 233-236 should be compared with Report by Messrs. Henderson, Grieve, &c... (Oct. 1795), 9, DP 233/183.
35. The World, Mar. 28, 1788, NLS 8353, f. 161; "Gen. Outline of What is Proposed", Mar. 2, 1788, NLS 8277, ff. 150-151; S. Totton, "Memorandum of Observations in Reading over the Draft of the Settlement", Mar. 14, 1788, ibid, ff. 171-174; Dundonald to Stuart, May 10, 11, 27, 1788, NLS 5379, ff. 69-71, 78-79; Stuart to Dundonald, May 12, 1788, ibid, ff. 73-75; Dundonald to Reynolds, Sept. 11, 1789, DP 233/107/L6; A. Cochrane to Melville, Aug. 6, 1793, NLS 1045, ff. 1-2.
36. Dundonald to Lord Liverpool, May 6, 1814, Add. MSS. 38257, ff. 208-213; Dundonald to Lord Cochrane, Jan. 19-22, 1818, DP 233/6/50; Dun-

been envisaged, yet in 1788, when Dundonald lobbied the Navy and private London shipping interests, he met only indifference. The Navy Board had ordered trials at Sheerness as early as 1784, but the Admiralty was already committed to copper sheathing as a means of preserving ships from the ravages of dry rot and the naval worm, and they did not encourage coal tar. In 1793 Captain Cochrane was still pressing them desperately to make use of his brother's invention.[37]

Against these failing expectations must be set the crippling costs incurred by the company, principally in the precipitate erection of works. Dundonald believed that the Scottish establishments, at Upper Cranston near Dalkeith, Enterkine in Ayrshire, Culross and Muirkirk, were the least profitable. In England a head office was located in London and supervised by George Glenny, and kilns had been erected at various places. Some were at Calcutt, on the Severn, near Broseley, Shropshire, ran in 1799 by Anley Birch and Wright but earlier controlled by Dundonald's brother, John. The latter had also managed works at Coalbrookdale, Shropshire, and Dundonald, in 1789, was negotiating with his friend, William Reynolds, an ironmaster, to have another set of kilns placed at his works at Ketley, on the Severn. The information relating to this subject is incomplete, but there are also references to three works in Staffordshire, giving at least six establishments in all constructed by the Company in England.[38]

In view of the declining profitability of the enterprise, Dundonald revised his policy of erecting works in 1789. Thereafter, he proposed to induce capitalists to build kilns for the Tar Company, which would then pay them a rate per barrel of tar produced sufficient to return them 10% on their outlay. Once erected, however, the works were to be maintained by the Tar Company. Whether this policy was implemented or

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donald to Mrs. Gilchrist, Mar. 7, 1787, DP 233/105/A12.

37. Autobiography, I, 40-41, 44-45; J. Ferguson to Dundonald, Aug. 11, 1784, DP 233/107/L1; A. Cochrane to Melville, Aug. 6, 1793, NLS 1045, ff. 1-2; R. J. B. Knight, "The Introduction of Copper Sheathing into the Royal Navy, 1779-1786", M.M. (LIX, 1973), 299-309.

38. Dundonald to Reynolds, Sept. 11, 1789, DP 233/107/L6; British Tar Co., Description of...Coal Tar... (n.d.); Dundonald to Mrs. Gilchrist, July 10, 1786, DP 233/105/A9; Hamilton, op. cit., 206; Agreement between Dundonald and Reynolds, DP 233/109/H15; Dundonald to Glenny, June 20, 1789, DP 233/110/K3; Glenny to Dundonald, June 24, 1789, DP 233/110/K2; Dundonald to Reynolds, Feb. 26, 1789, DP 233/109/H4; Dundonald to Reynolds, Dec. 24, 1787, DP 233/109/H2; McAdam to Dundonald, Apr. 11, 1788, DP 233/109/G1; Dundonald to Reynolds, Nov. 13, 1799, DP 233/109/H22; note, 1799, DP 233/109/G47.

not is unclear, but in 1789 it was described as current practice to Reynolds, whom Dundonald hoped to persuade to establish kilns at all his foundries for a third of the profits.[39] .

The Scottish works were the least profitable. Those at Muirkirk were initially managed by Captain Cochrane, with John Loudon McAdam as the Ayrshire agent. In 1786 Dundonald took out a lease on the nearby collieries at Kaimes, soon to be owned by Commodore Keith Stewart, and early the following year the Commodore loaned the British Tar Company £2000 to enable them to install the Muirkirk kilns, charging the legal maximum of 10% as interest. By 1795 Captain Cochrane owed Stewart £14,000. The latter was then receiver general for Scotland, and he had developed the practice of paying his accounts in arrears to provide, for his own benefit, short term loans on high interest rates. He was, therefore, probably as bad a financier as Dundonald could have found.[40]

To expand the local market for his coke, the Earl tried to encourage the English ironmasters, John and William Wilkinson, to develop the Muirkirk iron reserves, but the task was eventually undertaken by some Glasgow and Edinburgh businessmen who founded, in 1787, the Muirkirk Iron Company. At first they operated upon coke supplied by Dundonald. Stewart, however, became impatient to recover his money, being then in debt to the Exchequer for £107,000, and he increasingly compelled McAdam, who had succeeded Cochrane as manager of the Tar Company, to drive hard bargains for his profits. The prices McAdam charged for his coke succeeded eventually in so irritating the ironworkers that they attempted to sever their connections with the Tar Company and were appeased only when it was agreed that they would take the Kaimes Colliery from Dundonald and supply McAdam with coal for coking and for use in ironworks. To add to these difficulties, sufficient supplies of coal from the colliery to maintain production could not be sustained. Consequently, beset by an inadequate market and declining supplies of raw materials, and financed by high interest loans, the business continued to accumulate debts. In February 1790

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39. Dundonald to Reynolds, Sept. 11, 1789, DP 233/107/L6.
40. J. R. Hume and J. Butt, "Muirkirk, 1786-1802: The Creation of a Scottish Industrial Community", Scottish Historical Review (XLV, 1966), 160-183. The picture is confirmed in McAdam to Dundonald, Oct. 24, 1788, DP 233/109/G3 and Dundonald to Dundas, Feb. 1797, DP 233/183.

Dundonald resigned his control of the works to McAdam, who was empowered to operate the patent for a financial consideration.

Eventually, the British Tar Company became bankrupt. Captain Cochrane, after some difficulties with the Earl, surrendered his position as general manager to a triumvirate consisting of Lord Kinnaird, Commodore Stewart and Glenny, which exercised control from May 6, 1790. But, within a short time, the market for coal tar seems almost to have disappeared. By 1809 the product was used upon little more than out-houses and fences, while eight years later McAdam complained that "Tar making has become as bad a trade as iron-making has improved. I can purchase Tar in London for the wages I pay in Muirkirk..."[41] In an unfortunate irony, Dundonald's coal tar process, brilliant in its inception and so profitable in later times, served only to multiply the crippling debts which hung over its inventor.

IV

Long before the British Tar Company had crumbled, Dundonald had invented another remarkable process which promised profits comparable to those which had seemed so likely to accompany coal tar. For years he had hoped to develop Culross's other resources, including his salt reserve, and as early as 1784 he campaigned for the removal of the restrictions upon the refining of rock salt and for the abolition of salt duties, for which he suggested the substitution of a hearth tax. Moreover, he had devised a method of purifying British salt by draining through it portions of boiled and salted water. It was the product of careful experimentation and research, revealed clearly in the Earl's enquiries of the Bishop of Llandaff, and it led him to address his talents to one of the major problems then confronting the expansion of the chemical industry.[42]

Alkaline salt (sodium carbonate) was the raw material of soaps, detergents, bleaches and glass, but it was principally obtained from increasingly expensive supplies of Spanish barilla. As production costs based upon these imports rose, several individuals attempted to develop

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41. R. Devereux, John Loudon McAdam (1936), 45; Public Characters, 1809-1810 (1809), 282; Jane to James Stuart, Mar. 1790, NLS 8329, ff. 163-164; Andrew Cochrane to J. Stuart, Apr., May 7, 1790, ibid, ff. 167-170, 177-179; Dundonald to Glenny, June 20, 1789, DP 233/110/K3.
42. Dundonald, The Present State of the Manufacture of Salt (1785) and Thoughts on the Manufacture and Trade of Salt, on the Herring Fisheries, and on the Coal Trade of Great Britain (1784); five letters between Dundonald and Landaff, May 1785, NLS 5379, ff. 104-115.

a suitable substitute, seeking to invent a process by which alkaline salt might be obtained from the abundant quantities of common salt. Of numerous parties engaged upon the salt to soda problem, the most famous was the Lunar group, consisting of Roebuck, Watt, William Small, Joseph Black and Boulton, but more successful, apparently, were John Collison and A. Blair and James Keir. Dundonald, however, invented the first major satisfactory commercial process. "Blair and Keir at Tipton Green," he boasted, "make a hepar or impure alkali, not a pure carbonate of soda as I do." Rumours of his triumph were treated initially with disbelief. "Neither Dr. Withering nor I know anything of Lord Dundonald's process of making mineral alkali from sea salt," wrote Boulton in 1791, "nor do we believe it."[43]

The process, patented in 1795, consisted of decomposing sea salt by heating it with either green vitriol and clay, Epsom salt, clay and pyrites, alum or pyrites, to produce various compositions containing sulphate of soda or Glauber's salt. The sulphate of soda was then fluxed with charcoal or sawdust, and the product placed in a calcining furnace, mixed with sawdust and heated. By these means, the sulphate of soda was converted into sodium sulphide, from which was separated carbonate of soda in crystals reportedly upto seven inches in length and as clear as ice. Further, in 1798 Dundonald devised a method of obtaining carbonate of soda from black ashes, and the following year, while spending eight weeks at Ravenhead, he experimented with obtaining the product from kelp. Both of these last processes involved, as a by product, muriate of potash, which the Earl could employ to produce ceruse or carbonate of lead (white lead), or use as a substitute for black ashes in the manufacture of alum, methods patented respectively in 1794 and 1798.[44]

The year 1790 found Dundonald at North Street, Poplar, London, producing, it was said, soda "equal to the best barilla brought to this market in point of strength and much beyond it in point of purity" for use as a detergent, toothpaste and medicinal purposes. He had benefitted

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43. Dundonald to Reynolds, Mar. 7, 1794, DP 233/109/H17; Boulton to F. Swediaur, Apr. 1791, Clow, Chemical Revolution (1952), 100. The salt to soda problem is discussed in Clow, ibid, 91-115; D. W. F. Hardie, A History of the Chemical Industry in Widnes (1950), 9-12; A. E. Musson and E. Robinson, Science and Technology in the Industrial Revolution (1969), 352-371; A. and N. L. Clow, "Vitriol in the Industrial Revolution", Economic History Review (XV, 1945), 44-55.
44. Dundonald, Feb. 23, 1799, DP 233/106/C11; Dundonald, July 7, 1798, DP 233/106/C39; Dundonald to Dundas, Apr. 9, 1799, DP 233/106/C3;

by the failure of his coal tar project and, instead of erecting works at his own expense, determined to permit others to employ his alkali process in return for a percentage of the profits. Accordingly, on May 3, 1796 licenses were granted to Aubone Surtees and Thomas, Lord Dundas empowering them to manufacture each 3000 tons of soda per annum. Twenty per cent of their profits were claimed by Dundonald, and it was agreed that the licenses could be forfeited if the holders failed to expend £15,000 in the erection of works within three years.[45]

The most promising licensee was Surtees, who was associated with his brother John, Thomas Doubleday, and George, William and John Losh at Newcastle. Dundonald's presence in the northeast dated from 1795. "Lord Dundonald," it was reported, "had lived as a recluse in Newcastle for many months and has at last exercised his chemical abilities to advantage and will probably make a large fortune by his substitute for barilla. Our glass manufacturers are contracting with him and have little doubt of his success."[46] Not until March 1798 did the Newcastle group establish a works, at Bell's Close, Scotswood, but the operation moved to Walker on Tyne the same year, partly to ensure supplies of waste salt which escaped onerous duties provided that it was used solely for the manufacture of alkali.[47]

Unfortunately, by then the relations between Dundonald and his partners deteriorated, partly because the Newcastle group failed to assist the Earl sufficiently in his attempts to save Culross. Early in 1797 the company offered collateral to Dundonald's creditors, hoping to rescue Culross, which would provide an ideal site for works with its ample supplies of salt and green vitriol. But the proposals fell through, and a small Scottish property of Kirkbrae belonging to Dundonald was sold, the Earl believed, because of the apathy of his Newcastle collaborators. "They suck my brains and pick my pockets without conscience or remorse," Dundonald told his Scottish agent.

Dundonald, draft, DP 233/107/L29; memoranda on kelp processes, DP 233/106/C12; memoranda on white lead, DP 233/106/C37; notes on alum manufacture, DP 233/106/C1-C2; Svedenstierna, op. cit., 112-114.

45. Letter to Dundonald, June 7, 1790, DP 233/107/L8; Use of Soda or Mineral Alkali, DP 233/106/C35; Northumberland Alkali Co., Directions for Using the Salts, DP 233/106/C47; "Paper for the Perusal of Mr. Hay and His Friends", May 31, 1797, DP 233/106/C21; Dundonald to Dundas, May 11, 1799, DP 233/110/K88; Dundas to Dundonald, May 12, 1799, DP 233/110/K89.
46. Clow, Chemical Revolution (1952), 101.
47. W. Hamilton to Dundonald, Mar. 25, 1798, DP 233/107/E11.

He had other complaints. The Surtees group spent inadequate sums on the works; began operations at an unsuitable site, Bell's Close; and they had established a Glauber's salt works before a manufactury for alkali. In June 1797 matters came to a head when Dundonald quit the works, leaving James Alves there as his representative. Without his guiding hand, profits collapsed.[48]

Dundonald tried to find more substantial backers, and investigated the possibility of throwing open his patents to the public for a government reward. He was impeded in the first option by an act of the sixth year of George I's reign which limited the number of persons capable of acting under a patent to five; and, although Liverpool, President of the Board of Manufactures and Trade, set up a committee headed by Joseph Banks to consider the Earl's patents, nothing came of the second alternative. Forced back upon Surtees at the beginning of 1798, Dundonald offered him a return of 40% on capital already expended on the Bell's Close works if he would surrender them and his license and assist the Earl with £6000 or more to save Culross. John Surtees, however, remained unmoved. The works, he said, could be surrendered only if his company were permitted to manufacture 1000 tons of alkali each year elsewhere, and to receive, until the expiration of the patent, an annuity of £4000. These terms were unacceptable to Dundonald and deadlock continued until October, when another effort was made to settle differences.[49]

Dundonald then owed the Newcastle group £2631.17.8, partly on account of money advanced for a white lead project and of rents on the Valleyfield lease near Culross. He hoped to prevent Aubone Surtees from pressing a sale of this lease by offering him part of £5000 he was to receive from William Wood, a London soap boiler who had agreed to operate another of the alkali licenses. But the effort failed, Dundonald claimed, because of Wood and George Glenny. Surtees, consequently, refused to deliver the Earl's fifth of the profits, as guaranteed in their contract, but continued to operate the alkali

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48. Hamilton to Dundonald, July 13, 1797, citing Dundonald to Hamilton, June 19, 1797, DP 233/105/B11; details of Losh offers, DP 233/107/L11; "Paper for the Perusal of Mr. Hay...", DP 233/106/C21; Losh to Dundonald, Sept. 29, 1797, DP 233/109/F5; Dundonald, DP 233/109/F3; minutes of a meeting between A. Surtees and D. Crawfurd, Nov. 17, 1798, DP 233/109/G37; Dundonald to J. Surtees, DP 233/109/I2.
49. Dundonald to Surtees, July 11, 1797, DP 233/107/E6; Dundonald to Liverpool (2 letters), 1797, DP 233/107/E2-E3; memoranda, DP 233/107/E4; Hamilton to Losh, Jan. 10, 1798, DP 233/107/L23; statement citing J. Surtees to Dundonald, Jan. 10, 1798, DP 233/109/I31.

process, not, without Dundonald's help, very successfully. His actions infuriated the Earl, who declared that the licence had been forfeited and that Surtees was liable to legal action for infringing the patent.[50]

No more successful was his business arrangement with the other licensee, Lord Dundas, who was involved in industrial activities at Loftus and at Dalmuir, Lanarkshire. In 1795 the Earl granted Dundas a license to operate his alum process at Loftus, where it was planned to use black ashes to produce muriate of potash, a resource for alum manufacture as well as for soda. The following year Dundas was given permission to manufacture alkali, but he was himself in financial difficulties and by 1800 had been unable to find the resources necessary for a large scale operation. Dundonald doubted both his resources and his reliability. In his view, Dundas was "destitute of Ability, Truth, Honour and feeling", bent upon "monopolizing to himself all my patents without paying me the smallest Consideration."[51]

The breach was evident in 1797, when Dundonald devoted more attention to Dundas after quitting the northeast. More cautious after his experience there, the Earl insisted upon complete control of the proposed works and that Dundas show evidence of his ability to erect them. After some contention, Alves was transferred from Newcastle to Dalmuir in 1798 and using money Dundas had borrowed soda was eventually produced, but not, it appears very profitably. The final result of the venture is obscure.[52]

In April 1797 Dundonald approached the Lancashire Plate Glass Company at Ravenhead, offering them a license to produce alkali in glass manufacture if the company advanced money to save the Culross estate. His offers fell upon receptive ears, and later in the year

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50. Dundonald, draft, DP 233/107/L26; legal document, DP 233/109/I31; Dundonald to Pugh, Nov. 7, 1798, DP 233/110/J8; Dundonald, Oct. 16, 1798, DP 233/109/I16; A. Surtees to Dundonald, Oct. 30, 1798, DP 233/109/I20; Dundonald to A. Surtees, Nov. 4, 1798, Jan. 5, 1799, DP 233/109/I21, I25; Hamilton to Dundonald, Feb. 7, 1799, DP 233/109/I26.
51. Dundonald to Reynolds, Nov. 14, 1800, DP 233/106/C5; Dundonald to Dundas, Aug. 7, 1795, Apr. 9, 1799, DP 233/110/K6; DP 233/106/C3.
52. Dundas to Dundonald, Dec. 7, 1798, DP 233/110/K22; Dundonald to Dundas, Apr. 15, 1797, Nov. 11, 1798, DP 233/110/K11, K21; Dundonald to Dundas, draft, May 11, 1799, DP 233/110/K78; Dundonald, July 22, 1799, DP 233/110/K95; Hamilton to Dundonald, Sept. 11, Dec. 2, 1799, DP 233/110/K100, K98.

Dundonald spent two months at the company's works. As a result, alkali, derived from both black ashes and sea salt, was produced, and in May 1798 the company was granted permission to use the process in the manufacture of plate glass. Dundonald was awarded £2000 for these efforts.[53]

The Earl's own operation in London continued throughout these, largely ill-starred, adventures, and supplied alkali through various local dealers. His principal contact was a soapboiling firm owned by William and Benjamin Wood and Evan Pugh, and it was, in due course, proposed that they should receive a license to manufacture alkali in return for sums which would extinguish those claims on Culross properties owned by John and Aubone Surtees. But Wood failed to advance a promised £5000, and he could not agree with Dundonald on the quantities of alkali the license would permit him to produce. Negotiations foundered, but in the early summer of 1799 Dundonald's debts, which totalled £2000, compelled him to reconsider. Among the creditors were William Wood, who claimed £600, and William Hitchcock and Tebbutt, from whom Dundonald rented the Poplar works. An attorney, George Tyndale, was appointed to recover sums for the Earl, and discussions were reopened with the Woods and Pugh. Although various proposals on the theme of Dundonald granting permission for the manufacture of alkali in return for the liquidation of debts were examined, the results do not appear. Apparently, however, Dundonald drew up a license for Wood, and in July 1799 the latter had possession of the Poplar works, in return, presumably, for financial relief.[54]

For twenty years Dundonald had vainly exercised his scientific skill towards the salvation of his estate and his restoration to "the rank in life I should hold." He took little pleasure from the "unavailing industry" or the "dirty hunt after money", and he showed no talent for it. The promising coal tar concern had collapsed, extinguishing the fortune

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53. Correspondence of R. Sherbourne and Dundonald, May-Dec. 1797, DP 233/107/L13-15, L21-22, DP 233/106/C31; Dundonald to Liverpool, Nov. 1797, not sent, DP 233/107/E10; Dundonald, Nov. 9, 1797, DP 233/107/L19; statement on alkali concern, DP 233/109/F2; Dundonald to Liverpool, Nov. 30, 1814, Add. MSS. 38260, f. 252.
54. Dundonald, A New Year's Gift (1798); draft of letter, 1798, DP 233/107/L26; W. Wood to Dundonald, Oct. 29, 1798, DP 233/110/J5; Dundonald to Wood, Oct. 1798, May 2, 1799, DP 233/110/J6, J13; Dundonald to Pugh, Nov. 7, 1798, Apr. 2, 1799, DP 233/110/J8, J10; Dundonald to Tyndale, May 2, 1799, DP 233/110/K74; Dundonald to Jones, May 2, 1799, DP 233/110/K75; T. Baker to Dundonald, Sept. 5, 1799, DP 233/111/M23; document, DP 233/110/K80; Wratislavia, June 20, 1799, DP 233/110/K94; J. Vancouver to Dundonald, July 12, 1799, DP 233/111/M21.

obtained by his second marriage and multiplying his debts. Ran more stringently, the alkali project had also failed. In the northeast, Dundonald quarrelled with his backers and lost control of his patent, while at Dalmuir Dundas had not the funds to establish a profitable operation. The successful London works passed to his creditors, perhaps for a return, and only at Ravenhead did the Earl receive a satisfactory reward.[55]

In 1799 Dundonald was driven to renew his offer to the government to abandon his patents in return for a parliamentary grant, and he considered leaving the country, unable to "subsist at home...the more he strives in Britain, the more he is oppressed, neglected or misrepresented."[56] From this he was rescued by his staunch friend, William Reynolds, who offered financial aid for permission to operate all the Earl's processes for alkali, white lead, green and crown glass, soap and iron. An indenture to this effect was signed on January 22, 1800, and it released Dundonald to pursue experiments with alum, alkali and green vitriol. Unfortunately, the arrangement was but a temporary one, since Reynolds died in June 1803.[57]

Having failed in his two major projects, Dundonald could no longer save Culross. "My property in Scotland," he wrote Melville in 1804, "has been sold to pay my debts. I have not received one farthing from it these twenty years past, and I never have received, excepting the £100 your Lordship procured for me, a sixpence of Government money since the year 1770 when I received 9 months pay as lieutenant of the Weasel sloop of war...I have nothing to support me but my mental and bodily labour..."[58]

V

From the February of 1790 the trustees managing Dundonald's finances had ensured regular interest payments on all loans, but they were obliged to allow the rents of Valleyfield and Kincardine to lapse until Preston and Erskine threatened to terminate them. Eventually Aubone and John Surtees assumed responsibility for the Valleyfield lease, but they, too,

55. Dundonald to Reynolds, Mar. 15, 1791, DP 233/109/H16.
56. Dundonald to Kinnaird, Nov. 6, 1799, DP 233/107/E31; Dundonald to the Duke of Portland, DP 233/107/E24.
57. Dundonald to Reynolds, Nov. 13, 1799 to Mar. 24, 1800, DP 233/106/C5-C8, DP 233/109/F14, DP 233/109/H43, H46; Dundonald to S. Fraser, Dec. 16, 1799, DP 233/109/H26; indenture between Dundonald and Reynolds, Jan. 22, 1800, DP 233/109/H34; J. Reynolds to 10th Earl of Dundonald, May 1, 1833, DP 233/108/Y8.
58. Dundonald to Melville, Aug. 22, 1804, NLS 1808, ff. 180-181.

in 1797 pressed for its release. Lists of Dundonald's creditors for 1793 and 1794, when debts against his estate totalled some £40,000, reveal amongst the familiar names an array of newcomers. Admiral Keith Stewart, whose connection with the British Tar Company has been described, had taken over Cuthbert's heritable securities in 1787, and stood at the head with a claim of £16,000 upon the Earl. Below him queued financiers, such as Forbes, and friends of Dundonald, among them Lord Abercorn, Robert Rolland and John Glassford. Even Lady Dundonald had been embarrassed. She had purchased some small tracts of land near Culross in 1791, but they were used to raise a loan of £600 which, with other expenses, indebted the Countess to Joseph Couvine, her trustee, for £2029.11.3.[59]

The estate was valued for sale in 1795. Culross Abbey house was assessed at £5466.13.4, the coal and salt works at £2175.17.1 and the forest at £18,000.5.8. Dundonald protested that his forest had been undervalued, referring to an estimate of George and Ralph Abercromby and John Clare in 1780 which placed its worth at £79,460.3.10½, but the Lords of Session were unimpressed. In July 1796 they declared that the whole estate would be placed upon the market on December 1 for £39,528.16.0.[60]

Employing delaying tactics, Dundonald appealed to the House of Lords and the Lords of Council and Session for a postponement of the sale, explaining that the prospects of the alkali patent were then so healthy that an immediate sale of Culross, where resources for alkali manufacture were abundant, would forfeit its potential value. The Earl contended that if he was permitted to lease Culross to the Newcastle group for £3600

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59. Minutes of the Earl of Dundonald's Creditors (Edinburgh, Mar. 1793), NLS 3418, ff. 234-235; A. Rolland, July 8, 1794, ibid, f. 228; T. Campbell, Petition of John Loudon McAdam, John Bushby, a Quorum of the Trustees of the Late Hon. Keith Stewart and Others... (Edinburgh, Mar. 9, 1796), ibid, ff. 236-237; T. Young to J. Buchan, Apr. 9, 1794, ibid, f. 230; A. Muir to Dundonald, June 4, 1798, DP 233/105/B18; T. Watts, Aug. 28, 1798, DP 233/105/A17; The Appellant's Case in the House of Lords (1796), DP 233/183; J. Moir, Answers for Capt. William Robertson to the Petition of the...Earl of Dundonald (Edinburgh, Sept. 5, 1793), ibid; "Statement Concerning the Debt Due by Lord Dundonald to the Trustees of the Late Admiral Stewart...", DP 233/184.
60. Report by Messrs. Henderson, Grieve, &c... (1795), DP 233/183; The Appellant's Case in the House of Lords (1796), ibid; D. Williamson, Petition of John Bushby, Esq., and John Loudon Macadam, Esq....and of Robert Watson... (1796), ibid; D. Williamson and W. Dundas, In the House of Lords. The Rt. Hon. Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, Appellant, John Bushby...and John Loudon M'Adam..., Trustees of the Late...Keith Stewart, Pursuers, and Robert Watson...The Respondent's Case (1798), DP 233/111/N9.

per annum and obtain a further £5000 from the alkali profits each year, he would be in a position to satisfy creditors who would, by a present sale, be disappointed. Near Newcastle he "regularly" produced "as much alkali as is contained in one ton of the best Spanish barilla."[61] To add colour to Dundonald's testimony, the Losh brothers and Dundas visited Edinburgh early in 1797, but McAdam and John Bushby, trustees for Admiral Stewart, would not tolerate postponement of the sale unless they were paid £10,000 before June 25, 1797. Dundonald found it impossible to meet their conditions. He eventually quarrelled with the Newcastle group, and Glenny and Charles Hay, the most promising of his other collaborators, could only raise between them £8000 before the stipulated date. Culross, therefore, was ordered to be placed upon the market in November, and the Newcastle intervention had achieved nothing more than a year's stay of execution.[62]

Undeterred, Dundonald strove to appease McAdam and Bushby whilst seeking support from a number of capitalists, William and Thomas Blane, Glenny and Major John Grant of the Ravenhead Plate Glass Company. Moreover, his mother in law, Mrs. Gilchrist, obstructed the sale with an appeal to the House of Lords, protesting that it was proposed to sell the estate in lots; Culross Abbey house was even being offered without adjoining land, or even access. She also claimed that the Henderson and Grieve evaluation of the forest, accepted for purposes of sale, was inadequate. These tactics, moderately successful, delayed the sale until January 1798.[63]

Five months later the estate, having found no purchaser, was reduced to £17,000, exclusive of the forest, and on July 4 a representa-

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61. Dundonald to Dundas, Sept. 30, 1796, DP 233/105/B7.
62. Dundonald to Chaloner, Dec. 18, 1796, DP 233/105/B8; Petition of the Rt. Hon. Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, to Lords of Council and Session (Edinburgh, Feb. 25, 1797), DP 233/105/B11; petition to Lords of Council and Session, Mar. 3, 1797, DP 233/105/B9; J. Bushby to J. Surtees, July 1, 1797, DP 233/105/B10; Hamilton to Dundonald, July 26, 1797, DP 233/105/B12; "Statement Concerning the Debt Due by Lord Dundonald to the Trustees of the Late Admiral Stewart...", DP 233/184; Minute for the Rt. Hon. Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, May 22, 1797 (1797), ibid; details of the Losh offers, DP 233/107/L11; Minutes of of Lord Dundonald's Creditors, 3d. March 1797 (Mar. 1797), DP 233/183.
63. Petition of Mrs. Ann Gilchrist...in the Sale of Culross, Dec. 2, 1797 (1797), DP 233/183; Hamilton to Dundonald, Dec. 15, 1797, and undated, ibid; Petition of Thomas Blane, Esq., Merchant in London, and Peter Lee, Vintner in Edinburgh, in the Sale of Culross, Dec. 9, 1797 (1797), DP 233/184; Dundonald to Grant, Nov. 8, 1797, ibid; W. Blane to Dundonald, Aug. 24, 1797, DP 233/107/L18.

tive of George Glenny bought it on behalf of the Earl's brothers, mother and uncle, possibly with the idea of holding it, free of Dundonald's interference, for Lord Cochrane. This strange and underhand proceeding infuriated Dundonald, who sought to repurchase the estate in annual instalments. He offered his white lead process to two capitalists, Birch and Wright, if they would buy Glenny out, but his manipulations proved abortive. "They are a pack of scoundrels," complained the Earl, "in which I include George Glenny and my fat brother, John."[64] Glenny attempted also to purchase the forest, priced at £27,488.17.9, and probably did so, although its sale was delayed at least until 1800 by William Hamilton, Dundonald's agent. Once out of the Earl's hands, Culross never returned to the Dundonalds. It passed, instead, to Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield, one of the Earl's creditors, and from him to the Elgin family.[65]

Dundonald's few other properties were also lost. The bursaries were sold to Hamilton in 1798, and passed successively to the Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Douglas. In 1798 Hamilton obtained in addition half of the lands of Annsfield and some claims upon the castle and park of Dundonald, from which he secured a pension. Lord Cochrane did not inherit any property from his father; he acquired a little land at Annsfield, from his mother, and eventually recovered Dundonald castle, which was returned by its owner, Major James Adair, in 1833.[66]

There was one Scottish property which Dundonald hoped that he might have saved, an estate of about 22 acres near Culross called Kirkbrae, acquired in 1745 from Sir George Preston upon the condition that, if it was ever released, the Prestons might reclaim it for £307.13.4. When the Earl's creditors proposed selling Kirkbrae, Sir Charles Preston tried to repossess it for the sum stipulated in 1745, despite the

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64. Dundonald to Reynolds, Dec. 19, 1799, DP 233/109/H28.
65. W. to T. Blane, Oct. 3, 1797, DP 233/105/B14; letters of Hamilton to Dundonald between May 31, 1798 to Oct. 26, 1799, DP 233/105/B19, B21, B27-28, B36, DP 233/183; Dundonald to Dundas, July 12, 1798, DP 233/105/B22; report of J. Morison and J. Chalmers, Oct. 22, 1799, DP 233/105/B31; Dundonald to Lord Cochrane, DP 233/105/B35; note, DP 233/105/B33; Dundonald, draft letter, DP 233/105/B34; Beveridge, op. cit., II, 238-239; Cochrane to W. Jackson, Mar. 29, 1844, DP 233/27/203; Answers for Mrs. Anne Gilchrist and Other Postponed Creditors on the Estate of Culross to the Petition of George Glenny, Mar. 6, 1800 (Edinburgh, 1800), DP 233/183.
66. DP 233/108/10Y1-10Y9; Dundonald to Hamilton, Dec. 25, 1798, DP 233/183; correspondence relating to the castle, DP 233/184; Minutes of Evidence, 79-80.

considerable rise in land values since that time. Dundonald attempted to turn the old agreement to his advantage. Arguing that the creditors could not legally obtain for Kirkbrae more than the £307.13.4, he offered the sum himself to rescue the estate from sale. Apparently, however, despite the contract of 1745, Preston's claims were either waived or satisfied, for Kirkbrae was sold for £1200 to an agent of Glenny on June 26, 1799.[67]

By these transactions the work of a century was consummated, and the Dundonald lands, once so extensive, finally passed into other hands. The fortunes of the family had been eroded gradually, by squabbles over the title; by claims, through dowries, annuities and portions, of the many relatives; and by a multiplicity of minor expenses. More culpable than any other factor was the determination of the family heads, in keeping with the spirit of the times, to "improve" and exploit their property, partly to satisfy their own material ambitions, fed, as they undoubtedly were, by the increasingly demanding expectations generally held of and by the peerage. Unfortunately, if the Dundonalds had shown enterprise and energy, they also displayed financial ineptitude in their management, and they paid the price.

It is not necessary to deal closely with the humiliations of the 9th Earl's later years. His mind ceaselessly roved over projects which he believed would rescue him from poverty. In 1795 he had published his most elaborate work, A Treatise Showing the Intimate Connection that Subsists Between Agriculture and Chemistry. Although it was the first major book upon its subject, less than a quarter of the 2000 copies were sold and Dundonald lost £200 upon the venture.[68] In 1801 a new process,

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67. The subject of Kirkbrae is developed in a number of printed statements deposited in DP 233/183: Petition of the Rt. Hon. Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, Feb. 23, 1797 (1797); C. I. Boswell, Answers for Sir Charles Preston of Valleyfield to the Petition of the Rt. Hon. Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, March 6, 1797 (Mar. 1797); C. Hope, Replies for the Rt. Hon. Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, to the Answers for Sir Charles Preston...June 30, 1797 (1797); The Petition of the Rt. Hon., the Earl of Dundonald with Concurrence of...Thomas Blane...Nov. 24, 1797 (1797); C. I. Boswell, Answers for Sir Charles Preston...to the Petition of... the Earl of Dundonald, with Concurrence of Thomas Blane, Merchant in London, Dec. 12, 1797 (1797); C. Hope, Memorial for the Rt. Hon. Archibald, Earl of Dundonald with Concurrence of Thomas Blane...Sept. 6, 1798 (1798); Minute for the Earl of Dundonald Regarding the Property of Kirkbrae, Jan. 22, 1798 (1798). Hamilton to Dundonald, June 28, 1799, DP 233/107/L35.
68. Dundonald, A Treatise Showing the Intimate Connection that Subsists Between Agriculture and Chemistry (1803); Clow, Chemical Revolution

the substitution for French Senegal gum, used in calico printing, of a treated tree moss, achieved brief notice. Dundonald was supported in its promotion by occasional donations from Lord Cochrane, and obtained an advance of £5000 to £6000 from one company as a contribution. It seemed that works would be established at Baxley Abbey and Birmingham, but nothing came of the scheme.[69] Within a few years, in 1804 and 1805, the Earl was investigating the preparation of hemp or flax and sponsoring spinning machinery invented by John Heppenstall of Doncaster to the extent of pawning his watch. Trials were undertaken for the government and Dundonald received £100 covering his initial expenses. Simultaneously, he was engaged upon devising a means of improving the manufacture of sail cloth, and lived to see his methods widely adopted both in the navy and the merchant service.[70]

Despite all his efforts, by 1814 Dundonald was living in a penniless condition, lodging humbly at 41 Shouldham Street, London, at the house of William Kelly, a tin plate manufacturer. From there he bombarded Lord Liverpool with scientific and commercial suggestions and lobbied him for financial relief. He received £50, which enabled him to take his best clothing out of pawn, and was later awarded £120 for advice given to the London Plate Glass Company. But, although his mind was still active and he promoted new discoveries - among them a soap of whale oil and pearl ashes in 1816 - he was clearly lapsing into occasional fantasy. In 1814, for example, he regaled the newspapers with improbable tales scandalising Lord Cochrane, who was then standing for election as M.P. for Westminster. In fairness to Dundonald, it must be admitted that Cochrane was finding the support of his father increasingly difficult, and the position scarcely improved over the following years.[71]

(1952), 487-491; correspondence in DP 233/107/D and DP 233/107/E, especially DP 233/107/D1, DP 233/107/E14-15.

69. Dundonald, Directions by Lord Dundonald for Extracting Gum from the Lichen or Tree Moss (1801); nine letters of Dundonald to Cochrane, circa. 1801, DP 233/105/A23, DP 233/105/B35.

70. Correspondence between Dundonald and others with Melville, NLS 1808, ff. 177-194; Dundonald to Melville, July 17, 1804, NLS 15, ff. 93-102; N.C. (1809), XXI, 4; Dundonald, Report on the Method of Manu- and the Properties of Dutch, Danish, Bridport and British Navy Sail Cloth (1807). Copies of some of Dundonald's patents are filed in DP 233/113/4.

71. Dundonald to Liverpool, July 24, 1816, NLS 5509, f. 40; Add. MSS. 38257 contains various suggestions of Dundonald to Liverpool; ibid, f. 245; Dundonald to Cochrane, May 13, 1814, enc. with Dundonald to

Dundonald's last marriage, in 1819, to Anna Maria Plowden, the daughter of a literary celebrity, had its financial compensations. The Countess saved her husband from the Marylebone Workhouse by obtaining a Crown pension of £150 per annum for herself and persuading Basil, the Earl's brother, to grant Dundonald an annual allowance of £200. But she died in 1822, and if the Literary Fund granted Dundonald a stipend the following year in lieu of the pension to his wife, his debts then stood at £175.18.0. Eventually, he managed to retire with his daughter to Lees Cottage, Hammersmith, tended by two maids, his mother in law finding it necessary to pay half the rent. "I was led to suppose," the Earl wrote Lord Cochrane in a shaky hand, "that you had forgotten or meant to forget that your old father was still living and in very distressed circumstances."[72]

After the death of his mother in law, Dorothea Phillips, in July 1827, Dundonald followed her husband, Francis Plowden, to Paris, and died at 22 Rue Vaugirard on July 1, 1831, being buried at a cost of £80 five days later. Reflecting upon his passing, Robert Preston of Valleyfield, who knew him well, composed an honest epitaph: "we may justly say of him he was unfortunate in all his undertakings. If it had not been for his temperament he must have been in possession of a very large fortune. He had the first faculties and genius in everything he undertook...poor man, he is now no more and we must forget all his faults."[73]

VI

The figure of the 9th Earl of Dundonald cast a long shadow over the career of his heir. Thomas Cochrane was, in time, to wrestle with problems greater than those that had defeated his father, for he inherited a propertyless and bankrupt title, devoid both of security and dignity. In his efforts to restore the family, he drew heavily upon the remaining Dundonald assets, in particular that patronage of friends and relatives which a peerage could normally command, and those talents which, with the curious quirks of personality, he took from the 9th Earl.

Liverpool, May 13, 1814, ibid, ff. 247-251; Dundonald to Liverpool, June 1, 14, 1814, Add. MSS. 38258, ff. 5, 51-52; Dundonald to Liverpool, Nov. 25, 1814, Add. MSS. 38260, f. 219; Vansittart, May 15, 1816, Add. MSS. 38262, f. 380; Add. MSS. 38262, ff. 381-383; Sunday Review, July 17, 1814.

72. Dundonald to Cochrane, Jan. 27, 1824, DP 233/105/A23(33); Anna Maria to Melville, enc. Anna Maria to Basil, May 31, 1819, Add. MSS. 41083, ff. 213-216; Anna Maria to Melville, June 7, enc. Anna Maria to Basil, June 6, 1819, ibid, ff. 217-220; Anna Maria to Liverpool, May 24, 1820, Add. MSS. 38285, ff. 106-107; Dundonald to W. E. Cochrane, Feb. 1823, DP 233/26/188; Gentleman's Magazine (Aug. 1831), ii, 172.
73. Preston to T. J. Cochrane, July 13, 1831, NLS 2273, f. 115; act of

Cochrane was born on December 14, 1775, at Annsfield, and was not nine years old when his mother died in London on November 15, 1784. Anna Gilchrist is a shadowy figure, but Dundonald worshipped her, "the handsomest woman in Scotland," he recalled seventeen years later.[74] She died at the house of her husband's brother, John, in Dundonald's arms. "Take care of the bairns," she said at the end, "farewell, farewell." Much shaken, the Earl told his mother that "Her dying look will never be effaced from my mind," and his brother informed Reverend Robert Rolland that "she was an angel of a woman. Her firmness and resolution never left her. She was sensible to the last."[75] Thereafter, the principal female influence upon the children was their grandmother, Mrs. Gilchrist, who supervised the household at Culross, and later at Annsfield. She died about 1802, but Lord Cochrane, his wife later testified, often spoke of the time he had spent with her. "He gloried in being a Scotchman; he said it was the Pride of his Life, and he used after his Dinner, when he was drinking his Wine, and so on, always to bring in something about Scotland - his dear Scotland - the Days of his Youth - the happy Days with his Grandmother."[76]

Lord Cochrane features little in the family correspondence as a child, except on the occasions when his health caused concern, but local tradition avers that he was a wild, adventurous boy, and preserved anecdotes of him at Culross, playing handball against the church walls and descending a disused coal shaft to reach a nest, and at Lamancha, hiding in a tree and pretending to be lost. In 1788 Dundonald took his son to London and tried to place him in the Guards, and a year or so later the boy was seen visiting Glenny's house at Bromley Hill, Kent, "a tall thin youth with locks somewhat tending to an auburn tinge," dancing over two crossed sticks at Southborough.[77]

Nevertheless, despite boyish exuberance, Cochrane's childhood must have reflected the strange world of Dundonald's aspirations and fears. The Earl's letters betray his warm devotion to his children, and his

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decease, Minutes of Evidence, 9; DNB, XV, 1315-1317; A. Cochrane to Lord Cochrane, July 8, 1831, DP 233/108/Y6.

74. Dundonald to J. Cochrane, Aug. 5, 1801, DP 233/105/A18B; Minutes of Evidence, 9. Cochrane was baptized on January 1, 1776.
75. Dundonald to his mother, Nov. 22, 1784, DP 233/105/A8; J. Cochrane to Rolland, Nov. 16, 1784, DP 233/105/A7.
76. Minutes of Evidence, 65; P.D., May 11, 1810, XVI, 1009.
77. Letter to Dundonald, Mar. 3, 1860, DP 233/66/14; Beveridge, op. cit., II, 237; W. Chambers, A History of Peebleshire (1864), 504-508.

concern for their welfare, but he never shielded them from his precarious circumstances. To his sixteen year old son, William, he wrote in 1797, asking him to tell Mrs. Gilchrist "that all matters here and elsewhere are now thriving to my wish, that I shall save the estate of Culross and disappoint my enemies."[78]

If the children grew up in an atmosphere of uncertainty, and Dundonald had very little money, it must not be assumed that he was devoid of all means to advance his sons. Certainly, there was no question of them subsisting at home upon the revenue of an estate, but in the 18th century, when eminence depended so strongly upon the patronage of the influential, a peer, with access to a network of useful relationships, was in a position of advantage. It was this, perhaps less evident, resource of the ennobled family which was so amply demonstrated by the early career of Lord Cochrane in the Royal Navy.

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78. Dundonald to W. E. Cochrane, Nov. 29, 1797, DP 233/105/A27; Dundonald to Mrs. Gilchrist, Jan. 4, 1786, DP 233/105/A10; Dundonald to Mrs. Gilchrist, Mar. 7, 1787, DP 233/105/A12.

LORD COCHRANE IN THE NAVY, 1793-1800: A CASE STUDY IN PROMOTION

I

The armed services were the obvious outlets for the sons of the Earl of Dundonald, and there is no evidence to suggest that any other alternatives were considered. A career in the army or the navy was, at least, commensurate to the status of a nobleman, and it offered prospects of advancement and profit. The Cochranes, too, had a tradition of military and naval service. Dundonald's uncle, General James Stuart, had found his nephews, Andrew and George, openings in the army, and the Earl's brother, Alexander, was a captain in the navy. As a matter of course, Captain Cochrane had entered the names of his nephews in his ships' books in case they should determine to pursue a seafaring career.[1]

Eventually, Lord Cochrane and his youngest brother, Archibald, entered the Royal Navy, respectively reaching flag and post rank, while the two other brothers, Basil and William, enlisted in the army. Basil, perhaps the closest to Lord Cochrane, became a lieutenant colonel of the 36th Foot, and William a major in the 15th Hussars. The greater progress of the two naval careers may not be without significance, in that promotion afloat was less directly linked to money than it was to patronage and influence, whereas commissions were still purchased in the army.[2]

Cochrane's first years in the navy amply demonstrated the ability of the well connected, a paucity of financial reserves notwithstanding, to achieve rapid promotion, and they exemplify the mechanisms of what was known in the service as "interest". These early years, however, are not important simply as an illustration of nepotism. The promotion struggle left its mark upon Cochrane and afterwards he was apt to sympathise with brother officers who, despite meritable service, were unable to advance because of their lack of "interest". This sensitivity was to play an instrumental role in taking Cochrane into parliament as a reformer of naval abuses.

Cochrane, like most of those who entered the Navy from the landed, professional and business classes, aspired to the receipt of the King's commission as a lieutenant, a subsequent promotion to the rank of post

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1. A Stuart to Mrs. Binning, Feb. 12, 1784, NLS 5374, ff. 92-102; Lord Cochrane to Basil Cochrane, Aug. 30, 1799, DP 233/105/A34.
2. Cochrane to Basil, Aug. 30, 1799, DP 233/105/A34; J. Greig, ed., The Farington Diary (1922-28), VII, 77; PR, Oct. 26, 1811, XX, 531-532; Morning Chronicle, Nov. 7, 1811; Gentleman's Magazine (Aug. 1831), pt. ii, 173; J. Marshall, Royal Navy Biography (1827), Supplement I, 120-122; Statement of the War Office, Mar. 12, 1816, DP 233/65/10-12.

captain and the prospect of eventually obtaining a flag as admiral. In the 18th century, the hierarchy of the ship mirrored the structure of society at large, and it was the commissioned officers, those with the rank of lieutenant and above, who enjoyed the status of gentlemen and the privilege of walking the ship's quarter-deck. The most important objective of the ambitious entrant in 1793, when Cochrane joined the service, was to be made post captain. The rank reaped not only the opportunities which might accompany the command of a ship of the 6th rate or over, an annual income of £109.4.0. to £364, the lion's share of any prize money, and, from 1794, substantial allowances in lieu of the extravagant number of servants once permitted, but also a valuable place upon the captains' list. Thereafter, no amount of patronage could oust the captain from his seniority, determined as it was purely by the date of his commission. Provided he was not dismissed from the service, and that he lived long enough, he would, as a matter of course, rise to the head of the captains' list and receive his rank as admiral. The post captain, therefore, earned some respite from the frustrating competition for promotion and the excessive appeals to "interest" which embittered the careers of so many of the midshipmen and lieutenants.[3]

A major contribution to the scramble for promotion which typified life as a junior officer in the Navy was the knowledge that, since progress by seniority from post to flag rank was so slow, unless the aspirant obtained his captaincy at an early age he was unlikely ever to become an admiral. The urgency thus lent to the proceedings produced a number of widely used methods by which the impediments to the accomplishment of post rank might be overcome, and in these Captain Alexander Cochrane, Lord Cochrane's uncle, was so skilled a manipulator that his own son became a captain at the astonishing age of seventeen years. No figure was more important to an aspirant's chances of a speedy promotion than was the captain. It was he who controlled the flow of recruits to the quarter-deck and took aboard his protégés, normally relatives or the sons of friends; and it was the captain who brought forward the candidates for the junior ranks. The connexion with Captain Cochrane, who was to become one of the Navy's most distinguished admirals, was, for Lord Cochrane, therefore a crucial one.[4]

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3. The promotion system is discussed in M. Lewis, A Social History of the Navy, 1793-1815 (1960).
4. Sketches of Captain Cochrane can be found in Marshall, op. cit., I, 257-266; R. Chambers, Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen (1875), I, 366-367; DNB, IV, 615-616.

When Lord Cochrane joined his uncle's ship, the Hind frigate, at Sheerness, on June 29, 1793, Captain Cochrane had already taken steps to overcome the immediate obstacle to a quick promotion for his nephew. He had given the boy "sea time". A candidate was not eligible for promotion to the post of midshipman, or junior officer, unless he possessed at least two years of nautical experience, or "sea time". Before a midshipman could be commissioned a lieutenant, moreover, he was required to pass an examination, show six years' "sea time", including two as a midshipman, and to be not less than 20 years of age. If he was successful, and he received the King's commission from the Admiralty, he would need some "interest" and standing on the lieutenants' list before proceeding further, to the post of commander or the rank of post captain.

Theoretically, therefore, a protégé would need to enter the service not later than the age of 14 and be rated midshipman within four years if he was to qualify for a lieutenant's commission at the earliest possible time. In practice, however, there were various subterfuges by which the process might be shortened. Had Lord Cochrane proceeded regularly, when he entered the navy in June 1793 at the comparatively late age of 17, he could not have been a lieutenant before 1799, when, at the age of 23, he would have had the six years of experience deemed necessary for such a commission. But, in reality, as soon as he set foot on board the Hind Cochrane possessed, on paper, fictitious "sea time" extending back more than a dozen years, and his age was exaggerated by two years to give colour to the claim.

Anticipating that some of his nephews might choose a naval career, Captain Cochrane had entered their names upon his ships' books, presumably pocketing the wages paid them, and affording the youngsters their "sea time" whilst they remained at home. Thus, Lord Cochrane, for part of the time also gazetted an officer in the 79th Foot Regiment of Guards, was rated as captain's servant in the muster books of the Vesuvias bomb vessel, December 6, 1780 to May 28, 1781; the Carolina, June 19, 1782 to April 10, 1783; the La Sophie, September 24, 1783 to May 26, 1784; and the Hind from July 1, 1790 to January 12, 1792. From May 1, 1793 he was rated on the books of the Hind as an Able Seaman, although the minimum age for such a designation was 18, and he was held to have joined the ship as a volunteer at Kinsale on May 8. Later that year the musters of the Thetis described him as being 20 years of age.[5]

Such frauds were not uncommon in the Navy at this time, and it seems that they gained a degree of social acceptability among serving officers. Nevertheless, they were not openly admitted, since they involved not only an infringement of the Admiralty rules concerning promotion, but also the disposal of the sums paid against the fictitious ratings. For the period of 1790 to 1792, for example, Lord Cochrane's paper service earned £17.6.3. for the captain, a sum he conceivably shared with the master, the purser and the boatswain of the Hind, since they also signed the ship's books. The entrant himself benefitted in all by nearly four years of "sea time", with the result that Captain Cochrane was able to promote him midshipman after he had been on board less than four months, despite the mandatory two years' naval experience required for that post.[6]

Cochrane was fortunate to find a place aboard the Hind, a frigate of 28 guns, for she was commanded by men both able and energetic, and the outbreak of the war with France that year seemed to promise some action. Second to the captain stood first lieutenant John Larmour, a rare promotion from the ordinary seamen of the lower deck. He had been a lieutenant since 1784 and became a post captain sixteen years later, too late ever to possess a chance of reaching flag rank, but he was an ideal man to instill into young Cochrane a sound knowledge of the profession. The lessons commenced almost immediately, with a brief cruise in June and July, but the captain was soon involved in raising more men and moving his company into a larger frigate, the Thetis of 38 guns. The day after the transfer, Cochrane received his first promotion at the hands of his uncle, to the post of midshipman on October 18, 1793.[7]

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5. Certificate of service, 1793, 1795, DP 233/78/16; muster-book of the Hind, May-June, 1793, Adm. 36/11153; muster-book of the Thetis, Oct. to Dec., 1793, Adm. 36/13179. Unless otherwise stated, the material relating to the personnel of the Thetis is drawn from the muster-book. The deception concerning Lord Cochrane's "sea time" was first made public in "Dundonald", W. R. O'Byrne, A Naval Biographical Dictionary (1849), 314-315. See also W. Hawkins to Dundonald, DP 233/105/A11; Lord Cochrane to Dundonald, Aug. 29, 1799, DP 233/105/A22(6).
6. Pay-book of the Hind, 1790-92, Adm. 35/748.
7. Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy, 1660-1815 (1954), 535; E. G. Twitchett, The Life of a Seaman (1931), 20; Captain Cochrane to P. Stephens, July 5, 1793, Adm. 1/1618, f. 81; Cochrane to Chatham, Aug. 1793, Chatham to Cochrane, Oct. 3, 1793, NLS 2568, ff. 26-27; J. J. Colledge, Ships of the Royal Navy (1969), I, 267, 556; details of the voyages of the Thetis, unless otherwise indicated, are drawn from Thetis log-books, Oct. 17, 1793 to Sept. 1794, DP 233/81/81C, Oct. 14, 1794 to Oct. 14, 1795, Adm. 51/1119.

After spending a considerable time fitting out the ship, Captain Cochrane left the Great Nore on December 1, ten days later reaching Leith Roads, where he received orders to cruise towards Norway in search of enemy privateers. On January 11, 1794 the Thetis consequently sailed north to reconnoitre the coasts of Norway, and visited Kristiansund and Bergen before returning to England early in March. Although it was Lord Cochrane's first extended voyage, he saw no action; fifteen vessels had been stopped by the frigate, but none were taken as prizes.[8]

Over the next month, however, the midshipman participated in the type of operations in which he was later to excel. Captain Cochrane, operating out of the Downs, swept the Channel for prizes, and, upto April 7, when the Thetis put back into Spithead, he brought to some 29 vessels, six to eight of which appear to have been sent for adjudication in the Admiralty courts. The experience must have been valuable to Lord Cochrane, but, after so fair a beginning, the frigate was attached to the squadron of Admiral George Murray, bound for the North American station, where the prospects of action were comparatively scant.[9]

II

Murray's squadron left Plymouth in May and arrived at New York in July. The Thetis, assigned routine duties along the seaboard, seized some five vessels over the next few months. More memorable, however, was the frigate's escape from shipwreck. On December 23 she ran ashore on Long Island, North Carolina, about 45 miles south of Cape Henry, losing her rudder and stoving the hull. For several days the vessel hung in a precarious position, her bow almost in the surf and as much as a dozen feet of water in the hold, while the crew, aided by the Cleopatra, Thisbe and Lynx, struggled to pull her off astern. It seemed that all efforts to save the Thetis would fail. Pumps, choked with sand, and hands, drawing water through the hatchways in buckets, fought to contain the sea, and guns and stores were removed to increase the buoyancy of the ship. Not until the 29th was the crippled vessel hauled off, with the assistance of high water and an onshore wind, and taken into tow by the Cleopatra, her pumps and improvised rudder in action and her hull bound with sails. The trial was not, even then, over. Three

8. Capt. Cochrane to Stephens, Jan. 11, Mar. 1, 1794, Adm. 1/1619, ff. 93-94.
9. The log suggests that 8 vessels may have been captured. Cochrane, in his despatch, states there were two American and four Danish prizes. Cochrane to Stephens, Mar. 10, 11, 19, 21, Apr. 5, 1794, Adm. 1/1619, ff. 95-99.

days later the towing cable parted off Cape Henry lighthouse and Thetis, losing her rudder and spanker boom, collided with the Cleopatra and was almost driven ashore. Although the frigate managed to continue her journey, gales during the night of January 2-3 "made us labour so much that I expected the ship to founder at anchor, the water from being reduced to five feet having reached the orlop deck." Two days later she limped into Norfolk harbour and was beached upon a mud bank for repairs. Reporting his adventure to the Admiralty, the captain referred to Lieutenant Larmour, "whose exertions in saving the ship will ever do him the greatest honour...a most deserving officer."[10]

While Captain Cochrane advertised Larmour's merits, he did not neglect to advance his nephew. Lord Cochrane was not eligible for a promotion to lieutenant, since he had not completed two years of service as a midshipman, but this did not deter his uncle from slotting him into the first vacancy. When Lieutenant John Barrett of the Thetis transferred to another ship, Lord Cochrane was installed as acting third lieutenant in his place, on January 18, 1795. Admiral Murray acquiesced in the appointment, and even the First Lord of the Admiralty permitted it to stand on a provisional basis. "I will not fail to notice his (Captain Cochrane's) application on behalf of his nephew," Lord Spencer told Thomas Coutts, "and if it should turn out, which I think it very probably may, that the appointment by Admiral Murray was not strictly regular, he shall however be included in my list for promotion when there is a regular appointment."[11]

Coutts, a descendant of the 1st Earl of Dundonald, was, at this time, the principal means by which Captain Cochrane hoped to influence the Admiralty. Although he was an important banker, Coutts was modest about his influence. "My interest," he confessed, "is not much. I wish it were more to serve you and Basil. The little in my power has always appeared when there was an opportunity. Your father was kind to me when a boy and I hope I shall never forget a favour done me."[12] But there were few alternatives to Coutts. "I have formed few or no acquaintances," Dundonald complained, "and have neither political interest nor the pecuniary means of pushing my sons forward in life."[13] Certainly

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10. Capt. Cochrane to Chatham, Jan. 9, 1795, Adm. 1/1620, f. 158; Jane Stuart to Capt. Cochrane, Mar. 1795, NLS 2264, f. 11.
11. Spencer to Coutts, Mar. 1795, NLS 2264, ff. 7-9; Thetis muster-book, Adm. 36/13180.
12. Coutts to Capt. Cochrane, Nov. 16, 1793, NLS 2264, f. 4.
13. Dundonald, DP 233/105/A26.

he understated the situation. There was one connexion, scarcely used at this time when, perhaps, the relationship was not sufficiently strong, which portended great benefit. In 1793 Andrew, Lord Cochrane's youngest uncle, married the daughter of the 3rd Earl of Hopetoun, whose half sister, the same year, married Lord Melville, one of the most powerful of political magnates and a close ally of Pitt. Melville seems to have been on cordial terms with Jane, the Countess Dowager of Dundonald, and, in time, would be of service to Lord Cochrane.[14]

On April 14, by order of Admiral Murray, Cochrane was temporarily transferred from his uncle's frigate to serve as acting lieutenant of the Africa, Captain Roddam Home, a third rate of 64 guns and the first line of battleship upon which Cochrane had been employed. The ship left the Thetis and other vessels in Hampton Roads the following day for a routine cruise about Cape Henry and Bermuda. After only a short time aboard her, however, Cochrane moved on May 18 to the Lynx, a 16-gun sloop, Captain Alexander Skene, which eventually put back into Halifax on June 13, ten days behind the Africa. In port was the Thetis, bristling with the credit from a victory over the French off Cape Henry. Cochrane must have been disappointed that he had missed an opportunity to enter the public despatches, but Captain Cochrane had again recommended Larmour to the Admiralty and his promotion would create a vacancy on board the frigate. "Captain Cochrane will no doubt be glad to hear," Spencer informed Coutts, "that Lieutenant Larmour has been promoted...and that Lord Cochrane's commission will be confirmed." While Larmour's promotion was dated July 8, Cochrane was still not eligible for an Admiralty commission and had to be content with an appointment by Murray to the Thetis as acting second lieutenant. Briefly, between January 5, 1796 and February 18, 1796, he even served as acting first lieutenant of the ship.[15]

Spencer's attitude to Cochrane was, nevertheless, encouraging. "Earl Spencer," commented the Countess Dowager, "has said that if he (Lord Cochrane) keeps steady to the sea he will do everything that he can to serve him. He is a man to be trusted when he says as much."[16]

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14. Jane to Melville, May 23, 1800, NLS 1049, ff. 54-55; DNB, VI, 190, IX, 1210.
15. Colledge, op. cit., I, 27, 335; Africa muster-book, Adm. 36/11423; Africa log-book, Jan. 4, 1795-Oct. 11, 1796, Adm. 51/1134; Capt. Cochrane to Stephens, May 28, 1795, Adm. 1/1620, f. 156; Spencer to Coutts, July 30, 1795, NLS 2264, ff. 17-19; Minutes of Evidence, 10.
16. Jane to Capt. Cochrane, July 12, 1795, NLS 2264, f. 15.

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Cochrane eventually satisfied the requirements respecting "sea time", at least on paper, in October 1795, and he passed his examination for lieutenant the following February. Murray issued a temporary commission, and the promotion was ratified by the Admiralty on May 27, 1796, not, however, without further pressure, this time from Thomas Maude, Lord Cochrane's prize agent and attorney. Cochrane had no grounds for complaint. He had secured the King's commission three years in advance of the date when, had he acted regularly, he would have qualified for such a promotion, and he was free to muster "interest" for further advancement. But he could not be complacent, for competition was severe; in 1796 there were 1,956 lieutenants senior to Cochrane on the list. That Cochrane could have no immediate expectations of the Admiralty was confirmed in September by Coutts. "I wrote immediately in the strongest terms to Lord Spencer," he told Captain Cochrane, "tho' I feared it would not do - and you will see by his answer that he thinks Lord Cochrane is too young a lieutenant to be promoted at present. His Lordship however may give way to stronger interest. I spoke of it to Mr. Andrew Stuart who is here and I shall be happy if he or any of Lord Cochrane's friends can succeed for him." In the meantime, the lieutenant remained with his uncle in the Thetis, learning his trade.[17]

Life aboard the frigate was eventful. It patrolled the American coast and the Caribbean, taking 13 craft between July 29, 1795 and June 5, 1797. During these cruises, Captain Cochrane gave his nephew lessons in guile. On August 16, 1795, for example, the frigate came upon a French privateer from St. Domingo in pursuit of a merchantman off Providence. With her gun ports masked and false colours at the masthead, the Thetis approached the enemy vessel, the La Sophie, a schooner of 16 guns and 79 men, and then raised her British flag. The Frenchman attempted to escape, using sweeps, but was captured. Four days after this success the Thetis employed French colours to close with another French privateer near Harbour Island, Providence. The enemy vessel was pursued and taken, and proved to be the Le Vengeur from St. Domingo, carrying 11 guns and 42 men. On August 28, 1796 Cochrane saw his first

17. Maude to Nepean, May 17, 26, 1796, enclosing Murray's commission appointing Cochrane second lieutenant of the Thetis, Feb. 18, 1796, Adm. 1/2806, f. 119a; Steel's Navy List, Sept. 1, 1796; commission, May 27, 1796, Minutes of Evidence, 11; Coutts to Capt. Cochrane, Sept. 5, 1796, NLS 2264, f. 24.

important action, when a British squadron, including the Thetis, chased three French frigates off New York and compelled one of them to surrender to the Topaze.[18]

The tempo of Cochrane's career changed in 1797, when Murray was succeeded in the command of the American station by George Vandeput. Coutts knew the man. "A particular friend of mine is gone to command in your station," he informed Captain Cochrane, "Admiral Vandeput, a very Gentleman like man in every respect and I hope you will become intimate with him if you are not so already - pray tell him I have written to you to mention him and that I am sure if it should be in his power to serve you or Lord Cochrane he will be pleased to do it were it only on my account."[19] Vandeput gathered his favourites into the flagship, Resolution, 74 guns, Captain W. Lechmere, and, not surprisingly, he transferred Cochrane from the Thetis, from July 28, 1797. The change was not entirely satisfactory. Vandeput, Cochrane believed, lacked Murray's energy, and life aboard the flagship was sluggish. "Time hangs heavy on our hands," the lieutenant complained.[20] Vandeput remained in Halifax until August 22, when the Resolution made a brief cruise. Back in Halifax on September 21 the ship was inactive until November. It then moved to the Hampton Roads, Norfolk, where it rested until April 12, 1798. Lord Cochrane and his comrades resorted to "little excursions to Norfolk and Hampton"[21] to pass the days, and they were able to make observations of American society.[22]

Cochrane was repelled by the miserable condition of the Negro slaves:

> "The people here are very depraved," he wrote his father. "An adequate idea can only be formed by observing their manners, hearing their conversations and seeing their treatment of slaves. Nine tenths of the Negroes are at this inclement season without blankets or bed and almost without clothes. I have seen enough in this country to cure any advocate of the slave trade of ever wishing to support so horrid an infringement of natural liberty, and to prove that, with the smallest gleam of reason on his side, he cannot adduce an argument in favour of one man's having the power to make

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18. Logbook of the Thetis, cited above, and Thetis logbook, Oct. 15, 1795 to Oct. 15, 1796, Adm. 51/1141, Oct. 15, 1796 to Apr. 14, 1798, Adm. 51/1200. The other seizures can be found under dates July 29, Sept. 6, 1795; Apr. 30, June 26, July 7, 11, 14, Aug. 14, Sept. 15, 16, 1796; June 5, 1797. Cochrane to Murray, Oct. 11, 1795, Adm. 1/493, f. 270; Murray to Nepean, Sept. 1, 1796, Adm. 1/493, ff. 473-474.
19. Coutts to Cochrane, Apr. 5, 1797, NLS 2264, ff. 30-31.
20. Lord Cochrane to Dundonald, Nov. 3, 1797, DP 233/105/A22(6).
21. T. Symonds to Cochrane, Feb. 4, 1860, DP 233/66/14.
22. Muster-book of the Resolution, Adm. 36/11683; Colledge, op. cit., I,

a number of fellow creatures unhappy - miserable to the last degree. When it may suit his whim he may punish in any way that he thinks proper, those he conceives have offended him. He may even put his slave to death without suffering the punishment due to such a crime..."

Among some extreme examples he quoted in support of his notions was the following:

"Going out to skate last week with some of my messmates, on a mill pond, on passing the mill we stopped in to warm ourselves. We saw the poor old black miller in a truely deplorable condition, far out of the power of any language to describe. Struck with the wretched spectacle we beheld we enquired who was his master and asked several questions relating to his truely distressed situation. He said his master was a bad man who treated all his slaves very ill. He had served him as a miller forty-seven years. It was years since he had got a rag of clothes. Of the original there did not remain a patch, a few rags he picked up and sewed together scarce covered his nakedness. His shins were burned to the bone from the necessity he was under of creeping near to the fire. A full third of the mill roof was off, the rest not water tight. His younger children were as naked as they were born, all crouching behind the fire in the warm wood ashes which was their bed. We gave the poor wretch two dollars ...(and a) blanket to wrap about him. The man was overjoyed in a manner past expressions, shedding tears...but could not speak for some time, he at last told them (his children) that he had got wherewith to clothe them. He did not mind himself, he was an old man and could not live long. He returned many thanks to us and... (said) that he had been with his master from a child but had never received twopence halfpenny from him."[23]

The expeditions ashore ended in April 1798, when the flagship put to sea. Three vessels were seized in the brief cruise, a Spanish and a French privateer, and an American ship suspected of conveying enemy property. Nevertheless, Cochrane was not impressed by the efficiency of the British squadron and considered the captains lazy and the men over indulged with spirits. In May Vandeput anchored at Halifax, where the Thetis joined them on June 8. Cochrane, no doubt gratefully, returned to the frigate four days later as her first lieutenant, but, by then, his service on the American station was almost over. After a voyage to Bermuda, the Thetis was ordered to England and sailed from Halifax on October 3, arriving in Plymouth in November 1798 after an absence of four years.[24]

461; Resolution log-book, May 25, 1797-Oct. 25, 1798, Adm. 51/1223; Cochrane to Dundonald, Mar. 6, 1797, DP 233/105/A22(7)

23. Cochrane to Dundonald, Jan. 20, 1798, DP 233/105/A22(14)
24. The captures are recorded in the logbook, Apr. 23, 28, May 6, 1798; Cochrane to Dundonald, June 15, 1798, DP 233/105/A22(12); Thetis muster-book, Adm. 36/13183; Thetis log-book, Apr. 15-Dec. 3, 1798, Adm. 51/1231.

Cochrane returned deeply concerned about his prospects for promotion. He had been a lieutenant for more than two years, but Lord Spencer had refused to act further on his behalf. "Lord Cochrane shall be brought forward by and by," the First Lord wrote in September 1797, "but he has not yet standing enough on the list of lieutenants to give him immediate expectations of promotion."[25] Patrick Heron and Andrew Stuart attempted in vain to shake Spencer's resolution, and in June 1798 Cochrane had written in despair to his father. "I have no chance," he said, "unless you apply yourself to Lord Spencer or make interest in some way or other."[26] The knowledge that some of the 600 lieutenants below him on the list, who commanded greater "interest", were receiving promotion served only to enhance Lord Cochrane's frustration. "My chance of promotion as a lieutenant of this ship is not worth one farthing...," he wrote in January 1798. "I see Lord Camelford is made captain. He was upwards of two hundred under me on the list of lieutenants."[27]

At the end of the year, with his faith in Spencer wilting, Cochrane found another patron. For some reason, after reaching England, he did not follow his uncle into a new ship. Captain Cochrane, his nephew recalled more than thirty years later, "proved more than a father in (my) early life", but a replacement almost immediately appeared. Admiral Lord Keith, a friend of the Cochrane family, was ordered to the Mediterranean.[28]

III

George Keith Elphinstone, Lord Keith, the son of a Scots peer, arrived at Plymouth in November 1798, bound for the Mediterranean as second in command to Admiral Lord St. Vincent. Already his flagship, the 80-gun Foudroyant, captained by John Elphinstone, had its full complement of officers, but Keith was willing to take Lord Cochrane aboard as a supernumerary in token of his goodwill to the family. The lieutenant joined Foudroyant on November 28, and the following day reported to the admiral. His reception, he wrote his father, was "remarkably cool. I

25. Spencer to Coutts, Sept. 12, 1797, NLS 2568, f. 61.
26. Cochrane to Dundonald, June 20, 1798, DP 233/105/A22(13); Cochrane to Dundonald, June 15, 1798, DP 233/105/A22(12); Spencer to Heron, Jan. 3, 1798, NLS 2568, f. 62; Basil Cochrane to Dundonald, June 23, 1798, DP 233/105/A24(7); Dundonald, 1798, DP 233/105/B24; Spencer to Capt. Cochrane, Apr. 19, 1798, DP 233/70/29/1.
27. Cochrane to Dundonald, Jan. 20, 1798, DP 233/105/A22(14)
28. Cochrane to T. J. Cochrane, Feb. 19, 1832, NLS 2274, f. 22.

fancy he expected I came to talk to him on family matters - as when I entered the room he said he had received papers from you which he did not understand and could not possibly interfere in."[29] Unfortunate as was this first interview, Cochrane would have cause to remember the admiral with gratitude, for Keith supervised the lieutenant's advancement over the next few years with efficiency.

As a supernumerary, Cochrane had no official rating on the ship, but once on station he would be available to fill any vacancy that might arise. "I cannot tell you how I stand as to promotion," he told his father. "There are no less than eleven lieutenants on board. I am with two other supernumeraries. Most of them, however, I believe have little or no interest." This assessment of the competition on board was probably accurate, but one of the supernumeraries and nearly all of the rated lieutenants were among the 1,606 officers whose names preceded Cochrane's upon the list.[30]

Particularly significant was the first lieutenant of the ship, Philip Beaver. Beaver was one of those able officers like John Larmour, whose progress in the navy had been impeded by the lack of "interest". A man from a humble social background, he was a conscientious and competent officer, a strict disciplinarian and something of a political philosopher. Familiar with books, he was later to attempt to found communistic colonies on Bulama Island. Beaver had no sympathy for the dubious materials furnished him as junior officers by influence, and his bitterness was enhanced by his inability, devoid as he was of "interest", to obtain promotion. In 1798 he had been a lieutenant for fifteen years, since October 16, 1783. "We have here so many for promotion," he complained, surveying the abundant lieutenants of the Foudroyant, "that few are left for plain duty. We had just now nearly run over a brig, but where from, or whither bound, the Lord knows - a pretty look out for a smart ship."[31] Between Lord Cochrane, the patronised patrician, and the stern and brooding Beaver there developed a mounting hostility.

The Foudroyant left Cawsand Bay on December 5, 1798, and fifteen days later anchored at Gibraltar. There, on the last two days of the

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29. Cochrane to Dundonald, Nov. 29, 1798, DP 233/105/A22(9); Cochrane to Dundonald, Nov. 1798, DP 233/105/A22; Keith, DP 233/105/A20; N.C. (1799), I, Appendix.
30. Cochrane to Dundonald, Dec. 4, 1798, DP 233/105/A22(11); Foudroyant muster-book, Nov.-Dec., 1798, Adm. 36/14380; Commissioned Sea Officers, op. cit.; Steel's Navy List, Dec. 1798.
31. W. H. Smyth, The Life and Services of Captain Philip Beaver (1829), 124.

year, the ship's company was transferred to the Barfleur, 98 guns. Dundonald had hoped to have his son moved to St. Vincent's flagship, but instead Lord Cochrane found a vacancy aboard Barfleur as Keith's eighth lieutenant, and his commission was back-dated to November 30.[32] Keith's task was to supervise the fleet blockading the Spanish in Cadiz while St. Vincent preserved Britain's vulnerable control of the Mediterranean. Despite the supremacy of the Navy there, its ships were widely scattered, reconnoitring the French army in Egypt, blockading Malta and other strategic bases held by the enemy, and cooperating with allied powers in contesting the French control of the Italian peninsula.

Keith's blockading squadron found intermittent relief in watering expeditions to Tetuan Bay, and it was on the first of these that the quarrel between Cochrane and Beaver surfaced. On February 9 Captain Cuthbert of the Marines and Cochrane returned from a trip ashore and neglected to report their presence on board to Beaver. The first lieutenant was not one to tolerate impropriety, and considered, as he later testified, that Cochrane and Cuthbert's omission "made me appear exceedingly ridiculous, for that I had just reported them to the Captain left on Shore, not having heard of their Return to the Ship." Lieutenant Robert Jackson recalled the scene that ensued when Beaver confronted Cochrane in the lieutenants' ward room. His Lordship maintained "that he could not help Lieutenant Beaver appearing ridiculous to the Captain. Lieutenant Beaver said that unless he was acquainted with the Return to the Ship, that while he was First Lieutenant Lord Cochrane should not go out of the Ship, to which Lord Cochrane in a manner surprised said 'Aye'. Lieutenant Beaver then sett down at the Table, but what he said I do not know. Lord Cochrane said he did not wish to hear more on the subject then, but that he would, or Lieutenant Beaver should hear from him on the subject another time. Lieutenant Beaver made some reply, but what I do not recollect, and before Lieutenant Beaver had finished speaking Lord Cochrane turned his face aft and whistled."[33]

Beaver complained to Captain Elphinstone, demanding that Cochrane be court-martialled "for disrespect to me and unofficerlike conduct between the hours of five and six o'clock this evening." The request was

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32. Foudroyant log-book, Nov. 26, 1798-Jan. 1, 1799, Adm. 51/1270; muster book of the Barfleur, Jan.-Feb. 1799, Adm. 36/12674; Dundonald to Barrington, Apr. 13, 1799, DP 233/71/36; Colledge, op. cit., I, 64.
33. Details of the court-martial are given as quoted by Twitchett, op. cit., 31-32. The original copy in the Dundonald papers has been misfiled. Barfleur logbook, Jan. 1-Apr. 4, 1799, Adm. 51/1261, Apr. 5-June 13, 1799, Adm. 51/1268.

transmitted to St. Vincent and Cochrane was ordered to be available for an inquiry aboard the Barfleur on February 16.[34] During the investigation Keith attempted to placate both parties, complaining that the affair was a trivial one to delay the fleet and that as "the Wind is coming fair" for sailing "I think I am made the most ridiculous person of the Whole." The hearing acquitted Cochrane of insubordination, but he was cautioned not to "reply sharply to their Superior Officers, and a first Lieutenant's Situation should be supported by everyone."

Although Cochrane expressed satisfaction in reporting the affair to his father, referring to Beaver as "a very great rascal...who made a fool of himself", a court-martial could not be taken lightly at a time when so many were competing for each promotion. Already junior, but more influential, lieutenants were moving ahead of Cochrane. "Lord Keith cannot and Lord Spencer will not," he complained. "He has people of borough interest and fortune as usual...The day before we left Mahon a boy named Briggs was made captain by Lord Spencer's positive orders into one of the sloops we took in June who was more than 200 below me on the list." Lord Keith, however, did not believe that the court-martial had been detrimental to Cochrane's chances of promotion. He had, he later admitted, "endeavoured to prevent it (the court-martial) with what influence I had. The trial made nothing against his Lordship. I respect his family and will not lose any opportunity to convince his Lordship if my Lord Spencer alone had the power of confirming commissions."[35]

Such considerations seemed insignificant during the Mediterranean crisis that followed. It has been treated adequately elsewhere and requires little discussion here.[36] In an effort to relieve the blockaded French strongholds of Corfu, Egypt and Malta, Admiral Bruix's Brest fleet managed to escape to sea on the night of April 25-26, and, joined by a small Spanish squadron from Ferrol, attempted to release the ships in Cadiz which were bottled in by Keith's fleet. Tidings of Bruix's approach reached Keith on May 3, 1799 by the Childers brig sloop. He sent word to St. Vincent at Gibraltar, and placed his force of 15 sail

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34. Beaver to Elphinstone, Feb. 9, 1799, DP 233/65/7; St. Vincent to Keith, Feb. 13, 1799, ibid; J. Jackson to Cochrane, Feb. 15, 1799, ibid.
35. Cochrane to Dundonald, DP 233/105/A22(3); Keith to Captain Cochrane, Aug. 29, 1801, NLS 2569, ff. 197-198.
36. W. James, Naval History of Great Britain (1878), II, 284-302; N.C. (1799), I-II; C. C. Lloyd, ed., The Keith Papers (1950), 30-60; H. W. Richmond, ed., Private Papers of George, Second Earl Spencer (1924), III, 43-103.

of the line outside Cadiz harbour to prevent Bruix joining the 22 line of battleships blockaded there. On the following day, Bruix, with some 20 ships, appeared, but the British fleet truculently guarding Cadiz and a dangerous onshore wind were daunting prospects. The French, consequently, passed by Cadiz and sailed into the Mediterranean, bringing an end to St. Vincent's control of that area.

Keith joined St. Vincent on May 10 at Gibraltar. The Commander in Chief, with his united force, eventually steered for Toulon, for which port it appeared Bruix was bound. However, on May 26 the British turned west, intent upon intercepting the Spanish fleet of 17 line of battleships which had been released from Cadiz by Keith and also entered the Mediterranean. St. Vincent himself received reinforcements from the Channel Fleet. He cruised to within forty miles of Barcelona before turning back to search for Bruix, who, reportedly, had refitted at Toulon and again put to sea. The British admiral was soon too ill to continue and quitted his fleet, leaving Keith to assume its management. At Toulon, on June 3, Admiral Keith found that the French had departed east, in fact with the intention of landing supplies for their army in northern Italy. He sailed in pursuit, learned that his quarry was in Vado Bay, and on June 8 nearly came up with them. Unfortunately, winds impeded his progress, and expresses from St. Vincent were received which commanded Keith to return to shield Minorca from any attack that might be made by the Spanish. Since, however, the French were then sailing westward after landing provisions for their army, and eventually made a junction with the Spanish in Carthagena on June 22, it is probable that had Keith persisted in his easterly course he would have encountered the enemy at sea. Instead, he reached Minorca on June 13 and began a futile voyage off the Riviera and east as far as Genoa.

At Minorca Keith transferred his company to the Queen Charlotte, 100 guns, and his captain, George Barker, was replaced by Andrew Todd. Lord Cochrane was rated lieutenant aboard the new ship on June 14, and two days later his prospects improved when St. Vincent resigned his command of the Mediterranean and Keith became the new Commander in Chief.[37]

The admiral's first priority was to rid the area of the Franco-

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37. Colledge, op. cit., I, 445; Queen Charlotte muster-book, 1799, Adm. 36/14010.

Spanish fleet, a task for which, with further reinforcements, he could employ 31 sail of the line. The crisis, however, was of short duration. Late in June the French quit Carthagena and passed through the Straits of Gibraltar on July 7, bound for Cadiz and Brest. Keith sailed after them, and arrived in the Channel in mid-August, by which time Bruix was safe in Brest. The French had achieved nothing material during the voyage, but they had demonstrated that the Royal Navy, with its far flung commitments, remained vulnerable.

The excitement over Bruix had scarcely subsided before Cochrane renewed his efforts to attract the favour of Lord Spencer. Dundonald and Captain Cochrane supported his application, which expressed a fear that the court-martial of the previous February might have prejudiced the Admiralty against him. The First Lord, however, was reassuring. "I shall have great pleasure in paying every attention in my power to forwarding your prospects in the service when opportunities offer themselves for advancing you...," he told Cochrane, and he would ask Keith for an account of the court-martial, upon which occasion "I shall derive much satisfaction from hearing a favourable report from his Lordship." On August 28, at Torbay, Keith went so far as to introduce Spencer to the troublesome lieutenant, with the result that the latter's suspicions of the First Lord were dissolved. Nevertheless, he was impatient, and Dundonald was asking for a second interview with Spencer the following October.[38]

After a month's leave Cochrane returned to the Queen Charlotte on October 30, 1799. Keith hoisted his flag aboard her and left St. Helens for the Mediterranean in November, reaching Gibraltar on December 6 and resuming his duties as Commander in Chief of the station. With 17 sail of the line at his disposal, the admiral addressed himself to the tasks of cooperating with Austrian forces wresting Piedmont and Tuscany from the French and of blockading Malta. One minor action placed Cochrane, for the first time, in the public despatches. The flagship and a consort, Emerald, on the evening of December 21 lowered boats to drive away a number of French privateers and gunboats which were attacking a cutter, the Lady Nelson, off Cabrita Point. Before the relief parties

38. Spencer to Cochrane, Aug. 22, 1799, NLS 2568, f. 76; Cochrane to Dundonald, DP 233/105/A22(4); Cochrane to Dundonald, Aug. 29, 1799, DP 233/105/A22(6); Dundonald to Cochrane, Aug. 21, 1799, DP 233/105/A23(7); Dundonald to Spencer, Oct. 19, 1799, DP 233/105/A35.

could engage, however, one of the French privateers had taken possession of the cutter and placed her in tow. The flagship's barge, commanded by Lieutenant William Bainbridge, with 16 men, ran alongside the prize, boarded and recaptured her, inflicting some losses upon their adversaries, while Lord Cochrane, with the Queen Charlotte's cutter, pursued the privateer itself, which fled, parting with the towing cable, under the shore batteries of Algeciras.[39]

It was an exploit of Nelson, rather than Cochrane's minor skirmish, which eventually facilitated the long awaited promotion, however. On February 18, 1800 Nelson's squadron captured the French Genereux, 74 guns, when it attempted to break through the blockade at Malta, and a series of promotions followed. Captain Manley Dixon was promoted by Keith into the Genereux from the Lion, Lord William Stuart from the Guerrier to the Lion, and Jahleel Brenton became a post captain and was moved from the Speedy sloop to the Guerrier. Cochrane was slotted into the available vacancy as commander of the tiny Speedy, and his new rank, assigned by Keith, was confirmed by Lord Spencer early in 1800.[40]

An additional boon was brief experience in command of a ship of the line, for Cochrane was ordered to take the Genereux to Port Mahon, Minorca, where he could assume command of the Speedy. His officers included two midshipmen, his brother Archibald and William Cochrane, both of whom were to follow him into the Speedy; a lieutenant, Lewis Sheppeard; and three acting lieutenants. Eventually, the ship sailed from Syracuse on March 1, but only three days out Cochrane was compelled to order two floggings for drunkenness. Moreover, "contrary winds and hard weather" split the main topsail and the foresail, and on March 8 carried away the mizen top-mast and the head of the mizen mast. For nine days the Genereux struggled south of Sardinia, apparently in a turmoil, for "scarce a man knew where to lay his hand on anything that was wanted", and by the time she reached Port Mahon on March 16 eight men were dead or dying of sickness. Even while the ship was being refitted and unloaded in port Cochrane had to resort to four floggings. The command, which was passed to Brenton on April 20, had scarcely been an attractive one,

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39. Keith to Nepean, Dec. 22, 1799, Adm. 1/400, f. 342, printed in N.C. (1800), III, 307.
40. Colledge, op. cit., I, 230; Keith to Nepean, Feb. 20, 1800, N.C. (1800), III, 401-402; Keith to Nepean, Feb. 22, 1800, Lloyd, ed., Keith Papers, op. cit., II, 70; Capt. Cochrane to Spencer, Apr. 12, 1800, NLS 2569, f. 1; T. Maude to Nepean, Mar. 27, 1800, and Keith to Cochrane, Feb. 20, 1800, Adm. 1/1629, f. 248.

but the experience was valuable and it may have saved Cochrane's life. During his absence from the Queen Charlotte, the flagship was destroyed by fire off Leghorn on March 17 with a loss of nearly 700 officers and men, including Lord Cochrane's fellow lieutenants, James Erskine and William Bainbridge, and Captain Andrew Todd.[41]

Cochrane, upon the threshhold of his career as the commander of an independent vessel, had other problems with which to deal. He had served his naval apprenticeship, and, by manipulating the "interest" to hand, had reached the rank of commander after less than seven years in the service. Although Cochrane was apt to protest about his lack of influence, his accomplishment was a marked demonstration of what could be achieved through patronage. It was true, of course, that he was not yet a post captain. A commander was entitled only to act as senior officer aboard a ship of less than the 6th rate and he had no guarantee of further promotion. But, with Lord Keith in command of the station, Cochrane was not the officer least likely to be recommended for advancement, and his independent command furnished him with opportunities for distinguished service. A spectacular victory was still the fastest means of obtaining promotion; and it was this tactic which eventually placed Cochrane upon the captains' list.

Finally, Cochrane's promotion to the Speedy offered other, equally compelling, prospects. An active cruiser in the Mediterranean could earn considerable amounts of prize money, and it was this possibility which formed not the least prominent part in Cochrane's thinking. Promotion, prize money and an undoubted zest for his profession were the principal incentives behind his striking successes during the following years.

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41. Keith to Cochrane, Feb. 21, 1800, Adm. 1/1629, f. 247; Genereux muster-book, Feb.-June, 1800, Adm. 36/14328; Cochrane to Keith, Mar. 24, 1800, Lloyd, ed., Keith Papers, op. cit., II, 163-164; Genereux log-book, Feb. 20, 1800-Feb. 19, 1801, Adm. 51/2067; James, op. cit., II, 429-430; N.C. (1800), III, 323.

COCHRANE THE COMMANDER, 1800-1806

I

Cochrane's naval career from 1800 to 1809 is that of a commander of a cruiser, one of those ships too weak to stand in line of battle and to help determine the naval supremacy of nations, but, notwithstanding, an important instrument in the effective use of sea power. The sloops, brigs and frigates operated behind the blockading squadrons, exploiting the ascendancy won by the ships of the line by harrying enemy commerce, gathering and conveying intelligence, and affording protection to the merchantmen of Britain and her allies. It was never an easy nor a wholly successful task. Although there was certainly a decrease in the scale of British merchant ship losses after 1811, hundreds of vessels a year continued to be taken by enemy privateers and warships. Proportionate to the total British merchant tonnage, the level of such loss remained small, but it was a demonstration that, despite the systems of close blockades, the organization of convoys and the attacks on enemy raiders, the Royal Navy remained vulnerable.[1]

Nor, indeed, was the coastal shipping of France ever completely destroyed. According to a register captured by Cochrane in 1807, enemy vessels cleared from the Gironde to the north some 1231 times in a ten month period, transporting cargoes of 59,189 tons in all.[2] Consequently, conscientious commanders appreciated that, to achieve success, the installations that defended enemy shipping, as well as the vessels themselves, were legitimate targets for attack. An outstanding aspect of Cochrane's work was its shift in emphasis from purely naval operations against shipping to an amphibious warfare against the batteries and forts that protected havens and harbours, and the semaphore signal stations that conveyed along the enemy coasts details of British movements.

Cochrane was authorised by Keith to assume command of the Speedy from April 19, 1800. She was a modest vessel, eighteen years old, 208 tons, and measuring 78 feet in length and 26 feet across the beam. Her puny armament of 14 four pounders made the Speedy one of the smallest

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1. A. Briggs, The Age of Improvement (1959), 162; A. T. Mahan, The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire (1892), II, 218-219, 221-222; G. J. Marcus, The Age of Nelson (1971), 382, 404.
2. Keats, Mar. 31, 1807, R. Glover, ed., Britain at Bay: Defense Against Bonaparte, 1803-1814 (1973), 173.

ships on the Mediterranean station, and, when Cochrane attempted to equip her with six pounders at Port Mahon, he found them "too large for the ports".[3] During heavy seas, the sloop was liable to be swamped. On October 23, 1800 and November 17, 1800 seas broke over her quarter and inflicted sufficient damage to compel the Speedy to put back into port for a refit. On the other hand, Cochrane inherited, with the ship, an excellent crew which had won distinction in four actions in 1798 and 1799 and had been disciplined and trained well by previous commanders, Hugh Downman and Jahleel Brenton. After one victory over the Spanish, on October 3, 1799, Brenton had commended the lieutenant, Richard William Parker, Thomas Ricketts the purser, and Marshall, the master. The remaining senior position on board, that of surgeon, was filled, from November 30, 1800, by a Scot, James Guthrie, who became Cochrane's life-long friend. Testimony to the discipline aboard the ship is afforded by the small number of floggings which Cochrane felt it necessary to order. Between April 20, 1800 and May 6, 1801 there were only four, and but three men deserted.[4]

The first voyage of the Speedy proved to be eventful. She sailed on April 21, 1800 for Cagliari in Sardinia, and was there assigned the task of escorting a convoy of 14 ships to Leghorn, the whole putting to sea on May 9. At 6 o'clock the following morning Cochrane was tested for the first time. The logbook recorded, "at 6 one strange sail to the north, made all sail, out sweeps, fired several guns at half past 11, captured the chase who had taken possession of a Danish brig under our convoy. Proved to be a French lateen vessel mounting 6 guns." A second threat to the convoy was dispelled on May 13, off Monte Cristo. Five enemy row boats pulled out of that port in calm weather, and, although the Speedy made use of her sweeps, she could not prevent the privateers boarding the two rearmost ships of the convoy after two hours. Taking advantage of the freshening breeze at 8 o'clock in the evening, however, Cochrane ordered his convoy to proceed on their journey while he pursued the enemy and their prizes. Both of the latter were eventually

3. Speedy logbook, Apr. 20, 1800-May 6, 1801, DP 233/80/78,79A, upon which the following paragraphs dealing with the ship are based; Speedy muster, Minutes of Evidence, 11; Commission, Mar. 28, 1800, ibid, 12; N.C. (1801), V, 84-85; Colledge, Ships of the Royal Navy (1969), I, 519.
4. Brenton to Duckworth, Oct. 4, 1799, N.C. (1800), III, 221-222; Brenton to St. Vincent, Aug. 21, 1799, ibid, III, 67; Brenton to Duckworth, Nov. 21, 1799, H. Raikes, Memoir of the Life and Services of Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton (1846), 92-93; ibid, 73-99; W. James, Naval History of Great Britain (1878), II, 226-228, 395-397; J. Henderson, The Sloops and Brigs (1972), 64-69.

overtaken the following morning and recaptured, with the enemy prize crews on board, and, with two successful defences to his credit, Cochrane was able to bring his merchantmen safely into Leghorn on May 21. Four days later, the Speedy put into Genoa, where Keith was conducting a blockade, and was employed for a few weeks cruising about the area to intercept supplies bound for the beleaguered French garrison in the city. Then he received instructions to operate at will against enemy shipping, and Cochrane's career as a raider commenced.

This service, interrupted only occasionally by other duties, as, for example, the conveying of Turkish passengers from Malta to Tripoli in February 1801, occupied the remainder of Cochrane's time aboard the Speedy. Provisioning was seldom a major problem, since not only were the British able to make use of the supplies they impounded from their enemies, but they operated from the nearby bases of Port Mahon and Leghorn, and, to a lesser extent, the havens of Cagliari, Genoa and Malta. Thus maintained, the Speedy ranged throughout the western Mediterranean and the Tyrrhenian Sea, and along the coasts of Spain, France and the Italian peninsula. Cochrane took his work seriously. In July 1800 he fitted out a small tender to act as a consort when light breezes and shallow water made the use of his sloop inadvisable, and so frequently was the Speedy in action that seldom were special drills necessary to maintain an experienced and competent crew.

It is not necessary to detail all the escapades of the Speedy during Cochrane's brief command, but examples will serve to convey their flavour and to illustrate the methods which the commander employed. The cruises were characterised by unflagging energy and the exploitation of all opportunities, and they were accompanied by a strong element of deception. Speedy was apt to work inshore, seeking prizes at any time of the day or night, moving unpredictably along the coastlines. A successful raid, not untypical of others, began when Cochrane sailed from Port Mahon on January 16, 1801 for an inspection of the area about Barcelona. On the evening of the 19th two strange sails were observed to be standing in for the Spanish port, and, although the wind was subsiding, Speedy attempted to intercept them, using sweeps. Cochrane lowered a cutter, but one of the

vessels fled and her consort ran ashore beneath the guns of a castle. Undeterred, the Speedy raked the latter ship with shot and forced the crew to abandon her. Early the next morning, the British succeeded in pulling the prize into deep water, employing hawsers and anchors, and a party was put aboard to pilot her to Port Mahon.

Remaining in the vicinity, Cochrane noticed five sails leaving Barcelona on the evening of January 21st. They were Danish merchantmen, with whom the British had no quarrel, but Cochrane boarded one of them to obtain water and any news which might prove of value. These vessels were still nearby at 3 o'clock the following morning, when two more sails emerged from the west. Hastily, Cochrane assembled the Danish merchantmen to appear as if they were his convoy and hoisted the colours of Denmark to give the Speedy the character of a neutral warship. Both enemy vessels approached, one a Spanish brig of 8 guns and the other a French vessel of 10 guns, and they were followed by an equally unsuspecting third ship. Noticing the odd behaviour of the disguised British sloop, which edged uncomfortably close, the French hailed the Speedy, desiring to know what she required. Cochrane replied that he was seeking the French ship itself, and ran up the British colours as a preliminary to making an attack. The chase began about 6 o'clock on the morning of January 22, and, using sweeps, the British drew within gun range inside three hours and opened fire.

Despite the superior fire power of the combined enemy ships, Cochrane found them an easy conquest. After a pathetic discharge of their guns, the Spanish crew fled below; the French resisted for half an hour and lost about 2 men killed and 1 wounded before capitulating; and the third ship successfully fled to safety beneath a coastal battery. Cochrane discovered that his prizes had been en route from Carthagena to Marseilles, and that they yielded 57 prisoners. Captives always embarrassed the Speedy, at this time undermanned because of the loss of a prize crew sent off some days earlier, so 25 Frenchmen were placed in a launch to make their way to the shore. The other prisoners were taken back to Port Mahon and sent aboard a naval vessel there.[5]

The use of disguise was further vindicated in an episode which took place on December 20, 1800, off Plane Island, near Alicante, on the coast of Spain. In the late afternoon a ship and a schooner were observed

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5. Details from the log are amplified by J. Guthrie to G. B. Earp, Jan. 20, 1861, DP 233/83/95.

inshore, and the Speedy made all sail to investigate, approaching the ship at about 5 o'clock. To the chagrin of the British, she proved to be a powerful Spanish frigate, wholly superior to the sloop. Alicante was five or six miles under the latter's lee, the wind was blowing on shore, and Cochrane realized that his vessel, if disabled, would be seriously in danger of shipwreck even should she escape capture. Hurriedly, a Danish quartermaster whom Cochrane had shipped aboard was prepared in a uniform of his nation, and the appropriate colours were hoisted to the mast. To the Spanish demand for identification, Cochrane replied, through his officer, giving the name of a Danish brig he knew had recently arrived on the station. The Spaniards were unsatisfied. They requested the Speedy's captain to send one of his officers to their frigate. Cochrane, evasively, contended that his instructions forbade him to send a boat to foreign vessels, but an invitation was proffered to the Spanish to do so if they wished. Unfortunately, this was acted upon, and a boat put off for the Speedy. As a last resort, Cochrane ordered his officer to inform the approaching boat that the sloop was in quarantine, having lately been at Algiers, where a plague raged. The Spanish officer in charge (calling "Oh! Oh! Quarantina! Quarantina!") would not suffer his boat to touch the Speedy, which was wished a pleasant journey and allowed to proceed without further molestation.

It is a tribute to the morale of Cochrane's officers that a debate ensued, especially between Parker and Guthrie, as to whether the Speedy should have attempted to capture the enemy frigate, although it was an altogether superior class of warship, and Cochrane shadowed her for some time, perhaps hoping to catch the Spaniards off their guard. Captain Alexander Cochrane, awaiting an opportunity to lobby the new First Lord of the Admiralty, St. Vincent, pointed out to him that Lord Cochrane's "presence of mind", having saved his ship, merited a promotion to the rank of post captain.[6]

Lord Cochrane, while liberally employing the guise of a neutral, was not beyond violating neutrality to effect a capture. On the morning of February 23, 1801 the Speedy guided a convoy from Malta to Tunis Bay,

6. Captain Cochrane to St. Vincent, copy in DP 233/65/7a; Guthrie to Earp, Jan. 20, 1861, DP 233/83/95; James, op. cit., III, 132-133.

a neutral haven. Seeing a suspicious sail in the bay, Cochrane closed upon it until 7 o'clock in the evening when he lost sight of the vessel and, therefore, worked inshore to moor where several ships lay at anchor. Shortly afterwards, however, the ship which had been pursued reappeared, and about 8.30 stood into Tunis, anchoring adjacent to three Danish warships and some merchantmen. Cochrane sent an officer to inspect the vessel, and found her to be La Caroline, a French brig of 4 guns, laden with ordnance and wine for the French army in Alexandria. Consequently, late on February 24, the British boarded and took her, although twelve of the prisoners escaped in a launch on the 26th, a day before the Speedy sailed from Tunis for Port Mahon with her prize in company.[7]

Upto May 1801 Cochrane had taken or destroyed 4 privateers and 13 other enemy vessels, and recaptured 6 craft, but this fine record, while it fetched prize money, was forgotten after the remarkable cruise which began when the Speedy sailed from Port Mahon on May 2, 1801. In the port the crew had been strengthened by two or three men acquired from the prison ship Lutine, but, during the next few days the ship's complement was considerably reduced when Cochrane had to place prize crews aboard his captures, the Vera Amelia Ragusa and a Spanish two-gun pinco. After skirmishing on May 5 with seven Spanish gunboats from Barcelona, Cochrane withdrew offshore to refit, standing towards the port again in the early hours of May 6, 1801. The result was one of the most spectacular naval victories on record, an exploit which Dixon, Cochrane's immediate superior, remarked "appears to stand unrivalled" and Captain Cochrane designated "hardly equalled in this war of naval miracles."[8]

At 4 o'clock in the morning a strange sail was observed and the crew of the Speedy was put on the alert as the sloop quietly closed the distance. Two hours later the target was discovered to be a Spanish xebec frigate of 32 guns. Compared with this warship, Speedy was almost impotent. The sloop, seriously undermanned, could call upon only 54 men and boys, including the captain, against the Spaniard's 319, forty-five of whom were soldiers. Moreover, Speedy's armament consisted merely of 14 four-pounders, a total of 56 lbs. of

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7. Keith to Nepean, Aug. 28, 1801, N.C. (1801), VI, 412-417.
8. Dixon to Nepean, Adm. 1/1723, f. 130; Capt. Cochrane to St. Vincent, June 10, 1801, Autobiography, I, 138-139.

shot, which it was capable of throwing over a very limited distance. Captain Don Francisco de Torres, of the El Gamo frigate, had at his disposal 22 twelve pounders, 8 long nine pounders and 2 heavy carronades, probably twenty-four pounders, in all 384 lbs. of metal, equal to some 389 lbs. in English weight, nearly seven times that of the Speedy's discharge. The frigate was able to pound its antagonist into defeat before the sloop could even find her range.

Confronted with so markedly superior a vessel, Cochrane resorted to subterfuge to enable him to gain the windward position which would give him the initiative in launching an attack. The enemy vessel, under steering sails, fired a gun at 9.30 and hoisted her colours. Cochrane ran up the American flag and replaced it with the British ensign only when he had obtained the weather gauge. Since he was not capable of sustaining a gun duel with the frigate at long range, he made straight for the El Gamo. The Spaniard fired two broadsides at the sloop, but the British merely replied with three cheers followed by an ominous silence. Only when the sloop ran alongside the El Gamo, its topmast rigging tangling with the lower yards of the Spaniard, did Cochrane's guns, triple-shotted, reply, battering frenziedly at the frigate's hull. Moreover, because El Gamo's sides towered over the deck of her adversary, the Spanish guns could not be sufficiently depressed to bear upon the British hull, and the shot flew harmlessly overhead. In desperation, Torres' men resorted to directing a heavy but inaccurate musket fire onto the Speedy and even hurled down handspikes and capstan bars at their opponents. However, whenever they massed to board, Cochrane sheered off his ship until the danger had been averted.

For seventy minutes the cannonade continued, during which 2 men were killed and 5 wounded aboard the sloop, but the "great disparity of force" compelled Cochrane to "adopt some measures that might prove decisive." Leaving his surgeon at the helm to lay the ship alongside, Cochrane led every able bodied man up the sides of the El Gamo in a boarding action. A short but sharp fight ensued, in which Parker received a musket ball in his cheek and a sword thrust through the thigh; Watts, the boatswain, and a seaman were wounded, and one seaman was killed. Nevertheless, staggered by the vigour of the assault, and demoralized by the loss of their captain, the Spaniards surrendered, their casualties, 15 killed and 41 wounded, exceeding the entire ship's company of the Speedy.

Cochrane took the captured officers to his ship, placed the other

Spaniards in the hold of the El Gamo, and towed his prize in triumph to Port Mahon. In his despatch, he praised his crew, including his brother Archibald, a midshipman, and especially recommended to the Admiralty's notice Parker, who had to leave the ship on account of the wounds he had received. Keith forwarded the report to the Admiralty, expressing his inability to find words equal to the merit of the exploit, and he transmitted his congratulations to the ship's company. Furthermore, after the engagement, the Admiralty could not deny Lord Cochrane the rank of post captain, the next and most important step in his promotion; once upon the captains' list, he would rise by seniority, and no degree of patronage could interfere with his inexorable move towards flag rank.[9]

Within a month of the victory off Barcelona, Cochrane achieved another spectacular success, collaborating with the brig-sloop Kangaroo, 18 guns, Captain G. C. Pulling. The Speedy came up with the Kangaroo off Barcelona on June 1. After Cochrane had been slightly injured destroying a fort at Almanara, he and Pulling arrived at Oropesa on June 9 in search of a Spanish convoy of 12 sail and 5 armed escorts. The enemy were located in the harbour, all but three brigs of the convoy hauled to the beach, and the whole defended by a large 12-gun tower, a xebec of 20 guns and three gunboats. "When having so able and gallant an officer as his Lordship to lead into the Bay," wrote Pulling, the senior officer, "I hesitated not a moment to make the attack."[10] By noon the two assailants anchored with half gun-shot of the foe, and the Speedy engaged the warships while the Kangaroo employed the fire of the fort. After two hours the enemy fire slackened, only to be reinvigorated by the arrival of reinforcements, a 12-gun felucca and two gunboats which had been attracted by the gunfire. Nevertheless, pressing their attack, the British drove the xebec aground, where it was defended by sharpshooters on the shore, sunk two of the gunboats in shallow water, subdued the fire of the fort and drove away the offing vessels. Attention was then turned, in the early morning of June 10, to the merchantmen, and a

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9. The action is the last recorded in the log-book. Cochrane to Dixon, May 6, 1801, Adm. 1/404, f. 147; Keith to Nepean, June 11, 1801, ibid; Cochrane to Nepean, May 12, 1802, Adm. 1/1632, f. 145; Dundonald to St. Vincent, Sept. 23, 1801, Autobiography, I, 140-142; James, op. cit., III, 133-134.
10. Kangaroo log-book, Adm. 51/1370; Pulling to Keith, June 10, 1801, Adm. 1/404, f. 188; Guthrie to Earp, Jan. 20, 1861, DP 233/83/95; Colledge, op. cit., I, 296; N.C. (1800), III, Appendix.

party led by Lieutenants Thomas Foulerton of the Kangaroo and Benjamin Warburton of the Speedy braved the musketry to cut out the three most accessible brigs, one of which sank almost immediately after capture. Upon their return, Cochrane took them under his command and made a second sortie, "but the remainder were either sunk or driven on shore."

The attackers, accordingly, made sail, about 4 o'clock in the morning, having suffered minimal losses. The Kangaroo had 1 killed and 10 wounded, the Speedy no casualties at all, "though from situation and distance, equally exposed to the enemy's fire." Forwarding Pulling's despatch to the Admiralty, Keith, continuing to push Cochrane forward, wrote that "while I have the power of expressing to their Lordships my satisfaction with the zealous and active exertions of Captain Pulling...I have most sincere pleasure in transmitting to them his testimony of the continued meritorious conduct of which Captain Lord Cochrane and the officers and crew of the Speedy have lately furnished so exemplary a proof."[11]

Unfortunately, for Cochrane the cruises of the Speedy were almost at an end. The sloop was captured by a French squadron of three sail of the line and a frigate commanded by Rear Admiral Charles-Alexandre-Léon Durand Linois bound for Toulon. According to a Spanish news item, the Speedy was "conducting to Gibraltar as a prize the merchant brig Union loaded with oil and provisions" when she was taken. The best account was given by Cochrane himself at his subsequent court martial.[12]

> "About 4 o'clock in the morning of the 3rd of July, 1801, to the Eastward and in sight of Gibraltar we saw three large ships apparently French who soon after gave chase to the Speedy. The Speedy was between the shore and ships that chased her and to windward of the French vessels. We endeavoured by making all sail and were pulling with sweeps (as the wind was very light) to keep to windward of the enemy, but having found notwithstanding all our endeavours to keep the wind, that the French ships gained very fast and having separated on different tacks, one or the other gained upon each shift of wind and finding it impracticable to escape by the wind, about 9 o'clock the guns and other things on deck were thrown overboard and having watched an opportunity when the nearest French ship was on our quarter we bore up and set the

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11. Keith to Nepean, July 10, 1801, Adm. 1/404, f. 188; Keith to Pulling, July 10, 1801, DP 233/65/7.
12. N.C. (1801), VI, 195; Minutes of a Court Martial, July 18, 1801, on board the Pompee, Rosia Bay, before Captains S. Hood, R. G. Keats, A. P. Hollis and J. Brenton, presided over by Capt. C. Stirling, DP 233/65.

> studding sails but again found the French ships outsailed us tho' their studding sails were not set. When the nearest ship had approached within musket shot I ordered the colors to be hauled down about 10 o'clock a.m., the wind being to the eastward and having received several broadsides from the enemy which carried away the main boom and cut several of the ropes."

Guthrie, in his evidence, added that all the crew had manned the sweeps, excepting Cochrane himself, who had taken the helm. After his capture, Cochrane was taken aboard the Desaix, Captain Christy-Pallière, where he had every opportunity of observing his opponents at close quarters. "I never saw vessels sail as they...," he reported to Keith, "their manoeuvres to be sure are rather bad, but they made shift to catch the Speedy in four hours, tho' we were at least six miles to westward when she gave chase and the last broadside the Desaix gave was within musquet shot, which I thought quite near enough. If they had continued firing after they had got their guns to bear we should have been sunk, for the whole - round, grape and canister - fell under our bows in a shower. The booms, bumpkins and many of the ropes etc. were brought down, but not a man hurt, thank God."[13]

In the event, Cochrane was not long to remain in French hands. The squadron put into Algeciras Bay near Gibraltar and moored in a strong defensive position, flanked by shore batteries and gunboats. There, on the morning of July 5, they received the attack of a British force of 6 sail of the line under Admiral James Saumarez, which, due to a light wind, drifted slowly into action. One of them, the Hannibal, Captain Solomon Ferris, in attempting to work between the shore and the French flagship, ran ashore, and when the British withdrew to Gibraltar in the afternoon she was left with no alternative but surrender.[14] Cochrane had the humiliation of witnessing the episode from the Desaix, but he was able to testify that the French also suffered heavily in the battle.

Shortly afterwards, on July 8, the officers and men of both the Speedy and the Hannibal were released on parole and allowed to proceed

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13. Cochrane to Keith, July 26, 1801, C. Lloyd, ed., The Keith Papers, op. cit., II, 376-377 for this and following paragraphs.
14. Contemporary data in N.C. (1801), VI, 64-66, 109-115, 146-147, 166, 194-198, 241, 244-246; some of this, and other material, in J. Ross, Memoirs and Correspondence of Admiral Lord de Saumarez (1838), I, 337-400; James, op. cit., III, 97-118.

to Gibraltar, following negotiations between the French and Captain Brenton, Saumarez's flag captain.[15] Complete release soon followed. Later in the month, the French, reinforced by some Spanish ships, fought their way to Cadiz, losing three ships to the British in the process. One of them, the St. Antoine, was captured, and its complement was liberated in return for the release of the men of the Hannibal and the Speedy from their parole.[16] Cochrane was then able to stand his trial for the loss of his sloop, on July 18, and received an honourable acquittal. After this relatively routine affair, he took passage on the Spider for England to solicit another command with Lord Keith.

He was likely to receive an appointment, for the record of the Speedy had been an enviable one. According to contemporary reports, he had taken 33 vessels, 128 guns and 530 prisoners, and destroyed others, a handsome haul for a sloop of only 14 guns and less than 100 men and boys as crew.[17] The Speedy herself remained in enemy hands. She was sent to Brest in 1801, and the following year presented by Bonaparte to the Pope as a gift; she did distinguished service in the papal forces until her condemnation in 1807.[18] Her commander, however, could look forward to a deserved promotion.

II

Cochrane's capture of the El Gamo had not been forgotten by the Admiralty, but there was a frustrating delay in confirmation of his rise to post rank. Lord St. Vincent, First Lord, told Dundonald that news of the capture of the Spanish frigate had reached Whitehall "very early in the month of August, previously to which intelligence had been received of the capture of the Speedy." Until Cochrane could be exchanged and acquitted for the loss of his vessel, "it was impossible for the Board, consistently with its usual forms, to mark approbation of His Lordship's conduct. Lord Cochrane was promoted to the rank of post captain on the 8th August, the day on which his sentence of acquittal for the loss of the Speedy was received, which was all that could under the existing circumstances be done." Nevertheless, the matter was unfortunate, and

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15. N.C. (1801), VI, 166; Ross, op. cit., I, 347-348, 386; Saumarez to Linois, July 8, 1801, Saumarez to Keith, July 9, 1801, ibid, I, 385, 387-388.
16. Keats to Saumarez, July 13, 1801, N.C. (1801), VI, 150; Saumarez to Nepean, July 13, 1801, ibid, 148-149; Hood to Saumarez, July 13, 1801, ibid, 239.
17. N.C. (1809), XXII, 8; Public Characters, 1809-1810 (1809), 291.
18. N.C. (1802), VII, 89; M. Bouquet, "The Speedy and the Gamo", M.M. (LV, 1969), 210.

it enabled George H. L. Dundas, promoted a commander with Lord Cochrane, to overtake his colleague, being advanced to the rank of post captain on August 3, 1801 for assisting Keats in securing the St. Antoine on July 12. Nor did the commission appointing Lord Cochrane post captain of the Raison in the Mediterranean arrive before he had left that station to return to England.[19]

It was inevitable that so impatient and conscientious an officer as Cochrane would find fault with the Admiralty over the promotion system, which, admittedly, had served him well. He had already expressed concern over the ability of the influential to sponsor advancement in the navy, and the competition for posts was intensifying. By 1800 the number of ambitious officers seeking promotion had so far outstripped available appointments that many of the applicants found themselves redundant on half pay. To some extent dissatisfaction may have been reduced by a flow of British officers into foreign services, but the problem was exacerbated by the run down of ships in commission during the peace of Amiens, and by manning difficulties. Thus, the crews of the Hannibal and the Speedy were used to make up complements of existing and undermanned ships, rather than to provide companies for newly commissioned vessels. St. Vincent told Keith, "it will be advisable not to commission any captured ship or vessel that is not very eligible...We have several ships of the line and numberless frigates, sloops and gun brigs ready for service without a man to put into them, and every ship in the Channel and North Sea fleets is considerably short of complement."[20]

St. Vincent's method of dealing with the accumulation of unemployed officers was firm. He declared a freeze upon further promotions, and employed existing officers largely according to seniority. "The list of Post Captains and Commanders," he informed Keith, "so far exceeds that of ships and sloops, I cannot, consistently with what is due to the public

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19. St. Vincent to Dundonald, Sept. 24, 1801, D. Bonner-Smith, ed., Letters of Admiral of the Fleet, the Earl of St. Vincent, whilst First Lord of the Admiralty, 1801-1804 (1922-27), I, 353-354; St. Vincent to Capt. A. Cochrane, Aug. 8, 1801, ibid, I, 348; Dundonald to St. Vincent, Sept. 23, 1801, Autobiography, I, 140-142; N.C. (1800), IV, 167; Nepean to Keith, Sept. 16, 1801, Lloyd, op. cit., II, 386; J. Marshall, Royal Navy Biography (1824), II, i, 418-430; Minutes of Evidence, 12.
20. St. Vincent to Keith, Sept. 4, 1801, Bonner-Smith, op. cit., I, 221-223; H. F. F. Williams, "British Officers in the Portuguese Navy", M.M. (XXXV, 1949), 70.

and to the incredible number of meritorious persons of those classes upon half pay, promote except upon very extraordinary occasions, such as that of Lord Cochrane and Captain Dundas..."[21] It was reported in the press that the First Lord intended to give "the preference to all those persons of whom he has an opinion who have been longest on the half pay list" and St. Vincent himself admitted that he would pursue his course "until the whole are provided for."[22]

Cochrane, himself free of the promotion scramble, does not appear to have been aware of St. Vincent's difficulties, but he had experienced too much frustration seeking advancement not to feel for those deserving officers faltering for lack of "interest". He consequently undertook a campaign for the promotion of Richard William Parker, a lieutenant since February 28, 1798, who had quitted the Speedy on account of the wounds he had sustained in boarding the El Gamo. On May 7, 1802 Cochrane wrote a letter to St. Vincent, assuring him "that nothing could induce me to intrude upon your Lordship's notice at a time when there are so many applications from persons of great weight and interest had I not full confidence that that interest which you take in rewarding those officers who more than usual distinguish themselves and whose merit is brought fully to your observations will prevail over all the interest in the kingdom applied to forward persons less deserving." Although he had unsuccessfully "waited for some days past at the Admiralty in expectation to have had an interview with your Lordship", Cochrane solicited an audience upon the propriety of promoting Parker to the rank of commander. Having gone so far, the captain should have pressed the matter further only with caution. He had drawn St. Vincent's attention to the case of Parker, but only the Admiralty held the power to promote lieutenants, and they could certainly not abrogate their responsibility to a junior captain. Nevertheless, Cochrane was determined to impose his will upon the Board.[23]

Receiving no reply to his communication, he wrote a few days later to the Secretary of the Admiralty Board, Evan Nepean, recalling Parker's services and expressing "much pain" that he should again have to bring the subject forward, enclosing a statement complaining of the lack of

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21. St. Vincent to Keith, Sept. 4, 1801, Bonner-Smith, op. cit., I, 221-223.
22. N.C. (1801), V, 268; St. Vincent to Curzon, Feb. 17, 1801, Bonner-Smith, op. cit., I, 331-332.
23. Cochrane to St. Vincent, May 7, 1802, DP 233/65; Commissioned Officers of the Royal Navy, 1660-1815 (1954), 698.

progress concerning Parker's advancement.[24] After waiting for five days without obtaining an acknowledgement of his letters, Cochrane addressed two further documents to the Secretary, remarking upon the neglect of Parker in "the list of commanders, even in the late very extensive promotion", an indication that many were still finding favour. He forwarded a letter by Parker himself.[25] To these Nepean at last replied that the Board had received his letters, but nothing was said concerning Parker.[26] "I have therefore," returned Cochrane, "to request that you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that although I have received your letter of the 26th, I still wait in expectation to be favoured with an answer to the representations, which through you, I had the honour to transmit to their Lordships." Such persistence amounted to little less than a demand that the Admiralty comply with Cochrane's wishes, and it provoked a curt reply from Nepean that the Secretary had "nothing in command from their Lordships to communicate to you."[27]

It is possible that the Parker correspondence germinated ill feeling between Cochrane and his superiors, but there is no evidence to suggest, as the captain later contended, that it prejudiced St. Vincent against employing him at sea. Cochrane, like many other officers, was redundant throughout the peace of Amiens, and late in 1802 he took the opportunity to enrol himself as a student at the University of Edinburgh, first in the Ethics and then in the Chemistry Faculty. During this period, he applied for employment, but, since the Admiralty had fewer ships in commission at a time of peace, and the applicant held a junior position on the captains' list, he could scarcely expect preference.[28]

In April 1802 St. Vincent had written Cochrane that "I cannot possibly enter into any engagement for specific service but if your Lordship wishes for employment, I shall be very happy to gratify you."[29] The mood of the letter proved unjustifiably optimistic, for the peace of Amiens, which was signed some months afterwards, reduced employment prospects considerably. When the conflict renewed, in 1803, Cochrane's chances improved. About that time Cochrane repeated his application, and representations were made on his behalf by Dundonald, the Marquis of Douglas and Captain Alexander Cochrane. St. Vincent reminded Douglas of his duty to other officers. "I

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24. Cochrane to Nepean, May 12, 1802, Adm. 1/1632, f. 145.
25. Cochrane to Nepean, May 17, 1802 (two letters), and Parker to Nepean, May 17, 1802, Adm. 1/1632, ff. 143-144.
26. Nepean to Cochrane, May 26, 1802, DP 233/65.
27. Cochrane to Nepean, May 27, 1802, Adm. 1/1632, f. 142a; Nepean to Cochrane, May 29, 1802, DP 233/65.
28. Autobiography, I, 165-166; Twitchett, The Life of a Seaman (1931), 66.
29. St. Vincent to Cochrane, Apr. 27, 1802, Add. MSS. 31168, f. 64.

have not forgot Lord Cochrane," he wrote, "but I should not be justified in appointing him to the command of an 18-pounder frigate when there are so many senior Captains of great merit without ships of that class. I hope soon to be able to place him in one suitable to his standing on the List."[30]

In October the impatient captain was assigned his ship, the Arab, a 6th rate of 22 guns and 505 tons, measuring 110 feet in length and 33 feet across the beam. She was the smallest kind of vessel for which a post captain was qualified. Originally the French ship, Le Brave, captured in 1798, the Arab was described by a Plymouth report of October 20, 1803 as "that beautiful ship...of 24 guns". In 1801 and 1805 she performed well in the West Indies and off Boulogne respectively, and she was not sold out of the service until 1810. This information does not fit easily with the picture which Cochrane later gave of the decrepit collier purchased into the navy on dubious grounds.[31]

Cochrane's cruises in the Arab were routine, and he remembered them with bitterness. As early as 1810 he informed members of a gathering at the London Tavern that he had been assigned the command by the Admiralty in retaliation for his resistance to the establishment of a Court of Inquiry in the navy at which no oath was to be administered. Subsequently, when Cochrane was attempting to depict himself as an ill used man in order to press claims upon the government, he developed the theory by contending that he had been spitefully given the ship by St. Vincent, who remained irritated by the exchange over Parker. Believing the Arab to be a sister ship of the Wolverine, he mistakenly described her as a converted collier. Her sailing qualities, he said, were so deficient that he had to complain after service off Boulogne, and the Admiralty obtained their revenge by ordering him to make dreary cruises in northern seas to protect non-existent fisheries there. Upon "representation of such risk being made...," he wrote in 1847, "the Arab was subsequently

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30. St. Vincent to the Marquis of Douglas, May 18, 1803, Bonner-Smith, op. cit., II, 337; St. Vincent to Dundonald, July 5, 1803, ibid, II, 344; Cochrane to Nepean, Mar. 14, 1803, Adm. 1/1634, f. 366; Capt. Cochrane to Markham, July 26, Aug. 26, 1803, C. R. Markham, ed., Selections from the Correspondence of Admiral John Markham, 1801-1807 (1904), 366-367, 369.
31. N.C. (1804), X, 350, 434; Colledge, op. cit., I, 46; Twitchett, op. cit., 67. French naval architecture was generally considered to be superior to that of the British. N.C. (1801), V, 129-156, 227-233, 321-327; N.C. (1803), IX, 33; R. G. Albion, Forests and Sea Power (1926), 78-79; P. Banbury, Shipbuilders of the Thames and Medway (1971), 55-57; D. Phillips-Birt, A History of Seamanship (1971), 242-245; G. J. Marcus, Heart of Oak (1975), 5-17; B. Lavery, "The Origins of the 74-

despatched, 'for the protection of the Northern Fishery,' to a station where no vessels fished, nor was any whaler seen at sea from the mast-head during the whole of that lonely cruise, though it was as light by night as by day."[32] This improbable interpretation is refuted by the contemporary records.

The captain joined his ship at Plymouth on October 15, 1803. He had attempted to obtain the services of Warburton and Parker as lieutenants, but, since they were not available, the latter still convalescing, he received in lieu Sir George Keith and George Trollope. The crew of the Arab, some 155 men, were not moulded to their duties without difficulty. During his employment aboard the ship, Cochrane ordered nine floggings, and at Cromarty, in May 1804, 15 men deserted while the boats were landing for water. Probably this reflected the pedestrian service of the Arab and the poor prospects for prize money, but, despite the problems, the captain eventually trained a good ship's complement.[33]

A series of accidents befell the vessel during its early voyages under Cochrane, and they probably contributed to the captain's distaste for the command. After a preliminary journey to Holyhead and back, between December 8 and January 9, Cochrane transferred from Plymouth to the Downs. Working in on the early morning of January 20, 1804, the Arab ran afoul of the Bloodhound gun brig, losing bumpkins, jib boom and fore top gallant mast. Both ships, the gun brig severely damaged, were ordered to the Nore, and an enquiry was initiated. Cochrane explained that the accident had been due to his ship's poor steering qualities; she had failed to answer her helm, and no negligence could be imputed to the officers. Before the enquiry had been completed, however, the Arab, on January 24, collided in the Downs with the Abundance store ship, apparently because the latter had been moored by one anchor and was "sweeping about in the tideway" on a fully extended cable. Neither ship was badly damaged, but Cochrane demanded, unsuccessfully, a court

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Gun Ship", M.M. (LXIII, 1977), 335-350.

32. Cochrane, Observations of Naval Affairs (1847), 43; Alfred, Apr. 20, 1810; Cochrane to Jackson, June 15, 1846, DP 233/27/205A; Autobiography, I, 166-170.
33. The paragraphs describing the Arab's company and voyages are based upon Arab muster-book, Adm. 36/16946-16947; Arab log-book, DP 233/80/78; Commission, Oct. 5, 1803, Minutes of Evidence, 13; Cochrane to Nepean, Oct. 6, 1803, Adm. 1/1634, f. 368; Cochrane to Marsden, Dec. 4, 1804, Adm. 1/1639, f. 441.

martial to exonerate the men of the Arab from blame.[34]

Not until February 17 did the Arab clear the Downs again, with orders to watch the French in Boulogne, but three days afterwards the capstan and anchor jammed as the ship was getting under weigh, the men at the capstan bars were thrown down, and the ship nearly ran ashore. Cochrane had to cut away his best bower anchor cable and return to the Downs for repairs; even here a boat sent to the dockyard from the Arab was destroyed in the heavy surf. Lord Keith, Cochrane's admiral, was unsympathetic. "You will find... that he (Captain Alexander Cochrane) is a crackheaded, unsafe man...," he wrote, "and I am sorry to find his nephew is falling into the same error - wrong headed, violent and proud. See his letter today about his officers. I reply I commanded a ship four years with only one lieutenant, and thought myself well off too." Apparently, Lieutenant Keith was ill, and Trollope was wounded in March and promoted two months later. Cochrane was under the necessity of employing acting lieutenants Wayman and William Thompson until he secured the services of Lieutenant Isaac C. S. Collet in May and Lieutenant David Mapleton in July.[35]

Another misfortune occurred while the Arab cruised in the Channel between Calais and Dover, chasing and stopping vessels and watching enemy movements. On February 27, less than a day out of the Downs, Cochrane boarded the Chatham of New York, bound for Amsterdam, and sent her into port with the information that she could not reach her destination because the Texel was under blockade. In this Cochrane was mistaken, and the result was a complaint from James Monroe, the American ambassador, and a demand of Lord Cochrane from the Admiralty for an explanation.[36]

On March 5 Cochrane returned to the Downs, where he was assigned to convoy to Lerwick some whalers from the Thames, the fisheries which he later denied existed. His orders were based upon those given to the Repulse and the Proselyte in 1781, when they had performed an identical service. The Arab was to escort the whalers, bound for the Greenland and Davis Straits, as far as Lerwick, picking up any other vessels which wished to

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34. Cochrane to Admiralty, Feb. 8, 1804, Adm. 1/1639, f. 421; Keith to Cochrane, Jan. 26, 1804, ibid; Cochrane to Keith, Jan. 24, 1804, ibid; Cochrane to Keith, Jan. 20, 1804, Adm. 1/504, f. 107; H. Richardson, Jan. 20, 1804, ibid; Keith to Nepean, Jan. 22, 1804, ibid; Cochrane to Admiralty, Jan. 24, 1804, Adm. 1/1639, f. 420; digest of Adm. minute, Feb. 9, 1804, Adm. 12/109/28.1; Keith to Markham, Jan. 23, 1804, Markham, op. cit., 140-141.
35. Keith to Markham, Feb. 23, 1804, Markham, op. cit., 153-154; Cochrane to Admiralty, Mar. 15, 1804, Adm. 1/1639, f. 429; Cochrane to Marsden, June 29, 1806, Adm. 1/1645, f. 257.
36. Monroe to Hawkesbury, Feb. 29, 1804, Lloyd, op. cit., III, 190-191; digest of Admiralty correspondence, Adm. 12/109/10.

join them at Yarmouth, the Humber or the Tyne en route, and, having done so, she was to cruise for the protection of "the said ships" until provisions were exhausted. Accordingly, Cochrane sailed on March 24 with 11 vessels in convoy, recruiting another ship from the Humber but losing company with some of the whalers before arriving at Lerwick, in the Shetland Isles, at the end of the month. The Arab then cruised past the Faroes, as far north as 62°, searching for enemy privateers, but observed few vessels and returned in May, putting into Cromarty on the 17th. "It is said," Cochrane reported to Keith, "some privateers are cruising for the Davis Streights vessels which will be home some time this month. I hope we shall fall in with them."[37]

Such optimism was unfounded. The next few months were spent in similar lonely voyages, first to Norway and then about the Faroes, Orkneys and outer Hebrides before returning to the Nore in mid July. A small number of ships had been stopped, but no prizes were made. Nor was the next service more promising, for on July 25 the Arab sailed to patrol between the Fair Isle, Scotland, and Norway without success, and she returned to the Nore on October 26. Only once did Cochrane encounter an enemy privateer, off the Firth of Forth on October 17, after the Arab had returned from the Stadt, protecting merchant vessels plying to Archangel. The privateer was within musket shot of Cochrane's vessel, but, even though all sail was made in a strong wind, and the masts were supported by hawsers, the Arab was unable to prevent her adversary from escaping. The episode provided Cochrane with another opportunity to detail his ship's sailing qualities; according to her previous commander's report, the captain stated, the Arab was slow to wear, found it difficult to work to windward, and was incapable of achieving a speed in excess of 10 knots.[38]

Fortunately, Cochrane endured only one more cruise in the ship, a brief voyage in November, before receiving another appointment and relinquishing command of the Arab to his successor on December 1, 1804. The service aboard her had been uneventful, but Cochrane could show at least one positive result for the experience. He had disciplined and trained an efficient crew. Some of the men, such as Mapleton, the master James

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37. Cochrane to Keith, May 14, 1804, Adm. 1/542, f. 761; Keith to Marsden, Mar. 2, 1804, with Adm. note, Adm. 1/504, f. 287; Keith to Marsden, Feb. 29, 1804, ibid, f. 278; Cochrane to Keith, Apr. 2, 1804, Adm. 1/541, f. 520.
38. Cochrane to Keith, Oct. 18, 1804, enc. with Cochrane to Marsden, Oct. 1804, Adm. 1/1639, f. 430.

Sutherland; and Guthrie, Cochrane's previous surgeon, who had joined the Arab in May, were to serve under the captain for many years, and Guthrie was not the only veteran of the Speedy to enlist. In July 1804 Robert Stafford, her gunner, had successfully applied, supported by Cochrane, for a transfer to the Arab from his ship, the Enterprize.

It is testimony to the captain's pride in his men that he tried to take them all with him to his new command, and made particular requests for the midshipmen and boat's crew, Lieutenant William Bagnold of the Marines, Robert Boddy the carpenter, and William Wilson the purser, who, with Boddy, was permitted to make the transfer. Cochrane offered to raise men at his own expense in lieu of any he might be allowed to take from the Arab, and, although less than half a dozen were removed in this way, the attempt demonstrates the working relationship that had developed between the commander and the complement of the ship. Such qualities were to be put to more profitable use aboard Lord Cochrane's next vessel, the Pallas, a new fast frigate.[39]

III

Cochrane's command of the Pallas, far more memorable than that of the Arab, was largely due to the replacement of St. Vincent by Lord Melville as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1804. Melville, it has been shown, was connected to the Cochranes by marriage.[40] He was, moreover, one of Pitt's most powerful allies, a veteran of ministerial office, and the manager of the government's affairs in Scotland. Prepared to dispense patronage to increase his control of Scottish politics, Dundas was susceptible to the claims of Lord Cochrane because Lord Dundonald, and some of his friends and relatives, were eligible to vote for the representatives of the Scottish peerage, who went to Westminster. Some of the Cochranes, furthermore, controlled votes in parliamentary constituencies.[41] At the same time, Melville lacked the pruning mentality of St. Vincent, and he was dedicated to meeting the renewed French challenge by building up Britain's naval power.

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39. Stafford to Cochrane, July 10, 1804, Cochrane to Admiralty, July 21, 1804, Adm. 1/1639, f. 428; Cochrane to Marsden, Nov. 24, 28, 1804, ibid, ff. 436, 439; Cochrane to Melville, Nov. 30, 1804, ibid, f. 440; Cochrane to Marsden, Dec. 17, 1804, ibid, f. 443; Cochrane to Montagu, May 14, 1805, Adm. 1/1081, f. 697; Cochrane to Keith, Nov. 27, 1804, Adm. 1/544, f. 1685; Cochrane to Keith, Nov. 28, 1804, W. Bagnold, Nov. 28, 1804, ibid, f. 1704.
40. See p. 41.
41. B. Cochrane to Melville, Aug. 25, 1812, Melville to Cochrane, Aug. 21, 1812, NLS 1054, ff. 118-119.

Almost inevitably, when more ships were being commissioned, Lord Cochrane received a new command. As early as July Melville declared his intention to serve the young captain, and, after further intervention by the Marquis of Douglas, Cochrane was appointed to the Pallas frigate, on November 24, 1804. The Pallas was a new ship, a 5th rate of 667 tons, mounting 26 long twelve pounder guns and 12 twenty-four pound carronades, and fresh from her launching on November 17 in Plymouth dockyard. She was, unfortunately, one of the fir-built ships appearing because of the shortage of oak, and was fast but frail; her career was to end, after a scant six years, when she was shipwrecked in the Firth of Forth in 1810.[42]

Nevertheless, the Pallas was commissioned at an opportune time, for war between Britain and Spain broke out in December 1804, and the prospect of the unsuspecting Spanish American treasure ships crossing the Atlantic created a feverish excitement in Plymouth. "There were seen off the Western Islands, only sixteen days since," a report of January 16, 1805 stated, "nearly forty Sail of Spanish vessels, richly laden from the Havana, that were spoken with by a neutral vessel, and had not the least idea of a war with this country."[43] That month fabulous prizes were brought into Plymouth, and Cochrane was able to issue a recruiting poster calling upon "SEAMAN, or Stout Hands, able to rouse about the Field Pieces, and carry anhundred weight of PEWTER, without stopping, at least three Miles" to rendezvous at the White Flag Inn.[44]

This touched upon the immediate problem of recruitment. Since he had been unable to bring with him the men of the Arab, Cochrane had to begin again the task of assembling and moulding a crew. Much would depend upon the officers. Within two days of receiving his commission, the captain applied to the Admiralty for the services of Parker as his lieutenant, but that officer had retired to Ireland and could not be found in time. Mapleton transferred from the Arab, and the Admiralty appointed to his support Lieutenants George Crawley and Henry L. Grove, although the latter was replaced within a few months by John Haswell.

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42. A Cochrane to Melville, July 5, 1804, Add. MSS. 41083, ff. 7-11; Commission, Nov. 24, 1804, Minutes of Evidence, 14; Cochrane, Observations of Naval Affairs (1847), 43; James, op. cit., IV, 141; N.C. (1804), XII, 499, 503-504; Colledge, op. cit., I, 406.
43. N.C. (1805), XIII, 240.
44. N.C. (1805), XIII, 81, 239-240; M. Lewis, A Social History of the Navy. 1793-1815 (1960), f.p. 96.

Both Mapleton and Haswell were excellent officers, and Cochrane managed to obtain by special request Robert Hillier, an experienced gunner.[45]

Obtaining men proved to be difficult, and involved the captain in a dispute with the civil authorities of Plymouth. The Mayor, James Elliott, refused to recognize any press gang which operated without his permission, but his view was not accepted by the navy and Cochrane chose to ignore it. It is possible that this disagreement served merely as a pretext for a more basic objection on the part of the Mayor to the activities of the press. Whatever was the case, a party from the Pallas under Crawley was arrested, imprisoned and fined for alleged rioting in a public house, and the following day, when Cochrane went ashore with a press gang, local constables attempted to take him into custody. There was an affray, and one of the constables injured himself before the officials retired in defeat. On December 7, however, another gang from the Pallas was seized, but nothing could be shown against them and they were released. Charges of assault against two constables, nevertheless, were brought against Lord Cochrane, and a warrant was issued for his apprehension on January 21, 1805. This Cochrane ignored, and he was supported by the Admiralty, who instructed their solicitor, Charles Bicknell, to prosecute the Mayor and some of the constables in a case that was still being heard in 1806, at the Exeter assizes.[46]

The initial crew recruited for the Pallas consisted of 236: the captain, 184 seamen, 16 boys, 22 marines and 13 supernumeraries. Of these, at least 9, including the captain, Mapleton, Guthrie and Sutherland, had been in the Arab, and a few more from that ship were in the course of a transfer. There were 8 other officers, 149 men or boys from the Salvador receiving ship or the Boston, and two were from other ships; 17 were listed as supplementaries and 29 as volunteers. A number of men may have also been obtained on December 8 from the survivors of the Venerable which had been shipwrecked the previous month.[47]

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45. Cochrane to Marsden, Nov. 26, Dec. 4, 23, 1804, Adm. 1/1639, ff. 437, 441, 444; Pallas muster-book, Adm. 36/16835-16836.
46. Papers, including Cochrane to Elliott, Dec. 28, 1804, from local Plymouth records, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 10th Report, Appendix, Part IV (1885), 552; Bicknell to Marsden, Jan. 19, Mar. 16, 1805, with evidence on the case, Jan. 16, 1805, Adm. 1/3691; Bicknell to Marsden, July 22, 1806, Adm. 1/3692; Adm. 12/115/19.5.
47. In addition to the muster-book, N.C. (1804), XII, 472-474, 505.

Cochrane was ordered by the Admiralty to cruise for prizes "off the western Islands". In view of the war with Spain these instructions were pregnant with prize money, and the port admiral, William Young, cut himself in for an eighth of any takings by reissuing the orders under his own name. This reprehensible practice, not infrequent at the time, was so widely condemned that it was made illegal during the war of 1812.[48] In this case, Young's profits were considerable, for Cochrane captured, off the Azores between February 5 and 16, four richly laden prizes, one of which alone was rumoured to carry mahogany, logwood and dollars worth £300,000. When the Pallas returned to Plymouth, her decks were adorned with enormous golden candlesticks which testified to her success. In twelve days Lord Cochrane had acquired the fortune that had repeatedly eluded his father, and Alexander Cochrane, now an admiral, wrote jubilantly to Melville that "this beginning will I hope lay the foundation of his (Lord Cochrane's) future fortune and I trust he will feel that he owes it freely to your Lordship's kind attention."[49] More immediately, the cruise served Cochrane by enabling him to press 6 men into his complement from ships met at sea, and by training his crew. During the two month voyage vessels were chased or halted some forty times, and eleven floggings had to be ordered.

After so fair a beginning, the next assignment of the Pallas must have seemed disappointing. She sailed from Portsmouth with a convoy of over 14 ships, bound for North America, and reached Halifax on June 30. After some intermittent local activity, the Pallas escorted a return convoy out of Quebec on November 1. Recalling the voyage home, Cochrane remarked in 1847 that "it blew so hard with hail and rain that no light could be kept in a common lanthorn and my only expedient was to place candles in my cabin windows and at last I could only bring one vessel home in company (called the Ariadne), which, being the worst sailor, I kept in tow."[50] The ship's log records the use of fires and blue lights to keep the ships together, and the weather was so bad that the frigate was compelled, on November 9, to assist the Maria, a vessel not of the

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48. W. Young, Jan. 17, 1805, DP 233/65; Proclamation of the Prince Regent, Oct. 1812, N.C. (1812), XXVIII, 409-416.
49. Pallas logbook, Jan. 21, 1805-June 19, 1806, DP 233/80/78-79, upon which details of these cruises have been based; Pallas muster, Adm. 36/16835; N.C. (1805), XIII, 243, 328-329, 357-358; N.C. (1805), XIV, 176, 263-264; A. Cochrane to Melville, Feb. 20, 1805, NLS 3841, ff. 24-25; T. Symonds to Dundonald, Feb. 4, 1860, DP 233/66/14.
50. Cochrane, Observations of Naval Affairs (1847), 66-67.

convoy but which was encountered in danger of foundering. By November 20 only two ships of the convoy could be seen from the Pallas, but it is not known how many were with the frigate when she stood into the Downs on December 5, 1805. Cochrane was so impressed with the difficulties of the voyage that he invented an improved convoy lamp which Samuel Brooks, the radical, eventually offered to the Admiralty.[51]

In the new year Cochrane returned to the more interesting task of operating against the enemy coasts, this time as part of a squadron commanded by Admiral Edward Thornbrough which had been detached from St. Vincent's Channel fleet to the Bay of Biscay. Between January 21 and April 1806 the frigate cruised, capturing several prizes, from one of which some useful papers were taken,[52] but when Cochrane learned that two French warships were anchored in the Gironde, he embarked on April 5 upon bolder work. About 8.15 on the cloudy evening the Pallas anchored near the mouth of the Gironde, close to the Cordovan shoal and lighthouse. The ship's sails were furled, and pinnaces, cutter and gig were lowered, manned by parties which included most of the officers of the Pallas, among them Haswell, Sutherland and Midshipmen Edward Parkyns, John C. Crawford and William A. Thompson. They rowed twenty miles up the hazardous river until about 3.00 a.m. on April 6, when they boarded and carried the French corvette, Tapageuse, 14 long twelve pounders and 95 to 97 men, within range of two heavy shore batteries. As soon as it was daylight, when the flood tide was strong, the captors made sail for the estuary, as the alarm was given ashore. In response, the Tapageuse's consort brig followed the prize down the river, commencing an action "often within hail" until "after about an hour's firing, (she) was compelled to sheer off, having suffered as much in the hull as the Tapageuse in the rigging." At 5.00 a.m. the boats and prize emerged from the river, exchanging fire with the brig, which, however, then abandoned the pursuit.

The Pallas did not immediately regain her boats and prize because, missing many of the crew, she was suddenly presented with a threat from the sea. At 9.00 a.m. a sail was seen to the windward which failed to respond to the British signal. With one midshipman, James Tattnall, and the warrant officers standing in for their absent superiors, Cochrane began an attack at 9.30. The enemy ship, a corvette warship, fled, but after the Pallas' bow guns had been fired, the Frenchman ran

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51. Cochrane to Jackson, Sept. 19, 1846, DF 233/27/205B; Cochrane to Jackson, Nov. 12, 1846, DP 233/27/205A.
52. Cochrane to Marsden, Feb. 8, 1806, Adm. 1/1645, f. 254.

ashore and was dismasted "in a sheet of spray" about 1.30. Some thirty minutes later, after Cochrane had fired two broadsides into the wreck, two more sails were observed to the south and west. The Pallas gave immediate chase, and the British colours were hoisted about 4.00 p.m. Observing the vessels to be French, Cochrane directed his bow guns against one of them, and both the enemy warships fled, one at 6.00 running ashore and dismasting herself, and the other disappearing from sight two hours later. The Pallas anchored, but towards midnight, in light breezes, resumed the chase of the third ship, finding her at 8.00 on the morning of April 7, also dismasted and ashore. Cochrane contented himself with firing into the wreck, once with a full broadside, and then returned for his boats and the Tapageuse.

It had been a remarkable little action. Apart from the Tapageuse, three warships had been destroyed. Cochrane's despatch describes them as the La Malicieuse corvette, 18 guns, and two ships of 22 and 24 guns, but James, probably more accurately, gave them as the Malicieuse brig corvette of 16 guns and two 20-gun ship corvettes, the Gloire and the Garonne. In total, therefore, the Pallas had taken or destroyed four corvettes, a naval force some twice her own strength, and at a loss of only 3 men wounded.[53]

Not the least interesting feature of the action was Cochrane's despatch, in which the captain exhibited an almost obsessive desire to accord praise to his officers. A lieutenant, four midshipmen, the master, three quartermasters, four boatswain's mates, an officer of the marines and two seamen were cited by name, and the document even contained reference to two lieutenants who had not participated in the action, Mapleton, who had been absent but who "would have gloried in the expedition with the boats", and, remarkably, Parker, who was not with the Pallas. Cochrane explained that his zeal in naming so many officers was due to his previous experience, when Parker had been passed over by the Admiralty. His temerity in so direct a censure of his superiors, upon whom he would need to rely for future employment, is the more astonishing in view of the fact that the captain's commander in chief, to whom the despatch would be sent, was St. Vincent himself, the very man ultimately responsible for the neglect of Parker.

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53. In addition to the log-book, Cochrane to Thornbrough, Apr. 8, 1806, Adm. 1/130, f. 225; James, op. cit., IV, 138.

Moreover, Cochrane must surely have realized that his record of so extraordinary an exploit would be published. It must be assumed, therefore, that his intention was to tender a public complaint against St. Vincent, and that he was disappointed when the offensive remarks were expunged from the printed version. Officially, Cochrane's superiors managed to treat the affair with dignity. Vice Admiral Thornbrough passed the despatch to St. Vincent, commenting upon "the intrepidity and good conduct displayed by Lord Cochrane, his officers and men in the execution of a very hazardous enterprise in the Garonne, a river the most difficult, perhaps, in its navigation of any on this coast," and the Commander in Chief forwarded it to the Admiralty with the observation that the battle reflected "very high honor" upon Cochrane and his company and claimed "my warmest admiration." Privately, however, St. Vincent was deeply offended. "Did you ever read such a madly arrogant paragraph," he wrote to Admiral Markham, "as that in Lord Cochrane's public letter where he lugs in Lieutenant Parker for the avowed purpose of attacking me, his commander in chief?"[54]

Having fired his salvo at St. Vincent, Cochrane returned to his cruising grounds. On April 22 and 25 he reconnoitered the French squadron anchored in the Aix Roads, leading to Rochefort, and, despite attempts made by the enemy to drive him away, he was able to make a thorough report. Five sail of the line, 5 frigates and 3 brigs were counted in the roads. In a paragraph ultimately of great importance, Cochrane added that "they may be easily burned or they may be taken by sending eight or ten thousand troops as if intended for the Mediterranean to get possession of the Isle d'Oleron upon which they may be all driven by sending fire vessels amongst them."[55]

This work completed, Cochrane turned his attention to the coastal forts and signal stations which defended the enemy shipping along the Bay of Biscay. Between April 28 and May 1 he destroyed five stations in St. Martin's Roads or about Sables d'Olonne, "one of which Lieutenant Haswell and Mr. (Robert) Hillier the gunner took in a neat style from upwards of a hundred militia." Afterwards, assisted by the Frisk cutter and the Contest gun brig, he returned to St. Martin's Roads and in the early morning of May 9 attacked a station on Point d'Aguillon, dispersed

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54. N.C. (1806), XV, 347-348; Thornbrough to St. Vincent, Apr. 9, 1806, Adm. 1/130, f. 225; St. Vincent to Marsden, Apr. 14, 1806, ibid; St. Vincent to Markham, Apr. 14, 1806, Markham, op. cit., 47-48.
55. Cochrane to Thornbrough, Apr. 25, 1806, DP 233/65/7.

fifty guards, destroyed a battery of 3 thirty-six pounders and the buildings, and captured a prisoner. Only three of the British were wounded in the operation, and Cochrane singled out for citation Mapleton, the master Sutherland, and two quartermasters, Edmund Casey and William Barden.[56]

The voyages of the Pallas reached a climax with a remarkable frigate action, the immediate cause of which was the repeated British scouting of the French squadron in the Aix Roads. Growing increasingly impatient of the spies, the French endeavoured to drive them away. On May 12 a small French force sortied against the Pallas, the Kingfisher, 16 or 18 guns, and the Indefatigable, 44 guns. Two days later, Cochrane left the main British squadron at 10.30 a.m. to resume the reconnaissance unsupported, but the French admiral, Z. J. T. Allemand, detached a squadron, consisting of a large "black frigate" and three brigs, to scare the intruder away. The former ship, the Minerva, Captain Joseph Collet, was alone, superficially, sufficient to overwhelm the Pallas. She carried 28 long eighteen pounders, 4 long eight pounders and 12 iron thirty-six pound carronades, a total of 44 guns with a weight of 986 lbs, some 1045 lbs in English weight, against the 600 lbs of the 38 guns aboard the Pallas. The Frenchman's tonnage of 1101 was nearly twice that of the Pallas, she was made of stout oak and housed some 330 men compared with the 215 which formed the normal complement of the Pallas. In support, Collet could call upon the three consort brig-corvettes, Lynx, Sylphe and Palinure, 14 or 18 guns each, and the shore batteries of the Isle of Aix, but he, like Cochrane, would have to contend with the numerous shoals in the area.

Although there was no record of a twelve pounder frigate capturing an eighteen pounder frigate, Cochrane decided to give battle, trusting that, if he could close with his principal opponent, the Minerva, the brigs and the shore batteries would find difficulty in bearing their guns upon the Pallas without hitting the French ship. Having worked in against a fresh breeze from south by west, the Pallas waited under topsails while the Minerva approached. At 11.30 "a smart point blank firing commenced on both sides" during which the Pallas cut through one of the brigs' main topsail yards and shot away the Minerva's aftersails. Whilst Cochrane worked his ship to windward in order to launch a counter-attack, a "cannonade continued, interrupted on our part only by the necessity we were under to make various tacks to avoid the shoals." In the meantime, the Kingfisher appeared upon

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56. Cochrane to Thornbrough, May 10, 1806, Adm. 1/130, f. 319; James, op. cit., IV, 139.

the scene, but she was powerless to help and stood by, awaiting her opportunity. "When I saw you exchanging shots with the guard frigate," her captain, George F. Seymour, wrote Cochrane years later, "I had no idea you would have attempted to carry her when so near their squadron."

Not until about 1.00 p.m. did the British frigate manoeuvre into position, when Cochrane fired into the Minerva and observed that her return fire was subsiding. Forty minutes later, the Pallas ran alongside her adversary, and the men prepared to board, reserving a last broadside for the moment when the two frigates came together and clearing with it the enemy decks of all but a few men, one of whom was Collet. Unfortunately, with victory apparently ensured, Cochrane was thwarted by the British timber shortage. The collision of the two ships had been unluckily severe, and the frail Pallas lost her fore topmast jib boom, fore and maintopsail yards, foresail, foretopmast, spritsail yard, bumpkin, cathead, fore rigging, chain plates and the bower anchor "with which...I intended to hook on", whilst the stouter opponent had only her foreyard carried away. In addition, the fortunes of the battle had not been unnoticed ashore, and Allemand had despatched two more large French frigates to assist their stricken colleague. The only alternative to capture for Cochrane was a reluctant retreat.

Making "what sail was possible" and cutting away her wreckage, Pallas was taken into tow by the Kingfisher. At one point, to weather the Île de Ré, the British had to change tacks, and they temporarily stood towards their pursuers. It is significant, as an observation upon French morale, that, despite their superiority, they backed their main topsails, hesitating. After so near a triumph over difficult odds, Cochrane was disappointed at the issue of the battle, but he generously praised his men, complimenting especially Lieutenants Haswell, Mapleton and Thomas L. Robins, who had replaced Crawley in February. Casualties were light on both sides: the Pallas lost one marine killed and one midshipman and four seamen wounded, and Collet reported his losses as 7 killed and 14 wounded.[57]

The action with the French squadron wrote a suitably sensational epilogue to the cruises of the Pallas under Lord Cochrane. On May 17 he was ordered to escort a convoy of over 13 ships to Plymouth, tiresome work during which, at one time, not a ship was to be seen in company. But it

57. In addition to the log and muster books, Cochrane to Thornbrough, May 14, 1806, Adm. 1/130, f. 319; Seymour to Cochrane, Jan. 6, 1860, DP 233/82/84; Kingfisher log-book, Adm. 51/4463; Cochrane to Marsden, Feb. 21, 1806, Adm. 1/1645, f. 255; James, op. cit., IV, 140-142.

was the captain's last active service aboard the Pallas, for on June 20 he consigned her to Captain George Miller to take command of a larger frigate. Originally, the Admiralty planned to place him with the Shannon, but eventually he received, instead, the Imperieuse.

Cochrane's earlier commands had been successful, often spectacularly so, and they reveal the Scot's resourcefulness, imagination, audacity and his appreciation that success rested upon the development of an efficient and disciplined crew capable of responding to good leadership. Cochrane's vessels were so persistently in action that he seldom needed to stage demonstrations for drill purposes. Between January and June 1806, for example, the Pallas had stopped, chased or engaged vessels forty to fifty times, and it is perhaps noteworthy that, whereas there were 21 floggings aboard the frigate between March 28 and December 5, 1805, in his five months of cruising in the Pallas the following year, Cochrane had to order only 10 floggings, a substantial reduction. It is an even greater tribute to the rapport Cochrane had developed with his crew that he turned down the Admiralty offer of a larger ship, the Shannon, so that he might remain with the men he had taken "great pains" to collect in the Pallas, and that, when he transferred to the Imperieuse, he took the whole complement of his previous command with him.[58]

IV

Not the least attractive characteristic of Lord Cochrane as a commander was the loyalty he displayed to subordinates, and his selfless, if reckless, attempts to win for them recognition and employment. It was precisely this quality which drew the captain into continued controversy with superiors, and developed in him an increasing conviction that the promotion system placed influence above merit. The campaign on behalf of Parker had, at least, produced a rift between Cochrane and St. Vincent, the latter arguably, in 1806, the most prestigious officer in the service. "The Cochranes," remarked St. Vincent in July of that year, "are not to be trusted out of sight. They are all made romantic, money getting and not truth telling - and there is not a single exception in any part of the family."[59]

Lord Cochrane's anger at the injustices of promotion in the navy was intensified when Lieutenant John Haswell was overlooked in a most blatant

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58. Cochrane to Marsden, May 28, 1806, Adm. 1/1645, f. 256.
59. St. Vincent to the Admiralty, July 19, 1806, T. Dorling, Men o' War (1929), 98.

fashion in the summer of 1806. Haswell had commanded the force which cut out the Tapageuse from the Gironde in April. Three months after this exploit, Lieutenant E. R. Sibley of the Centaur, 74 guns, led the boats of Hood's squadron in an attack upon the French Caesar, 18 guns, 86 men, anchored in the Gironde, and, after suffering losses of 6 men killed, 37 wounded and 21 captured, brought out the vessel. As a reward, Sibley deservedly received the rank of commander, but Haswell's previous capture of a similar ship in the same anchorage, with less men at his disposal and at a trivial cost, remained neglected. That Haswell, whose achievement had been the more remarkable, should be overlooked and Sibley promoted was, to Cochrane, an outrage that could not be ignored.[60]

Eventually, both Parker and Haswell were promoted to the rank of commander on the same day, August 15, 1806. Since the former officer had not been employed since 1801, this admits of but one interpretation: the Admiralty had given way to Cochrane's arguments. Unfortunately, the promotions were not particularly profitable for either of the two commanders. Parker was appointed to a newly captured French brig sloop, the Rainbow, 16 guns, on September 19, 1806, and, selling most of his farm stock near Kinsale, Ireland, journeyed to the Leeward Islands to take up his command. When he arrived, however, Admiral Alexander Cochrane had never heard of the vessel. Unable to find the ship, which was, in fact, sold about 1807, Parker returned home in August in pecuniary difficulties. The Admiralty investigated the affair, and discovered that their source of information upon the ship's existence had been a Navy Board valuation, but they could not determine why Parker had been directed to the West Indies, since the Board could find no statement as to where the ship was located. Although they initiated further enquiries in order to discover the place of valuation, and promised Parker both compensation and employment, the Admiralty appear to have forgotten the incident. Parker was compelled to return to retirement upon half pay and remained unemployed, without compensation for his losses, until his death in Ireland on April 30, 1824.[61]

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60. Marshall, Royal Navy Biography (1829), Supplement, Part 3, 237-242; E. P. Brenton, The Naval History of Great Britain, 1783-1836 (1837), II, 127-128; Cochrane, Observations of Naval Affairs (1847), 44-45.
61. Cochrane to Jackson, June 13, 1846, DP 233/27/205A; Cochrane to O'Byrne, May 27, 1846, Add. MSS. 36652, f. 39; O'Byrne to Cochrane, May 29, 1846, ibid, f. 41; Commissioned Officers of the Royal Navy, 1660-1815 (1954), 417, 698; Parker to Marsden, May 7, 1807, Adm. 1/2332, f. 72; Parker to Pole, Aug. 28, Nov. 14, 1807, ibid, ff. 74, 53; memorial of Mrs. Jane Parker, 1824, Cochrane, Observations of Naval Affairs (1847),

Haswell fared no better. A lieutenant since 1803, he was unable to advance beyond the rank Cochrane had obtained for him in 1806. Eventually, however, he won the support of the Duke of Northumberland, who recognized Haswell's worth and attributed his failure to his "having no friends & being an extremely modest man."[62] The Duke interceded upon the commander's behalf with the Prince Regent, who reluctantly told the Admiralty to promote Haswell in 1811. Northumberland, consequently, believed that Yorke, at the Admiralty, would act for Haswell, "at least after all his own friends, whom he is now promoting, are provided for."[63] The commander was appointed to the Echo sloop of war as a preliminary step to being placed in a larger ship when a vacancy for a post captain occurred, but he died, aged 32, on July 28, 1811, before such a commission could be made out.[64]

The careers of Cochrane's other officers support the impression that much talent went unrewarded during these times. Even Mapleton, a man with an excellent record who was described by Captain J. Rowley as "that active officer" and posted as a commander of a captured French brig on May 17, 1814, died with that rank on March 22, 1842, aged 61.[65] Of the 17 commissioned lieutenants who served under Cochrane between 1800 and 1809, only 2, Trollope and Shepheard, became captains, and 2 more, Brown and Molesworth, were retired as captains. Ten of them, Parker, Warburton, Crawley, Keith, Mapleton, Haswell, Johnson, Bissell and Robins, became commanders, and one, Grove, a retired commander. Three of the lieutenants, Harrison, Caulfield and Collett, obtained no further promotion, although it must be admitted that Caulfield was killed in action while serving under Cochrane's orders. Yet Cochrane had spoken highly of most of these officers.[66]

It has been necessary to dwell upon the dissatisfaction Cochrane felt over the promotion system because it was the first of his many complaints about the naval service. It is not unlikely that the strength of his feelings reflected the urgency he had himself experienced in his

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119-120; Colledge, op. cit., I, 449.

62. Northumberland to McMahon, Mar. 15, 1811, A. Aspinall, ed., Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales, 1770-1812 (1963-71), VII, 274-276.
63. Northumberland, July 13, 1811, ibid, VIII, 44-45.
64. Northumberland to McMahon, Nov. 12, 1811, ibid, VIII, 217-219; McMahon to Northumberland, Mar. 25, Apr. 26, 1811, ibid, VII, 292, 333-335; Commissioned Officers of the Royal Navy, 1660-1815 (1954), 417.
65. Marshall, Royal Navy Biography (1833), IV, pt. 1, 157-161; O'Byrne, A Naval Biographical Dictionary (1849), 723.
66. Commissioned Officers of the Royal Navy, 1660-1815 (1954), 71, 116, 184, 210, 386, 412, 417, 495, 507, 599, 632, 698, 781, 830, 932, 961; O'Byrne, op. cit., 133, 437, 769, 989, 1202-1203; Marshall, Royal Navy Biography

attempts to reach the captains' list, and that it was intensified by a belief that the prospects were not good for a service in which merit went unrewarded, and in which rank was dependent upon influence. Probably it was this issue which encouraged Lord Cochrane to enter Parliament, professing a dedication to naval reform. He was an opinionated and wilful man, and a seat in the Commons would strengthen his hand in any further confrontations with the Admiralty; moreover, his prize money gave him the means to realize such an ambition.

Nevertheless, if Cochrane possessed cause for complaint, his later protestations that he was persecuted by the Admiralty Board cannot be taken seriously. His specific allegations lack substance. Cochrane was willing to interpret any inconvenience darkly, and his intolerant self confidence disturbed superiors, but there is no evidence to suggest that he was treated with anything but propriety by the Admiralty during this period.

Occasional difficulties between the Board and Cochrane certainly arose. Early in 1807, for example, Cochrane was reprimanded for his intemperate behaviour. He had become concerned about the rotten hammock cloths supplied his ship, the Imperieuse, by Plymouth Dockyard, and he complained about their quality to the Master Attendant there, remarking that, without assigning blame to any individual, he intended despatching a sample of the cloth to the Navy Board. It appears that the dockyard officer also wrote to the Navy Board, suggesting that Cochrane's sample was tooinadequate to enable a judgement to be made of the whole, with the result that the Board informed the captain that the cloth sent was insufficient. Cochrane then placed the whole of the cloth before the attendant, one Jackson, and called upon him to write again to the Navy Board to admit that the sample had been a fair reflection of the full piece. A stormy interview ensued, in which Cochrane apparently accused Jackson of suggesting to the Navy Board that the captain had submitted a false sample. The attendant, however, refused to be intimidated by Cochrane's immoderate language, or to write again to the Board, and the Scot eventually challenged him to a duel. The Admiralty learned of the argument, and refused to permit such behaviour amongst their employees. Cochrane was upbraided, and replied with so strongly worded a letter that the commissioners could only state that the captain's answer not

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(1823-1835), III, ii, 365, 379-381, IV, i, 20-27, 152-153, IV, ii, 177-178, Supplement, II, 237.

only failed to diminish their disapprobation, but that it was couched in language unacceptable in official correspondence.[67]

Such disagreements, however, do not appear to have led, at any time, to significant ill will on the part of the Admiralty towards Lord Cochrane. Indeed, the Board, recognizing his prickly disposition, was able to treat the captain with tact and discretion. On one occasion it intervened to spare him further difficulty with his admiral. The Pallas had arrived at Spithead in April 1805, and Cochrane undertook the routine courtesy call upon the Commander in Chief, Admiral G. Montagu, aboard the Royal William. Soon afterwards, however, Admiral Isaac Coffin, the Port Admiral, Montagu's junior, complained that Cochrane had shown him disrespect by neglecting to call upon him also, and Montagu demanded an explanation from the captain. Cochrane's reply was terse, and perhaps curt, consisting of but one sentence, "I did not conceive it a point of service to wait upon any other officer than the Commander in Chief." Annoyed at so scanty an explanation of conceived misconduct, Montagu reported the matter to the Admiralty, and the Board considered that "the style of Lord Cochrane's answer" was "disrespectful" and decided that he should be informed of their displeasure. Significantly, they apparently relented upon an original impulse to order the captain to be reprimanded in Coffin's presence.

Armed with the Admiralty reply, Montagu wrote again to Cochrane, implying that he should remedy his discourtesy to Coffin by visiting the Port Admiral. Cochrane was evasive. He had not meant his letter to Montagu to be disrespectful, he said, but, concerning Coffin, as guidance to his future conduct, was he to understand that he should visit all flag officers, and not the senior officer only, when arriving upon a station? The letter contained no reference to an intention to visit Coffin, and Montagu responded by sending it to the Admiralty and informing Cochrane that he did not feel it would be satisfactory to the Board unless his Lordship visited Coffin. In this, however, he was mistaken. It is possible that the Admiralty sensed Cochrane's difficulty over an affair essentially trivial, for they simply declared that they were "not inclined

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67. Cochrane to Admiral Sutton, Feb. 28, 1807, Adm. 1/824, f. 173.

to take further notice of it." Thus, while Cochrane, a junior captain, demonstrated a continuing tendency towards insubordination, the members of the Admiralty Board did not always find it convenient to quarrel with him.[68]

68. Coffin to Montagu, May 1, 1805, Adm. 1/1081, f. 642; Montagu to Cochrane, May 2, 1805, ibid; Cochrane to Montagu, May 2, 1805, ibid; Admiralty note, ibid; Montagu to Cochrane, May 4, 1805, ibid, f. 662; Cochrane to Montagu, May 4, 1805, ibid; Montagu, May 5, 1805, ibid; Admiralty minute, ibid.

COCHRANE AND THE 'IMPERIEUSE', 1806-1809

I

One indication of the Admiralty's approval of Cochrane's work in 1806 was his appointment, on August 23, to the Imperieuse, a large frigate of 1046 tons carrying 14 thirty-two pounder carronades, 28 eighteen pounder guns and 2 nine pounder guns. Built in 1798, she was a Spanish ship, originally named the Medea, which had been captured by the British on October 5, 1804. Ahead of her lay twelve years of active service, and a career in the Royal Navy which lasted until 1838, when she was sold. At the time of Cochrane's captaincy, the ship was strikingly painted, her hull black with red ports.[1]

The normal complement of the Imperieuse was 284, but the initial muster books of September and October 1806 show a crew of 222, excluding supernumeraries. At least 191 had been transferred from the Pallas on October 3, 1806, the balance, all pressed, being largely supplied by the Salvador receiving ship. Three lieutenants were assigned to the frigate, David Mapleton of the Pallas, and two newcomers, Richard Harrison and Samuel Brown, and among the non-commissioned officers were Guthrie, the surgeon, and Robert Hillier, the gunner. Interestingly, in view of Lord Cochrane's complaints about the promotion system, the captain took aboard the relatives of close friends. Before long he enlisted as a volunteer Frederick Marryat., subsequently a famous novelist, and eventually rated him midshipman. Marryat was the son of Joseph Marryat , sometime Member of Parliament, chairman of the Committee of Lloyd's, colonial agent for Grenada, and associate of Cochrane's uncles, Andrew Cochrane-Johnstone and Alexander Cochrane. Other recruits to the frigate were to include Houston Stewart, whose family was connected to the Cochranes, and, in 1807, Henry Cobbett, an unpleasant son of William Cobbett, the radical. The captain had the respect and confidence of his men, and most of them remained with him for some years. In June 1809, of the original nucleus of 222 men, about 115 remained on the books, and 101 of these had been with Lord Cochrane aboard the Pallas. Sixty-five of them had been upon the muster of the Pallas when Cochrane had first taken command of that ship in 1804.[2]

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1. Commission, Aug. 23, 1806, Minutes of Evidence, 14; J. J. Colledge, Ships of the Royal Navy (1969), I, 284; J. Allen, Life of the Earl of Dundonald (1861), 78-79; C. Redding, Fifty Years' Recollections, Literary and Personal, with Observations on Men and Things (1858), I, 150.
2. Muster-books of the Imperieuse, Adm. 37/1457-1459; Cochrane-Johnstone to

During his services in the Imperieuse, Cochrane's skills as a naval commander matured. Since his record is so remarkable, and, in some respects, perhaps unequalled, it is worth reflecting upon the methods he employed. E. P. Brenton was the first naval historian to remark of Cochrane that "no officer ever attempted or succeeded in such arduous enterprises with so little loss," a view conceded by many of his successors, among them J. K. Laughton, who wrote more than 900 naval biographies for The Dictionary of National Biography, and who considered that Cochrane's career was "distinguished above all others by the attainment of great results with small means."[3] The captain's success, however, can be evaluated only in the context of an understanding of some of the main factors governing the issue of naval conflict.

In the wars of 1793 to 1815 the Royal Navy demonstrated an enormous combat superiority over its Continental rivals, triumphing over them in battle with almost mechanical certainty. During those years only one British sail of the line and 9 frigates were lost in action, but the Royal Navy destroyed or captured 139 enemy line of battleships and 238 enemy frigates. This disparity in performance was due, primarily, to the greater efficiency of the British crews in handling guns and ships, and to the increasing use, by some commanders, of the close quarter tactics necessary for these qualities to confer the greatest advantage.[4]

The French and Spanish navies, unable, under the conditions of blockade, to train and discipline their crews, compounded their difficulties with tactical errors. They tended to fight from the leeward position, firing high at masts and sails in the hope of disabling their antagonists, a method much less effective than the common British practice of directing fire at close range into enemy hulls, killing or wounding men and dismounting guns. The British also developed a faster rate of fire, perhaps because of the introduction of flintlock firing mechanisms, but largely through the experience of their gunners and the efforts of individual captains, such as Broke and Cochrane. In addition

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A. Cochrane, Apr. 26, 1804, NLS 2570, f. 24; NLS 2572, f. 173. F. Marryat, ed., Life and Letters of Captain Marryat (1872) reprints portions of Marryat's log-book and fragments of autobiography. C. C. Lloyd, Captain Marryat and the Old Navy (1939) contains the best secondary account of the voyages of the Imperieuse.

3. Brenton, The Naval History of Great Britain, 1783-1836 (1837), II, 125; DNB, IV, 630.
4. M. Lewis, A Social History of the Navy, 1793-1815 (1960), 346-350.

to advantages in gunnery, the Royal Navy drew upon the superior seamanship which their crews were able to develop because of their extensive experience at sea.

Both the British and their adversaries began to realize the battle superiority of the Royal Navy. The French made repeated efforts to improve training, morale and discipline in their fleet, while some British admirals, revealing an implicit recognition of their fighting supremacy, retreated from the old fleet tactics of firing from line ahead formation, to more aggressive, close-quarter encounters. Attacking from the windward position, they tried to flank the enemy ships to seal off their retreat, or to create a melee in which they could outnumber their antagonists. In either case, the most decisive factor, probably, was the strong position in which the British ships were placed to employ their combat efficiency. The Royal Navy's generous use of the carronade, a destructive close-range weapon, reflects the increasing emphasis upon the close-quarter engagement.[5]

Lord Cochrane appreciated the factors necessary for success. His was always an aggressive and energetic command, repeatedly in action, and he was able to produce an experienced, disciplined and confident crew, as Marryat was later to testify:

> "The cruises of the Imperieuse were periods of continual excitement, from the hour in which she hove up her anchor till she dropped it again in port; the day that passed without a shot being fired in anger was with us a blank day; the boats were hardly secured on the booms than they were cast loose and out again; the yard and stay tackles were for ever hoisting up and lowering down. The expedition with which parties were formed for service; the rapidity of the frigate's movements, night and day; the hasty sleep, snatched at all hours; the waking up at the report of the guns, which seemed the only key-note to the hearts of those on board; the beautiful precision of our fire, obtained by constant practise; the coolness and courage of our captain, innoculating the whole of the ship's company; the suddeness of our attacks, the gathering after the combat, the killed lamented, the wounded almost envied; the powder so burnt into our faces that years could not remove it; the proved character of every man and officer on board, the implicit trust and the adoration we felt for our commander; the ludicrous situations which would occur even in the extremest danger and create mirth when

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5. N.C. (1800), IV, 139-148, 222-226; ibid. (1811), XXVI, 421-423; Lewis, op. cit., 369-371; G. J. Marcus, The Age of Nelson (1971), 435-440; G. J. Marcus, Heart of Oak (1975), 41-60; W. L. Clowes, et. al., The Royal Navy (1897-1903), IV, 155; J. Masefield, Sea Life in Nelson's Time (1973), 16-17; R. Grenfell, Horatio Nelson (1965), 224-225; P. Padfield, Broke of the Shannon (1968); Padfield, Guns at Sea (1973), 90-93, 100-103, 105, 108, 121-122; R. H. Nuttall, "A Note on the Carronade", M.M. (LVI, 1970), 428; E. H. Jenkins, A History of the French Navy (1973), 201-281; A. T. Mahan, The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire (1892), I, 36-68; J. Creswell, British Admirals of the

> death was staring you in the face, the hair-breadth escapes, and the indifference to life shown by all - when memory sweeps along those years of excitement even now, my pulse beats more quickly with the reminiscence."[6]

Cochrane also gave thought to means by which he could improve his gunnery. Soon after taking command of the Pallas, he asked that two carronades, which were attached to the deck, be replaced, since they were dangerous to charge and were both slow to operate and difficult to direct.[7] To improve his rate of fire more fundamentally, Cochrane devised a method which he had approved by Sir William Congreve, the inventor of the rocket system. During a close-quarter action, where accuracy was not so important, a frigate with its guns double-shotted possessed obvious advantages over one in which the guns were loaded with but one shot each. However, while double shotting enhanced fire power, it inevitably reduced the rate of fire, since "no man can handle at once two 18 or 24 pounder shot and as more than two men cannot get to the muzzle of a gun at the same time the person destined to ram home must put in the second shot and wad and then thrust them down." This operation, Cochrane believed, could be hastened if, previous to action, the men had stitched canvas bags, each containing two shot, so that the whole could be carried and placed in the gun by one person. Other advantages accrued from this method. Encased in canvas, the shot fitted more snugly into the gun bore, reduced the windage inside and increased the velocity of the discharge. Nor was wadding required, since the shot was shrouded with canvas which prevented it from rolling out of the gun, and the dangerous burning wads, normally blown out when firing was to windward, were eradicated. Cochrane estimated that some 25 per cent of the time involved in double-shotted firing could be saved by the employment of his device, and that it enabled "the power of 30 guns" to equal that of 50.

Furthermore, he contended that the larger frigates should each receive 4 brass twenty-four pound field cannons, bored into thirty-two pounders, 2 for the main deck and 2 for the forecastle, and he claimed to have equipped Pallas and Imperieuse in this way. The guns would act as chasers, and they would increase the range and the weight of the stern metal, the latter from 54 lbs to 128 lbs. The discharge of the bow chasers would rise from 18 lbs to 64 lbs. "A frigate thus furnished has an advan-

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Eighteenth Century: Tactics in Battle (1972).

6. Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 19-20.
7. Cochrane to Marsden, Apr. 4, 1805, Adm. 1/1643, f. 535.

tage over a French ship of the line as 128 lbs are to 60 lbs of metal fired. No ship could follow long under such a disadvantage," he wrote. Cochrane maintained that he had obtained his own field guns from Lord Mulgrave in 1806, after receiving the permission of Earl Grey, and that he purchased them at his own expense.[8]

Competent as Cochrane's crews undoubtedly were, the captain never managed them recklessly. His constant activity off hostile coasts enabled him to probe shrewdly the weaknesses of enemy positions and to carefully assess the degree of resistance likely to be encountered, and, while he ran his luck hard, he never, in the British service, miscalculated his chances. The process, however, involved careful preparation. Sir Jahleel Brenton's biographer recorded that he "frequently heard" the old admiral "mention, that he admired nothing more in Lord Cochrane, than the care he took of the preservation of his people. Bold and adventurous as he was, no unnecessary exposure of life was ever permitted under his command. Every circumstance was anticipated, every precaution against surprise was taken, every provision for success was made."[9] Brenton's brother, the naval historian, was more specific:

> "In his (Cochrane's) attacks on the enemy the character of 'vigilans et audax' was entirely his. Before he fired a shot he reconnoitred in person, took soundings and bearings, passed whole nights in his boats under the enemy's batteries, his lead line and spy glass incessantly at work. Another fixed principle with this officer was never to allow his boats to be unprotected by his ship, if it were possible to lay her within reach of the object of attack. With the wind on shore he would veer one of his boats in by a bass halser (an Indian rope made of grass which is so light as to float on the surface of the water); by this means he established a communication with the ship and in case of a reverse or check the boats were hove off by the capstan while the people in them had only to attend to the use of their weapons."[10]

Other testimony is uniform upon this point. Marryat, for example, recalled that "I never knew any one so careful of the lives of his ship's company as Lord Cochrane, or any one who calculated so closely the risks attending any expedition. Many of the most brilliant achievements were performed without the loss of a single life, so well did he calculate the chances." General W. Miller, Cochrane's subordinate in Chile and Peru at a subsequent period, commented similarly, informing Redding "that the precautions taken beforehand in all his (Cochrane's) dashing attempts to

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8. Cochrane to Melville, Jan. 2, 1813, NLS 3841, ff. 42-45; note, DP 233/82/84.
9. H. Raikes, Memoir of the Life and Services of Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton (1846), 339.
10. Brenton, op. cit., II, 125.

ensure success, were a remarkable trait in Cochrane's character." Alexander Caldecleugh, who knew Cochrane about the same time, recalled that he "frequently rowed about the bay (of Callao) in his gig with the lead in his hand, sounding with the greatest nonchalance, while shot of all shapes and sizes were directed at him from the batteries and gunboats."[11]

Lord Cochrane's alacrity in accepting challenges which promised hard fighting is evidenced by his engagements with the El Gamo and Minerva, but he did not believe in taking unnecessary risks, and he was often able to minimize his losses by employing tactics of surprise. Cochrane was adept at swift and sudden movements, often at night, of feints to draw attention from the main point of attack, and he was aware that the most surprising assault might well be the boldest, directed against a position of strength rather than one of weakness. In these cruises, he was at his best, shielded from those activities which tended to expose the flaws in his professionalism, his irascibility as a subordinate and the restlessness which ill fitted him to the more routine tasks, such as blockading, which necessarily formed a part of naval operations. The men Cochrane led knew nothing of these weaknesses. They daily witnessed his seamanship and his resourcefulness, and they responded to his leadership with unbounded confidence.[12] The coxswain of the Imperieuse once returned from an expedition ashore to report his party's failure to blow up a battery, and Cochrane asked if the task had proved to be impossible. "No, my Lord," was the answer, "'tis not impossible. We can do it if you will go." Cochrane then led his men in a second attempt, and the battery was successfully stormed.[13]

II

Cochrane did not take the Imperieuse to sea until November 16, 1806, and he did so only at the insistence of the port admiral at Plymouth, William Young. Parliamentary affairs had kept the captain busy, and his frigate, when it was commanded to quit port, was still in disorder, "all her stores on deck, her guns not even mounted, in a state of confusion unparalleled from her being obliged to hoist in faster than it was possible she could stow away, she was driven out of harbour to encounter a heavy gale."[14] Iron, stowed near the binnacles, produced such an error in the

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11. F. Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 28; Redding, op. cit., I, 150; D. J. Cubitt, Lord Cochrane and the Chilean Navy (Ph.D., 1974), I, 120.
12. Cochrane demonstrated his seamanship on many occasions. He navigated a large ship up the dangerous Guayaquil River at night on November 27-28, 1819. Cubitt, op. cit., I, 138.
13. N.C. (1814), XXXII, 201.
14. F. Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 17; Cochrane, P.D., July 10, 1807, IX,

compass that the Imperieuse ran onto a shoal at 5.15 on the morning of November 19. She was lifted over it by the waves, but her false keel was ripped away and the following day squalls brought down the maintopsail yard. This unpropitious beginning, reminiscent of Cochrane's early service in the Arab, climaxed in a tragedy that occurred on the afternoon of November 25. A marine, John Bennett, fell overboard, and the captain refused to risk a boat in the wild sea to attempt his rescue. "Poor fellow," Cochrane remarked, and left the side of the ship where many of the crew stood, "watching the wave where he (Bennett) was last seen, full of melancholy and rather indignant thought."[15]

Two days later the frigate joined a squadron blockading Rochefort. After he had distributed some provisions to the other ships, Cochrane was ordered by the superior officer, Commodore R. Keats of the Superb, to operate against the French in the Bay of Biscay, work he had so enjoyed as commander of the Pallas. He began taking prizes on December 15, but his activity culminated in a skillful incursion on January 6-7, 1807, into the Bay of Archachon. Fort Roquette, a strong castle mounting 4 thirty-six pounders, 2 field pieces and a thirteen-inch mortar, and commanding a narrow entrance to the Bay, was stormed by men from the ship's boats, led by Mapleton, Midshipmen Napier and Stewart, and Assistant-Surgeon George Gilbert, and the batteries were destroyed. A small convoy of seven vessels was found reposing in the Bay and the whole were captured, sunk or burned.[16]

The ship was back in Plymouth on February 11, but even so brief a cruise as this created victualling problems. On January 2 Cochrane had begun to issue lemon juice as a precaution against scurvy, and his cheese was found to be so rotten a fortnight later that it had to be thrown overboard. The men, however, had been tested, and nine had had to be flogged. The captain had also displayed his mettle. Marryat recalled that when Cochrane was temporarily replaced by Captain Alexander Skene, the consequence was that "our guns were never cast loose, or our boats disturbed from the booms."[17] It is possible that the efficiency of the frigate may have been further impaired during Cochrane's absence by

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766-767. Details of the voyages of the Imperieuse are generally drawn from the log-book, Oct. 3, 1806-Feb. 9, 1808, DP 233/80/79, 1808-1809, Adm. 51/2462.

15. Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 232-233; Captain Marryat's Frank Mildmay (1888 edition), 38. Frank Mildmay is a fictionalized autobiography and should be treated with caution.
16. Cochrane to Keats, Jan. 7, 1807, Adm. 1/133, f. 72; Keats to St. Vincent, Jan. 10, 1807, ibid, f. 24; Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 21-22.
17. Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 23.

the loss of Lieutenant Mapleton, who left the Imperieuse to be replaced by Edward Caulfield, an excellent officer but relatively inexperienced, having been commissioned a lieutenant on February 27, 1807. Fortunately Cochrane was able to retrieve the situation when he was preparing to rejoin his ship; Lieutenant Brown had received a posting elsewhere, and the captain persuaded the Admiralty to reappoint Mapleton to the Imperieuse. Cochrane's own absence had been occasioned by parliamentary business, for he successfully stood as M.P. for Westminster in May, but the pretext was ill health, and a surgeon's certificate was issued to add colour to the claim. When he was ready to return to sea, he requested permission to rejoin his ship and resumed the command at Plymouth on August 19.[18]

This time the frigate was ordered to the Mediterranean to serve under Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood, and she left Spithead on September 12 with a convoy of over forty vessels which was brought into Valetta at the end of October.[19] Collingwood, one of the few senior officers to retain Cochrane's respect (he attended the admiral's funeral in London in 1810), was with the ships blockading Toulon, and the Imperieuse left Malta to sail there on November 5.[20] On the journey occurred the only serious mistake of which Cochrane was guilty during his service as a frigate captain. At daylight, on November 14, 1807, the frigate was off Corsica when a polacre privateer with a prize, a settee, was seen inshore. The only flag flown by the polacre, Cochrane later claimed, was a red pennant, and, suspicious, he sent two boats, under Caulfield and Midshipman William J. Napier, and an unarmed gig under the master, John Spurling, and Samuel Milton and Matthew Clinch, to investigate.[21]

In view of what transpired, the matter of the privateer's colours is not insignificant. Marryat recalled that the polacre, believing the Imperieuse to be French, hoisted "French colours, but those they very soon hauled down, and showed no others," an account which is at variance to Cochrane's version.[22] The privateersmen themselves maintained that they had British colours hoisted in several places but the windless

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18. Cochrane to Marsden, Apr. 3, 4, 7, 1807, and T. Seagram, certificate, Apr. 4, 1807, Adm. 1/1648, ff. 317-319; Cochrane to Pole, Aug. 6, 7, 1807, Adm. 1/1648, ff. 320-321; Imperieuse muster, Adm. 37/1457.
19. Adm. to Collingwood, Aug. 31, 1807, Add. MSS. 14277, ff. 54-55.
20. N.C. (1810), XXIII, 383-384.
21. William John, later 9th Baron Napier (1786-1834) became a post captain in the navy, and remained warmly attached to Lord Cochrane. He married, on March 28, 1816, Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew Cochrane-Johnstone. J. Burke, Burke's...Peerage (1967), 1938-1940.
22. Marryat , Frank Mildmay, op. cit., 47.

atmosphere prevented the flags from being clearly visible, and substance is lent the story by British testimony that, as the boats approached the privateer, a union jack was seen displayed over the gunwale. Whoever gave the correct version, the initial colours shown are less important than those exhibited immediately before firing began, because in naval warfare at that time combat was not permitted under false flags, although deception previous to the first act of hostility was acceptable. As Cochrane's gig closed with the privateer, Spurling observed muskets protruding over the bows and heard a voice demanding the intruders identify themselves. The master replied three times that they were English, and held up his hat as a signal to the privateer to withhold fire, and Napier also called out. Despite this, the union jack over the ship's gunwale was suddenly hauled in, as plain a sign of hostile intent as any that could be given.

In truth, the privateer was not an enemy but the Maltese King George, Captain P. Giliano, armed with 2 twelve pounders, 2 six pounders and 2 four pounders, and carrying 4 unmounted guns and 52 or 54 men. Giliano was as confused as were the British. His ship was upon an enemy coast, and the Imperieuse, a Spanish-built ship, flew no colours at all. Instead, boats pulled out, rowed in the French manner with tholes and grummets, and, according to the privateersmen, when they approached they did not respond to Giliano's demand that they identify themselves. Although it is clear that mistakes by both parties contributed to the misunderstanding, it cannot be determined who fired the first shots. The British maintained that after the union jack was withdrawn a volley was directed into their boats at close range; the privateersmen claimed that the first shots were fired by the British. In any event, Caulfield's men suffered heavy casualties in the boats, but the lieutenant led a furious boarding action. Some of the privateersmen, perceiving the identity of their assailants, now ran below; others fought on, perhaps in self defence as the angry British sailors attempted to cut them down. When it was over the privateer was in Caulfield's hands, although the prize escaped and the British had suffered losses of 2 killed and 13 wounded. Equally severe were the casualties of the privateer, Giliano killed and 15 of his men wounded. Cochrane was enraged by what he considered to have been an unmanly attack upon his boats and by the losses, the highest he had ever suffered in action. "I never, at any time," recorded Marryat, "saw Lord Cochrane so much dejected as he was for many days after this affair. He appreciated the value of his men - they had served him in the Pallas, and he could not

spare one of them."[23] In his despatch, the captain contrasted the courage of his men, especially Caulfield, Spurling, Napier (who had been wounded by a pistol ball fired by Giliano) and two seamen, Forster and Fayrer, with the cowardice of his adversaries, "a set of desperate savages."[24]

The issue was complicated by Cochrane's insistence that the privateer was, in reality, a pirate vessel, "wherein the only subjects of His Britannic Majesty were three Maltese boys, one man of Gibraltar and a naturalized captain, the others renegadoes from all countries and (the) great part of them from nations at war with Great Britain." It was a view to which Collingwood was not unsympathetic. "The Malta Privateers," he reported to the Admiralty, "continue to be the source of much complaint and vexation - their Lordships have been informed of what kind of People their crews are comprised - the refuse of all the Countries in the Mediterranean."[25] Such complaints continued to be made, and accused the Maltese privateers of flouting the neutrality laws.[26]

But when the case came before Judge J. Sewell at the Admiralty Court at Valetta, on January 6, February 17 and April 16, 1808, Cochrane was blamed not only for misconduct before the attack, in failing to display his flag, but for subsequent negligence. A number of the prisoners had been sent to Malta aboard the prize, while others had been taken to the Imperieuse, and it appears that those on board the privateer pilfered the property of their absent colleagues. At Malta the prisoners were allowed to reclaim their belongings in a manner sufficiently casual to afford further opportunities for theft, and Cochrane was held liable for the losses of the crew. His expenses in the cause were also refused. There were, nevertheless, illegalities about the privateer's operations. It was manned primarily by foreigners, in breach of the navigation laws, and it was found to belong to James Briasco, although when the letters of marque had been issued authorizing it to act as a privateer the vessel had been declared to be a possession of Michelle Cristinelli. Such false statements of ownership were not uncommon in Malta at the time, for they enabled the real owner to act as bail if his vessel was seized,

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23. Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 27-28.
24. Cochrane to Collingwood, Nov. 14, 1807, Add. MSS. 14277, f. 52; memorial of Cochrane, Apr. 28, 1809, Adm. 1/1652, f. 157; notes of prize court proceedings, Jan. 6, 1808, by J. Sewell, Adm. 1/3899; Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 24-28. Marryat employed this episode in chapter 29 of Mr. Midshipman Easy (1836).
25. Collingwood to Pole, Dec. 9, 1807, Add. MSS. 14278, ff. 17-18.
26. Collingwood to Pole, Apr. 23, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 87; Collingwood to Castlereagh, Aug. 16, 1808, G. L. Newnham Collingwood, ed., A Selection from the Public and Private Correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood (1837), II, 240-242.

but, in this case, the subterfuge proved disastrous. The court declared that the ship was to be forfeited and that no compensation was to be paid the owner.

The cause satisfied neither of the participants. The owner lost his ship, which went to the Crown; the privateer's captured French goods were assigned to the Admiralty as droits; and Cochrane was made liable for the excessive expenses entailed in the cause, amounting to 900 to 1000 dollars for the proctor's bill, and he was ordered to pay 600 to 700 dollars damages. He was so angry that he forwarded a memorial upon the subject to the Admiralty Board, who passed it to Sir William Scott, later Baron Stowell, in 1809. It was sent to the Crown law officers for an opinion, but led to little satisfaction since the captain was still pressing in 1812 for a return of his expenses in the cause.[27]

Although Cochrane can fairly be criticized for his handling of the episode, he refused to accept blame. Unlike the Admiralty court, he did not consider the King George a dubious ally. She was a pirate ship, masquerading under letters of marque, and the Imperieuse had lost good men bringing her to account. Despite this, a liberal interpretation of the status of the prize had enabled the Admiralty court to unload their exorbitant charges upon the captain, who was liable for illegitimate seizures, and to deprive the captors of their rewards. A vessel operating sufficiently illegally to be condemned had brought benefits only to the officials who had administered the cause. The Admiralty court viewed the matter differently. If the King George had been irregularly commissioned, she had not, as far as was known, acted at sea other than as a privateer; she was not, therefore, a legitimate prize. Further, it was notorious that cases involving appeals entailed heavy expenses. But more than any other, this incident soured Lord Cochrane's opinion of the prize courts. Prize money, like promotion, was a precious inducement in a difficult service, and it was instrumental to an efficient prosecution of the war against enemy privateers and commerce. If it became a fund for rapacious prize court officials, the efforts of commanders to encourage their men would be undermined. It was this opinion which persuaded Lord Cochrane to attempt to reform the Admiralty courts in 1810 and 1811.

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27. J. Sewell to Barrow, Oct. 30, 1809, enc. notes of court proceedings, 1808, Adm. 1/3899; Cochrane memorial, Apr. 28, 1809, Adm. 1/1652, f. 157; Cochrane to Admiralty, Apr. 1809, DP 233/84/101; Scott to Pole, May 5, 1809, Adm. 1/3899; Barrow to Cochrane, July 12, 1809, DP 233/100/55; Maude to Barrow, Sept. 5, 1812, Adm. 1/1663, f. 361.

A few days after the capture of the King George, Cochrane joined Collingwood off Toulon and received orders to return some of his wounded to Valetta before proceeding to the Adriatic.[28] The experiences of the Imperieuse in the Adriatic were much distorted in Cochrane's autobiography, and while they have been inadequately explored elsewhere, they bear examination as an example of how suspiciously the captain was apt to interpret events. According to Cochrane's later memory of the affair, he was ordered to take command of the squadron cruising off Corfu. When he arrived, the officer he was to supersede, senior to Cochrane, did not immediately quit the station and the Imperieuse served, briefly, under his orders. Lord Cochrane soon discovered that his superior had been issuing passes to merchant shipping which granted them immunity from British operations, presumably for a consideration. Three vessels armed with these passes fell into Cochrane's hands, and he sent them to Malta for adjudication, threatening to expose his superior's venality. Fearing enquiries, the senior officer retaliated. He sent word to Collingwood that the captain of the Imperieuse was inept, and the result was that Cochrane was recalled from the command of the Corfu squadron.[29]

Contemporary evidence leaves little justification for Cochrane's interpretation. The captain's orders from Collingwood, dated November 16, were to sail to Corfu or thereabout, and to meet there Captain Patrick Campbell, Unite, to whom he was to deliver letters. Having done so, he was to take the Porcupine and the Weasel under his command and to cruise between Corfu and Cape St. Mary watching for ships coming from the Adriatic, blockading Corfu and other areas held by the French, and to observe movements along the coast as far as Cattaro and the Gulf of Manfredonia. Campbell's instructions enjoined him to return to Malta to refit, and to be relieved on station by the Imperieuse. Accordingly, Cochrane arrived in the Adriatic, encountered Campbell's squadron and delivered Collingwood's orders. The Unite eventually left for Malta on December 16.[30]

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28. Collingwood to Cochrane, Nov. 19, 1807, Add. MSS. 14276, f. 56.
29. Autobiography, I, 236-239; P. Mackesy, "Lord Cochrane on Abuses in the Adriatic", M.M. (XL, 1954), 230-231; H. G. Thursfield, "Lord Cochrane on Abuses in the Adriatic", M.M. (XLI, 1955), 65; P. Mackesy, "Lord Cochrane on Abuses in the Adriatic", M.M. (XLII, 1956), 244-245.
30. Collingwood to Cochrane, Nov. 16, 1807, Collingwood to Campbell, Nov. 16, 1807, Add. MSS. 14276, f. 55.

The log of the Imperieuse shows that Cochrane then cruised as far south as Cephalonia, and that at least three vessels were taken or destroyed by the frigate before it returned to Valetta on January 27, 1808. There is nothing to suggest that passes signed by Campbell were found on board the prizes, but it is significant that serious charges had been made against that officer in Malta, and that these included conspiring with neutrals under detention for shipping enemy property, selling prizes locally before they had been condemned in court, and allowing various vessels from Spanish ports passage to Trieste. These allegations were certainly current in Valetta, from which Cochrane sailed for the Adriatic, and it is not unlikely that the captain later recollected them in connection with his service under Campbell.[31]

Whatever the propriety of Campbell's command, Cochrane was not superseded because of malevolence upon his part. Vice-Admiral Thornbrough, at Palermo, on November 20 ordered the Standard, Captain T. Harvey, to reinforce the squadron off Corfu and to take the ships there under his orders. These instructions were confirmed by Collingwood, before Cochrane had taken any prizes in the Adriatic or Campbell had left his station, on account of news which he had received that the enemy were attempting to transport troops from Italy to Corfu, and that military supplies were to be shipped through Venice. Accordingly, the admiral ordered Harvey to proceed to support the frigates off Corfu and take command there of the Active, Weasel, Imperieuse, Unite, Porcupine, Cephalus, Wizard and Thames. Thus it is evident that Cochrane had been superseded in his command of the Corfu blockade upon purely naval grounds.[32]

On January 2 the Imperieuse joined Collingwood off Cephalonia, and three days later the frigate left with new orders to cruise between Corfu and Paxos to fall in with Harvey and obey his instructions. Later that month Cochrane was sent back to Malta, en route to reinforce Admiral J. C. Purvis' squadron on the Spanish coast.[33] At Valetta a serious disciplinary matter was settled. Cochrane delivered three of his men, all of whom had previously been punished, to the Malta for trial upon charges

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31. Campbell to Collingwood, Oct. 26, 1807, Add. MSS. 14277, f. 62.
32. Thornbrough to Pole, Nov. 20, 1807, Thornbrough to Harvey, Nov. 20, 1807, Adm. 1/413, f. 239; Collingwood to Harvey, Dec. 9, 1807, Add. MSS. 14276, f. 57; Collingwood to Campbell, Nov. 21, 1807, Add. MSS. 14278, f. 16; Collingwood to Mowbray, Dec. 10, 1807, ibid, f. 17; Collingwood to Pole, Dec. 9, 1807, ibid, ff. 17-18.
33. Mowbray to Collingwood, Dec. 15, 1807, Add. MSS. 14277, f. 75; Harvey to Collingwood, Dec. 28, 1807, ibid, f. 76; Collingwood to Cochrane, Jan. 5, 1808, Jan. 22 (two letters), Add. MSS. 14276, ff. 64, 70, 90; Collingwood to Harvey, Jan. 5, 1808, Add. MSS. 14278, f. 25.

of desertion. One was acquitted, but the others received 150 lashes each from the men of the Lucifer on January 29, 1808. Fortunately, this was by far the most serious incident of its kind, and the punishment rate of the Imperieuse was mild for a ship of its size, only 14 men being flogged on board between August 1807 and the following June.

Cochrane put to sea again on January 31 and spent the early months of 1808 raiding along the French and Spanish coasts and about the Mediterranean, using Gibraltar as his principal base. Generally, Admiral Purvis, whose squadron watched Cadiz, allowed him a free hand, although in March and April he was under orders, with the Leonidas, to reconnoitre the Spanish squadrons at Port Mahon and Carthagena, the former consisting of 7 sail (5 of them line of battleships), the latter only 1 frigate and 1 corvette. More often the Imperieuse was employed in attacks upon enemy ships, forts and batteries. On May 21, for example, Cochrane came upon a Spanish convoy off Cabo de Palos, took three out of the four escorting gunboats, seized or destroyed at least 6 merchantmen, and landed parties which disposed of nearby fortifications, a 3-gun martello tower, and a tower situated at the mouth of the Rio San Bone river.[34]

By far the stiffest fight occurred when the frigate stole under American colours into Almeira Bay on February 21. Cochrane directed his ship's fire towards a four-gun tower ashore, while the Imperieuse's boats, commanded by Mapleton and Caulfield, attacked two Spanish brigs, a xebec and a large French polacre privateer, L'Orient, which were anchored there. The L'Orient, laden with barilla and merchandise, carried 9 or 10 guns, and was believed to have been the ship which, the previous year, had repulsed the boats of Jahleel Brenton's Spartan on May 14 off Nice, inflicting losses of 28 killed and 37 wounded. Again she was bravely defended, by a volley of gunfire into the Imperieuse boats which killed Lieutenant Caulfield and a seaman and wounded 11 others. Nevertheless, after an action lasting about an hour all the enemy ships were brought out, and the Imperieuse withdrew with her prizes.[35]

Caulfield's loss in this, his second gallant boarding action as

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34. Collingwood to Cochrane, Apr. 16, 1808, Add. MSS. 14276, f. 88; Cochrane to Livingstone, Mar. 21, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 72; Cochrane to Mundy, Mar. 13, 1808, ibid; Livingstone to Purvis, Apr. 6, 1808, ibid, f, 77; list of ships taken or destroyed, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 127; Marryat, log-book, Marryat papers, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
35. Raikes, op. cit., 301-312; Cochrane to Collingwood, Feb. 23, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 92; Collingwood to Pole, Apr. 26, 1808, Add. MSS. 14278, f. 74; Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 42-46; Marryat, Frank Mildmay, op. cit., 42-44.

lieutenant of the Imperieuse, was unfortunate, but he was replaced by the capable Urry Johnson. There were only two further changes amongst the commissioned officers of the ship during Cochrane's command, when John Molesworth succeeded Harrison (who, with a prize crew of 23, was captured by the enemy on May 7, 1808), and when Molesworth himself was taken while ashore near Tarragona in early 1809, and had to be replaced by Lieutenant William Bissell.[36]

In the early summer the character of the naval war in the Mediterranean changed as a result of the Spanish insurrection of 1808. Collingwood's ships had previously cruised off the uniformly hostile coastlines of Spain, France, the Italian peninsula, Venice, Dalmatia and, eventually, the Ionian Islands. They had watched Cadiz, Toulon and Carthagena, maintained a base on Sicily, and sought to thwart any attempts of the enemy to expand eastwards into the possessions of the Ottoman Porte. After the rising of Spain against the French, however, Collingwood was able to secure the base of Port Mahon, and to concentrate his battle fleet in the Gulf of Lyons to cover Toulon. Behind the screen provided by his ships of the line the cruisers were free to operate against the French forces attempting to subjugate Spain. Cochrane now found himself the ally of the Spanish patriots, and from the summer of 1808 he directed his efforts towards attempting to halt the French advance into the province of Catalonia.[37]

III

Adjacent to France, on the Mediterranean coast, lay the Spanish province of Catalonia. Despite its declaration of independence early in 1808, it was garrisoned by some 13,000 French troops under General Duhesme, quartered mainly in Barcelona and, near the French border, Figueras. The area was mountainous, with the main road linking the two French strongpoints running for a considerable portion of its length by the seaside, vulnerable to naval attack. Catalonian guerrillas held the interior while British cruisers patrolled the coast. Duhesme's position was, therefore, precarious, his communications with Figueras and France constantly in jeopardy, his supplies dwindling.

After a futile attempt to clear their supply lines, the French despatched General Reille, with 7000 to 8000 men, to enter Figueras with

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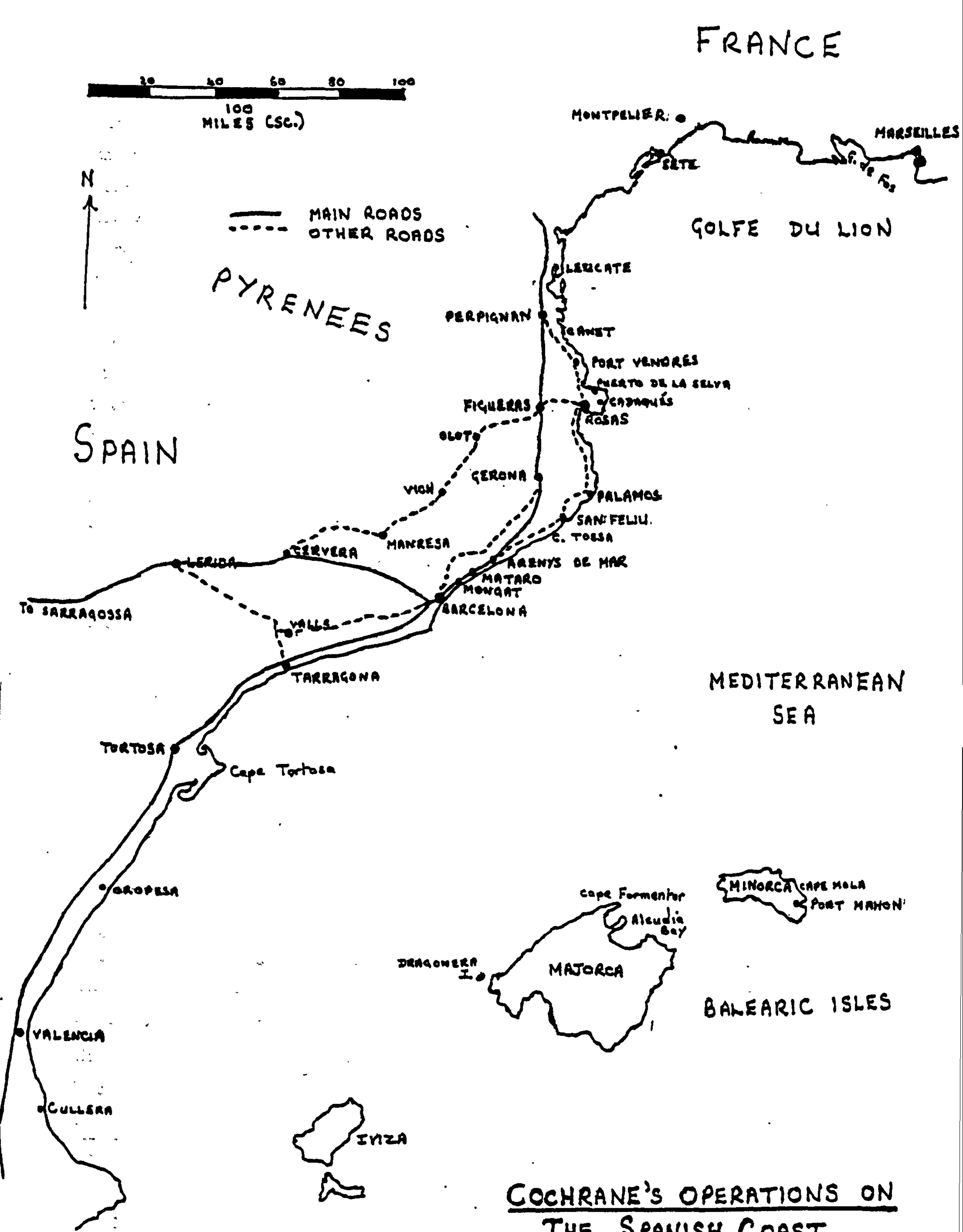
36. Imperieuse muster, Adm. 37/1458.
37. The war in Catalonia is described in C. Oman, A History of the Peninsular War (1902), I, 301 f., and P. Mackesy, The War in the Mediterranean, 1803-1810 (1957), 282 f.



BALEARIC ISLES

COCHRANE'S OPERATIONS ON THE SPANISH COAST, 1808~1809

orders to form a junction with Duhesme's army in Barcelona. In July Duhesme left a token force of some 3500 Swiss and Italians in Barcelona, and marched east, joining forces with Reille and threatening Gerona, a position between Figueras and Barcelona held by about 400 Irish troops. However, in the absence of the general, the French forces remaining in Barcelona appeared more vulnerable, and Spanish troops began to assemble to attack the city.

Cochrane's arrival upon the coast further imperilled the French garrison in Barcelona. On June 21 the captain had called upon Collingwood at Cadiz and received orders to cruise between Barcelona and Marseilles, intercepting any supplies intended for the French, affording assistance to the Spanish patriots wherever possible, and communicating with the Spanish governor at Rosas. In Collingwood's opinion, Catalonia was "the weakest point in Spain", and he later detached the Cambrian and the Hind to support the Imperieuse in the coastal operations.[38]

Cochrane began quickly the work of isolating the enemy in Barcelona, attacking the city's communications by sea and by land. On July 10 he made the first of many descents upon the coastal road, breaking it up, destroying bridges or dismounting batteries, hoping to impede the movement of French troops between France and Barcelona. His work was briefly interrupted between July 19 and July 23, when he joined the Hind and the Kent in transporting 4430 Spanish soldiers, with their artillery, from Minorca to the mainland. Some of these, under the Marquis Del Palacio, were to maintain a formal siege of Barcelona, while others, some 1300 in number, including those Cochrane ferried from Port Mahon to Feliu, were destined to help relieve Gerona.[39]

From July 24, however, Cochrane resumed his amphibious assaults upon the coastal road, but on July 29 opportunity for a more direct attack presented itself. A Spanish boat brought him news that Mongat, the only French castle between Barcelona and Gerona, was being assailed by Spanish irregulars. Arriving at the scene the following day, Cochrane examined the position, and on July 31 landed his marines, commanded by Lieutenant James Hoare. Aided by the Spaniards, Hoare's force soon compelled the fort's Neopolitan garrison of 71 to surrender after sustaining losses of 2 killed and 7 wounded. The prisoners were taken on board the Imperieuse, and

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38. Collingwood Journal, June 9, 1808, Add. MSS. 14280, ff. 109-110; Collingwood to Cochrane, June 21, 1808, Add. MSS. 14276, f. 106; Collingwood to Thornbrough, June 15, 1808, Add. MSS. 14278, ff. 92-93; Collingwood to Martin, Aug. 4, 1808, ibid, f. 121.
39. Martin to Collingwood, Aug. 5, 1808, Add. MSS. 14279, f. 47.

Mongat was blown up, its 5 pieces of artillery carried off by the British and most of the 80 muskets and 13 barrels of powder and munitions found there turned over to the Spanish guerrillas.[40]

From Mongat, the frigate passed to Rosas, where there had been a British presence since July 23, when the Montagu, Captain R. W. Otway, anchored in the Bay. Rosas and Gerona commanded the two principal roads from Barcelona to France, but, while the French were besieging Gerona, they had, as yet, paid but marginal attention to Rosas. Nevertheless, the town was an obvious target because of its strategic location, and it was not strongly defended, Otway reporting that the fortress there was in a "ruined" and "miserable" condition, "incapable of making much resistance." Collingwood, therefore, considered it advisable to station a naval force permanently in Rosas Bay.[41]

As it happened, Gerona, too, received a reprieve, partly because of the troops which Cochrane had shipped from Minorca. The French wearied of their attempts to capture the town in the middle of August and retreated, Reille returning to Figueras and Duhesme marching back to Barcelona. The latter found that Cochrane had destroyed parts of the road, which was, in any case, menaced from the sea by the Cambrian and the Cyane, and the army blew up its ammunition, burned the baggage, tossed its field guns into the sea, and fled into the hills, arriving in Barcelona on August 20 in a demoralized condition.[42]

Once the French had been driven back into Figueras and Barcelona, where they awaited the assembly of new forces which might enable them to reopen the road to Duhesme's beleagured army, Cochrane passed east, intent upon reporting to Thornbrough off Toulon and carrying the war to the coastal towns of France. During August and September he raided the coasts of Languedoc and Provence, capturing vessels and landing parties to burn buildings and signal stations and to destroy batteries. He obtained six cases of Congreve rockets from Thornbrough's squadron, and employed them on September 3-4 to shell the seaside town of La Ciotat.

A detailed portrait of these operations is given by Cochrane's senior officer, Captain Jahleel Brenton of the Spartan, who encountered the Imperieuse on September 7 and sailed in company for several days. He

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40. Cochrane to Collingwood, July 31, 1808, Add. MSS. 14278, f. 64, Adm. 1/414, f. 195; Imperieuse muster, Adm. 37/1458, gives the roll of prisoners.
41. Otway to Collingwood, July 25, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 191; Collingwood to Pole, Oct. 8, 1808, ibid, f. 226.
42. Eyre to Thornbrough, Aug. 30, 1808, Add. MSS. 14279, ff. 65-66; Oman, op. cit., I, 322-332.

testified to the seamanship and the skill Cochrane displayed during their joint assault on batteries between Port Vendres and Canet on September 10. At daylight the boats of both ships landed and one battery was destroyed, the raiders receiving covering fire from the ships which held at bay a body of troops that had gathered ashore. At about one o'clock in the afternoon, Cochrane and Brenton determined to attempt to destroy two further batteries, and the boats were assembled in two divisions. One of them feinted towards a landing place near Canet, drawing the troops there, and the second then attacked and spiked one of the batteries while the ships fired upon the other. At this point, a large force of French cavalry charged the landing party, but Cochrane's frigate, "which his Lordship had anchored in a most judicious manner..." a little ahead of the Spartan, dropped its anchor and swung about on the cable until the starboard broadside could be brought to bear upon the horsemen. These were quickly dispersed, and by about 5.00 the Imperieuse had also silenced the remaining battery. Cochrane then endeavoured to burn the vessels sheltering by it, "driving the Cavalry before him with Rockets", and, despite the large numbers of soldiers and a heavy fire of muskets and field pieces, he destroyed two craft before the frigates retired, having lost only 3 men wounded.

On the night of September 11-12 Cochrane and Brenton fired rockets into Sète, towing behind their ships casks bearing lights to divert the fire of the shore batteries from the frigates. During the following day an attack was made near Montpelier, and several buildings were burned, and on September 13, off Point d' Tigre, Cochrane assaulted a convoy and took or destroyed 6 or 7 vessels. Brenton, who seems often to have been reduced to a spectator, reported that "the conduct of Lord Cochrane during this service is far above my praise. It was throughout a most animating example of intrepidity, zeal, professional skill and resources which I trust will be treasured up in the memory of all who witnessed it."[43]

In his despatch, Cochrane described his attacks upon French signal stations. Seven posts, fourteen barracks, a battery and a fort were destroyed between August 18 and September 28 by landing parties, usually led by Lieutenants Mapleton and Johnson, Lieutenant Hoare of the Marines, Burney the gunner, Assistant Surgeon Gilbert and Midshipmen Stewart and

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43. Brenton to Thornbrough, Sept. 16, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 213; Thornbrough to Collingwood, Sept. 9, 1808, Add. MSS. 14279, f. 69; Raikes, op. cit., 336-340.

Stovin. The captain's opinion, warmly endorsed by Collingwood, was that the raids had drawn 2000 French troops from Figueras to the defence of their own coast, but it appears more probable that Reille returned these cavalrymen because he lacked winter clothing and forage to sustain them in Spain. Not the least useful result of the exercise, however, was the capture of the current French sémaphoric signal codes which permitted the British to gather intelligence from the enemy.[44]

Early in November, Cochrane, after a dispute with Admiral Purvis, was back upon the coast of Spain, firing rockets into the defences at Barcelona and blockading the harbour. His return was timely, since the French were renewing their efforts to relieve Duhesme, now severely low on supplies and besieged in Barcelona by thousands of Spanish troops commanded by General Vives. Some 25,000 soldiers had been amassed by the French, from France, Germany and Italy, for the subjugation of Catalonia, and, under the able control of General Gouvion St. Cyr, they advanced from the border upon Rosas, which commanded one of the major roads to Barcelona. Reille and Pino, St. Cyr's subordinates, were detailed with 12,000 men to capture the position.[45]

The situation was critical for both belligerents. Duhesme declared his inability to withstand Vives' Spaniards beyond December, and St. Cyr was consequently concerned to reach Barcelona as soon as was possible. The Spanish and their British allies, conversely, hoped to block St. Cyr's advance, at least until Vives could compel Duhesme to surrender. In these circumstances, much depended upon the length of time the French could be held at Rosas and Gerona. The defences at Rosas were, unfortunately, poor. They consisted of a citadel, which sheltered 3000 men under Colonel Pedro O'Daly, and Fort Trinidad, situated on a promontory near the harbour, the 110-foot tower of which covered the approach to the town from inland. A hundred yards from this fort, and facing a high wall of it, was a hill, Puig-Rom. Captain G. Eyre of the Magnificent, which had been stationed at Rosas in August, had then believed that Trinidad "is of that magnitude that it would require 3 or 400 men to defend it if regularly besiged" but in November, when the French advanced upon the town, it was manned by a

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44. Cochrane to Collingwood, Sept. 28, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 237; Collingwood to Pole, Oct. 19, 1808, ibid; Cochrane to Pole, 1808, Adm. 1/1651, f. 300; Oman, op. cit., II, 39.
45. Oman, op. cit., II, 37-57 and Mackesy, op. cit., 294-296 give accounts of the siege of Rosas. The former is the basis of much of the above material. Purvis to Cochrane, Oct. 18, 1808, DP 233/82/84.

mere 80 Spanish soldiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Lotero Fitzgerald and a handful of British marines from the Excellent, 74, Captain J. West. In the bay, affording additional support, were the bomb vessels, Meteor, Captain J. Collins, and the Lucifer, Captain R. Hall. The bulk of West's marines were with O'Daly in the citadel. But, even with these reinforcements, the position of Rosas was critical, and both West and Collingwood had called upon the Spanish at Gerona and Barcelona to assist it before it fell to the French.[46]

On November 7 the French arrived at the town, and Pino's troops occupied the heights overlooking Fort Trinidad, while Reille's forces invested the citadel. Other men were dispersed by St. Cyr to the north-east to screen the operations from Spanish irregulars, and the general's headquarters were established at nearby Palau village. On November 15 Pino's men attempted to storm Trinidad, but they were twice repulsed with a total loss of some 60 soldiers and managed only to break down the fort's two outer gates. Both sides hurried to reinforce the position, West placing additional marines with the defenders, and the enemy mounting 3 or 4 twenty-four pounders on Puig-Rom, which not only battered the walls of the fort but drove the Lucifer from her nearby anchorage. In the meantime, Reille drove his approaches towards the citadel, and on November 20 the enemy fire compelled the British ships to stand further out in the bay, leaving only the bomb vessels within effective range. West, who reported British losses as 1 man killed and 24 wounded, was depressed by these developments. He considered that Fort Trinidad, "from its insulated situation and strength...may stand a long siege" but that the citadel would soon fall. Nor was the prognosis of Captain R. H. A. Bennett of the Fame, 74, which replaced the Excellent, any less bleak. On November 22 he believed that the breach that had been made by the enemy artillery in Fort Trinidad rendered that position no longer defensible, and only at the insistence of O'Daly's council did he continue to man it.[47]

As a desperate measure to relieve the pressure upon Fort Trinidad, Bennett and O'Daly at last determined to attempt to dislodge the enemy

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46. Eyre to Thornbrough, Aug. 30, 1808, Add. MSS. 14279, ff. 65-66; T. Alexander to Collingwood, Oct. 4, 1808, ibid, f. 88; J. West to Collingwood, Nov. 21, 1808, ibid, ff. 125-126; Collingwood to Pole, Dec. 1, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 272; James, op. cit., IV, 385-386.
47. In addition to the foregoing, R. H. A. Bennett to Collingwood, Nov. 22-Dec. 4, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 279, from which is taken much in the succeeding paragraphs.

guns from Puig-Rom by a sortie on the 23rd. Seven hundred of O'Daly's men and 30 marines from the Fame participated in the attack. They were landed upon the beach at the rear of the Puig-Rom heights and tried to storm the hill, which was believed to be poorly defended. But, although even a temporary command of the position would have enabled the Spaniards to push the batteries over the precipitous bluff on which they were situated, Pino's troops quickly rallied and the attackers were pressed back to the beach where the boats of the Fame and the Imperieuse managed to take some 300 away. Others escaped along the shore, or in the hills, but the loss, especially in captured, was considerable, and the British casualties amounted to 1 man killed and 4 wounded. After this defeat, disheartened, Bennett informed O'Daly that he intended to withdraw his men immediately from both Fort Trinidad and the citadel, and to add to these difficulties, the Colonel learned on November 24 that a relief force from Gerona, under Julian Alvarez, had been routed, and that no immediate prospects of succour from that quarter remained. While the importance of holding Rosas could not be denied, these tidings seemed to preclude the possibility of doing so.

Cochrane had been at Rosas for some days when this apparent impasse was reached. The Imperieuse had left Barcelona in search of provisions, and had anchored in Rosas Bay on November 20. Some of the frigate's marines helped to work the guns of the citadel, and the ship itself occupied a position from which it could annoy the enemy batteries plying upon O'Daly's defences. During the sortie of the 23rd, Cochrane had used his boats to feint towards the west and to assist in ferrying Spaniards to and from the point of attack, while the frigate itself had kept up a fire upon the French positions. On the afternoon of the same day, while Bennett sunk into despondency, Cochrane went ashore to inspect the breach in Fort Trinidad and to determine if anything more could be done. He found that "a passage through the wall to the lower bomb proof" of the fort had almost been made by enemy fire, and that the defences were in "the most deplorable state." Pino's engineers were developing siege approaches to the south-western bastion, and Fitzgerald's 80 Spaniards, who now alone manned the fort and who were incessantly subjected to artillery shells and the musketry of hundreds of Swiss sharpshooters posted upon a nearby hill, appeared demoralized and "on the point of surrendering." Nevertheless, Lord Cochrane believed that he could hold the position, and the following day, November 24, he installed 80 of his men in the fort and personally

supervised the defences. Bennett reported that the captain, "by his example has inspired confidence in the Spaniards, but I fear it will not last, and that the fort ought to be blown up, I am still of opinion." Such pessimism, however, reckoned without the engineering skill which Cochrane was able to bring to the defence of the fort. He was in his element.[48]

Cochrane's position was almost immediately stormed by Mazzuchelli's Italian brigade, which was repulsed before it reached the breach. Having disposed of this threat, the captain prepared an original defence. He found that the breach was high up the castle wall, facing Puig-Rom, and that it could only be reached by attackers climbing steeply up the rubble heaped about the foot of the wall and using scaling ladders. The ship's carpenter, Lodwick, was instructed to invest the breach with an offensive capacity by affixing to it a device which Collingwood referred to as "a sort of rampart within the breach" formed of "hammock cloths, awnings &c. filled with sand and rubbish", and which Marryat and Cochrane, in their reminiscences, respectively called "a very good bug trap" and a "mantrap". A large shoot of deal boards, well greased with slush, was constructed, declining inwards from the breach, so that any adversary unlucky enough to penetrate the opening would be precipitated forwards to a considerable drop inside the castle wall. In addition to this instrument, Cochrane reported that "about one thousand bags, besides barrels and palisadoes, supplied the place of walls and ditches" about the breach. Sharp fish-hooks were attached to those parts of the fortifications likely to be scaled by assailants, the approaches were mined, and all available guns enfiladed the area. "Fort Trinity," admitted Bennett, "would have been in possession of the Enemy, but for the zealous and animating exertions of Lord Cochrane, who is still in it, repairing the breaches and devising means to repel assault." Admiral Collingwood reported, "The zeal and energy with which he (Cochrane) has maintained that fortress excited the highest admiration - his resources for every exigency have no end." But the captain himself gave much credit to his subordinates, especially Lodwick, Lieutenant Hoare of the Marines, Burney the gunner, Lieutenant Johnson, and Midshipmen Stewart, Stovin and Marryat of the Imperieuse, and to Fitzgerald, Lieutenant Bourman and Cadet Inocenti Maranger of the Ultonia Spanish regiment.

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48. In addition to sources previously cited, Cochrane's defence of Fort Trinidad is described in Cochrane to Collingwood, Dec. 5, 1808, Adm. 1/415, f. 23; Collingwood to Pole, Dec. 14, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 279; Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 53-58; Marryat, Frank Mildmay, op. cit., 58-64.

Over the following few days the fortunes of Rosas ebbed and flowed. Seventeen hundred Spanish regulars arrived by sea to reinforce the citadel, most of them from Lescalla, news was reached of the preparation of another relief force, and a brass four pounder was installed in Fort Trinidad. But on the evening of November 26, Cochrane's men heard heavy musketry from the town which lasted into the following morning and signified that it was being stormed by Pino's soldiers. Some 400 Spaniards were killed or taken, and the town captured. Only Fort Trinidad and the citadel remained defiant, and on November 30. Pino launched the long awaited attack upon Cochrane's position.

Six grenadier and voltigeur companies of the 1st and 6th Italian regiments, about 1000 picked troops, moved towards the breach in the early light, a "black column...curling along the valley like a great centipede."[49] About 7 o'clock in the morning they were within range, and a heavy volley of musket and artillery fire was directed upon them, to which the French batteries and marksmen soon replied. As it approached the breach, the head of the enemy column was shattered by mines, and lost a reported 42 men. The enemy recoiled, reformed and then mounted the breach again, urged on by an officer who was eventually shot down (perhaps by Cochrane himself), and assailed by musketry and grenades from the defenders. They were halted by the contraption inside the breach, and eventually retreated in confusion, leaving dead and scaling ladders upon the ground and two prisoners in Cochrane's hands, one of whom was taken back to the Imperieuse by the ship's boats, which had been armed and sent to the fort at the first sound of action. The defenders, in contrast, lost only 3 men killed and 2 wounded.

Shortly after the attack. Marryat accompanied Cochrane upon an inspection of the field outside the walls of the fort, and they were caught in a sudden fusillade of musket fire and shot. The captain strolled casually to safety, insisting, with some drollness, that Marryat stand between him and the gunfire to shield the more important of the two officers from danger. Although the story is only told in Marryat's fictional auto-biography, it seems to have been a true one and certainly bears the stamp of Cochrane's character. Indeed, a similar incident occurred later in Greece, at the defeat near Athens in 1827. Cochrane, Hobhouse recorded, "gave me a curious account of the battle of Athens, lost by the Greeks

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49. Marryat, Frank Mildmay, op. cit., 60.

almost without a struggle. I asked him if he ran away. 'No,' said he, 'I did not run but I walked, and I should have liked to run, but I did not dare.' Church, who stayed a little later, was in great danger. He did run, and fell over his head in the hurry."[50]

Four days after the unsuccessful attack upon Fort Trinidad, a vain effort was made by Reille to carry the citadel. Nevertheless, his approaches were distressingly close to that position, and the only tidings from Gerona depicted a state of such confusion there that no assistance could be expected for some time. Consequently, at noon on December 5 O'Daly surrendered his force of 2766 men. Further attempts to defend Rosas were now impossible, and the same day Cochrane evacuated his force in the boats of the Imperieuse, the Fame and the Magnificent, blew up Fort Trinidad and threw the spiked guns over the walls. During his defence, he had lost only 5 men killed and 12 wounded, a small enough price for extending the siege for another 12 days. O'Daly's losses had been greater, perhaps 700 over the period previous to his surrender of the balance, and St. Cyr's overall casualties may have been as high as 1000 men; Pino's division alone suffered 430 killed and wounded.[51]

The resistance at Rosas halted the French advance for a month, but it was in vain, for Barcelona continued to resist the Spanish forces investing the city and St. Cyr made light of the delays. Realizing that the coastal road was vulnerable to attack, and that it was much reduced by Cochrane's raids, the general abandoned his wheeled transport and artillery, rationed his men to four days of biscuits and 60 lbs of ammunition, and marched towards Barcelona by the rugged inland tracks, beset by Catalonian guerrillas. Brushing aside a force sent against him by Vives, he entered Barcelona on December 17, leaving Collingwood powerless to do more than frustrate enemy communications by sea.[52]

Cochrane found employment in this work. At dawn on December 30 the Imperieuse was towed by its boats into Cadaqués harbour, where it anchored about 10.30 and began shelling both a battery on the beach and the French troops who attempted to reply. By four o'clock in the afternoon the enemy soldiers had been expelled from the town. Cochrane

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50. Lady Dorchester, ed., Lord Broughton's Recollections of a Long Life (1909-11), III, 244. The reference is to Sir Richard Church, who commanded the Greek army.
51. Attempts to relieve Rosas are described in Marquis de Lasan to Bennett, Dec. 1, 1808, Adm. 1/414, f. 132; Collingwood to Radstock, Jan. 4, 1809, G. L. N. Collingwood, op. cit., II, 296-299.
52. Oman, op. cit., II, 58-75; G. L. N. Collingwood, op. cit., II, 313-315.

landed some men and spiked or destroyed a shore battery of 9 cannons. Eleven victuallers, and their escorts, La Gauloise, 7 guns, and La Julie, 9 guns, were seized or destroyed. The former escort, a cutter, had been scuttled by her crew, but it was righted and pumped out, and the La Julie Cochrane kept for his own use as a private vessel.[53]

The Imperieuse left Cadaqués on January 9, 1809 to sail along the coast, destroying another battery in the face of strong opposition at Puerto de la Selva on January 10. Twelve days later the frigate was in the vicinity of Tarragona, where the Spanish were being menaced by French forces from Barcelona. Cochrane came across a French column marching with artillery eastwards beside the seaside. For several hours in the afternoon of January 22, the Imperieuse pursued the army, bombarding it for six miles from offshore until it was dispersed. This proved to be the last exploit in Spain performed by Cochrane with the frigate, for at the end of the month he was sent from Port Mahon with a convoy bound for England. He anchored in Plymouth, on March 19, after an absence of nearly two years.[54]

IV

Cochrane's cruises in the Imperieuse encapsulate the best traditions of the naval service: daring but intelligent leadership, imaginative and flexible strategical insight served by tactical proficiency of the highest order, and energy, resourcefulness and opportunism. The frigate had exerted an influence out of all proportion to its strength. Looking beyond the purely naval aspects of the situation in Catalonia, Cochrane had grasped the importance of the road, and his efforts ashore, in destroying communications and attacking French posts, batteries and forces, had helped to frustrate and demoralize thousands of soldiers; he had passed eastwards to mount diversionary raids upon the French coast while the enemy collected men for another invasion of Spain; he had helped to save Gerona, and his attempts to save Rosas, and so to permit the Spaniards to take Barcelona, had failed for no want of energy upon his part. Cochrane believed that a moderate force of British troops, lent mobility by naval support, could have expelled the French from Catalonia.

But, for all that was done, the limitations of the navy had also been apparent. It had not been able to prevent St. Cyr's invasion of

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53. Cochrane to Collingwood, Jan. 2, 1809, Adm. 1/415, f. 46; Cochrane to Pole, May 5, 1809, Adm. 1/1652, f. 158.
54. Marryat (1872), op. cit., I, 51; Collingwood to Cochrane, Dec. 28, 1808, Add. MSS. 14276, f. 152.

Catalonia, nor to preserve Rosas and compel Barcelona to capitulate. It could not remedy the deficiencies in the brave but disorganized Spanish army, or act as a substitute for a disciplined military force. The war in Catalonia, therefore, emphasized the need in Spain for the British army then establishing itself in Portugal.

Nevertheless, Cochrane had reason to be pleased with his own achievements. The work had been arduous, and amphibious operations did not promise the financial returns of prize taking at sea, a fact which may account for the increase in the punishment rate aboard the Imperieuse (35 floggings between June 22, 1808 and March 19, 1809). But the reputation of the ship and its captain had certainly been enhanced.[55] Probably this influenced the Admiralty in their selection of Cochrane for his next service, a hazardous enterprize at Rochefort.

In so doing they provided the captain with his first opportunity to contribute to the continuing battle between Britain and France for naval supremacy. Britain had possessed a marginal superiority over the French at sea when the wars began in 1793, and extended it in the succeeding years, but Bonaparte's efforts to rebuild his fleet and to bring the Continental navies under his control after 1806 admitted little room for complacency. When Cochrane returned to England, he found that he was to be employed on a matter of national importance.[56]

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55. The cruises of the Imperieuse found their way into prominent fiction through the works of Captain Marryat. Marryat's most notable successor, C. S. Forester, also made use of them. It is widely believed that Forester's fictional hero, Horatio Hornblower, is based upon Lord Cochrane. Eric Hobsbawm, for example, describes Cochrane as "the original of C. S. Forester's Captain Hornblower" in his The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848 (1962), 138, and the article on Hornblower in P. K. Kemp, ed., The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea (1976), 396, records, "It is generally thought that the fictitious Hornblower is largely based, at least in the earlier part of his career, on Thomas Cochrane..." Forester certainly borrowed some of Cochrane's exploits for two of his Hornblower novels, Ship of the Line (1939) and Hornblower and the Hotspur (1962).
56. Details of the rejuvenation of the French fleet are given by R. Glover, "The French Fleet, 1807-1814: Britain's Problem and Madison's Opportunity", Journal of Modern History (XXXIX, 1967), 233-252, and Britain at Bay: Defense Against Bonaparte, 1803-1814 (1973), 16-20.

THE BATTLE IN THE AIX ROADS, 1809

I

The new naval crisis which Cochrane was called upon to resolve threatened both Britain's communications with the Iberian peninsula and her interests in the West Indies. Ten French sail of the line under Admiral J. B. P. Willaumez had escaped from Brest on February 21, 1809. They appear to have intended linking with the L'Orient and Rochefort squadrons for an attempt to relieve Martinique, one of France's remaining overseas possessions, then being blockaded by the British, but the plan misfired. Willaumez was unable to join the ships at L'Orient, and passed, instead, to Rochefort, slipping into the Basque Roads on February 24. Two days later the squadron ran into the inner anchorage, the Aix Roads, losing one of their ships, the Jean Bart, upon a shoal in the process. But, despite their misfortunes, the French had at least brought together a formidable combination. United, the Brest and Rochefort ships totalled 11 sail of the line and 4 frigates, and they were commanded, from March 17, by one of the ablest French admirals, Allemand. Although a British force of 11 line of battleships and several frigates from the Channel fleet under the Evangelical admiral James, Lord Gambier, hastened to blockade the Basque Roads, the Admiralty, faced with the possibility of a breakout by Allemand's fleet, remained nervous.[1]

Unfortunately, prospects for a successful attack upon the enemy were not encouraging. The Aix anchorage itself was reputedly one of the most impregnable of French havens, and even Bonaparte had chastened a subordinate by informing him that "nothing could be more insane than the idea of attacking a French squadron at Ile d'Aix. I am annoyed to see you with such notions."[2] Access to the French ships was through a channel which ran between the Ile d'Aix and a long shoal, the Boyart, and which was flanked by the batteries of Aix and the Ile d'Oleron, the former manned by 2000 men. The wings and rear of the French fleet, which was anchored south of the Ile d'Aix facing the exit of the channel,

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1. Early assessments of the battle may be found in Brenton, The Naval History of Great Britain, 1783-1836 (1837), II, 277-286, and James, Naval History of Great Britain (1878), IV, 390-431, the last of which is the best secondary account. A French view is given in E. Chevalier, Histoire de la Marine Francaise sous le Consulat et l'Empire (1886), 318-345. Material upon the early movements of the French squadron is in Seymour to Stopford, Feb. 27, 1809, and Stopford to Adm., Mar. 2, 1809, N.C. (1809), XXI, 258, 260; W. Richardson, A Mariner of England (1970), 238-240; French officer of the Ocean, Mar. 26, 1809, R. V. Hamilton, ed., Journals and Letters of Sir Thomas Byam Martin (1898-1900), III, 309-313.
2. W. L. Clowes, et. al., The Royal Navy, a History (1897-1903), V, 259.

appeared, therefore, impregnable, leaving an attacker only the option of an advance along a narrow front, between enemy batteries, against Allemand's main line. To meet such an assault, the French admiral prepared a position of formidable strength. Across the passage was placed a boom "composed of small cables of the smaller kind" and "floated by large logs of wood and other materials. It is held by strong anchors and in a space of 600 fathoms; covers all that part whenever the current comes towards our fleet."[3] Behind the boom, which was nightly patrolled by 73 gunboats, reposed the French fleet. The sail of the line and one of the frigates were moored in two lines of six vessels each, their broadsides commanding the entrance to the anchorage, and they were so arranged that the ships in the second line could fire through spaces between the vessels in the first. An advance squadron of three frigates was stationed close to the boom itself.[4]

There was no doubt that an attack upon the French fleet could not be made without considerable risk, but the damage that such a force, were it to escape, might wreak upon British West Indian possessions, or the impact its appearance off Spain or Portugal could make upon the war there, agitated some action. At their immediate disposal the Admiralty could call upon Gambier, riding with his fleet off the Basque Roads. He was a courageous officer, but one of the most inexperienced admirals afloat, having served at sea as a commissioned officer for only some half a dozen years before becoming a rear admiral. Nor had his talents, hitherto, received widespread recognition. The poet Wordsworth, for example, lamented upon the calibre of senior admirals in the years after Trafalgar. "And in the Fleet!" he exclaimed. "The French might rejoice if they knew, as perhaps they do, the personal character of Admirals Gambier, Collingwood, Sotheby, Duckworth, etc. etc. There are, however, to our comfort, some men of distinguished talent pretty high in the Navy, who I earnestly wish, were in stations worthy of their talents - Cochrane, for example, Commodore Beaver...one of the most enlightened men any country ever produced. Keith and Hood - I believe are both able men - but it is deplorable to think what fools are in the highest stations."[5] It is,

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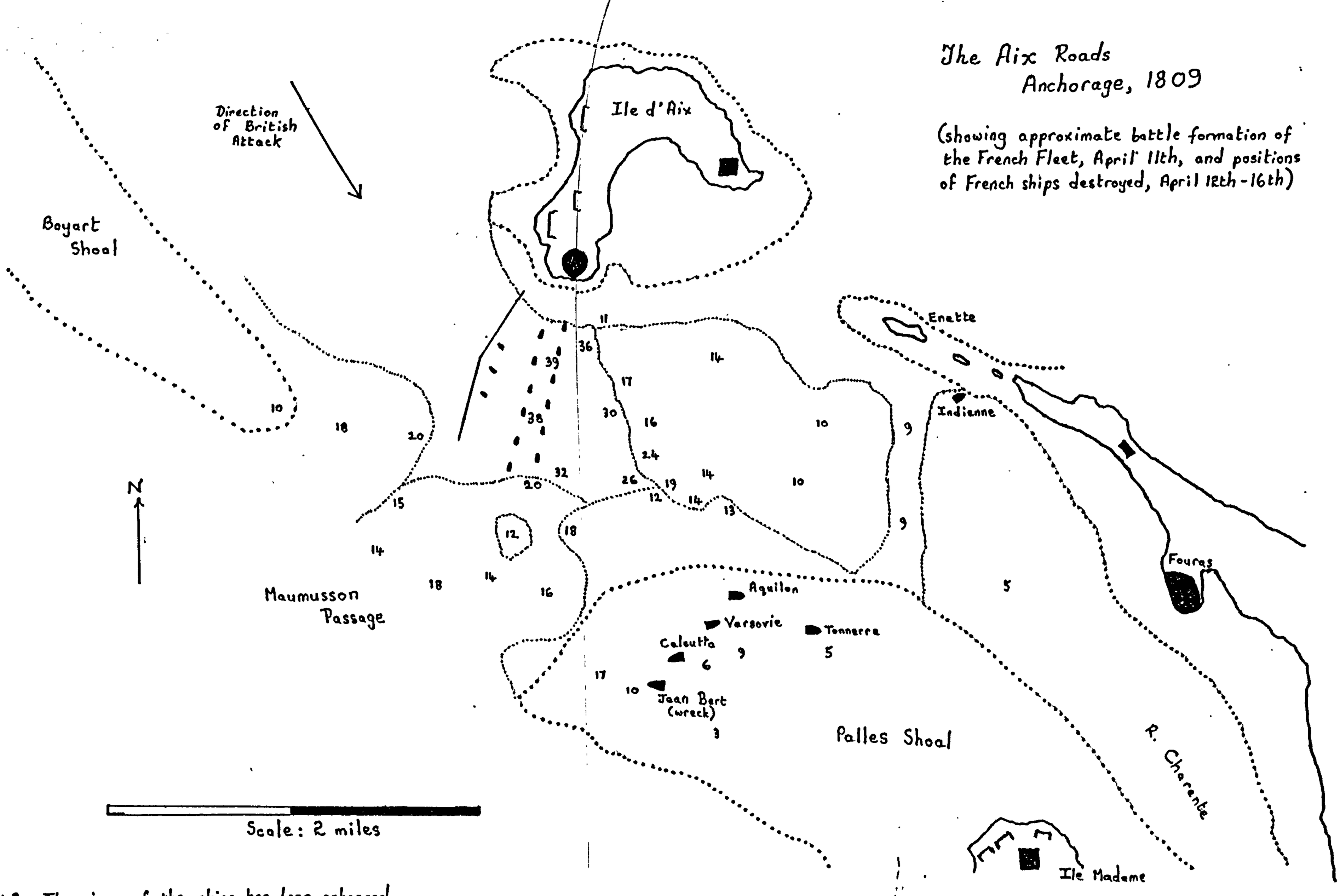
3. French officer, Apr. 10, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 313-321.
4. Instructions to Guard Vessels, Apr. 10, 1809, Court Martial, Appendix, 35-38; French officer, Mar. 26, Apr. 10, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 309-321.
5. Wordsworth to Stuart, Mar. 26, 1809, E. de Selincourt, et. al., ed., The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth (1967-69), II, 295-297; Lady Chatterton, Memorials, Personal and Historical, of Admiral Lord Gambier (1861) and DNB, VII, 833-835, give accounts of Gambier's career. Bradford Perkins, Castlereagh and Adams (1964) contains material upon his brief career as a diplomat in 1814.

The Aix Roads Anchorage, 1809

(showing approximate battle formation of the French Fleet, April 11th, and positions of French ships destroyed, April 12th - 16th)



N.B. The size of the ships has been enhanced

perhaps, significant that, despite the availability of Gambier and his captains, the Admiralty searched elsewhere for an officer to lead an attack upon the French ships.

Before them lay previous suggestions relating to the viability of such a venture, one from Cochrane dated 1806 and the other proffered by Keats the following year.[6] It was to the former that the Admiralty turned. Arriving in Plymouth in March, Cochrane received an invitation from William Johnstone Hope of the Admiralty which assured him that his defence of Rosas had been "highly applauded by the Board" but that he was now required, on account of his "local knowledge and services", for "an undertaking of great moment" against Rochefort.[7] During his interviews at the Admiralty, Cochrane "spoke with greater confidence of the success of the attempt than those who wrote from that quarter" and displayed "talent and knowledge...in meeting the objections started by naval men."[8] An orthodox frontal assault against Allemand's fleet was out of the question, but Cochrane argued that an attack with fireships, if accompanied by explosion vessels, would burn or wreck the French force. But he had no wish for a personal share in the assignment. The employment of an outside and junior officer would, he realized, reflect upon the abilities of the captains already at the Basque Roads, and unnecessary animosities would be created. Under pressure, however, Cochrane relented. "If your health will admit of your undertaking the important service referred to in your letter," wrote Mulgrave to the captain, "I can sincerely assure you that I am fully persuaded that I cannot so well commit it to any other hands." He ordered Cochrane to Plymouth, where he would receive letters to Admiral Gambier "directing him to employ your Lordship on the service which we have settled against the Rochefort fleet."[9]

If Cochrane was reluctant to undertake an attack upon the ships in the Aix Roads, he must have been aware that the service was more important than any he had yet performed, and that a success would bring considerable rewards. Nor were his expectations to be entirely dispelled. The battle in the Aix Roads spread Cochrane's fame across Europe, and accorded him at home acclaim as "a second Nelson" and unprecedented honours from a grateful government.[10] At the same time, the action was a disappointment to

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6. Cochrane, Court Martial, 58; Keats to Admiralty, Apr. 23, 1807, ibid, 18-19.
7. Hope to Cochrane, Mar. 21, 1809, DP 233/82/84.
8. Mulgrave, P.D., Feb. 8, 1810, XV, 349.
9. Mulgrave to Cochrane, Mar. 25, 1809, DP 233/65/7; Cochrane, Case Submitted to the Consideration of the Navy and the Public (1817), 4.
10. B. L. H. Horn, ed., Letters of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, 1799-1812 (1966), 249.

the captain. True to Nelson's spirit, he believed that nothing less than the annihilation of an enemy force represented an acceptable outcome of battle, and that more of the French ships would have been destroyed if the British fleet had acted with more vigour. The affair precipitated a welter of accusation and three court martials, one French and two British, and it produced the most severe exchanges between Cochrane and his superiors to date.

Whatever frustrations the battle caused its architect, it was not unimportant. The last of the Royal Navy's major victories over enemy battlefleets during the French wars, it was won at a trivial cost in extremely difficult circumstances. Since the outbreak of war in 1804, the Navy had used its supremacy largely to impose a rigorous blockade upon hostile ports and to contain, wherever possible, the military activities of the enemy ashore. Fleet actions at sea were uncommon, since the French squadrons were generally bottled in their havens, and attempts to destroy them within these anchorages, where they enjoyed the protection of difficult approaches beneath fortifications, were rarer still. The Dutch fleet had been seized in an expedition to the Helder in 1799, and the Danes had twice lost their ships at Copenhagen, in 1801 and 1807, but the French fleet had not, in these wars, hitherto endured the humiliation of a defeat in any of its principal anchorages.[11]

Mulgrave's determination to attack the Rochefort fleet was, therefore, bold. It was consistent, however, with the record of Portland's government, which had repeatedly been willing to employ its navy for an aggressive offensive. It had seized the Danish fleet and removed the Portuguese fleet and court to Rio de Janeiro before the French entered Lisbon; it sent an army to the Peninsula in 1808, Cochrane to the Basque Roads in 1809 and an expedition to Walcheren the same year. The results of the action in the Aix Roads justified the optimism of the administration. The French fleet, ensconced in a formidable defensive position, was defeated, crippled and partially destroyed. One participant with justice remarked, "I cannot but consider it as an even greater than that of a more extensive victory at sea in the present moment, because victory in such a case is almost a certainty. The destruction, however, of the ships in Basque Roads is a victory of a new class; it proves that he (Bona-

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11. The number of successful attacks upon fleets in well defended harbours is small. W. L. Rodgers, "A Study of Attacks Upon Fortified Harbours", U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings (XXX, 1904), 533-566, compares the victory at the Aix Roads with similar engagements.

parte) is nowhere safe and points out a mode of warfare which defies the utmost caution he can adopt."[12]

II

In planning the attack the Admiralty had envisaged the use of fire ships. They arranged for 18 such vessels to be prepared, with 5 bomb vessels and a rocket ship. William Congreve, the inventor of the rocket system, and a detachment of marine artillery skilled in the use of rockets were also summoned for service. The instructions furnished Gambier reflected not only the perils normally encountered in fireship commands, but also the prevalent notion that such operations were not an acceptable method of warfare. Captives taken from fireships were often denied the privileges accorded other prisoners of war. In view of this, Gambier was ordered to man his fireships only with volunteers, commanded by officers below the rank of post captain. The admiral himself expressed his dislike of such tactics in his despatch of March 11. Independently, he suggested the use of fireships to the Admiralty, but remarked that it was "a horrible mode of warfare, and the attempt very hazardous, if not desperate..."[13]

Upon receipt of instructions requiring him to prepare an attack upon the enemy fleet, Gambier wrote two further letters to his superiors, in one of which he informed them that "the most distant ships of their (the French) two lines are within point-blank shot of the works upon the Isle of Aix; such ships, therefore, as might attack the enemy, would be exposed to be raked by the hot shot &c. from the island, and should the ships be disabled in their masts, they must remain within the range of the enemy's fire until they are destroyed, there not being sufficient depth of water to allow them to move to the southward out of distance... With respect to the attempt that may be made to destroy the enemy's ships with shells &c. I am not competent to give an opinion, until it is ascertained whether the bombs can be placed within the reach of their mortars to the enemy's ships, without being exposed to the fire from the Isle of Aix."[14]

This despatch is significant, for it reveals serious weaknesses in Gambier as titular leader of the proposed assault. First, it demonstrates that the admiral, before he had fired a shot, was magnifying the obstacles

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12. "Eye-Witness" to the editor, May 4, 1809, N.C. (1809), XXI, 395-397.
13. Gambier to Mulgrave, Mar. 11, 1809, Court Martial, 114-115; Pole to Gambier, Mar. 19, 1809, ibid, 115-117; Adm. to Bd. of Ordnance, Mar. 14, 1809, Adm. 2/655, p. 52; Richardson, op. cit., 242; Jack Nastyface, Nautical Economy...(1836), 80.
14. Gambier to Pole, Mar. 26, 1809 (two letters), Court Martial, 3-4.

to success; he dwelt neither upon the profits which might accompany a victory, nor even upon the problems of his adversaries, but outlined, instead, the consequences of misfortune for the British. 'More important still, his letter demonstrated severely deficient intelligence of the state of the French defences. He inflated the efficacy of the French batteries, contracted the distance over which they would be compelled to operate, and he was entirely ignorant of the existence of the Maumusson Passage, an anchorage to the south of the guns and beyond their range. Charged with the supervision of a difficult enterprise, Gambier ought carefully to have assessed the enemy position, yet one of his admirals, Harvey, stated that as late as April 3 no attempts had been made either to sound the approach channel or to determine if the French had placed a boom across it. The remark ill fits Gambier's own testimony that he had reconnoitred with his flag captains aboard the Unicorn on March 27, and the admiral's hazy perceptions of the enemy defences suggest at best a most perfunctory examination. Nor would he listen when Lord Cochrane, who spent April 3 and April 5 inspecting the approaches, endeavoured to revise his superior's opinions.[15]

Since the admiral's misconceptions were ultimately of great importance, they warrant elaboration. Throughout the entire operation at the Aix Roads Gambier lived in awe of the enemy batteries upon the Ile d'Aix. Unfortunately, the exact number of guns mounted on the island cannot be determined, but conceivably it was exaggerated at the subsequent court martial to shore up Gambier's defence. Captain Bligh, for example, estimated that about 50 guns covered the anchorage, while Godfrey testified that some 40 commanded the entrance to the Charente in the south and about 30 the anchorage. On the other hand, John Spurling, master of the Imperieuse, believed that there were only 20 to 24 cannon on the island; Cochrane counted 13 cannon with some additional mortars; Captain Rodd saw 13 guns; and Captain Broughton stated that the main battery consisted of 14 to 20 guns, with 6 or 9 situated below them, and that some mortars also existed. The disagreement may not be as extensive as these reports superficially indicate, for Broughton further stated that he observed guns other than those he had enumerated, but that they covered neither the anchorage nor the entrance to it from the Basque Roads.[16]

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15. Harvey Court Martial Minutes, N.C. (1809), XXI, 423; Gambier, Court Martial, 120.
16. Bligh, Court Martial, 154; Godfrey, ibid, 174; Broughton, ibid, 218-219; Cochrane, ibid, 31; Spurling, ibid, 84; Rodd, ibid, 90.

Rather more unanimity exists upon the state of the batteries. Broughton, for example, testified that they were visibly in a poor condition. On April 1 he had inspected the fortifications and found them in "a very different state" from that in which he had observed them some years before. "I thought from this observation," he said, "that the fortifications of the island at least in that part, were not so strong as we supposed," and he reported his opinion to Lord Gambier. One of the lieutenants aboard Broughton's ship, the Illustrious, partially confirmed the captain's evidence years afterwards when he recalled that "the Batteries appeared to the eye in a bad state. I could see not more than nine guns but it was without a spy glass."[17]

Lord Cochrane, who had frequently scouted those batteries in 1806, examined them again on April 3 and April 5, 1809, and the log of the Imperieuse records for both days that they were in a ruinous condition. After the first reconnaissance, the captain wrote to Mulgrave that he had been "very close to the Isle d'Aix" and reported, "I find that the western sea wall has been pulled down to build a better. At present the fort is quite open and may be taken as soon as the French fleet is driven on shore or burnt which will be done as soon as the fire ships arrive...The batteries on Oleron are all open except two forts of no importance." He recommended that a military force be sent to seize the islands to shut off the French coastal trade and divert to the Rochefort area enemy soldiers who might otherwise find employment elsewhere.[18] Captains Neale, Rodd and Broughton later confirmed at the court martial that the west end of the batteries, facing the Boyart shoal, was evidently in the process of being removed or remounted, and, testifying before the court, Cochrane returned to the subject of his reconnaissance, explaining that

> "in reconnoitring the fleet the first day, when so near as to induce the enemy to open a fire from almost his whole line, I reported to the commander in chief the ruinous state of the Isle d'Aix, it having the inner fortifications completely blown up and destroyed, which I not only ascertained from the deck with perfect precision as to the side towards us, but also as to the opposite side, from one of the tops of the ship. There were only thirteen guns mounted...on that side, on which I had formerly seen, to the best of my recollection, about fifty. In making these observations to his Lordship, for his information, he stated his perfect reliance upon the opinion of the pilots, and assured me that the Isle d'Aix was exceedingly strong, and that (I think) it had three tier of guns mounted towards the shipping. I then observed to

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17. Broughton, Court Martial, 218-219; Capt. J. G. Gordon to 11th Earl of Dundonald, Apr. 12, 1861, DP 233/74/3-4.
18. Cochrane to Mulgrave, Apr. 3, 1809, DP 233/65/7.

his Lordship that the circumstances I had related fell within my own observation, which did not alter his Lordship's opinion."[19]

Better evidence of the batteries which Gambier so feared is the record of their performance during April 11-14, the four days of the British attack. At this time Gambier's officers learned that the French guns were both slow to fire and inaccurate.[20] Apart from fire-ships, some 20 to 30 British vessels passed and repassed the batteries, which were continually at work. Yet the total British casualties for the action amounted to a scant 10 killed, 1 captured and 37 wounded, and at least 4 of the fatalities owed nothing to the enemy guns. The only appreciable loss to the batteries was suffered by the Revenge, which sustained damage to bowsprit, rigging, sails, five quarter deck planks, hull and quarter deck beam, and casualties of 3 killed and 14 wounded. The Imperieuse, which reported comparable losses of 3 killed and 11 wounded, seems to have suffered at least one fatality because of the French guns on the Ile d'Aix, but the Valiant, which, with the Revenge, drew most of the enemy fire on April 12, sustained not a single casualty. Such results, after so prolonged and intensive a bombardment, reflect the grossest incompetence.[21]

Several participants commented upon the inefficiency of the Ile d'Aix batteries. William Robinson recalled that "not one in fifty" shots directed at the Revenge, upon which he served, was on target, while Richardson, a gunner of the Caesar, reported, "In passing the Aix batteries, where our French pilots had said there were as many guns as days in the year, we could not find above thirteen guns that could be directed against us in passing; and these we thought so little of that we did not return their fire, although they fired pretty smartly at us too with shot and shells which made the water splash against the ship's side; yet (thank God) they never hit, though the passage here is only about a mile wide." Lieutenant Gordon commanded a launch which was sent into the Roads to communicate with the Imperieuse. He recollected that when he was passing the enemy batteries "a few harmless shots were fired at us from the forts on Isle of Aix. The Valiant was aground at that time and the said forts fired several shot at her, but only showed us what bad marksmen the French were."[22]

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19. Cochrane, Court Martial, 58-59; Neale, ibid, 186; Rodd, ibid, 89-90; Broughton, ibid, 218-219.
20. Stopford, Court Martial, 82.
21. Kerr, Court Martial, 209, 226; Stopford, ibid, 182; Bligh, ibid, 156; Gambier to Pole, Apr. 14, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 248; Richardson, statement of vessels fitted out by the Caesar, 1809, ibid, f. 373; Marryat, Frank Mildmay (1888), 100.
22. Jack Nastyface (Wm. Robinson), op. cit., 82-83; Richardson, op. cit.,

The French were well aware of the state of their batteries on Ile d'Aix. "Its garrison, it is true," wrote an officer of the flagship, Ocean, "is 2000 men strong, but they are all conscripts who have never seen any firing, and the island is strong only in that part which protects the fleet on the N.E. side, or towards the coast of the Bay of Rochelle. There are but a few guns placed at a distance from each other and in bad condition." During the action they "afforded us no protection when the enemy forced his passage through the road with the greatest ease."[23]

Gambier was also mistaken when, in his despatch of March 26, he described "the most distant ships of their two lines" as "within point blank shot of the works upon the Isle of Aix" and the vessels in each line as "not further apart than their own length" in a "confined" space. In fact, as the French evidence makes clear, the two lines were at least 220 yards apart, and the ships in each line were separated from each other by a minimum of 160 yards. Given the position in which the fleet was moored - the Calcutta at the head of one of the lines was some 600 yards from the fort on the Ile d'Aix - it would seem that the French ships extended a mile south of the batteries, to extreme gun range. The advanced squadron of French frigates, moored 100 yards behind the boom, were probably situated more than 300 yards west of the nearest line of battleships. Gambier's use of the phrase "point blank" range was, therefore, a flagrant misuse of language, and exaggerated the danger of the batteries.[24]

A more important error in the admiral's despatch is the statement that his ships would not find "sufficient depth of water to allow them to move to the southward out of distance" of the batteries if they mounted an attack. This surprising remark betrays his total ignorance of the Maumusson Passage, which lay inside the Aix Roads between Ile d'Oleron and the Palles shoal, south of the Ile d'Aix guns and well beyond their range. Gambier, Edward Fairfax (the master of the fleet) and Captains

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248; Gordon to the 11th Earl of Dundonald, Apr. 12, 1861, DP 233/74/3-4.

23. French officer, Apr. 10, May 26, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 313-321, 325-329.
24. French officer, Mar. 26, Apr. 10, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 309-321; "Rapport du contre-amiral L'hermitte", 1809, Moniteur, 22-25; Chevalier, op. cit., 323-324. On April 10 Gambier reported that the enemy fleet had for the previous two days adopted a more open formation, presumably as a precaution against strong winds. Gambier to Pole, Apr. 10, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 238.

Kerr and Rodd all later admitted their ignorance of the anchorage before the attack, but both Stopford and Captain Wolfe testified that they had heard some of their pilots speak of it. Cochrane possessed a copy of the French chart of the Aix Roads, the "Neptune Francoise", which showed the passage, but he made no effort to inform his admiral of the anchorage, supposing that Gambier had access to the same intelligence as himself.[25]

25. Gambier, Court Martial, 134; Fairfax, ibid, 142; Kerr, ibid, 167; Rodd, ibid, 87-88; Stopford, ibid, 72-73; Wolfe, ibid, 85; Cochrane, ibid, 58-59. A controversy which subsequently developed over the charts of the Aix Roads demands explanation here. Cochrane and Broughton had both long owned copies of the published French chart of the anchorage, the "Neptune Francoise", and valued its accuracy. Fairfax, however, reported it deficient, and Stokes, master of the Caledonia, Gambier's flagship, believed that it often gave more water than existed (Cochrane, ibid, 57-58; Broughton, ibid, 221-222; Fairfax, ibid, 140; Stokes, ibid, 149; Raven, ibid, 170). This document was not in evidence at Gambier's court martial. The Admiralty called upon Gambier to supply such charts as were used aboard his flagship, and any others he felt necessary (digest, Adm. 12/138.28.6). Two charts were employed, one prepared by Fairfax and the other by Stokes. Stokes stated that his map depended upon the "Neptune Francoise" chart for its outlines, which, in many material respects, it did not, and a French chart in his possession which had been found aboard the Armide in 1806. Some of the details, he testified, were also based upon soundings he had made himself south of the Palles shoal after the attack, but he admitted that he had not then ascertained "the distance between the sands" (Stokes, Court Martial, 23-24, 150; Stokes affidavit, Nov. 13, 1817, copy in DP 233/78/35). Both the Fairfax and Stokes charts were convenient for Gambier, since they supported his defence. Both, for example, showed a more confined anchorage in the Aix Roads than did the "Neptune Francoise" chart, and they narrowed the approach channel between the Ile d'Aix and the Boyart Shoal. The latter was assigned a width of between 2 and 3 miles on the French map, but Stokes and Fairfax reduced the distance to a little over a mile. Stopford estimated the channel to be 1½ miles wide (Stopford, Court Martial, 74). It is possible that Stokes accidentally minimized distances on his chart. The Admiralty later discovered that he had applied to the Armide map, upon which his own was based, a conversion scale of 1000 French toises to a nautical mile, instead of the correct equivalent of 951 toises. The Armide map itself was copied by the Admiralty in 1811, and submitted seven years later as evidence in the prize court proceedings relating to the Aix Roads battle (Stokes affidavit, Nov. 13, 1817, DP 233/78/35; Barrow to Cochrane, May 6, 1818, ibid; Cochrane to Admiralty, July 2, 1817, DP 233/65/7a; Cochrane to Barrow, May 10, 1818, ibid; Report of Capt. Hurd, May 21, 1818, ibid; Barrow to Cochrane, May 23, 1818, 2 letters, ibid). Cochrane distrusted both Fairfax and Stokes, and suspected that their charts had been fabricated to enhance the difficulties of the Aix Roads anchorage and to provide substance to Gambier's defence. Both the "Neptune Francoise" and Stokes charts were published in Cochrane's Notes on the Minutes of a Court Martial...On the Trial of the Rt. Hon. James, Lord Gambier (1810), itself a detailed review of the court martial evidence. Fairfax's chart was published in N.C. (1809), XXII, f.p. 48. Copies of all three are in DP RHP 12183-12185.

The further question, upon which there was subsequent disagreement, concerned the accessibility of the Maumusson Passage to sail of the line at all states of the tide. Stokes and Fairfax, in their charts prepared for Gambier's defence, showed a bar across its entrance with only 12 to 20 feet over it at dead ebb. Consequently, Stokes concluded that the bar was not safely navigable to ships of the line until a condition of two-thirds flood tide had been reached, at about twelve noon to one o' clock. Although estimates placed the rise of the tide as between 15 and 21 feet, a calculation made upon the basis of an 18 foot tide would place some 25 feet of water over the shallowest parts of the bar at two-thirds flood, sufficient to permit ships of the line, which, burdened, drew a depth in excess of 22 feet, to pass over it. However, as Captain Seymour pointed out in his evidence, the Revenge did navigate the passage at half flood on April 13, and there is reason to doubt the very existence of Stokes' bar. The "Neptune Francoise" chart does not show a bar across the Maumusson Passage, and Broughton, who diligently sounded the anchorage soon after the British attack, could not find one, a point partially supported by John Spurling, master of the Imperieuse.[26]

The flaws in Gambier's thinking have been developed at length because they were ultimately of importance to the success of the attack upon the Rochefort fleet. Unable to assess the batteries at their worth, and unaware of the existence of an anchorage within the Aix Roads, secure from the French guns, Gambier was overwhelmed by the apparent strength of the enemy position and incapable of determining its weaknesses. He was a cautious, pedestrian commander, lacking both the ability to calculate risks and the willingness to take them, and his partnership with Cochrane, who was to plan and lead the attack upon the French fleet, was pregnant with acrimony.

Cochrane had no knowledge of Gambier's deficiencies when he joined the fleet off the Basque Roads on April 3, but his misgivings about the propriety of his own employment were almost immediately vindicated. The admiral received him courteously, and offered him every assistance in the planning of the attack, calling for volunteers to man the fireships. His instructions forbade him to use officers above the rank of commander in this service, and Rear Admiral Eliab Harvey, a veteran of Trafalgar and

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26. The flood tide began after 8.00 a.m. and flowed for about seven hours. Stokes, Court Martial, 148-150, 152; Seymour, ibid, 193; Spurling, ibid, 82-83; Broughton, ibid, 220, 223; Malcolm, ibid, 210, 215; Fairfax, ibid, 141, 143; Cochrane, ibid, 46; Stopford, ibid, 73; Wolfe, ibid, 86; Raven, ibid, 170; Newcombe, ibid, 198; Gordon to the 11th Earl of Dundonald, Apr. 12, 1861, DP 233/74/3-4.

Gambier's second in command, construed the restriction as an attempt by the Admiralty, in collusion with Gambier, to deny him further opportunities for distinction. Harvey treated his admiral unfairly, and was openly critical of his management of the fleet, but he seems to have been irritated by the lethargy of Gambier's command as well as by the employment of a junior captain from outside the fleet to supervise the attack. Tempers flared, and Gambier requested a court-martial upon Harvey, with the result that the Rear Admiral left the fleet. Sadly, if inevitably, he was tried aboard the Gladiator, at Portsmouth on May 22-23, with Cochrane, Neale and Bedford present as witnesses to his indiscretions, and dismissed from the service. In 1810 he was reinstated, on account of his outstanding record, but Admiral Harvey was never again employed at sea.[27]

After reconnoitring the enemy position, Cochrane asked that "at least two heavy vessels be fitted as fireships", and suggested that the Mediator and Indefatigable frigates would be adequate to the purpose. Undoubtedly, he felt that they would be necessary to clear away any boom that might bar the passage of smaller craft, a conclusion supported by the choice of the Mediator, the only frigate Gambier would spare, to lead the fire-ships into battle.[28] The latter, ordered by the Admiralty on March 14, arrived at the Basque Roads, accompanied by the Beagle and Congreve and his rockets on the Cleveland, on April 10. To supplement them, Gambier ordered the preparation of a further seven fireships from surplus vessels already with the fleet, giving Cochrane 20 in all, including the Mediator.[29]

Cochrane anticipated that the boom might not be the only obstruction to the attack, for there was a danger that the French might attempt to use small boats to tow or push away the fireships before they reached their targets. More unorthodox weaponry was devised to meet this threat, explosion vessels which would precede the fireships in the assault. The detonations, Cochrane reasoned, would deter the enemy from approaching any of the advancing vessels for fear that they, too, would explode, and the fireships would be permitted to proceed unmolested. Apparently four explosion craft were prepared under Cochrane's directions, each packed with an enormous quantity of gunpowder, shells and grenades, but only two

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27. Gambier to Pole, Apr. 4, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 221; court martial minutes, N.C. (1809), XXI, 421-428; N.C. (1809), XXI, 428; DNB, IX, 82-83.
28. Cochrane to Gambier, Apr. 4, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 224; Marryat, Frank Mildmay (1888), 98; Gambier to Pole, Apr. 14, May 10, 1809, Court Martial, 4-11, the admiral's two despatches on the battle which provide much of the material in the following paragraphs.
29. Twelve of a proposed 18 fireships were sent from England. Gambier to Pole, Apr. 7, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 235; Gambier to Pole, Apr. 10, 11,

of them, those commanded by Cochrane and Lieutenant Johnson of the Imperieuse, proved to be of service. Another, a reserve to be piloted by Lieutenant C. A. Baumgardt of the Gibraltar, was swept from the stern of the Imperieuse by a fireship and apparently exploded harmlessly upon the Ile d'Aix, and a fourth, prepared by the men of the Caesar and commanded by their lieutenant, R. P. Davies, was upset and does not seem to have been fired. Some participants referred to other explosion ships. One was Captain Richardson of the Caesar, who reported that the fireship Thomas was twice overtaken by vessels which exploded and had a man killed by one of them. Probably the allusions were to fireships, which, laden with grenades and rockets, had accidently blown up.[30]

On April 10 Cochrane's preparations were complete, and his instructions were issued by Lord Gambier to the fleet. The Lyra and the Redpole were to lie with lights near the Boyart shoal and the Ile d'Aix respectively, marking the channel into the Aix Roads. While a diversion was made by some of the smaller vessels and frigates against the Ile d'Aix, the small complements of the explosion and fire ships were to steer their craft into the roads, ignite the fuses at an appropriate distance from the French fleet, and then take to their rowing boats to pull back to the Imperieuse, which would be moored in an advanced position with other vessels astern. The evening appointed for the undertaking, April 11, seemed designed for the event. Clouds obscured the sky and the night was extremely dark, while the wind drove powerfully into the Aix Roads with the flood tide. Unable to maintain their station at the boom because of the strong gales, the enemy guardboats withdrew. But, if the weather favoured the attack, carrying the fireships forward quickly, it multiplied the dangers to the volunteer crews. Once they had piloted their hazardous charges beneath the red hot shot of the batteries and released them, they would have a hard pull back to safety against the wind, the tide and the other oncoming fireships. Putting aside these considerations, Cochrane and Lieutenant Johnson, a little after 8.00 p.m., set sail in their explosion ships, standing in the darkness towards the French ships.[31]

III

Cochrane's explosion ship, manned, in addition to the captain, by his

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1809, Adm. 1/141, ff. 238, 241; Adm. to Bd. of Ordnance, Mar. 14, 1809, Adm. 2/655, p. 52; Beagle log-book, Adm. 51/1932.

30. Cochrane to Gambier, May 10, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 358; Richardson, statement on fitting out of fireships, 1809, ibid, f. 373; Congreve to Gambier, Apr. 13, 1809, ibid, f. 250; letter, Apr. 14, 1809, The Times, Apr. 23, 1809; Richardson, op. cit., 243-245; "Lord Cochrane's Victory", The Times, Apr. 27, 1809; P.D., Jan. 29, 1810, XV, 240; Cochrane, Notes on the Minutes..., op. cit., 60.
31. Weather conditions are reported in Gambier's despatches and many of the

brother, Basil, Lieutenant Bissell and a boat's crew, was brought close to the boom across the channel before Cochrane lit the fuse and the crew fled in a gig. The tide swept the ship forward, but the fuse, which it was anticipated would last for twenty minutes, burned quickly in the high wind, and the explosion occurred about six minutes after ignition with a blast that brought inhabitants in Rochefort from their houses in panic. Johnson's explosion vessel was abandoned with the fuse burning at or near the boom, but the train was so quickly exhausted that the five man crew of the gig, including Marryat , were only some 200 yards away when the ship blew up. They were showered with debris but escaped unhurt.

The explosions were the first intimation to most of the French that they were under attack. Only the frigate Indienne, moored just inside the boom, seems to have been alerted before the first detonation. According to her captain, an object (Cochrane's explosion ship) was observed floating "at" the barrier about 9.30. Almost immediately it exploded violently, and ten minutes later a second explosion, greater than the first, occurred at the boom, near the frigate's bowsprit, and splattered the French ship with wreckage.[32]

Pulling back to the Imperieuse, Cochrane and Johnson saw advancing, amidst a heavy fire from the French ships and batteries, the array of fireships, gallantly led by Captain Wooldridge in the Mediator. As they were fired they blazed magnificently against the black night. "From the ships in Basque Roads," wrote an officer of the Valiant, "they appeared to form a chain of ignited pyramids, stretching from the Isle D'Aix to the Boyart Shoal; while Congreve's rockets flying through the air in various directions, and like comets, dragging a fiery train behind, formed a scene

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log-books, for example Valiant log, Adm. 51/2940, and Caesar log, Adm. 51/1891. Allemand to Minister of Marine, Apr. 12, 1809, The Times, May 8, 1809; French officer, Apr. 10, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 313-321.

32. The French had observed suspicious movements in the British fleet earlier in the evening, and some preparations for battle were being made when the explosions served notice of the attack. The first explosion was timed in the logs of the British ships variously between 8.00 and 9.50 (Log-books of the Imperieuse, Adm. 51/2462; Caledonia, Adm. 51/1981; Caesar, Adm. 51/1891; Theseus, Adm. 51/1887; Donegal, Adm. 51/1880; Illustrious, Adm. 51/1915; Pallas, Adm. 51/2641; Unicorn, Adm. 51/1871). Reports from four French vessels give different times between 8.30 and 9.30 (Testimony of Capt. La Ronciere, Apr. 14, 1809, Moniteur, 1-2; report of Capt. Lacaille, 1809, ibid, 4-5; testimony of officers of the Calcutta, 1809, ibid, 2; report of Capt. Proteau, Apr. 17, 1809, ibid, 2-4). Edward Fairfax (Court Martial, 177-178) contended that Cochrane's explosion ship blew up a mile from the French ships and only a quarter of a mile from the British Lyra. The speed at which the fuses burned certainly produced premature explosions, but both Cochrane and Marryat were positive that their vessels had been released close to the boom, and French testimony bears them out. Evidently, the explosion ships were brought up by the

at once the most grand and terrific that can well be imagined."[33]

Despite the spectacle, and the competent handling of the Mediator, which cleared away the boom before Wooldridge's party fled, losing 1 man killed and 4 wounded, the fireship attack was not executed satisfactorily. Certainly the strong tide and wind, the darkness and the fuses, many of which flashed almost instantly instead of burning for 15 minutes, exacerbated the difficulties of a perilous task, but there was also a display of incompetence which was subsequently denied. Aboard the British flagship, the "several" fireships which were observed drifting about the Ile d'Aix probably led Gambier to report that "owing to the darkness of the night, several mistook their course and failed."[34] Cochrane, whose ship was nearest to the enemy fleet, was less charitable. The log of the Imperieuse noted the "fireships coming down in a very irregular manner, three of them have been lighted at least ½ mile from this ship to windward..." One grounded upon the Ile d'Oleron while others sailed harmlessly past the French ships at a great distance. By midnight, most of the boats from those fireships Cochrane knew to have been released beyond the Imperieuse had returned, and an assessment of the total performance was possible. Later, the captain reported that seven fireships had been mishandled, one of which was kindled between Gambier's fleet and the advanced frigates before running ashore upon the Ile d'Oleron. This must have been one of two fireships which swept down upon the Aetna and the Indefatigable as they were trying to occupy the Ile d'Aix batteries. According to the log of the latter, a fireship was ignited before it reached the advanced frigates, and forced the Indefatigable to cut her cable and lose an anchor. Another fireship almost drifted upon the Redpole, and W. Bevians, who released his fireship at the most westerly of the enemy vessels, was amazed to observe some fireships as far as a mile to the west of his own position.[35]

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boom, which must have been weakened when they blew up (Cochrane, Notes on the Minutes..., op. cit., 60; Cochrane to O'Byrne, May 30, 1846, Add. MSS. 36652, ff. 42-43; Marryat, Frank Mildmay (1888), 97-101; French officer, Apr. 10, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 313-321; Allemand to Minister of Marine, Apr. 12, 1809, The Times, May 8, 1809; report of Capt. Proteau, Apr. 17, 1809, Moniteur, 2-4; interrogation of Proteau, ibid, 19-20; testimony of officers of the Calcutta, 1809, ibid, 2). Fairfax to editor, N.C. (1809), XXII, 48-49; Cochrane to Haddington, May 24, 1842, DP 233/73/2.

33. J.J., "Destruction of the French Fleet in Basque Roads," N.C. (1809), XXI, 403-407, p. 403.
34. Caledonia log-book, Adm. 51/1981; Gambier to Pole, Apr. 14, 1809, Court Martial, 4-7.
35. Imperieuse log, Adm. 51/2462; Indefatigable log, Adm. 51/2001; Aetna log, Adm. 51/1887; Redpole log, Adm. 51/1917; Gambier to Pole, Apr. 24, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 288; Cochrane to Gambier, May 10, 1809, ibid, f.

Fortunately, enough of the fireships found their mark, and the operation was completed with little loss. Apart from Wooldridge's party, the complement of a fireship commanded by Lieutenant Henry Jones suffered the greatest attrition. As the vessel was running towards the enemy, a seaman was killed on board by the explosion of a nearby brig. Nevertheless, Jones released his fireship two or three cables' length from the French fleet, and the crew took to the boats, one commanded by Lieutenant W. Flintoft and the other by Jones himself. In the gruelling pull back, Flintoft, exhausted, fell into the water and drowned, and another seaman in the same boat also collapsed, to be washed over the side and lost. The survivors reached the Lyra, but Jones' boat was stoved against her, and the swell carried it away. Inside remained a wounded man, "Yankee" Jack Ellis, who fell into the hands of the French.[36]

In the meantime, pandemonium reigned in the Aix Roads as the panic-stricken French sought to cut their ships' cables and escape the blazing assailants. All of Allemand's vessels succeeded in avoiding the fireships, but about 70 men were lost and the ships collided or were driven helplessly onto banks and shoals. The confusion is apparent in a letter written by an officer of the French flagship, Ocean:

> "At 10 we grounded, and immediately after a fireship in the light of her combustion grappled us athwart our stern; for ten minutes that she remained in this situation we employed every means in our power to prevent the fire from catching our ship; our fire engines and pumps played and wetted the poop enough to prevent its catching fire; with spars we hove off the fire-ship, with axes we cut the chains of her grapplings lashed to the ends and middle of her yard, 'les chevaux de frise' on her sides held her firmly to ours. In this deplorable situation we thought we must have been burnt, as the flames from the

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358; W. Bevians to Gambier, Apr. 13, 1809, ibid, f. 408; Richardson, statement on vessels fitted out by Caesar, ibid, f. 373; Hockings to Carpenter, May 27, 1809, ibid, f. 386; Bligh to Gambier, May 28, 1809, ibid, f. 396; Stopford, Court Martial, 81; Gambier, ibid, 124; Wolfe, ibid, 206; Brenton, op. cit., II, 280. Cochrane vouched for the conduct of 9 fireship commanders: Wooldridge, Newcombe, Joyce, W. West, C. Nixon, R. Hockings, T. G. Muston, T. Alexander and Smith. In addition it seems that Bevians, Jones, J. Cookersley, J. C. Carpenter and T. Percival directed their fireships well. Of the remaining officers who were in charge of fireships, Commanders A. Abdy and P. B. Greene and Lieutenants J. De Kippe, T. Goldwin, W. Kelly, H. Montresor and H. J. Rowlinson, only De Kippe admitted failure under examination. An accident with his attendant boats left his fireship undermanned, and he was unable to prevent her from being driven by the wind and tide to the westward (De Kippe, Apr. 23, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 288; list of fireship commanders, ibid, f. 464).

36. Richardson, statement on vessels fitted out by the Caesar, Adm. 1/141, f. 373; Richardson, op. cit., 250-251.

fire-vessel covered all our poop. Two of our line-of-battle ships, the Tonnerre and Patriote, at this time fell on board of us; the first broke our bowsprit and destroyed our main chains, wales, &c. Providence offered us assistance on this occasion. At the moment when the fire-ship was athwart our stern, and began to draw forward along the star-board side, the Tonnerre separated herself from us, and unless this had happened the fire-ship would have fallen into the angle formed by two ships and would infallibly have burnt them. The fire-ship having got so far forward as to be under our bowsprit, we held it there some time to afford the two ships above mentioned, which were ahead of us, time to get far enough away to avoid being boarded by this fire vessel. While this vessel was on board of us we let the cocks run in order to wet the powder, but they were 'foibles' so that we could not do that; we lost about 50 men by this circumstance, who fell into the sea and were lost: our boats saved a great number. Some time after, having so fortunately escaped being burnt, another fire-ship was making towards our starboard quarters. We fired our broadside and cut away her main-mast, which occasioned her wearing, and they on that account passed by us close alongside. All the rest of the night we were surrounded by vessels on fire...In general, the whole of the fleet was very lucky on this dreadful night."37

Daylight revealed the French ships strewn about the anchorage, all but two of them aground and most heeling over helplessly. During the subsequent phase of the action, four of the ships beached upon the Palles shoal, southeast of the Ile d'Aix, were destroyed, but the Ocean, Regulus and Jemmappes refloated and escaped before the British attacked. Cochrane, whose ship was nearer to the French than any other in the British fleet, believed that, had Gambier acted more promptly, these three ships, as well as the Foudroyant and Cassard, which, while afloat, remained for some time trapped by the low tide, would have been destroyed. In retrospective justification, however, Gambier and his apologists attempted to counter criticism by asserting that an earlier attack would have had no such result, because the Ocean, Regulus and Jemmappes were "from their first being on shore totally out of reach of the guns of any ships of the fleet that might have been sent in."[38] The integrity of Gambier's defence upon this point is difficult to accept, since the French evidence clearly confirms Cochrane's opinion. The Ocean, Regulus and Jemmappes were all within reach of the British, and near to the Calcutta, Aquilon and Varsovie, which were destroyed.

At dawn on April 12 the flagship, Ocean, lay about 800 yards E.S.E. of the anchorage, upon the mud dividing the channel leading to the Charente from the north-west of the Palles shoal. South of her a few hundred yards the Aquilon and the Varsovie rested upon a hard bottom, while to the south-

37. French officer, Apr. 10, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 313-321.
38. Gambier, Court Martial, 137; Bligh, ibid, 153; Cochrane, ibid, 63.

west, close together, were stranded the Calcutta, Regulus and Jemmappes. Eastwards, on the Palles rocks north-west of the Ile Madame, the Tonnerre was beached, and nearby, but closer to the entrance of the Charente and safety, the Tourville, Patriote and Pallas were aground. The Indienne had run upon the mud between the island of Enette and Fort Aiguille, about one and a half miles east of the Ocean, while the Elbe and Hortense were ashore upon the Fontenelles. Only two ships remained afloat, the Cassard and Foudroyant sail of the line, anchored south of the Ile d'Aix.[39]

Cochrane's frigate was some three miles in advance of Gambier's fleet at daylight on the 12th, and about an equal distance from the French. Observing the helpless condition of the enemy ships, he anticipated that Gambier would send in a force to engage them before the flood tide enabled the French to warp off into deep water and run for the Charente. Between

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39. French officer, Apr. 10, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 313-321; report of Capt. Proteau, Apr. 17, 1809, Moniteur, 2-4; Capt. Lucas, evidence, ibid, 5; J. J. Lambert, evidence, ibid, 6; J. B. Gemon, evidence, ibid, 6-7; N. Clouet, evidence, ibid, 7; L. C. Crafton, evidence, ibid, 8; R. Derante, evidence, ibid, 10; C. F. V. Lesage, evidence, ibid, 15; Chevalier, op. cit., 331. The Ocean, Aquilon, Varsovie, Calcutta, Regulus and Jemmappes, as well as the ships afloat, Cassard and Foudroyant, would have been within the range of British ships anchored in the Aix Roads. Captain Lucas, for example, describes the Calcutta, which was destroyed, as "at the side of the Regulus", his own ship. Gambier's defence, in this respect, was neither correct nor consistent. Thus Stokes, Kerr and Bligh stated that, while the Ocean was capable of inflicting damage upon British ships entering the Aix Roads, she was, oddly, herself out of range of the British guns (Stokes, Court Martial, 149-150; Kerr, ibid, 166-167; Bligh, ibid, 154, 159). Fairfax, who had been aboard the Lyra, seems to have accurately located the Calcutta, Aquilon, Varsovie, Tonnerre and Indienne - the ships destroyed - upon his map, but places the Regulus, Ocean and Jemmappes near the Charente, further from the Aix anchorage than the Tonnerre, which Cochrane and Kerr testified their shot could scarcely reach (Cochrane, ibid, 76; Kerr, ibid, 167). His positions are identical to those assigned by Stokes, who claimed to have obtained them from Fairfax and the captain of the Varsovie (Stokes, ibid, 23-24). Kerr and Bligh agreed that Stokes' map located the vessels correctly, as did, by implication, Stopford (Kerr, ibid, 166; Bligh, ibid, 153; Stopford, ibid, 73). But Stokes, unfortunately, deposed that "the three decker was on the North West edge of the Palles shoal with her broadside flanking the Passage, the Northwest part nearest to the deep water." (Stokes, ibid, 147). This made the Ocean not only accessible, but at variance to the position he had assigned it on his chart. Moreover, he admitted that "the only ships marked in the chart on the 12th are those that are destroyed" and that the vessels which refloated had been given as they had been situated on the 13th, when they had moved further away, and when their positions were no longer an issue (Stokes, ibid, 147). Further confusion upon the part of Stokes is evident in his testimony that on the morning of the 12th the Cassard was afloat about a third of a mile from the Ile d'Aix and the Foudroyant was anchored some 600 yards astern of her (Stokes, ibid, 149). His map, however, placed them respectively three quarters of a mile and a mile from the Ile d'Aix.

5.48 and 9.30 in the morning he transmitted a series of signals to the Caledonia, "Half the fleet can destroy the enemy; seven on shore", "Eleven on shore", "Only two afloat", and "Enemy preparing to heave off", but, to his disbelief, none induced his admiral to move. Gambier, in explaining his inactivity, later said, "Had the wind been favourable for sailing both in and out, or even the latter only, there could have been no doubt that the sooner the enemy's ships were attacked the better."[40] He reasoned that the batteries on the Ile d'Aix, the two warships afloat or even the grounded ships might cripple any British vessel which attempted to enter the anchorage, and that such a ship, unable to work out against wind and tide, would become a sitting target. Moreover, he doubted that the water in the Aix Roads was yet sufficiently deep to permit an attack to be made without excessive risk.[41]

Therefore, the British fleet waited for the wind or the tide, which gradually facilitated the escape of some of the stranded enemy vessels, to change, and for the water in the anchorage to rise. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that this interpretation may have left much unsaid, and that Gambier, conceiving the operation purely as a fireship attack, was unprepared for circumstances which suddenly enjoined action by the fleet. A more conscientious officer, instead of riding at anchor six miles distant from his enemy, would have been close by, ready to act according to the situation which daylight unveiled, and he would have spent the early hours of the morning lightening some of his 74-gun ships so that they could be sent into the roads at the earliest opportunity.

The reasons given by Gambier for his inaction possessed some logic but little intuition. Cochrane, a man of proven experience in operating beneath enemy batteries and in shallows, may have been too sanguine of the ability of others to manage complicated manoeuvres in difficult waters, but he was adept at calculating risks closely and at exploiting the weaknesses of his opponents. Fourteen years of automatic British naval victories over the French had taught him, as they should have taught Gambier, the enormous technical superiority of the Royal Navy in battle. In this case, the enemy were in a poor condition to resist. The measure of the Ile d'Aix batteries had been accurately gauged by Cochrane, while the ships aground were almost defenceless. Although

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40. Gambier, Court Martial, 127; Bligh, ibid, 153; Caledonia signal record, ibid, 33, 39.
41. Gambier to Pole, Apr. 14, 1809, Court Martial, 4-7.

her men had been working since daylight to refloat the giant Ocean, she was beached by her stern on a bank with her bows in the water, and as late as noon heeled over considerably. The only other sail of the line aground which was in any position to defend herself was the weakest, the Calcutta.[42] Many of the French captains, including Lafon of the Calcutta, more interested in escape than battle, were trying to lighten their ships by throwing the guns overboard. After the battle, a French officer of the Ocean estimated, "The greatest part of our ships threw their guns overboard." The flagship may have lost all but 26 to 30 guns in this way, most of them on the 13th and 14th. Most, if not all, of the Tonnerre's guns were discarded early on the 12th, as were some of the cannons of the Tourville. The Indienne shed some of her guns late on April 11, and all but 4 of the balance on the 15th.[43]

The only effective means of resistance open to the French lay in the Foudroyant and Cassard, which remained afloat between the Palles shoal and the Ile d'Aix. Both Cochrane and Broughton seem to have been correct in asserting that the morale and skill of the French crews were deficient. Three vessels, the Calcutta, Tonnerre and Tourville were later abandoned after little or no resistance, and the Cassard and the Foudroyant, employed since daylight in fumbling attempts to set up their topmasts, subsequently fled as soon as there was sufficient water to run for the Charente. Moreover, the French ships were, as one of their officers confessed, "in bad condition and short of complement", inadequate to contest even inferior British forces.[44]

Cochrane, watching the French ships closely, did not anticipate that they could have offered much resistance. He believed that there was room for the British ships to emerge from the approach channel, turn to the north-east and pass between the sterns of the Foudroyant and Cassard and the ships aground. In such a case the batteries on the Ile d'Aix would have been unable to act effectively, for fear of hitting their own vessels.

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42. The Calcutta was a two-decked ship of 56 guns. "Fifties" were becoming obsolete as ships of the line. The Royal Navy had abolished them from the line in 1755, although they occasionally appeared in that capacity thereafter. Some of the Continental navies used them more extensively as line of battleships in the French wars. B. Lavery, "The Origins of the 74-gun Ship", M.M. (LXIII, 1977), 335-350, p. 336.
43. French officer, Apr. 14, Apr. 19, May 26, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 323-329; Stopford, Court Martial, 204; Malcolm, ibid, 209; statement of Capt. La Ronciere, Apr. 14, 1809, Moniteur, 1-2; statement of officers of the Calcutta, 1809, ibid, 2; statement of officers of the Tonnerre, ibid, 2; report of Capt. Proteau, Apr. 17, 1809, ibid, 2-4; report of Capt. Lacaille, Apr. 18, 1809, ibid, 4-5; J. Desvignes, ibid, 14-15; J. B. F. Dozot, ibid, 15; J. M. Gard, ibid, 16; M. Marchand, ibid, 16; L. Favereau, ibid, 16; Richardson, op. cit., 247.
44. French officer, Mar. 26, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 309-313; Cochrane, Court Martial, 50-51.

Fairfax did not believe that sufficient water existed for such a manoeuvre, and he may have been right, but the British could have made use of the deep water off the northwestern part of the Palles shoal to engage the Cassard and Foudroyant and to prevent the escape of any of the ships aground.[45] Cochrane was aware, too, as Gambier was not, of the Maumusson Passage, south of the batteries, which, with or without Stokes' hypothetical bar, was accessible to sail of the line at half flood, about 11.00 to 12.00. This anchorage would have been a haven for any British ship unfortunate enough to be crippled and a base from which fire could have been directed upon the grounded ships to prevent them laying out their hawsers and warping off. Bearing factors like these in mind, Cochrane was unable to understand Gambier's inaction. The admiral's fleet reposed over six miles from the enemy's ships, apparently indifferent to their plight, while the flood tide running into the Aix Roads, favourable for a swift British entry, steadily increased the chances of the French to escape.

Confident that Gambier would mount an attack before long, Cochrane ventured closer to the Aix Roads, and sent a boat in to make soundings. Finally, between 10.00 and noon, four or five hours after the Imperieuse's first signals, the British fleet at last unmoored, but, to Cochrane's dismay, anchored again, about three miles from the Ile d'Aix batteries. There the admiral convened a meeting of his senior officers on board the Caledonia, and ordered the preparation of additional fire ships. He also instructed the Valiant, Bellona, Revenge and the frigates and sloops to take up an advanced position near the Boyart, about a mile nearer, so as to be ready to support the Aetna bomb and three small vessels which were preparing to bombard the enemy ships. Aboard Captain Broughton's ship, as on Cochrane's, there was mounting frustration at the admiral's conduct. "I cannot describe the indignation expressed by all hands when the signal was made to anchor again," recalled Captain Gordon, then a lieutenant of the Illustrious.[46]

Between noon and 2 o'clock, the Cassard and the Foudroyant used the rising tide to run for the Charente, and the Ocean, Regulus and Jemmappes warped off the shoal and followed them. All five vessels ran ashore but nearer the Charente, and out of immediate reach of the fire of ships in the anchorage. These were the vessels which Cochrane argued could have

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45. Cochrane, Court Martial, 45-46, 61-63; Fairfax, ibid, 145; Cochrane, Notes on the Minutes..., op. cit., 43, 152-153.
46. Gordon to the 11th Earl of Dundonald, Apr. 12, 1861, DP 233/74/3-4. The time the fleet weighed is discussed, with full reference to ships' logs, in Cochrane, Case Submitted to the Consideration of the Navy and the Public (1817), 8-10. The average timing for the movement in the log-books is about 11.00 a.m.

been destroyed had Gambier acted promptly. Although the exact timing of their flight is not known, the evidence does suggest that a British attack mounted at half-flood, about 11 o'clock, could have prevented them from making their escape.[47] In the event, it was not until about one o'clock that the Aetna and the gunbrigs, Insolent, Growler and Conflict, ran passed the Imperieuse, intending to open a distant bombardment upon the French ships. Cochrane, after speaking with Captain Godfrey of the Aetna, now imagined that Gambier intended nothing more, and determined to force his admiral's hand. Consequently, the Imperieuse weighed, and, hugging the Boyart shoal, passed the Aetna and her consorts to enter the Aix Roads and engage the enemy ships alone at close quarters. Gambier could not have left the Imperieuse unsupported in such a position, and Cochrane's signals were calculated to stir a response: "The enemy ships are getting under sail" (1.30); "The enemy is superior to the chasing ship, but inferior to the fleet" (1.40); and "The ship is in distress and requires to be assisted immediately" (1.45). Within a short time, the tiny Beagle and the Aetna and her consorts closed their range with the French, upon being signalled to do so by Cochrane.[48]

The Imperieuse anchored off the Palles shoal about two o'clock and opened fire upon the Calcutta (56), Varsovie (80) and Aquilon (74). Within half an hour, Gambier ordered to her relief the frigates, Indefatigable, Aigle, Emerald and Unicorn, and eventually the Valiant and Revenge ships of the line and the frigate, Pallas. According to the log of the Indefatigable, the "Batteries opened a heavy fire of shot and shells on us without effect from both sides in passing into the Roads." The Imperieuse had been in action for perhaps an hour before the first reinforcements arrived, but shortly afterwards the crew of the Calcutta, after sustaining losses of only 12 wounded, abandoned their ship, which was little damaged, without receiving the captain's orders to evacuate and leaving the colours flying. Boats from the Beagle and the Imperieuse took possession of the

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47. Broughton and Bligh agreed that the Cassard and the Foudroyant fled first. Broughton believed that the Ocean, Jemmappes and Regulus, which followed them, warped off "soon after noon", while Bligh testified that the two ships afloat sailed at 12.30 and the others about 12.50 or 1.00 (Broughton, Court Martial, 220; Bligh, ibid, 157). Stokes and Hockings reported that the Cassard fled at 1.10 and the Foudroyant ten minutes later. The Jemmappes and Regulus, Hockings said, escaped between 1.00 and 2.00, and the Ocean about 2.00. Captain Malcolm, however, testified that the Ocean fled about half an hour before the Jemmappes and Regulus, between 1.00 and 2.00. Seymour believed that the Foudroyant and Cassard sailed between noon and one o'clock (Stokes, Court Martial, 160-161; Hockings, ibid, 202; Malcolm, ibid, 211; Seymour, ibid, 190).

48. Cochrane, Court Martial, 42, 49-51; Godfrey, ibid, 173; Newcombe, ibid,

French vessel, and the lieutenant of the Beagle, the senior officer on board, ordered her destruction. She was set on fire, and soon exploded, "with such a field of red fire," recorded a witness, "as illuminated the whole elements."[49] Equally impressed was an officer of the Valiant, who recollected that the destruction of the Calcutta "exhibited the most terrific and sublime spectacle the human mind could contemplate or the eye survey without emotions of terror."[50]

After the capture of the Calcutta, Cochrane was able to permit his exhausted crew some rest while the other British ships engaged the Aquilon and the Varsovie. Both Frenchmen defended themselves with a few stern chasers, but struck in the late afternoon. The work of removing the prisoners from the two ships lasted until the early hours of the 13th, and

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196; Beagle log, Adm. 51/1932; midshipman of the Beagle to his mother, Apr. 27, 1809, N.C. (1809), XXI, 412-414.

49. Richardson, op. cit., 249. Log-books of the Imperieuse (Adm. 51/2462), Beagle (Adm. 51/1932), Caledonia (Adm. 51/1981), Indefatigable (Adm. 51/2001), Pallas (Adm. 51/2641), Unicorn (Adm. 51/1871), Valiant (Adm. 51/2940), Emerald (Adm. 51/1957), Aigle (Adm. 51/1937), Revenge (Adm. 51/2777); Cochrane, Court Martial, 49; Rodd, ibid, 89; Bligh, ibid, 154-155, 158; Kerr, ibid, 167; Hardyman, ibid, 187; Stopford, ibid, 78-79; Gambier, ibid, 43, 127; midshipman of the Beagle to his mother, Apr. 27, 1809, N.C. (1809), XXI, 412-414; statement of officers of the Calcutta, 1809, Moniteur, 2; P. Sergent, ibid, 9; J. B. Lafon, ibid, 18-19.

50. J.J., "Destruction of the French Fleet in Basque Roads", N.C. (1809), XXII, 403-407, p. 405. The surrender of the Calcutta inspired another of the acrimonious exchanges which form a feature of the battle. Undoubtedly the dispute which developed as to whether the Calcutta had been evacuated before or after the Imperieuse was reinforced was fuelled by competing claims for head money. Cochrane said that a party from the Imperieuse was aboard the Calcutta when the other British ships arrived, and that he hailed them that the Calcutta had struck after they opened fire (Cochrane, Court Martial, 42). His story was repeated by William Bateman, chief signal man of the Imperieuse, in 1816 (statement of W. Bateman, copy, DP 233/82/84) and about 1817 Cochrane wrote a friend that Marryat "remembers our taking possession of the Calcutta before the other ships arrived. I saw him today. He thinks his private log notices the fact." (Cochrane to Jackson, 1817, DP 233/26/184). Rodd of the Indefatigable, while arguing that the Calcutta struck only after the arrival of the reinforcements, supported Cochrane's story when he testified that he fired upon the Frenchman "when Lord Cochrane or some person from the Imperieuse hailed me and said the Calcutta had struck" (Rodd, Court Martial, 91). On the other hand, Bligh of the Valiant and Stokes, who had joined the Imperieuse from a gig at the time, were positive that the Calcutta was abandoned after the other British ships had fired into her (Bligh, ibid, 155, 160; Stokes, ibid, 152-153; Stokes affidavit, Nov. 13, 1817, DP 233/78/35). The log-books of the British fleet offer substance to every version. The Redpole (Adm. 51/1917) records the Calcutta as striking before the Valiant and Revenge opened fire; the Pallas (Adm. 51/2641) that she struck after the Revenge, the frigates and the brigs engaged her; and the Aigle (Adm. 51/1937) that the ship struck after the Aigle had fired upon her, but before the Revenge and other ships did so. Nevertheless, the evidence presented at the French court martial is remarkable for its unanimity upon this point, establishing fairly satis-

Cochrane was almost killed during the operation. He was assisting the captain of the Aquilon to retrieve some personal effects from his ship before it was fired, and was seated in a gig when it was struck by a stray shot. Ironically, the only casualty was the French captain, mortally wounded beside Cochrane, who, with the boat's crew, escaped unscathed.[51]

Early in the evening another French ship was destroyed, the Tonnerre. Her crew had sustained no casualties, but her hull had been seriously damaged when the ship ran aground, and her captain feared that she would fall into British hands. He therefore took off his men and set the vessel on fire. A similar fate almost became the Tourville. Captain Lacaille evacuated the least useful of his men late on the 12th, and early the following morning decided to abandon the ship completely, mistaking the burning Aquilon and Varsovie for enemy fireships. Although a handful of men were accidentally left on board, the Tourville was an easy prey for more than an hour, before the French crew returned.[52]

After five o'clock on April 12, Gambier despatched three more fireships, escorted by the Theseus and the Caesar, into the Aix Roads. The action ill befitted an admiral who made so much subsequent capital from the shallows in the anchorage, because the Caesar was one of the deepest vessels in the British fleet, and at five o'clock it was almost low water. The ship did, in fact, run aground, and remained for some time upon the southern tip of the Boyart shoal. The fireships were not, in any case, used, for such enemy vessels as remained, for the most part scattered along either side of the Charente, were considered to be inaccessible. Probably the opinion was a sound one. Although no soundings appear to have been made towards the remaining Frenchmen to assess their vulnerability, the water in the Charente was known to be shallow and the channel narrow, and Captain Bligh learned that the Ocean lay protected behind two or more lines of guardships. His information finds confirmation in a French account, which reported that "All the night of the 12th we were on the look-out... A considerable force was anchored within gun-shot and a half of the Ocean." The ship had, however, been partly evacuated, and about 10.00 p.m. Cochrane sent a launch and a boat armed with rockets to attempt an assault upon it. Lieutenant Gordon, who accompanied the expedition, recollected that they

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torily that the Calcutta was abandoned after the Imperieuse had been reinforced.

51. Richardson, op. cit., 251; Marryat, Frank Mildmay (1888), 101; "Lord Cochrane's Victory", The Times, Apr. 27, 1809. The latter records that Cochrane took a dog from the Varsovie rather than allow it to remain on board when the ship was set on fire.
52. Capt. N. Clement de la Ronciere, Moniteur, 17-18; the testimony of various witnesses relating to the Tourville can be found in ibid, 10-11, 15-17, 21.

managed to row close to the flagship, which lay silent, apparently devoid of guns and lights, and undefended by boats, but an attack was not made because an officer of the Caesar recalled the launch and rocket boat and detailed them to other duties.[53]

The large ships, as Stopford, senior officer in the anchorage, realized, were of no further use when the remaining enemy vessels occupied such hazardous water. Indeed, nearly all of his ships, at one time or another, grounded, Cochrane said because they had been badly positioned. About four or five o'clock on the morning of the 13th, therefore, Stopford signalled the ships of the line to leave the anchorage, and about half an hour later Rodd led out the frigates, to the ineffective chorus of the batteries on the islands of Aix and Oleron. Cochrane remained, imploring Rodd to join him in an attack upon the Ocean, but only Captain Seymour of the Pallas elected to stay. Once again Lord Cochrane was left to see what could be achieved, and it was little. While the surviving enemy ships were still aground, scattered about both sides of the entrance to the Charente, they were at some distance from the anchorage and in difficult water. The Indienne, beached between the Ile d'Enette and Fort Aiguille, and the Ocean and the Regulus, near the bar at the entrance of the Charente, were the most exposed.[54]

Cochrane hoped that something might be done, having noticed that many of the French ships had been partly abandoned. "The 12th, in the evening," an officer wrote of the Ocean, "we landed all our boys and almost all our soldiers. All the men that were afraid were also allowed to land, and we were all about 600, who remained on board determined to defend ourselves well."[55] But Cochrane found the water too shallow for his frigates, and had to transfer to the Aetna. "Lord Cochrane," one of the officers of the Revenge remarked, "behaved most gallantly; he is now in a bomb, firing away at a three-decker that is on shore, which I hope he will be able to destroy."[56]

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53. Logs of the Theseus (Adm. 51/1887), Caesar (Adm. 51/1891), Indefatigable (Adm. 51/2001), Illustrious (Adm. 51/1915); Cochrane, Notes on the Minutes..., op. cit., 36; Richardson, op. cit., 247-248; French officer, Apr. 10, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 313-321; Stopford, Court Martial, 72, 81-82; Beresford, ibid, 161; Bligh, ibid, 155; Gordon to the 11th Earl of Dundonald, Apr. 12, 1861, DP 233/74/3-4.
54. Cochrane, Court Martial, 51-56; Bligh, ibid, 155; Kerr, ibid, 167; Rodd, ibid, 90; Stopford, ibid, 73; Gambier, ibid, 132; Raven, ibid, 171; logs of the Valiant (Adm. 51/2940), Caesar (Adm. 51/1891), Revenge (Adm. 51/2777), Theseus (Adm. 51/1887), Indefatigable (Adm. 51/2001), Aigle (Adm. 51/1937), Unicorn (Adm. 51/1871); Richardson, op. cit., 247; French officer, Apr. 10, 13, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 313-323.
55. French officer, Apr. 10, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 313-321; Cochrane, Court Martial, 42.
56. Letter from officer of the Revenge, Apr. 13, 1809, N.C. (1809), XXI, 399.

Later in the day, Cochrane grouped the smaller vessels, Beagle, Aetna, Conflict, Contest, Encounter, Fervent, Growler, Whiting, Nimrod and King George, close to the Ocean and bombarded the flagship, the Regulus and the Indienne until the low tide compelled the flotilla to retire, the Aetna splitting its thirteen-inch mortar in the contest. The Ocean and the Indienne replied with a few stern guns. Aboard the frigate three men were wounded. The flagship sustained fairly severe damage, apart from two of her own guns which burst in the engagement.

> "Our principal damages," wrote an officer on the Ocean, "were: a shot cut our mizen mast through to the spindle, our boom cut half in two, 6 main shrouds cut through and 2 mizen shrouds, two chain plates cut away, our main top-sail yard cut through near the slings, two top-gallant yards cut to pieces. Many shot, fragments of shells and fire arrows (rockets) struck us, two poop carronades dismounted, all the stanchions and lockers of the cabin cut away, and the deck pierced by the shot. We lost an aspirant (officer), killed near the Admiral in the beginning of the action, which determined him to send almost all the men down on the lower deck; some there were wounded. No shell fell on board, but many of the fuses. Three shells fell on board the Regulus, one of which went through all her decks and burst in the hold."[57]

During the day the assailants were reinforced by the Foxhound, the Redpole and two rocket schooners, bringing letters from Gambier to Cochrane, one of which urged the latter not to "tarnish" his reputation "by attempting impossibilities" and to rejoin the fleet so that despatches could be completed. Cochrane was loath to give up the fight, and replied briefly: "we can destroy the ships which are on shore, which I hope your Lordship will approve of."[58] He remained in the anchorage another night, and resumed the attack the following day. The most vulnerable French ships had found more favourable berths since the last engagement, and boats had been placed about them, but Cochrane opened a bombardment. He was interrupted soon afterwards by the arrival of the Aigle, bearing instructions to return to report to the admiral and to permit Captain Wolfe to take command in the roads.[59]

There was probably little more that could have been achieved, and Cochrane was content to suggest to Wolfe that fireships might be of further use, a tactic which, in view of the shallow water and the enemy guard boats, promised but frugal returns. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude

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57. French officer, Apr. 13, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 322-323; report of Capt. Proteau, Apr. 17, 1809, Moniteur, 2-4; G. M. Proteau, ibid, 19-20.
58. Gambier to Cochrane, Apr. 13, 1809, Cochrane to Gambier, Apr. 13, 1809, Court Martial, 53.
59. Log-books of the Imperieuse (Adm. 51/2462), Pallas (Adm. 51/2641), Donegal (Adm. 51/1880), Redpole (Adm. 51/1917), Whiting (Adm. 51/1926), Insolent (Adm. 51/1967); French officer, Apr. 13, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 322-323; Cochrane, Court Martial, 53-55; Godfrey, ibid, 173;

that the continued British presence in the anchorage, which persisted for a short time after Cochrane's departure, was futile. Under bombardment, the French were unable to concentrate upon the rescue of their stranded ships, and on April 16, in despair, they set fire to the Indienne frigate. By then Cochrane was on his way home, having left the fleet on April 15 in the Imperieuse, carrying as a passenger Sir Harry Neale, to whom had been entrusted the despatches which would bring the news to England.[60]

IV

The mission had certainly been a success, one of the most remarkable in the French wars. A frontal attack had been made upon a battlefleet of 15 ships, moored in an apparently impregnable position and defended by shore batteries; five of the French ships had been destroyed, and the rest driven on shore, some of them severely damaged and most compelled to discard their guns; nearly 200 Frenchmen had been killed and 650 prisoners had been taken; and the whole had been achieved at a trifling cost to the British of one frigate, used as a fireship, and 11 men killed or captured. According to intelligence received from an American deserter, the Tourville, Patriote and and Regulus had been so badly mauled that it was decided that they should be converted into mortar vessels, and the master of a neutral galliot reported the Elbe frigate to be a wreck.[61]

Perhaps the victory was more significant still as a further demonstration of the inability of the French navy to contest their British adversaries, for the rout of the Rochefort fleet, in a haven "hitherto...considered as totally impracticable for any of our ships to enter" was both a defeat and a humiliation.[62] Richardson considered it analogous to a French force passing the batteries at Portsmouth, proceeding as far as the Hardway and destroying the British ships anchored there. The French reacted with shame and outrage. A captured officer grieved that "they had now no security from the English in their harbours, and they expected we should next go into Brest, and take out their fleet, whenever it suited our convenience," while aboard Allemand's flagship it was believed that "it is first necessary to inspire our sailors with that spirit with which they were animated before this unfortunate affair,

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Seymour, ibid, 190-191; Newcombe, ibid, 199-200; Wolfe, ibid, 205-206.

60. Gambier to Pole, Apr. 16, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 254.
61. Gambier to Pole, Apr. 27, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 295; list of ships destroyed, May 1, 1809, ibid, f. 312; Stopford, observations, May 3, 1809, ibid, f. 319; Sotheby to Pole, July 18, 1809, ibid, f. 441; Stopford to Gambier, May 23, 1809, ibid, f. 360, reporting the loss by the Ocean and Foudroyant of most of their guns; J.J., "Destruction of the French Fleet in Basque Roads," N.C. (1809), XXII, 403-407; Chevalier, 334, 336-337. The French losses in killed estimated by the officer of the Ocean are 51 (Ocean), 100 (Varsovie), 20 (Cassard) and others on the Aquilon. French officer, Apr. 10, 13, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 313-323.
62. Officer of the Revenge, Apr. 13, 1809, N.C. (1809), XXI, 399.

and which the greatest part are so discouraged as no longer to possess. Every day I hear them lamenting their situation and speaking in praise of our enemy's. This is, in my opinion, the greatest injury the English have done us."[63] From June 21 to September 8 the French probed among the captains for scapegoats, and found them. Lacaille was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, Proteau found himself confined to his quarters for three months, and Lafon of the Calcutta was executed upon September 9, 1809. Never again did the French fleet challenge the Royal Navy in battle.

If Cochrane had scored a striking success, there were clear grounds for dissatisfaction upon his part. "The French admiral was an imbecile," Bonaparte complained on St. Helena, "but yours was just as bad. I assure you that if Cochrane had been supported, he would have taken every one of the ships."[64] In England, although the press reported as early as April 25 that Cochrane was displeased with the result of the battle, there was initial euphoria, public buildings were illuminated, and rewards heaped upon the victors. Wooldridge, Newcombe, Joyce, Godfrey and Caulfield became post captains, and the former received a gold medal from the King and a sword by the Patriotic Fund; Wooldridge's two lieutenants obtained 50 guineas each; Lieutenants Muston, Hockings, Carpenter, Jones, West, Nixon, Alexander, A. B. Clements, Cookersley, Smith, Davies, Bissell and Johnson were promoted to the rank of commander; and all those who had served aboard fireships received £10 if their commander had been promoted. Cochrane received a special accolade. The Prime Minister persuaded George III to bestow upon him the Order of Bath, only once before granted to a captain, and the investiture took place at the Queen's Palace on April 26, 1809. Gambier, who was offered the same honour, refused it, since his name was placed below that of Lord Cochrane upon the list.[65]

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63. Richardson, op. cit., 251-252; J.J., "Destruction of the French Fleet in Basque Roads", N.C. (1809), XXII, 407; French officer, May 26, 1809, Hamilton, op. cit., III, 325-329. Similar views are expressed by "Eye Witness" to editor, May 4, 1809, May 10, 1810, N.C. (1809), XXI, 395-397, N.C. (1811), XXV, 211-213.
64. James, op. cit., IV, 427.
65. Admiralty to Lord Mayor, Apr. 21, 1809, Adm. 2/655, p. 298; The Times, Apr. 23, 25, 1809; N.C. (1809), XXI, 315; list of promotions, Adm. 1/141, f. 464; Adm. note, Aug. 1809, ibid, f. 466; Cochrane to Mulgrave, May 1, 1809, Adm. 1/1654, f. 15; Cochrane to Mulgrave, Aug. 21, 1809, ibid; Commissioned Officers of the Royal Navy, 1660-1815 (1954), 495; Brenton, op. cit., II, 287; Portland to Geo. III, Apr. 23, 1809, Geo. III to Portland, Apr. 24, 1809, A. Aspinall, ed., The Later Correspondence of George III, 1808-1810 (1970), V, 259-260; Morton Pitt to Gambier, Aug. 13, 1809, Chatterton, op. cit., II, 330-333; ibid, II, 300-301.

For some time Cochrane was lionized. He was huzzahed by the crowd when he appeared upon the streets, a new ballad proclaimed his exploits and The Amphitheatre, Westminster Bridge, had a successful run with their The New Nautical Spectacle, in which "the brave Lord Cochrane, is every night so happily depicted, reconnoitring and discharging his guns of defiance at the panic struck enemy...The attack and burning of the Gallic fleet surpasses anything of the kind ever witnessed."[66] More perceptive individuals remained, however, unconvinced. Wordsworth, for example, informed De Quincey that he had not "seen the private accounts about Lord Cockrane, but my feeling (is) that that noble Hero would be greatly disappointed in the result and I strongly suspected that, if the matter were investigated, heavy blame would be attached to Gambier for not having his ships where they could be brought up in time. Nothing effectual can be done in cases of this sort without considerable risk; excessive caution in such cases is cowardice."[67]

Rumours of Cochrane's dissatisfaction spread. Rear Admiral Bentinck, permitting his curiosity to overcome his prudence, visited the captain in May, requesting, privately, to be informed of his intentions. Cochrane "did not say much but gave a hint that something would be said in the House of Commons."[68] In conversation with Lord Mulgrave, he was more explicit, explaining that he would oppose any vote of thanks to Gambier which might be introduced into the House. There could be no evasion of a matter aired in so public a manner, and the Admiralty demanded, by letter, to be informed of the grounds of Cochrane's complaint. Although the captain refused to make specific allegations, merely referring the Board to the log and signal books of the fleet, he left Mulgrave with little room for manoeuvre. Gambier would have to be vindicated before a vote of thanks was introduced into Parliament, and inevitably the admiral asked for a court martial. It was convened on board the Gladiator in Portsmouth between July 26 and August 4, but no detailed analysis of the evidence is here necessary since much of it has been previously examined. Superficially, the minutes of the court martial were a convincing statement in Gambier's favour, and he was acquitted of neglect.[69]

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66. The Times, May 2, 1809; ibid, June 6, 1809; C. H. Firth, ed., Naval Songs and Ballads (1908), 306-307.
67. Wordsworth to Thomas de Quincey, May 5, 1809, Selincourt, et. al., op. cit., II, 329-330.
68. W. H. Dillon, A Narrative of My Professional Adventures, 1790-1839 (1953-56), II, 120-121.
69. Mulgrave to Gambier, May 29, 1809, Court Martial, 108; Pole to Cochrane, May 29, 1809, ibid, 11-12; Cochrane to Pole, May 30, 1809, ibid, 12; Gambier to Pole, May 30, 1809, ibid, 13; Cochrane, Notes on the Minutes..., op. cit., 1-2.

That the admiral's reputation remained intact was due, primarily, to three factors. First, many of the officers who testified at the hearing agreed with Gambier, and gave him strong support. Second, the court martial was so structured that it precluded any marked degree of objectivity being displayed; it was, throughout, partial to the accused. Finally, many officers lacked the courage to criticize the Commander in Chief. No further elucidation of the first count is necessary, but the nature of the court martial merits an explanation. The investigation consisted of nothing more sophisticated than the calling of witnesses before a court, which both conducted the interrogation and judged the evidence. There was neither a formal defence nor a prosecution, although Gambier himself was permitted to remain present during the proceedings and to question the witnesses. In the absence of any cross examination for the prosecution, the onus fell upon the court to probe the salient features of the case by intelligent interrogation. Unfortunately, they did not do so, and one of the principals of the court, William Young, was a personal friend of Admiral Gambier, and had been criticized by Cochrane two years before in the House of Commons.[70]

No prosecution, employed specifically to put the case against Gambier and to call witnesses to that end, existed. Such witnesses as appeared weighted the hearing towards the defence, since the accused was permitted to demand the attendance of such persons as he considered necessary to his case. There were, it is true, limits to this practice. On June 6 Gambier submitted a list of the admirals and post captains of his fleet to the Admiralty, leaving the Board to chose from them the witnesses, but recommending those captains who had served in the Aix Roads. The Admiralty judiciously provided some additional names. But the admiral was allowed further witnesses, and called for the attendance of the master of the Theseus, a French pilot and Captain Godfrey. At the trial there also appeared Gambier's secretary, one of his lieutenants, Fairfax, Stokes and others, presumably called by the accused. Including Gambier himself, no less than 9 witnesses from the Caledonia, which had never been inside the Aix Roads, attended, and only two, Cochrane and Spurling, from the Imperieuse, the ship most closely involved in the whole operation. Since so much turned upon the accuracy of Lord Cochrane's observations, the omission of his lieutenants, Bissell and Johnson, is surprising.[71]

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70. Chatterton, op. cit., II, 56-58; In addition the court consisted of Roger Curtis, J. T. Duckworth, H. E. Stanhope, B. Douglas, G. Campbell, J. Sutton, J. Irwin, R. Hall, E. S. Dickson, R. Dunn, M. Greetham (Judge Advocate) and Charles Bicknell (Admiralty solicitor).
71. Gambier to Pole, June 6, 1809, Court Martial, v; list of witnesses, ibid, vii; Gambier to Pole, June 21, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 418; Gambier to Pole, July 21, 1809, ibid, f. 445; Adm. 12/138.28.6.

The lack of a prosecution was equally evident in the conduct of the trial. Cochrane and Gambier were both asked to put their opinions to the court, and the balance of the time was employed in examining the witnesses on the points that had been raised. While Gambier was afforded the privilege to cross examine witnesses in his defence, the court itself undertook all other questioning. They not only failed to tease out obvious weaknesses in the defence, suffering much of importance to remain obscure, but exhibited occasionally acute partiality. At one point, for example, Cochrane alluded to a conversation he had held with Captain Wolfe relating to a material matter, and Curtis observed that "the conversation with the officers" did not constitute "evidence".[72] But Beresford, referring to a discussion which bore on a point of no importance to the charge, the firing of the Calcutta, was supported by the Judge Advocate with the injudicious remark, "I conceive it is to offset the evidence of Lord Cochrane. In that point of view, I think it is legal evidence."[73]

Upon another occasion, Cochrane was rightly called to order for deviating from a question, partly because the answer was calculated only to place Gambier in an unfavourable light.[74] But the court itself was party to a protracted attempt to create an adverse impression of Cochrane by interrogating witnesses upon his role in the action, a practice the more reprehensible since the captain, under protest, was excluded from the court after he had given his testimony, and the accusations against him were suffered to enter published minutes without affording him right of reply. Such conduct was both unnecessary and ill advised, since it compelled Cochrane to reopen the case, even if it was for no greater object than the repudiation of assertions made against his professional character.

Gambier's acquittal owed much to the testimony of the captains, who overwhelmingly supported their admiral. Cochrane had his own explanation for their acquiescence. The witnesses, he alleged, were briefed by Bicknell, the Admiralty solicitor, "at Government House" before the trial.[75] There is nothing to support such an allegation, and the most potent influence upon the testimony was the parlous position in which the witnesses were were placed. In a service in which employment or advancement was dependent to a great extent upon the relationship of a junior to his superiors, and in which "interest" was so material a qualification for success, an officer

72. Court Martial, 50.
73. ibid, 163.
74. ibid, 47.
75. Cochrane to Jackson, 1812, DP 233/65/7.

publicly critical of his Commander in Chief, in this case one formerly a member of the Admiralty Board, was brave or foolhardy indeed.[76] There is evidence that some of the captains were torn between conscience and self interest. Seymour of the Pallas and Richardson of the Caesar both requested to be absented from the court martial. Seymour had gallantly supported Cochrane on April 13th, when the other post captains had quit the Aix Roads, and at the trial, which he was compelled to attend, he was critical, albeit cautiously, of Gambier. Richardson's request was granted, and his opinion of Gambier is not known; but his friend and biographer later maintained that he, too, considered the admiral's conduct of the battle to have been deficient.[77]

Possibly officers other than Richardson were relieved that they were not called as witnesses to the hearing. One was Lieutenant Bissell of the Imperieuse, who visited Farington two days after Gambier's acquittal. He expressed "great satisfaction at not having been called as an Evidence. He said he was surprised at the evidence which some of the captains gave. Lord Cochrane being himself an evidence only could not cross examine which had he been the prosecutor he might have done - & which would have made much of what was declared to appear different. He said his opinion was that two of the French line of battleships might have (been) taken had there been more exertion."[78] The bulk of the post captains did testify, but the opportunities to elicit favour or to avoid displeasure cannot be ignored in any evaluation of their information. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that only a minority of officers tendered grounds for censure. Cochrane, who put the case as vigorously as he was allowed, Broughton and Seymour all believed that an attack should have been made earlier, and they received some indifferent support from Malcolm and Newcombe.

The tidings of Gambier's acquittal were, however, received with jubilation in some quarters. Collingwood prayed for release from such "wrong headed people" as Cochrane, while the Comptroller of the Navy Board congratulated the admiral upon his victory over "that firebrand." "What a tempestuous world do we live in!" exclaimed Hannah More to Barham.

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76. Gambier had been called to the Board by his relative and close friend, Lord Barham, First Lord of the Admiralty (1805). The latter was a kinsman of Melville, and both Barham and Gambier were upon intimate terms with the Pitt family. I. Lloyd Phillips, "Lord Barham at the Admiralty, 1805-1806", M.M. (LXIII, 1978), 217-233, p. 222.
77. Seymour to Gambier, July 12, 1809, Adm. 1/141, f. 435; Richardson to Gambier, July 11, 1809, ibid, f. 436; Pole to Gambier, June 7, 1809, Court Martial, vii; C. E. Armstrong, A Tar of the Last War (1855), 172-173.
78. J. Greig, The Farington Diary (1922-28), V, 218.

"Yet terrible as Buonaparte is in every point of view, I do not fear him so much as these domestic mischiefs - Burdett, Cochrane, Wardle and Cobbett. I hope, however, that the mortification Cochrane &c. have lately experienced in their base and important endeavours to pull down reputations which they found unassailable, will keep them down a little."[79]

Such optimism was misplaced, for on January 29, 1810 Lord Cochrane demanded in the Commons that the minutes of the court martial be presented so that the House might judge for themselves the propriety of a vote of thanks to Lord Gambier. Lyttelton argued the right of Parliament to review the verdict of a court martial, and Burdett, Joseph Marryat, Whitbread and Tierney spoke in favour of Cochrane's motion. But, although the captain gave his objections to the findings of the trial with more conviction than marked Captain Beresford's efforts to defend them, the Commons could not be induced to reinvestigate a matter which had already been the subject of detailed inquiry. Eventually the vote of thanks passed the House 161 votes to 39.[80]

Undeterred by his failure, Cochrane pursued Gambier with the tenacity characteristic of a vendetta. In 1810 his Notes on the Minutes of a Court Martial subjected the evidence which had acquitted Gambier to a searching criticism, and for many years he encouraged his literary collaborator, William Jackson, to produce a whimsical but vindictive book-length poem called The Gambieriad, which recapitulated the case against the admiral. The intensity of Cochrane's enmity to his opponents, as well as his optimism, was fully illustrated in his sponsorship of these verses. "The Hon. Members of the Court Martial are all living," he informed Jackson, "and likely to exist until the publication of your poem which will certainly finish them."[81] The Gambieriad was completed, but it does not appear that it was published.[82]

The same blend of resentment and fury is evident in the virulence with which Lord Cochrane prosecuted the case in the Admiralty Court, which deliberated upon the apportioning of the head money due for the ships which had been destroyed in the Aix Roads. For Cochrane the matter was

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79. Collingwood to Purvis, Oct. 6, 1809, E. Hughes, ed., The Private Correspondence of Admiral Lord Gambier (1957), 293-296; Hamond to Gambier, Aug. 7, 1809, Chatterton, op. cit., II, 336-337; More to Barham, Mar. 8, 1810, ibid, II, 342-343.
80. P.D., Jan. 29, 1810, XV, 219-247; PR, Feb. 3, 1810, XVII, 176-184.
81. Cochrane to Jackson, Apr. 21, 1812, DP 233/26/183; Cochrane to Guthrie, Dec. 15, 1809, Guthrie Papers, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
82. The only copy of The Gambieriad discovered is a manuscript in DP 233/81/83, the front part of which is missing.

more one of principle than financial reward, since he had donated his share of the head money to a Lancasterian school, following a meeting of the Friends of Universal Education of the Poor at the Freemasons' Tavern in 1814. Lord Gambier, as a matter of course, had claimed head money on the behalf of his whole fleet, but in 1811 Cochrane entered a caveat to prevent distribution. Represented by Henry Abbott and William Pott, he contended that only those ships which had participated in the battle inside the Aix Roads were eligible for a reward; there could be no justification for assigning head money to those who, however zealous, had been mere observers of the action. The cause was a protracted one, but Cochrane did not doubt he would be successful. His opponents' arguments, he believed, were "weak beyond belief. I never heard so bad a case made out."[83] After an examination of the Calédonia's signal book, he wrote, "I think we shall have their ears off."[84] However, in June 1818 Sir William Scott declared - rightly - for the full fleet, and a subsequent appeal by Lord Cochrane to the Privy Council failed to reverse the verdict. The whole fleet, by its blockade of the Basque Roads, had prevented the escape of the French ships; the whole fleet had helped to prepare the fireships; and Admiral Gambier had participated, if inefficiently, in the direction of the attack. Cochrane had been defeated all along the line. In 1817 his last efforts to provoke the Admiralty to reopen their inquiries into Gambier's case, in the light of the new evidence introduced into the prize court, came to nothing.[85]

It would be neither difficult nor entirely inaccurate to attribute Cochrane's relentless interest in the Gambier affair to pique. The exchanges between the two principals multiplied their mutual hostility. Cochrane precipitated Gambier's court martial, and, in retaliation, the admiral spitefully expunged the name of his fiery subordinate from a revised despatch of the battle written on May 10, 1809. Behind the triviality, however, lay matters of importance to the continued vitality of the Royal Navy. Nelson's use of aggressive tactics and the combat superiority of the British fleet to achieve the ultimate tactical objective, the annihilation

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83. Cochrane to Jackson, Feb. 18, 1817, DP 233/26/184.
84. Cochrane to Jackson, Nov. 5, 1816, DP 233/26/183.
85. The Life and Eminent Services of the Gallant Lord Cochrane (1814), 16; Jackson to his sister, Nov. 14, 1816, copy in DP 233/82/84; notebook, ibid; Pott to Cochrane, copy, ibid; Jackson to his sister, July 3, 1818, copy, ibid; A. R. Kerr, affidavit, copy, June 28, 1816, ibid; manuscript, DP 233/83/93; R. Hockings, affidavit, May 25, 1816, copy, ibid; Abbott to Cochrane, June 5, 1815, DP 233/74/3-4; Stokes, affidavit, Nov. 13, 1817, copy, DP 233/78/35; Croker to Cochrane, July 3, 4, 1817, DP 233/83/91; Cochrane, Case Submitted to the Consideration of the Navy and the Public (1817); Cochrane to Croker, July 4, 1817, DP 233/83/91; Cochrane to Melville, June 11, 1817, Add. MSS. 41083, f. 197; The Times, July 1, 1818.

of an enemy force, had conferred upon the Royal Navy a lustre as important as any of its more material advantages. "Now," wrote Nelson, after an unsatisfactory action in 1795, "had we taken ten sail, and allowed the eleventh to escape, when it had been possible to have got at her, I could not have called it well done...My disposition cannot bear tame or slow measures. Sure I am, had I commanded our Fleet on the 14th, that either the whole French fleet would have graced my triumph, or I should have been in a confounded scrape."[86]

The affair at the Aix Roads demonstrated how far Nelson's views were from winning universal acceptance in the British fleet, for Cochrane's frustration in 1809 was precisely that of Nelson fourteen years earlier. To the end of his days he regretted the escape of the enemy ships while Gambier lay idle. Over fifty years later, in a letter which Cochrane never received because of his death, Brougham recalled a visit the two had once made to France. He recollected "the impression made upon all present when I took you to the Tuilleries and when the name so well known to them, C(ochrane)...was no sooner heard than there was a general start and shudder. I remember saying as we drove away that it ought to satisfy you as to your disappointment at Basque Roads, and you answered that you would rather have had the ships."[87] In this sense Cochrane was a true successor to Nelson.

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86. O. Warner, A Portrait of Lord Nelson (1958), 95.
87. The Times, Nov. 21, 1860.

STRATEGIES, SECRET PLANS AND INVENTIONS, 1806-1818

I

Cochrane's attack in the Aix Roads demonstrated the aggression which marked the Portland government's conduct of the war. Since 1806 Britain and France had been locked in an economic struggle which gave satisfaction to neither. Bonaparte was unable to apply his "continental system", that is to say, the closure of European ports to British ships, consistently or comprehensively; the British, for their part, found French maritime trade persistent despite their close blockade of the enemy coasts, and they could not prevent the collapse of their allies in Europe. The mutual stranglehold was to be decisive. Bonaparte, frustrated by the naval blockade in his ambition to subue England, attempted to enforce the continental system at the expense of the friendship of Spain, Portugal and Russia, and thus contributed to his own ruin. But had Britain elected to exploit its naval supremacy with greater imagination, the war might have been forced to a speedier conclusion. Grenville's ministry, for example, had turned a deaf ear towards Russian pleas for diversionary raids upon the French and Dutch coasts and had withheld subsidies from continental allies. Portland's government replaced the Ministry of the Talents in 1807 but was too late to avert the defeat of Prussia and Russia. Between the Peace of Tilsit and the Spanish revolt of 1808 Britain possessed only one effective ally in Europe, Sweden.[1]

Inspired by Canning, the Foreign Secretary, Castlereagh, the Secretary for War, and Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Portland administration injected verve into the prosecution of the war; money, munitions and supplies were generously donated to Britain's allies; the Portuguese court was removed and the Danish fleet seized in 1807; an expeditionary force, maintained by naval support, was placed in the Peninsula in 1808, and in the succeeding year expeditions were sent to Rochefort and Walcheren. The break-up of this administration in 1809 spelled a return to a more sedate war policy, although the Peninsular army and the naval blockade continued to absorb the energies

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1. R. Glover, Britain at Bay: Defence Against Bonaparte, 1803-1814 (1973); G. J. Marcus, The Age of Nelson (1971); J. M. Sherwig, Guineas and Gunpowder: British Foreign Aid in the Wars with France, 1793-1815 (1969).

of the nation. Such caution was understandable. At home the financial burden of the war scaled unprecedented heights after 1808, and the increase in food prices because of bad harvests and the unemployment and bankruptcies of the depression of 1811 added volume to the discontent it created. With a standing commitment to the maintenance of Wellington's army and a large naval establishment, and to subsidies for Continental allies, the government might be excused for their reluctance to risk a repetition of the costly failure at Walcheren.

Among those who, notwithstanding, believed that Britain should act more positively was Lord Cochrane. The naval war, he argued, lacked vigour. "I submit to you sir," he told the First Lord of the Admiralty in 1810, "that with our naval superiority and a few thousand disposable troops at the command of Buonaparte no part of our coast would be safe, that our vessels would be swept from our ports and the ports themselves laid in ashes. We have that physical power and a far more honorable cause. We should therefore pursue all that he would dare to attempt."[2] Such urgency reflected not simply Cochrane's characteristic impatience at what he designated the prevailing "measures of passive defence and indolent blockade",[3] but a concern at the resilience of France's naval and maritime strength. The enemy's coastal traffic continued, while at Brest, Cherbourg, Antwerp, Rochefort, Toulon, Genoa, Naples and Venice the French fleet was in a process of rejuvenation. By 1813 Bonaparte had some 80 capital ships to set against the 102 British sail of the line then in commission.[4] In such circumstances the Royal Navy's supremacy was not beyond challenge. Cochrane realized the dangers of complacency, and advanced proposals by which he considered an effective check might be administered to French naval ambitions.

Cochrane's plans, none of which were implemented, bear examination upon several counts. They explain why their inventor, one of Britain's most distinguished officers, remained unemployed; they represent some of the most detailed, and certainly the most ambitious, of plans investigated by the Admiralty to escalate the naval war; and they possessed a novelty which tested British naval conservatism. Little has been written of the efforts made during the protracted conflict with France to innovate

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2. Cochrane to Charles Yorke, June 7, 1810, DP 233/65/7.
3. Cochrane, Feb. 1, 1811, DP 233/65/7.
4. R. Glover, "The French Fleet, 1807-1814: Britain's Problem and Madison's Opportunity", Journal of Modern History (XXXIX, 1967), 233-252.

technical methods of combat, despite the obvious implications of Britain's increasing mechanical competence. Warfare remained largely a matter of long familiar weaponry. Only two inventions were widely used by British forces, Henry Shrapnel's case shell and William Congreve's rocket system. To this conservatism the Admiralty was party, and some inventors inveighed against the indifference with which the Board treated their suggestions. Malcolm Cowan, for example, whose advocacy of improved sails only achieved partial success, complained, "The continued discouragement and opposition I met with I now find from my enquiries to be a settled system, which, from the incalculable evil that results from it to the country, ought to be publicly made known, were it not for the danger that may hereafter arise from the enemy taking advantage of such an exposure."[5]

Cochrane's most notable precursor as an exponent of new methods of naval warfare was Robert Fulton, an American, whose activities did much to create the climate of opinion which judged later proposals. Between 1797 and 1801 Fulton worked in France upon the construction of a submarine boat and screw propelled pinnaces capable of conveying exploding devices to the British ships blockading French ports. He found difficulty in eliciting substantial encouragement from the government, and recognized that hostility existed to a form of warfare regarded by many as secretive and dishonourable. In 1804 the inventor entered British service and tried to persuade the Admiralty to adopt his proposals for attacks upon the French fleet in Brest, Boulogne and elsewhere. A distinguished committee investigated the plans, and while little interest was displayed in the submarine, the British found Fulton's idea for a "torpedo" or "coffer" attractive. This device, a gunpowder container equipped with a clockwork timing mechanism, was a naval mine which could be towed to a target by a rowing boat or catamaran, activated and attached to an enemy vessel. It was dependent upon favourable weather and tide conditions and upon the ability of the attackers to approach unseen, and attempts to employ the weapon at Boulogne and Calais in 1804 and 1805 were not successful. Unable to make further progress, Fulton returned to America, where he resumed his experiments.[6]

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5. Y. M. Capper, "Captain Cowan's Sails", M.M. (LIV, 1968), 181-186, p. 186.
6. H. W. Dickinson, Robert Fulton: Engineer and Artist (1913), 71-210, 284-288; J. T. Flexner, Steamboats Come True: American Inventors in Action (1944), 244-61, 270-279, 294-316, 354-356, 396-401; "Fulton's Torpedoes", N.C. (1811), XXVI, 234-238; J. A. Goldenberg, "Blue Lights

Fulton did little to alleviate the scepticism which normally greeted proposals for novel methods of combat. Cochrane, however, inherited his father's scientific interests and grasped the significance of developments in engineering and chemistry. Among the first to use Congreve rockets, in 1808, he had also contemplated firing Shrapnell shells from the main deck guns of British warships.[7] His defence of Rosas and the defeat of the Rochefort fleet owed much to his technical competence and reinvigorated the public debate about innovations in weaponry. For some time the Naval Chronicle became a forum for professional opinion upon the matter.

Many naval officers found the use of explosion or fire ships incompatible with a sense of honour. Admiral Gambier, for instance, believed them "a horrible mode of warfare;" while Collingwood considered them to be "unworthy of the English."[8] A correspondent of the Naval Chronicle typified the moral and naval argument against such "abominable" methods of combat as Cochrane had employed. It was folly "to innovate in any considerable degree on the honourable and triumphant system of naval warfare, in which we are allowed to excel" for inventions would "no sooner be brought to perfection, than be adopted by the enemy." They also outraged fair play. "Good God!" the writer declared, "from what does this proceed? Surely not from a deficiency of humanity? Yet when we see men obviously go out of their way, openly stooping from their lofty station to superintend the construction of such detestable machines, what are we to infer? Is it not still in the memory of every one, that even the great mind of Mr. Pitt...was employed in bringing to perfection these murderous machines? Will it ever be forgotten that delicate and noble females were assembled at Deal to witness the experimental effects (by Fulton) of these frightful explosions? Well might the astonished tar exclaim, 'Guy Fox is got afloat!'"[9]

Some correspondents did not endorse this view. "Lord Cochrane's late exploit in Basque Roads," ran a counterattack, "must be considered as very different from the achievement of a midnight incendiary; it must be obvious to every one that, with very slight risk to ourselves,

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and Infernal Machines: The British Blockade of New London", M.M. (LXI, 1975), 385-397.

7. C. Lloyd, Captain Marryat and the Old Navy (1939), 120.
8. Lord Russell of Liverpool, Knight of the Sword: The Life and Letters of Admiral Sir William Sydney Smith, G.C.B. (1964), 117.
9. F.F.F., "On Coffers, Rockets, Infernals, Fire Devils, Catamarans, &c.", N.C. (1809), XXI, 408-412.

we inflicted an almost irreparable injury on the enemy, though not by destroying his men. No battle could have been fought, in which either the victor or the vanquished would have sustained so slight a loss of human life. This, therefore, without going further back, is an ample illustration of the position, that gunpowder, fire-ships, bombs, rockets &c., by shortening warfare, tend to spare blood..."[10] In agreement, "Ben Block" scoffed, "Let me ask these feeling people, had the French the proud superiority at sea we have, if we should not be attacked by their ships; besides, Sir, it is the best mode of obtaining an early peace, by making the enemy feel the horrors of war; and this I call humanity, by shortening its duration."[11]

The development of weaponry of any kind raises moral dilemmas, and some of Cochrane's proposals promised wholesale destruction. But, although the Admiralty closely investigated Cochrane's plans between 1810 and 1812, little attention was paid to such considerations. Three factors seem to have influenced the Board's rejection of the schemes: the prospects for the success of the plans appeared uncertain; the necessity for them was not admitted; and the Peninsular war, the naval blockade, foreign subsidies and the outbreak of war with the United States diverted attention and resources elsewhere. The Admiralty did not take the French fleet sufficiently seriously to risk their credibility upon attacks as uncertain as those Cochrane proposed, and their complacency was fortified in 1812 when Bonaparte was defeated in Russia. Nevertheless, the episode illuminates an obscure facet of Admiralty thinking during the later stages of the French war.

II

Cochrane first confined himself to pressing the Admiralty to adopt "the means by which the commerce of the enemy might be injured, if not completely ruined."[12] He advertised his ideas in The Times in 1809,[13] but on June 7, 1810 a formal plan for the elimination of French coastal traffic was submitted to the government. Cochrane explained that the islands, Belle Ile, Ile de Groix and Ile d'Yeu, which covered the entrance to the Loire in the Bay of Biscay, would, if placed in

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10. "H", N.C. (1809), XXII, 27-29.
11. "Ben Block", ibid, XXII, 374-375; "F.F.F.", ibid, XXII, 31-32, 196-199; "Brontes", ibid, XXII, 461-463.
12. Cochrane to Yorke, June 7, 1810, DP 233/65/7.
13. "Lord Cochrane's Victory", The Times, April 27, 1809.

British hands, serve as bases from which to stifle the local commerce. "Thus circumstanced," he said, "the L'Isle Groa at the mouth of the Loir and L'Isle Dieux on the coast of Britany might be seized on by eight hundred men, in defiance of opposition and by a 'coup de main' a smaller number would suffice. These islands would afford shelter to our cruisers in the winter season, when it is now dangerous to approach them." The traffic in the Mediterranean could be similarly threatened by a British occupation of the islands off Marseilles, the Iles d'Hyeres, southwest of Toulon, and Elba. This, Cochrane believed, would sever the "communication between France,...Leghorn and Genoa" and impede "intercourse between the Roman, Italian and Tuscan States in (the) possession of France." Furthermore, the destruction of the locks on the Sète canal would interrupt the flow of French commerce between the Rhone Valley and Gascony and Languedoc.

Cochrane overstated his case. It is unlikely that these measures would, as he suggested, so starve the Italian peninsula of French produce that significant outlets for British goods would be created, and his view that raids upon France's Mediterranean coastline, presumably upon the lines of his own in 1808, might be capable of arresting French progress in Spain was unrealistically optimistic. But sanguine as such aspirations were, the plans had merit, and Cochrane, who was seldom able to accept any frustration of his designs, anticipated that they would, at the least, receive consideration.

Unfortunately, Yorke, the First Lord of the Admiralty, handled Cochrane badly. He remarked that the plans were similar to some Cochrane had previously submitted, and tactlessly told him that the Imperieuse was ready for sea "and destined for the Mediterranean and as the period of the session of parliament during which your Lordship has been acommodated with an acting captain to command the frigate in your absence, has now nearly reached its close I presume that it is your intention to join her without loss of time."[14] Predictably, Cochrane found so brusque a statement offensive. It appeared, he wrote in reply, that he had been in error to offer the Admiralty his plans, which he would now be compelled to put before the House of Commons. The captain seems to have believed that the Admiralty had treated him unfairly since the Gambier affair, and chose to resurrect a grievance from the previous

14. Yorke to Cochrane, June 8, 1810, DP 233/65/7.

year by referring to Lord Mulgrave's refusal to permit him to join the expedition to Flushing as an observer. Finally, he maintained that he had not yet completed his parliamentary duties and could not rejoin the Imperieuse.[15]

Yorke was understandably surprised at Cochrane's sensitivity, but instead of offering a palliative he kept his previous course, refusing to be drawn into a controversy but regretting the "turn and direction" which the captain's attitude had given the correspondence. "I have only now to request," he wrote, "to be distinctly informed whether or not it is your Lordship's intention to join your ship, Imperieuse, now under orders for specific service and nearly ready for sea, as soon as Parliament shall be prorogued. I shall be much pleased to receive an answer in the affirmative because I should then entertain hopes that your activity and gallantry might be made available for public service. I shall be much concerned to receive an answer in the negative because in that case I shall feel it to be my duty to consider it your Lordship's wish to be superseded in the command of the Imperieuse."[16] The ultimatum failed to impress Cochrane. He entreated Yorke to reconsider his plans, and proposed, in addition, the seizure of the small Catalonian French garrisons, which would encourage the local peasantry. But he could not join his ship, as "she is to proceed immediately on foreign service." Thus the immediate result of the 1810 proposals, and the tactless performances of both Cochrane and Yorke, was that the Navy lost the services of one of its most valuable officers.[17]

Early in 1811 Cochrane's plans matured during a visit to the Mediterranean. After being delayed at Lisbon by illness, he called upon the British army which was stationed in Sicily to guard the Straits of Messina. Cochrane took the commander, General Sir John Stuart, and Captain Robinson of the Diadem into his confidence. They shared his concern about the war and permitted him to use facilities ashore to test a new invention, part of a plan he had evolved to destroy the vessels "in all the moles from Naples to P(ort) Vendre and

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15. Cochrane to Yorke, June 11, 1810, DP 233/65/7; Mulgrave to Cochrane, Oct. 11, 1809, ibid.
16. Yorke to Cochrane, June 12, 1810, DP 233/65/7.
17. Cochrane to Yorke, June 14, 1810, DP 233/65/7. That Cochrane had previously intended rejoining his ship is evident from his preparation in 1809 of a vessel for use in shallows (Cochrane to Guthrie, Dec. 15, 1809, Guthrie Papers, National Maritime Museum).

the fleets in all the ports of France."[18] In February he used a common barrel as a mortar, throwing shells over several hundred yards on small charges of powder, and Stuart was sufficiently impressed to wish to cooperate in the implementation of any plan which the government would authorize.[19]

While he was at Sicily designing a super mortar to be constructed from the whole of a ship, Cochrane stumbled across an even more revolutionary idea. The island was a major supplier of sulphur, which was extracted from the ground and purified by sublimation. During the process, sulphur dioxide, a sharp gas which was difficult to inhale and caused coughing followed by asphyxiation, was emitted. Cochrane observed that at a mountain near the ruins of Girgenti (Agrigento) heaps of sulphur littered the beach. Investigating the purification process, he discovered that the air to the leeward of the kilns was often so impregnated with fumes that cultivation was impossible and the local population were occasionally compelled to evacuate the area within several miles. Armed with this information, and the results of his experiments, Cochrane returned to London to resuscitate his plans for the prosecution of the war.[20]

In April the new proposals were put to Yorke, who interviewed Cochrane. On May 2 they were more fully expounded in documents placed before the Admiralty. "The war," Cochrane complained, "has, now, become purely defensive and it seems to have been forgotten that we entered into it to check the ambitious schemes of the enemy; because, possessed of the greatest naval power in the world, and of ten times more military force than was requisite, yet we have never used our superiority in the way in which it might have been, and still may be, most essentially useful."[21]

Of "several ideas" which had occurred to him as a means of destroying France's growing naval power, Cochrane asserted that the most important had been "discovered" about two and a half years previously and promised greater powers "than those of any engine hitherto in use." He called it a "temporary mortar." At Messina he had bound a wine cask with ropes, partly buried it in the ground at an angle of 50° or more so that

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18. Cochrane, Feb. 1, 1811, DP 233/65/7.
19. Cochrane to Stuart, Feb. 11, 1811, DP 233/82/85; Stuart to Cochrane, Feb. 7, 13, 1811, DP 233/65/7.
20. Memoranda, June 18, 1856, DP 233/84/104; Cochrane, "Means of Counteracting the Destructive effects of the New Ordnance Recently Adopted for the Defense of the Ports and Roadsteads of Continental Powers," June 18, 1839, DP 233/84/104.
21. Memoranda, May 2, 1811, DP 233/82/85; notes and diagrams, DP 233/82/85, DP 233/84/105; Cochrane to Yorke, May 2, 1811, Add. MSS. 45044, f. 77; Yorke to Cochrane, Apr. 17, 24, 1811, DP 233/65/7.

the earth gave increased resistance to the detonation, and projected 26 eight-inch shells between 156 and 618 feet on charges of only 3 lbs. of powder. While this kind of "temporary mortar" would be of service primarily to the army, an elaborate explosion ship could extend the principle to naval operations. A vessel, reinforced and caulked from water at the sides and the bottom, might be converted into a gigantic mortar. Resistance to the explosion would be enhanced by the placing of old guns in a fore and aft direction on the floor timbers, packed with clay and iron. Above these, bolted together, two transverse tiers of old ship timbers would give additional strength, while log frames, bound with cables and hawsers and placed upright, would fortify the sides. Inside the cavity thus formed, an enormous quantity of powder and shells would be loaded, equipped with a time fuse. Cochrane believed that such a ship mortar could lift projectiles hundreds of feet and hurl them across remarkable distances, scattering carcasses and shells over an area a mile across. Their direction could be lent guidance through a judicious arrangement of the materials giving resistance to the explosion. The devices could be towed into position by assailants at night with their sails trimmed to the wind, or they could be sent in alone before the tide, towing spars in various positions according to the direction it was desired that they should take.

As a secondary suggestion, Cochrane proposed that ships laden with sulphur be run to the windward of difficult fortifications and ignited. The poison gas produced, carried by the wind, would envelop the defences and either destroy or expel the enemy. With this plan, Cochrane introduced into modern combat the idea of large scale chemical warfare. Since he is often credited with the invention of both the gas attack and, at a subsequent period, the smoke screen, it is worth remembering that both methods had previously been employed, virtually as Cochrane proposed, although neither had found a permanent place in military tactics and the former appears to have been forgotten since medieval times. Thucydides noted how the fumes from burning sulphur, wood and pitch were carried by the wind into Plataea (428 B.C.) and Delium (423 B.C.) and that in the latter instance the defenders were driven from the city walls. These episodes, if they occurred, were exact prototypes of the kind of attack which Cochrane envisaged in 1811. There is evidence that similar applications were known at various times to the Romans, Indians, Byzantines, Chinese and the Arabs. However, since the Middle Ages there appears to

be no reliable record of a gas attack, although a sixteenth century text by Von Senfftenberg states that "so murderous a weapon" as an arsenical smoke cloud was used in the defence of Belgrade against the Turks in 1456, and Valckenier in 1677 reported that poisonous missiles had been fired into Groningen five years previously. While a small number of sixteenth or seventeenth century works refer to chemical weaponry, the idea, either as a wind driven cloud or incorporated into a projectile, seems to have fallen from memory.[22]

The smoke screen, proposed subsequently by Lord Cochrane, had found more recent employment, for in 1701 the army of Charles XII of Sweden reportedly crossed the Dvina masked by smoke, and in 1739 the Royal Navy ordered the preparation of "Smoak Ships" to hide the movements of fire ships.[23] Cochrane, therefore, rediscovered tactics which had fallen into disuse, and which, after the eighteenth century chemical revolution, were bound to re-emerge in a more sophisticated form. As heir to a pioneer of that revolution, Cochrane was the first exponent of gas warfare who understood its scientific principles, rather than deducing its efficacy from simple empirical observations, and his plans were to be the basis of repeated British investigations between 1811 and 1915. In the first world war, however, the poison gas attack became the common property of all combatants. It was first used by the Germans in Poland at Bolimov and in France at Ypres in 1915, and it caused over one and a quarter million battle casualties by the end of the war.[24]

Throughout May Cochrane advocated his plans, forwarding detailed drawings of the inventions and suggesting that attacks might be made upon the French fleet in Flushing, Boulogne, Marseilles, La Ciotat, Toulon, Antibes, Nice and elsewhere. He believed that at Toulon, where the roadstead was open, any ship which escaped explosion vessels sent down before an easterly wind would be destroyed upon the dangerous Cape rocks there. The threat to Sicily from the Italian peninsula, Cochrane

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22. Useful, if incomplete, examinations of Cochrane's chemical warfare plans are P. W. Brock, "Lord Cochrane's Secret Plans", M.M. (XVI, 1930), 157-167; W. S. Churchill, The World Crisis, 1911-18 (1938), 466, 510-511, 516-522; C. Lloyd, "Dundonald's Crimean War Plans", M.M. (XXXII, 1946), 147-154; W. D. Miles, "The Idea of Chemical Warfare in Modern Times", Journal of the History of Ideas (XXXI, 1970), 297-304. The history of chemical warfare is discussed in J. R. Partington, A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder (1960); A. H. Waitt, Gas Warfare: The Chemical Weapon, Its Use, and Protection Against It (1943), 6-8; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, The Problem of Chemical and Biological Warfare (1971), I, 125-127.
23. A. C. Wardle, "Smoke Ships", M.M. (XXV, 1939), 355.
24. H. W. Baldwin, World War I (1963), 49, 54-56, 159.

felt, could be dispelled since the enemy ships were exposed to an attack from his "temporary mortars" at Savona, Genoa, La Spezia, Leghorn, Civitavecchia, Naples, Castellammare, Scilla, Reggio, Ancona and other places. Such attacks Cochrane offered personally to supervise.[25]

As for the gas attack, Cochrane argued that it was particularly applicable to fortifications which were too powerful to be overcome by explosives. He recommended that six old vessels, laden with forty to fifty tons of charcoal and sulphur over a clay bed, might be outfitted in the uninhabited islands off the Barbary coast, ran to the windward of the bastions at Cherbourg or Toulon, and ignited. To ensure further the success of an assault upon Toulon, he suggested that the western Cape, commanding one side of the port entrance, should be seized by troops.[26]

The papers were submitted to Admiral Edward Pellew for his opinion, but he was unable to assess the scheme. "It is quite impossible," he wrote to Cochrane, "on a subject so important and which has occupied your attention for several years to conceive any new light can be thrown on the subject by my little experience or that I can judge of the effects such a shock as the explosion you describe might have." But he properly expressed doubts as to the practicability of attacks on ships in "roads affording space for their having moved out of the direction of any ship turned adrift without a helmsman to operate upon and close a particular moveable object." Cochrane met this objection by suggesting that the explosion ships be launched against those ships moored in confined anchorages, such as Cadiz or Gibraltar, but his plans also allowed for the bombardment of ships sheltering behind moles or other obstructions by directing carcasses and shells over the defences.[27]

Whatever progress Cochrane made with Yorke, it is clear that he found it unsatisfying, for early in 1812 he was attempting to outflank the Admiralty by appeals elsewhere. In January and March he canvassed his plan for amphibious warfare against the French coasts before the Commons, on February 22 asserting that 5000 men based upon Minorca could

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25. Cochrane to Yorke, May 18, 1811, DP 233/65/7; Yorke to Cochrane, May 19, 1811, DP 233/65/10-11.
26. Cochrane to Yorke, June 26, 1811, DP 233/65/7A.
27. Pellew to Cochrane, May 22, 1811, DP 233/6-12/61 (Box 6); Cochrane to Yorke, May 29, 1811, DP 233/82/85.

terrorise the enemy seaboard.[28] Then he codified all his proposals into a single document dated March 2, 1812, and submitted the whole as a scheme to obtain "the destruction of the marine of France" to the Prince Regent. This, by far the most comprehensive statement of his ideas, added little new, but elaborated the previous suggestions.[29]

Condemning the "passive system of blockade" Cochrane recapitulated familiar ground: the French islands should be seized; a small, mobile force should be employed in the systematic destruction of the French signal stations between Flushing and Bayonne and between Spain and Venice, since they transmitted intelligence vital to the survival of the enemy coastal traffic; the smaller French garrisons in Catalonia could be taken by a flying force of some 1000 men, and a more substantial army of 5000, based upon Minorca, might stage raids into Catalonia or make diversionary descents upon the French coast which would employ enemy forces intended for Spain. These views, of course, owed much to Cochrane's experiences in the Imperieuse, and were marked by good sense.

Cochrane then proceeded to review the methods by which he proposed to destroy the ships of the French Navy and those of their allies. He alluded to his "survey of the coasts and ports of the Mediterranean" which he had made in 1811 and concluded "that there is not a vessel sheltered by any mole within its extent that cannot be destroyed with ease and safety to those who should execute the service." If the ships at Toulon, Flushing, Naples, Cronstadt and Corfu were destroyed Britain's security would be improved, the 15,000 troops under Stuart in Sicily would be released for action elsewhere, the burden upon the Adriatic squadron would be eased, and the Greeks, who were threatened by enemy troops in Corfu, might be encouraged to support the English.

Such destruction could be achieved by the "temporary mortars", which were designed not "for the purpose of distant bombardment but to hurl destructive missiles into naval depots or lift them over moles and basins amidst the vessels they contain and also dislodge ships or destroy them in the strongest lines of defensive anchorage. Thus, three old hulks and there are numbers at the different ports would in an instant overwhelm Flushing with 6000 carcasses and shells, dismount the cannon and destroy the ships to which they may afford protection, and at

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28. P.D., Jan. 7, 1812, XXI, 33; ibid, Feb. 22, 1812, XXI, 888-893; ibid, Mar. 16, 1812, XXI, 1309-1310.
29. Memorial to the Prince Regent, Mar. 2, 1812, DP 233/65/7; copy with diagrams, Add. MSS. 41083, ff. 163-168, 171-174.

Toulon the French fleet may be burnt at their anchors or driven on the rocks in the outer roads where they lie during the summer months..." Brought into position during the night, such devices could propel shells and carcasses regulated to rise and spread according to the distance of the targets, "thus imparting to the greatest destructive powers all the advantages of levity possessed by the rockets without abridging the purposes to which they are applicable or interfering with the regular mode of bombardment." As a supporting act, Cochrane suggested that his sulphur ships would be capable of neutralising difficult fortifications.

After receiving the memorial the Prince Regent apparently interviewed Lord Cochrane at Carlton House[30] and passed the plans to the Duke of York, sometime Commander in Chief of the army, and to Lieutenant General William Congreve and his son the inventor. After further interviews, Cochrane was told that his plans might be put before the Prime Minister. In the meantime, Lord Keith was requested to comment upon them from the naval side. He believed that Ushant, the islands off Marseilles, the Hyeres islands and Elba might be difficult to hold, but he endorsed the plans to disrupt the telegraph system and to base an amphibious raiding force upon Minorca. Some ships, he felt, might be destroyed by Cochrane's methods at Toulon, and Naples, Genoa and Scilla were also vulnerable.[31]

This was more progress than Cochrane had hitherto made, and at the end of April he discussed his schemes with the new First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Melville. During May a detailed plan for an attack upon the enemy ships in Flushing was presented. Cochrane recommended that ten "temporary mortar" ships be secretly prepared and brought to the Scheldt, and that the British take up a position some five miles west of Westkapelle. The explosion ships could be assigned an advanced station within eight or nine miles of Flushing, where the passage was both wide and open. When the barometer confirmed the good appearance of the weather, the tide was high and the wind favourable, an attack could be launched, and the enemy vessels could be destroyed at Flushing, or they could be pursued up the Westerschelde to the end

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30. Cochrane to the Duke of York, Mar. 4, 1812, DP 233/82/85.
31. Cochrane to Spencer Perceval, Apr. 17, 1812, DP 233/78/28; Duke of York to Cochrane, Mar. 20, 1812, DP 233/82/85; Cochrane to MacMahon, Apr. 20, 1812, ibid; Cochrane to Keith, Mar. 23, 1812, C. C. Lloyd, ed., The Keith Papers (1927-55), III, 316; Keith's observations, Mar. 9, 1812, Add. MSS. 41083, ff. 176-177.

of the southern reach, where they would be forced to huddle because of the ebb of the tide and the adverse winds there.[32]

Cochrane eagarly and confidently elaborated upon this and other plans, but Melville preferred an experiment upon a smaller scale, and on May 12 the captain tendered proposals for the destruction of the fleet at Toulon. He suggested that ten old vessels be prepared as mortars, possibly in some Irish bay, supplied with considerable quantities of material: 2000 barrels of gunpowder, 5000 eight to thirteen-inch shells, 5000 carcasses, 12,000 unfixed fuses, 10,000 rockets from Messina, Malta and Woolwich, 20 clock locks (as recommended by the Congreves) and as many grenades as were available. Ballasted with sand, as the Congreves had suggested, instead of old cannon, the mortars would be escorted by a ship of the line, two frigates and four smaller vessels to Toulon, where additional security to the attackers could be given by the seizure of the peninsula at Cape Cepet. Cochrane was convinced that the batteries there, which were open at the rear and ill defended, could easily be captured by 4000 men from Messina, who would then be able to command the western part of the anchorage approaching Toulon. Captains Robert Barrie, Thomas Haines, Johnstone, R. Hall and Archibald Cochrane, and Lieutenants Eaton Travers and Lord Napier were recommended as officers suitable to supervise the "temporary mortar" ships.[33]

Evidently the Admiralty pondered deeply over the plans. They were approved by the Congreves, whose opinions carried weight. Cochrane's mortars, General Congreve concluded, were "a most powerful mode of bombarding at short ranges" while the sulphur attack, if mounted in favourable conditions, would "undoubtedly answer Lord Cochrane's expectation..."[34] He reported that the resources at Woolwich were equal to the venture, containing 12,127 foreign shells; 3807 English shells (many of them unsuitable for normal use); 150,000 good English shells; 34,000 carcasses and many spherical case shells. Lord Keith, the Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet, seems also to have favoured the ideas. He

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32. Cochrane to Melville, Nov. 3, 1812, DP 233/78/28; Melville to Cochrane, Apr. 29, 30, 1812, DP 233/65/7; Cochrane to Melville, May 14, 1812, ibid; Cochrane to Melville, Apr. 28, 1812, NLS 2574, f. 7; memorandum on Flushing, May 1, 1812, DP 233/82/85; details of methods of combat, ibid.
33. Notes by Cochrane, 1850s, DP 233/82/85; Cochrane to Melville, May 12, 1812, ibid; memorandum delivered to Melville, May 11, 1812, ibid; Cochrane to Melville, May 8, 1812, DP 233/78/28.
34. Brock, op. cit., 165.

informed Cochrane that he hoped "matters" would be brought "to bear soon" and mentioned that 7 sail of the line were about the Aix Roads, presumably because he considered them appropriate targets for an experiment. For this project Cochrane envisaged the use of his sulphur ships, which he believed would neutralise the batteries on the Ile d'Aix.[35]

Ironically, in June the Admiralty was contemplating an attack upon the French at the Aix Roads independently of Cochrane's suggestions, and Keith, who was to supervise the attempt, recommended Lord Cochrane for service. The admiral admitted that Cochrane's courage was extreme, but "at the same time I know His Lordship's worth as an officer and skill in chemical invention are great...I know no man more capable of rendering essential service, nor whose assistance I shall more gladly receive..."[36] For some reason the attack was unfortunately not made, but Cochrane would have made a happier partner to Keith than he had been to Gambier..

Confronted with the favourable testimony upon Cochrane's plans, the Admiralty may have wavered. Certainly there was rumour that the captain would be employed. "I believe in a few days," the Scot informed a friend, "I shall sail to the Mediterranean to execute some plans which I presented to the Prince Regent some months ago and which have been approved of by the Cabinet."[37] In July statements of a similar nature appeared in the press. The Courier, for example, broadcast that "It is reported that a second battalion of Royal Marines is now forming to join the expedition under Lord Cochrane. It will be selected from the four divisions and a company of Marine Artillery added thereto."[38] But the offer, when it came, was disappointing. On July 25 Melville invited Cochrane to accept the command of the San Domingo, a 74-gun ship destined for routine duties in the Mediterranean. "I think it right to mention," he added, "that I see no immediate prospect of the other object being attainable, at least under present circumstances."[39] Cochrane tested the First Lord's pessimism in a number of interviews, but his efforts were futile. Finally, on August 5, as in 1810, he refused the employment offered:

> "I have waited day after day," he told Melville, "with increasing anxiety to see them (the plans) carried into execution, an

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35. Cochrane to Melville, May 19, 1812, DP 233/82/85.
36. Keith to Melville, June 25, 1812, Add. MSS. 41082, ff. 75, 77-79; Keith to Melville, June 18, 1812, ibid, ff. 71-72.
37. Cochrane to Jackson, 1812, DP 233/65/7.
38. The Courier, July 13, 1812.
39. Melville to Cochrane, July 25, 1812, NLS 2574, f. 15.

anxiety which has become the more obsessive in consequence of Buonaparte's having drawn the whole of his armies to the frontiers of Russia and left his own coasts destitute of protection, an event that has unexpectedly furnished an opportunity for the efforts of this country which the most sanguine could not have anticipated. Still His Majesty's ministers remained inattentive to the plans...as if no alteration occurred...I fear, my lord, that, restricted and chained down by the operations of common orders, I should only raise the expectation of the country to disappoint it. I speak from painful experience. Under this impression, I consider it an incumbent duty to decline the offer that your Lordship has made of employment under the circumstances connected with it."[40]

In the autumn of 1812 the Admiralty relented to the extent of submitting the plan against Toulon to Admirals Edward Pellew and R. G. Keats, commanding in the Mediterranean, and Cochrane remained in suspense throughout November and December. On December 5 he offered to name officers who, armed with his proposals, "would not leave 10 sail of the French line afloat by this day six months."[41] The following day Keats went so far as to recommend a trial operation, largely because of the reputations of Cochrane and the Congreves, who sponsored the scheme, but he believed that at Toulon the tides, weather, wind and darkness would make the positioning of explosion ships difficult. Moreover, while the Cepet heights were unfortified they would be difficult to occupy because there were strong works nearby, on the other side of the isthmus. The coastal warfare, Keats felt, was promising and he gave the proposal to seize the French islands his support.[42]

Pellew was also sceptical of Cochrane's suggestion that the Cepet batteries at Toulon might easily be captured. They were manned, he said, by at least 10,000 men. He may, however, have been mistaken, because John Spurling, who was then serving off Toulon in the Malta, had informed Lord Cochrane that the batteries were ill manned by levies "like so many convicts."[43] A report prepared for the Admiralty by Admirals William Domett, Joseph Yorke and George Hope recommended that the plans be given a trial, perhaps at Corfu or Naples, under the directions of Cochrane. However, they admitted that the "temporary mortar" was an idea "so perfectly new to us that we cannot venture an

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40. Cochrane to Melville, Aug. 5, 1812, DP 233/78/28; Cochrane to Melville, July 27, 1812, ibid; Melville to Cochrane, Aug. 3, 1812, DP 233/65/7.
41. Cochrane to Melville, Dec. 5, 1812, NLS 2574, ff. 27-30; Cochrane to Melville, Nov. 3, 1812, ibid, f. 21.
42. Keats to Melville, Dec. 6, 1812, Add. MSS. 41083, ff. 183-186.
43. C. N. Parkinson, Edward Pellew, Viscount Exmouth, Admiral of the Red (1934), 393; Spurling to Cochrane, June 23, 1812, DP 233/78/28.

opinion on this part of the subject..." which ill fitted their statement that they did not hold great hopes of success in such a venture because of the variable conditions that might be encountered. Furthermore, they did not regard the plan for coastal harrassment as one promising much success.[44] As late as April 23, 1813, another cautionary opinion was delivered, by Admiral William Young, who was responsible for blockading the Scheldt. He said that the amphibious raids would be difficult both to coordinate and mount, and that fireship attacks were so hazardous as to make necessarily high demands upon those called upon to execute them. But he was prepared to concede that the sulphur and mortar ships could be usefully employed at short ranges, and that the plan to attack the signal stations had merit.[45]

Out of the testimony amassed by the Admiralty upon the subject emerged a pervasive bewilderment, for few of those who had judged Cochrane's scheme felt themselves competent to do so. The Duke of York, the Congreves and Admirals Keith and Young possessed varying degrees of faith in the mortar and sulphur ships, while Keats, Domett, Yorke and Hope had recommended a trial. If a cautious, and not inappropriate, scepticism characterized many of the responses, Melville could have found sufficient in them to have justified at least one attack along the lines Cochrane had suggested. Opinion on the coastal strategy, however, lacked consistency. Domett, Yorke and Hope felt that such operations would achieve little; Keats supported the proposed seizure of the French islands; and Keith and Young, who expressed reservations about some of the suggestions, endorsed the plan to eliminate enemy signal stations. In these circumstances, Melville and his colleagues, after much vacillation, decided to implement neither the coastal strategy nor the mortar and sulphur ship attack.

Their reasoning is obscure, but more than forty years later Cochrane wrote that Melville had considered that the six or seven sail of the line at Toulon did not constitute sufficient a force to warrant the revelation of Cochrane's new weaponry.[46] It may also have been that the Admiralty remained unconvinced that the prospects of success in a mortar and sulphur assault justified the cost of

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44. Brock, op. cit., 165-166.
45. ibid, 166-167.
46. Cochrane, notes, DP 233/82/85.

an expedition, or that the defeat of the French in Russia, the retreat of Wellington from Burgos (which some attributed to inadequate support) or the outbreak of the war with the United States diverted government thinking elsewhere. Cochrane must, inevitably, have been disappointed, but his ideas were not laid to rest permanently. In 1821 he was to direct a coastal campaign in Peru not unlike the one advocated in 1810 and 1812, and there would come another time when the British public would find their curiosity and imagination exercised by Cochrane's secret war plan.

III

After the rejection of his war plans, Lord Cochrane turned his attention towards promoting an improved oil lamp which he had invented. The project has escaped the consideration of Cochrane's biographers, but it was the only commercial adventure upon which he embarked at this time, and if it failed to reap profits, neither did it share the fate of so many of the inventions of Dundonald, Cochrane's father. Originally Cochrane's lamp was intended for naval use. Later he recalled that the necessity for a powerful lantern which could keep ships together during bad weather occurred to him while on convoy duty with the Pallas in November 1805.[47] Such a lamp could be adapted for civil purposes, and Cochrane believed that it might be attended by commercial success. He was too closely occupied with other matters for several years to pursue his idea, but in 1813 he was issued with two patents (numbers 3657 and 3772) granting him a fourteen year monopoly in England and Wales upon the design of an improved oil lamp.[48]

The invention was entrusted to William R. W. King, who manufactured some of the lamps at his workshop at 1 Cock Lane, Snow Hill. At about the same time Cochrane negotiated an agreement with his friend, Samuel Brooks, the Strand glass merchant and leading member of the radical Westminster committee. Brooks contracted to advance the capital necessary for production, in return for an annual commission to the value of 5 per cent of his investment and a quarter of the profits.

47. Cochrane to Jackson, Nov. 12, 1846, DP 233/27/205A.
48. Details of the principles of the inventions given in the following pages are drawn from Cochrane's specifications, A.D. 1813...No. 3657. Street Lamps (1813); A.D. 1813...No. 3772. Lamps (1814); A.D. 1818...No. 4241. Street Lamps (1818).

The deal was revised on November 25, 1817, when Brooks brought into the enterprise as partners Henry and James William Brooks and William Spratley, a glass cutter and lamp manufacturer of the Strand. Their joint share of the profits rose to 50 per cent, unless at any time this exceeded £500 per annum, in which case Cochrane's portion rose to the value of two thirds of the profits.[49]

From January 1814 an effort was made to interest the Navy in the invention as a coloured signal lamp. A memorial, model and drawing were sent to the Navy Board, advertisements were placed in coastal newspapers, and in 1816 the lamp was chosen for the Navy against 26 or 37 competitors after extended trials at Portsmouth, Spithead and St. Helens. Two years later, in 1818, Brooks submitted the lamp for another competition sponsored by the Navy Board, and it carried away the first prize of £50. Despite these successes the invention was not taken into the service and relied upon civil applications.[50] Its most notable triumph occurred on September 29, 1814, when the 820 lamps of St. Anne's parish, Soho, Westminster, were replaced by 430 of Cochrane's lamps which proved as adequate as their predecessors and provided what Jackson called "a most brilliant appearance."[51] Just over a year later, in November 1815, Cochrane exhibited his invention before interested and expert parties in Paris.[52]

Cochrane's design improved upon the standard Argand oil lamp of 1784, itself the greatest advance in artificial lighting since prehistoric times. The globes of Argand lamps possessed only one aperture, through which atmospheric air was admitted and the heated consumed air escaped. Consequently, inside the lamp the descending atmospheric air mingled with the rising consumed air and reached the burner contaminated, causing the oil to give off smoke and lamp black which wasted the liquid and retarded the light. Cochrane was able to intensify light in his lamp

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49. Agreement between Cochrane and Samuel Brooks and Company, Nov. 25, 1817, DP 233/76/10. A sketch of Brooks is contained in J. O. Baylen and N. J. Gossman, Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals (1979), I, 65-66.
50. Cochrane, "Risk of Capture and Delay of Convoy Diminished", Jan. 1, 1814, Cochrane to the Navy Board, Feb. 25, 1814, Cochrane, Observations of Naval Affairs (1847), 154-155; Cochrane to Jackson, 1814, DP 233/82/87; letter to Cochrane, July 24, 1815, DP 233/71/36; Cochrane to Jackson, Apr. 7, 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F; Edward Thornrough to Sir Alexander Cochrane, 1816, Guthrie Papers, National Maritime Museum; Croker to Navy Board, Nov. 28, 1818, Cochrane, Observations, op. cit., 157; Cochrane to Jackson, Nov. 12, 1846, DP 233/27/205A.
51. Jackson, Oct. 6, 1814, DP 233/26/185; Sunday Review, Oct. 2, 1814.
52. Cochrane, Oct. 30, 1815, copy in DP 233/83/90E-F.

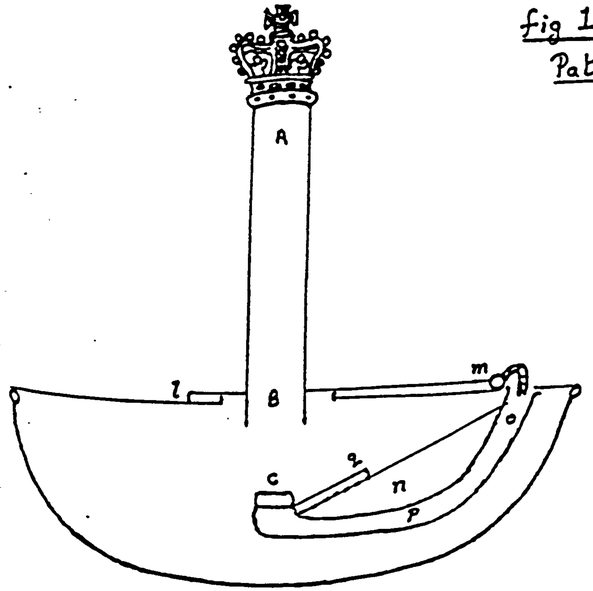


fig 1.
Patent 3657
(1813)

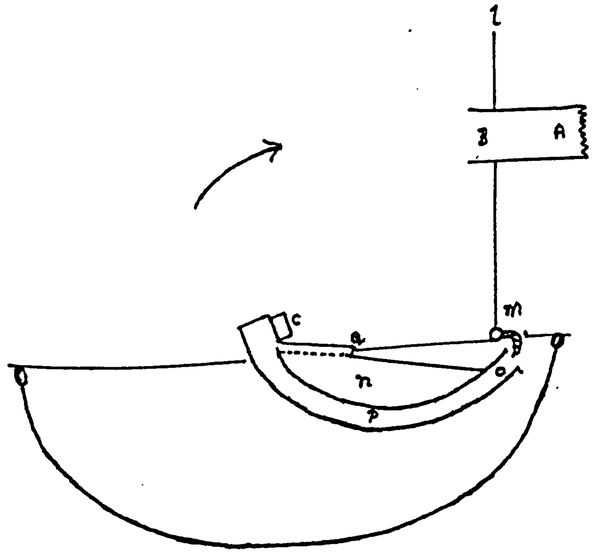
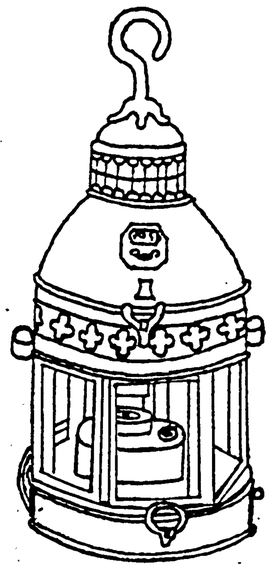
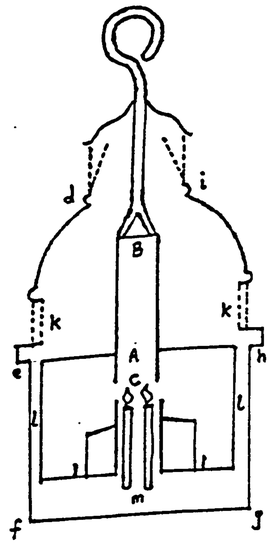


fig. 2
Patent 3657
(1813)





Figs. 3 and 4
Patent 3772 (1814)

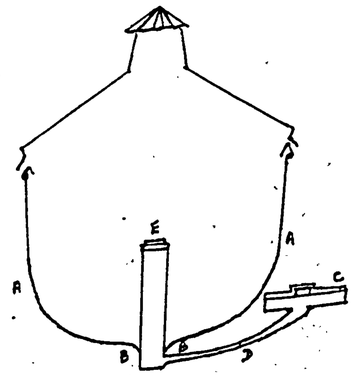


fig. 5
Patent 4241
(1818)

Cochrane's Oil Lamp

Cochrane's Improved Oil Lamp

Figure 1: Patent 3657 (1813)

Atmospheric air is admitted to the wick (C) by a passage (o-p). The consumed air exits through the tube (A-B).

Figure 2: Patent 3657 (1813)

The plate (l-m) lifts upon an axis (m), permitting the wick (C) and the cover (q) to the oil holder (n) to be attended without exposing the inside of the globe to weather conditions outside.

Figures 3 and 4: Patent 3772 (1814)

k, d, i, k represent a chamber in which the consumed air exit tube (A-B) terminates and the passages supplying atmospheric air to the flame (k-l-m) commence.

Figure 5: Patent 4241 (1818)

A tube (D) conveys essential oil from the reservoir (C) to the elongated wickholder (E). The design protected the oil from evaporation and prevented it from flowing precipitately to the flame.

by supplying two passages, one admitting atmospheric air to the burner and the other leading away the rarefied air. His design possessed other advantages: the wick could be lit or trimmed and the oil renewed without the cover of the globe being removed to expose the inside of the lamp to the weather; and the shallow and open oil holder of the Argand lamp was replaced by a burner and oil holder which prevented the oil being spilled or coagulated and maintained its steady flow to the flame. In a second patent, number 3772, Cochrane improved his design by "causing the extremity...of the tube... of supply at which the atmospheric air enters, and the extremity of the tube of draft, out of which the heated air ascends, to terminate in one and the same chamber of space (within the lamp), which is or may be open at top..." This increased the lamp's efficiency out of doors, because any irregularities in atmospheric pressure would affect both the passages of air inside the lamp simultaneously "so that neither of them will be accelerated or retarded, and the draft will continue the same, and an uniform and steady brilliancy will be maintained in the flame..."[53]

Among those interested in the lamp was the Earl of Dundonald. Since the installation of gas piping was expensive and the by-products of gas lighting were not very commercial, Dundonald's faith in the market for oil lamps was undiminished. However, he felt that his son's patents were inefficient because they were based upon principles too well known, and Cochrane apparently had some difficulty in protecting his monopoly. In February 1816 he appeared in court before Sir Simon Le Blanc in an action concerning alleged infringements of the patents. Dundonald also disapproved of Lord Cochrane's next patent, number 4217 of 1818, a process for purifying the oil of tar to which he was then adapting his lamps, on the same grounds.[54]

In 1818 Cochrane enhanced the versatility of his lamp by enabling it to use a variety of fuels.[55] Several kinds of oil were

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53. A.D. 1813...No. 3772...Lamps (1814), 3.
54. Letter to Cochrane, July 24, 1815, DP 233/71/36; Jackson to his wife, Feb. 26, 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F; Cochrane to Jackson, July 21, 1816, DP 233/26/184; Dundonald to Cochrane, Mar. 21, 1818, DP 233/105/A23/24; Dundonald to Cochrane, 1818, DP 233/105/A23/6.
55. Details of the 1818 patents are largely drawn from A.D. 1818... No. 4217. Purifying Oil of Tar (1818); A.D. 1818...No. 4241. Street Lamps (1818).

available, but the newer and cheaper fuels, essential oil of turpentine, coal and vegetable, were not suited to the standard Argand lamp. They were volatile, evaporating at one third of the temperature required to dissipate animal and fish oils, and they were drawn too quickly to the flame when burned in lamps. Cochrane's patent number 4241 adapted his lamps to the essential oils. By placing the oil reservoir upon the exterior of the lamp, connecting it to the wickholder by a tube which "may be made in the form of a snake, or in any ornamental shape that may be preferred," he distanced the fuel from the flame and reduced evaporation. Within the lamp the wickholder was lengthened until it stood at least two and a half inches above the surface of the oil in the reservoir. This helped to "retard the capillary transmission and produce the effect of preventing the too rapid approach (of the oil)...to the flame."[56]

Patent number 4217 described methods of purifying the essential mineral and vegetable oils to increase their suitability for lighting. It was possible to eliminate the impurities in both oils by mixing them with each other and diluting them with water. Thus, the acid water from vegetable tar neutralized the ammonia in mineral tar, and ammoniacal water rendered the acid in vegetable tar ineffective. Cochrane's patent outlined apparatus capable of achieving both objects.

Both of Cochrane's lamp patents of 1818 owed something to the Earl of Dundonald, who bombarded his son with suggestions: the oil holder should be placed outside of the glass globe; the length of the pipe for the burner, or wickholder, should exceed the length of that transmitting oil to the wick by four times; the wick should be trimmed short, and it should be straight to afford the atmospheric air all round access; and a small opening permitting the wick to pass through the burner was necessary. Dundonald's enthusiasm was not purely paternal. He considered that his command of chemistry and knowledge of the French and German languages qualified him to act as a supervisor in the distillation and purification of essential oils. Apparently he hoped to find employment under Cochrane at a rate for each gallon of oil produced, and maintained that the oil manufactured by the Gas and Light companies was of an unsatisfactory standard.[57]

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56. A.D. 1818...No. 4241. Street Lamps (1818), 2-3.
57. Dundonald, "Result of Experiments Made...in Purifying and Burning Different Oils and Other Substances," DP 233/106/C57; lamp petition, DP 233/105/A23/3; Dundonald to Cochrane, Jan. 19-22, 1818, DP 233/6/50; Dundonald to Cochrane, Apr. 8, 1818, DP 233/105/A23/28; Dundonald,

Cochrane's lamp went into regular production, but it was not the commercial success Dundonald predicted. The first expenses of the Cochrane-Brooks concern were incurred in January 1814, but there were no sales until January 28, 1815, a year later. The quarterly payments of St. Anne's parish for the supply of lamps and oil and their maintenance remained the largest single source of income. The first instalment made on April 27, 1815 yielded £305.2.0., but in 1816 each quarterly payment had fallen to £271.16.0. and the last entries for St. Anne's parish appear in the accounts for 1820. Profits from the lamps were at best marginal. By the summer of 1815 sales at last exceeded the continuing expenses upon manufacture, glazing, labour, postage and advertising, and at the close of the following year the invention had made a profit of £192.6.11½. on total earnings of £3490.17.3. But this position was not maintained, and in 1817 expenses once again outstripped income. When the account was closed in 1824, two years after the death of Samuel Brooks, it registered a small loss.[58]

Cochrane could claim, nevertheless, that his first commercial project, an oil lamp developed at a time when gas lighting was capturing the market, had not been a total failure; it had managed, at least, to support itself over a decade of production. Nor, perhaps, was the experience wasted. In the history of lighting Cochrane had no further direct part, but it has been plausibly suggested that he may have fed ideas to Abraham Gesner, a pioneer of the petroleum industry. Gesner became acquainted with Cochrane at Halifax, Canada, when the old admiral was investigating the uses of Trinidad asphalt in the late 1840's. Shortly afterwards, in 1853, the Asphalt Mining and Kerosene Gas Company was established to operate Gesner's patents for the production of kerosene from asphalt petroleum for use in oil lamps. It is not unlikely that these developments owed something to the suggestions of the old seaman, whose promotion of asphalt was then at its peak, and whose standing as the inventor of an oil lamp extended back forty years.[59]

IV

In 1817 and 1818 the oil lamp shared Cochrane's attention with another, much more formidable, project. During the summer of 1817 he accepted the command of the Chilean navy, which was being formed to

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Apr. 11, 1818, DP 233/108/Y2; Dundonald, notes on essential oil of coal, Mar. 3, 1818, DP 233/74/3-4.

58. Account book of Cochrane and Samuel Brooks, DP 233/76/10.
59. R. J. Forbes, "Petroleum", in C. Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, T. I. Williams, ed., A History of Technology (1954-58), V, 102-105.

destroy Spanish sea power in the Pacific, and he planned to use a steam warship as part of his fleet. The vessel, the Rising Star, which Cochrane designed and had built in England, was the world's first steam cruiser. It had only one predecessor as a steam battleship, Fulton's Demologos, launched in 1814. Fulton had secured the vulnerable paddle wheels of the Demologos from shot by placing them between a double hull, but his vessel was heavy and bulky, possessed a rudder at each end and a flat bottom, and was designed as a floating bastion for harbour defence. The Rising Star, therefore; ranks as the first ocean going warship powered by steam.[60]

The Rising Star marks Lord Cochrane's debut as a pioneer of the steam warship. Eventually he designed, or caused to be built, six steam warships, only one of which saw action. His decision to build the Rising Star for Chile was bold, perhaps revolutionary. At that time no steamship had been in battle nor even accomplished a long distance ocean voyage. That steam was capable of efficient local services had been demonstrated by John Fitch's Delaware steamboat (1790), William Symington's Charlotte Dundas (1802), Fulton's Clermont (1807), Henry Bell's Comet (1812) and others, but the first salt water steamer, John Steven's Phoenix (1808) had made but a brief coastal voyage, and the only ocean going service was that of the Hibernia between Holyhead and Ireland, which began in 1816. Not until 1819 did the Savannah earn the distinction of using steam on a crossing of the Atlantic, although the engines, which were an auxilliary to sail, operated for only about 85 hours in a voyage of 27½ days. The second crossing (and the first westward) was accomplished by the Rising Star itself in 1821-1822.[61]

Steam conferred the advantage of mobility, both against the wind and in calms, but there were serious objections to its use in warfare. The bulky engines and supplies of fuel competed for ship space with ordnance and provisions; the paddle wheels required elaborate protection from shot; the boilers, which became incrusted with salt when supplied with sea water, operated safely only at low pressure; and the sea-keeping qualities of steamships were largely untested. Neither the fuelling depots nor a sufficient number of maintenance engineers existed to

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60. The Demologos is described in Dickinson, op. cit., 260-266, and Flexner, op. cit., 356-359.
61. The evolution of steamships is examined in H. P. Spratt, The Birth of the Steamboat (1958); K. T. Rowland, Steam at Sea: A History of Steam Navigation (1970); H. Moyse-Bartlett, From Sail to Steam (1946); J. Guthrie, A History of Marine Engineering (1971).

support the development of ocean going steam warships. Not surprisingly, half of Cochrane's six steamers proved to be unsatisfactory, and the Rising Star, which arrived in Chile too late to see battle, may have represented visionary rather than practical thinking.

Cochrane entrusted his ideas for the Rising Star to experienced firms. Daniel Brent of Rotherhithe, builder of the Diana and the London Engineer, constructed the vessel, and the engines were fitted by Henry Maudslay, Sons and Field, of Lambeth, who had supplied the Richmond, the Regent and the London Engineer. He also made use of the newly established company of Alexander Galloway of Greenwich. Galloway, a metropolitan radical who owned a flourishing workshop, had probably met Cochrane in political circles.[62]

While working on the Rising Star, Galloway and Cochrane invented an air-tight furnace for which they were issued with Patent number 4253 of 1818. It warrants examination, because it was clearly the origin of Cochrane's more famous patent of 1830, which outlined the important principle of the caisson. The 1818 invention consisted of a boiler harnessed to an air-tight stove. Air was pumped into the furnace through a pipe, which contained a valve preventing the return of smoke, gas and heated air. The latter, instead, escaped through another tube equipped with a valve to contain the smoke until all its combustible properties had been exhausted by the fire. Then it was discharged into a water reservoir before being released, purified, into the atmosphere. The stove made a more economical use of fuel, intensified heat and reduced air pollution.

Several devices ensured that the furnace and its ash pit remained air-tight. It was sealed at one end by iron doors within a metal chamber fitted with a cover that could be screwed into place, and facilities for viewing and raking the fire without opening the stove were provided. Attached to the top of the furnace was a perpendicular fuelling magazine equipped with two air-tight doors. The upper door, which admitted the fuel into a chamber above the second door, was closed before the latter, giving access to the fire, was opened.

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62. P. Banbury, Shipbuilders of the Thames and Medway (1971), 133-135, 198-203, 305; E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1968), 171, 177, 271-272, 565.

The significance of the air-tight stove was twofold. It was one of the few attempts to control the pollution caused by steam engines, and its principles had important applications. The problem of retaining the smoke and gases until they had been deprived of combustible elements led Cochrane to the air-tight chamber, which he later successfully adapted to tunnelling. More immediately, Cochrane and Galloway suggested that the idea of discharging the surplus gas, smoke and air into water could be applied to steam ship propulsion. Installed in a steam ship, the apparatus could release the air into the back of the cases enclosing the paddle wheels, where it would help to keep down obstructive water thrown back by the blades. "While the smoke and gases are...usefully applied," explained Galloway, "any superabundant quantity generated...will be deposited and dispersed in the water after they have performed their duty...in the paddle wheel...without the inconvenience or annoyance occasioned by the issue of foul smoke, as from common chimnies."[63]

Work probably began on the Rising Star in 1817, but patent 4253 and the first notices of the ship appeared the following year. According to one report, she was then in dry dock near Rotherhithe, and bore the name North Pole. Described as a three-masted polacre of some 200 tons, the ship was pierced for 20 guns, of which only 8 were mounted. Her stern was inscribed with the constellation of the Bear, including the North Star, and she displayed a bear as her figurehead.[64] Commander Bissell, late of the Imperieuse, toured the ship with Cochrane at Deptford and gave Farington an account. The Rising Star was "nearly 500 tons burden;- and had oars (paddle wheels) to be worked by steam in calm weather for which purpose He (Cochrane) has put 200 Chaldron of Coals in Her. The Oars do not appear at the side of the Vessel, but pass through Her bottom (via apertures), & for security iron plates are laid over the lower part of the ship. When the Oars are worked the consumption of Coals will be 4 Chaldron in 24 Hours. Lord Cochrane said, when the vessel is put to sea she will have cost £20,000."[65]

Bissell's description, and a contemporary print, indicate that the vessel had three keels, the paddle wheels (which were positioned between the fore and main masts) being protected by external casings. On July 6,

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63. A.D. 1818...No. 4253. Machinery for Removing the Inconvenience of Smoke or Gas, &c. (1818), 7.
64. N.C. (1818), XXXIX, 434.
65. J. Greig, ed., The Farington Diary (1922-28), VIII, 184.

1822 Maria Graham viewed the Rising Star at Valparaiso. The steam apparatus, she wrote, consisted of "two steam engines, each of forty-five horse power, and the wheels (were) covered so as not to show in the water from without. The vessel is a fine polacre and was in great forwardness before Lord Cochrane came here, but only arrived in these seas this year."[66]

The Chilean government bore the cost of the venture, although Cochrane employed his own resources in times of difficulty. On February 26, 1818, for example, he paid £800 to Galloway. In 1820 Alvarez Condarco, the Chilean agent in London, declined to pay for Maudslay's boilers and the account, for £400 exclusive of interest, was despatched to Cochrane, "agreeable to the engagement in your letter of 20th August, 1818."[67] By then the inventor was in the Pacific, and his brother, William, had assumed responsibility for the steamer. He persuaded Edward Ellice, a merchant, to finance further work in return for a license permitting him to import Chilean produce. But Ellice was soon in difficulties and threatened to sell the Rising Star. Thus prompted, Alvarez Condarco agreed that the ship should be assigned to anyone William Cochrane could name who would raise £6000 necessary for alterations. On their part, the Chileans promised to purchase the ship for £15,000 when it was completed, and to grant a license authorizing the financier to import goods from Chile.[68]

The steam ship was finally floated out of dock on February 5, 1821, and in trials on the Thames the following June attained a speed

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66. M. Graham, Journal of a Residence in Chile (1969), 172-173. H. P. Spratt, op. cit., 110-113, supplies some of the details given in the following paragraphs. Spratt's information is at variance to the account by Maria Graham. He states that the ship used twin cylinder engines of 70 nominal and 120 indicated horse power to drive paddle wheels about 13.5 feet in diameter and 7.5 feet wide. The marine flue boilers, probably four in number and of copper, supplied steam at a pressure of 2 or 3 lbs. per square inch. There were two funnels, some two feet in diameter, and they probably each served a pair of boilers. The Rising Star was 123.6 feet in length and 27.8 feet wide; she possessed a draught of 5.5 feet and the depth in the hold was 6.1 feet. She was a three masted sailing ship, the engines generally being reserved for calm weather. The middle section was long and parallel and the bottom flat. The ship was 428 tons burden.
67. H. Maudslay to Cochrane, June 27, 1820, DP 233/1/29; Galloway to Maudslay & Co., July 20, 1820, ibid; Cochrane's account book, DP 233/29/230.
68. Petition of William E. Cochrane to the President of Chile, 1856, quoting Jose Alvarez Condarco to W. E. Cochrane, Apr. 18, 1820, DP 233/101/83.

of five to six knots by steam. After modifications the ship sailed from Gravesend for Chile on October 22, but she sprang a leak off Portugal and was forced into Cork for repairs. When the Rising Star eventually arrived in Valparaiso in April 1822 the war in the Pacific was over. She never saw action, but seems to have been a satisfactory vessel. William Jackson, who crossed the Atlantic in the ship, considered her "a very superior sea-boat, frequently going twelve knots an hour." It is not known how often the engines were in use during the voyage.[69]

The career of the Rising Star was brief. In 1824 she was sold in Valparaiso to S. Winter and J. Brittain of Buenos Aires, and three years later to H. Stewart of Liverpool. The ship was wrecked in 1830. Before that time Cochrane had revived his plans to introduce steam power into naval warfare by demanding a complete steam battle squadron for the Greek Navy, which he was to command. Four of six projected steamers were completed, the Perseverance (1826), the Enterprize (1827), the Irresistible (1828) and the Mercury (1828). Only the former, renamed the Karteria, went into action, becoming the first purpose built steam warship ever to do so, and the Enterprize and the Irresistible proved to be unsatisfactory.[70] Undeterred, Cochrane urged the Royal Navy to adopt steam power, and devoted many of his remaining years to the design of apparatus. Once again his fortunes were chequered. An improved rotary engine which Cochrane invented won acclaim, but the Janus, a steam frigate he built for the Admiralty and launched in 1845, was not a success.

Despite his persistance, Cochrane failed to mark the transition from sail to steam in naval history because his ships made no significant contributions to the operations of the time. Rather he foresaw and foreshadowed an as yet nascent revolution and heralded its coming. Technical innovations, such as the surface condenser, continued to improve the prospects for steam, but as late as 1830 none of the important navies had shown much interest in adapting it to warships. Britain was reluctant to depart from the traditional warfare in which her navy had excelled, and lacked the incentive to do so since no other power was committing itself to steam. The first purpose built

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69. Jackson to W. E. Cochrane, June 20, 1856, DP 233/101/83.
70. D. Dakin, "Lord Cochrane's Greek Steam Fleet", M.M. (XXXIX, 1953), 211-219; D. Dakin, British and American Philhellenes During the War of Greek Independence, 1821-1833 (1955), 113-127, 230-232.

steamer introduced into the Royal Navy was the Comet of 1822, and ten years later there were only 20 steamers in service, generally as tugs or packets. Over the following decade, however, as the French showed greater interest in steam, the Admiralty began producing steam ships for battle. The Gorgon (1837) headed a line of 6-gun steam frigates, and in 1843 the 16-gun steamer Penelope was launched. Thus, when developments elsewhere justified expensive experimentation, the Royal Navy moved forwards, but the ascendancy of steam did not occur before the mid century.[71]

It was, perhaps, inevitable that Lord Cochrane, who inherited so pronounced a scientific tradition, should interest himself in steam power and unorthodox weaponry. His activities mark him, more than any of his naval contemporaries, as a reflection of the wider changes affecting British society. Skilled in the warfare of the eighteenth century, he simultaneously pointed towards the future. The pace of technological change was increasing as the country developed an industrial economy, and the navy could not have escaped the transformation. Cochrane's enthusiasm for innovation was often premature; his imagination outstripped practicality and public opinion. But few men of his time displayed such sensitivity to the implications of science and engineering. The methods of combat which he pioneered, if dormant in his own day, presaged many of the most important tactical developments of the ensuing century.

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71. For the introduction of steam ships into the Royal Navy, C. J. Bartlett, Great Britain and Sea Power, 1815-1853 (1963), 196-249; R. A. Buchanan and M. W. Doughty, "The Choice of Steam Engine Manufacturers by the British Admiralty, 1822-1852", M.M. (LXIV, 1978), 327-347; E. A. M. Laing, "The Introduction of Paddle Frigates into the Royal Navy", M.M. (LXVI, 1980), 331-343.

THE PARLIAMENTARY CAREER OF LORD COCHRANE, 1806-1814

I

The obstinacy revealed by Cochrane in the promotion of his secret war plans after 1809 was one of the qualities which took him into Parliament. Since 1802 he had been attempting to induce the Admiralty to promote deserving officers with the growing conviction that the Board was less interested in merit than influence when allocating commissions. A seat in parliament seemed to be one way in which a junior captain could find a forum for his views and strengthen his hand. The immediate obstacle to such an ambition, the expense likely to accompany electioneering, was overcome in 1805 by Cochrane's successes in the Pallas, which left him "pretty well flushed with Spanish money."[1] Free to seek a parliamentary seat, he found a constituency in the "potwalloper" borough of Honiton, in Devon.

In June 1806 Lord Cochrane read a public letter by William Cobbett to the electors of Honiton which attacked Cavendish Bradshaw, one of the borough's two members, who was seeking re-election because of his acceptance of a post as Teller of the Irish Exchequer. Cobbett proposed to stand for the seat in opposition to Bradshaw, pledging himself to eschew salaries or pensions from the public purse and to "watch over and defend the property, the liberties and the privileges of the people..."[2] Cochrane had just returned from a cruise in the Pallas, and decided to stand for Honiton. He arrived in flamboyant style in the town on June 8, and was introduced by his uncle, Andrew Cochrane-Johnstone, to Cobbett, who agreed to permit the captain to contest the seat in his stead.[3]

The Honiton by-election of 1806 has a three-fold significance. It reflected the revival of interest in economical, and ultimately of parliamentary, reform, and marked the debut of both Cochrane and Cobbett as its supporters; and it suggested the declining prestige of the Foxite Whigs among reformers. During the eighteenth century English government and representation were dominated by Crown and aristocracy and were an expression of a hierarchical and largely deferential and

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1. P.D., Jan. 29, 1817, XXXV, 92.
2. PR, June 7, 1806, IX, 833-835.
3. ibid, June 14, 1806, IX, 877-886; Public Characters, 1809-1810 (1809), 294-298. G. D. H. Cole, The Life of William Cobbett (1947), 113-118, gives a secondary account of the Honiton election.

agricultural society. Shortly after the accession of George III a movement for economical and parliamentary reform began which produced mass national agitation in the years following 1815. During its course it drew upon diverse elements: the development of towns, manufacturing and commerce which emphasized the inequalities in franchise and representation; the smaller country gentry chafing at the control of parliamentary seats by the magnates; the burdens of taxation which gave impetus to the call for taxpayer suffrage; a belief that the concentration of power in the hands of Crown or government was disturbing the balance of the constitution and threatening the liberties of the people; the Dissenters, who saw parliamentary reform as part of the campaign against the Test and Corporation Acts; the ideas of the French Revolution and the "Utilitarian" philosophers; the middle classes, whose increasing wealth and influence raised inevitable demands for a greater diffusion of power; and the lower classes, stimulated by the stresses of industrial and rural change and population growth. While the movement suffered mixed fortunes, and the reformers could seldom agree about the nature and extent of reform desirable, it was repeatedly thrust to the forefront of domestic politics.

In the first years of the nineteenth century interest in reform was experiencing one of its periodic lulls. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 had stimulated reformers at home, but the excesses of the French quickly provoked reaction. At the same time Tom Paine's The Rights of Man (1792) placed the British movement on a more radical footing by its attack upon the monarchy and aristocracy and its advocacy of the sovereignty of the people and a redistribution of wealth. Radicalism spread to the artisan classes. The membership of the London Corresponding Society, which demanded universal suffrage and annual parliaments, was open to any who paid a penny a week. But by 1800 the agitation had considerably abated, tempered by government repression and the loyalism encouraged by the war with France.

The movement flickered in the next few years, but 1806 brought clear signs of revival. Melville's impeachment for peculation in 1805 had provoked widespread disgust at government corruption, while the enduring war, the high taxes, and the apparent inability of the Foxite Whigs, who took office with Grenville in 1806, to reform government and eradicate abuses contributed towards awakening feelings that some alternative to the Whigs was necessary if politics were to be

purified. Sir Francis Burdett, a popular politician who supported economical and parliamentary reform, declared his independence of both Whigs and Tories and stood for Middlesex in the general election of November 1806. At the same time John Cartwright, a veteran reformer, contested Boston, and James Paull, a radical tailor, tried to carry Westminster. But all three were presaged by Cobbett and Cochrane at the Honiton by-election in June.[4]

It was from Cobbett that Cochrane received his introduction to current radical thought. Compared with many of the disciples of Tom Paine, the pugnacious journalist was strongly conservative, harking to a mythical past where inferiors were bound to their betters in an established social hierarchy whose keynote was paternalism. He was not interested in levelling and upheld the monarchy and the supremacy of landed society. The system of government, embracing a balance between Crown and people, was fundamentally good, but it had fallen under the control of a parliament of borough-mongers, in which those sufficiently wealthy to have stood apart from self-seeking had been supplanted by men of inferior birth. Such men were court sycophants, aspiring to wealth and power by office holding, and retaining it through the employment of placemen, sinecures, pensions and bribes. Unchecked, they oppressed the people with heavy taxation, harsh game laws and infringements of public liberty. The national debt, to which their profligacy contributed, was enhanced by the activities of fundholders and stock-jobbers who benefitted from the government loans required to finance the war and agitated to prolong international conflict to their own advantage. The solution, Cobbett believed, lay in economical reform and a purification of electoral procedures. The application of principles of non bribery at elections and the nomination of independent candidates able to withstand the allurements of office would establish in the Commons a body of uncorrupted members who would contest the venality of governments. This was the policy which took him to Honiton and led him to support Lord Cochrane, who agreed to act under Cobbett's supervision.[5]

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4. C. Emsley, British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815 (1979), 94-95; J. Cannon, Parliamentary Reform, 1640-1832 (1972) provides a general account of reform. Sir Francis Burdett's marriage to Sarah Coutts in 1793 made him a family connexion of the Cochranes. M. W. Patterson, Sir Francis Burdett and His Times, 1770-1844 (1931), 16, 28.
5. Cobbett's radicalism is discussed by J. W. Osborne, William Cobbett: His Thought and His Times (1966) and J. W. Derry, The Radical Tradition (1967), 46-79.

The candidates for Honiton aired their views at a public meeting on June 9, 1806, and Cochrane expressed a wish to preserve the liberties of the people. "I give you my word of honour," he said, "that I never will accept of any sinecure or pension, or any grant of the public money, and that I never will ask or receive any such for any person whatsoever, that may be in any way dependent upon me."[6] In support, Cobbett accused Bradshaw of bribery and place seeking and contended that he was incapable of independent action. The electors, he said, must return a candidate able to stand apart from party and reward who would oppose measures inimical to the public. Despite these efforts, the following day Cochrane was defeated by 259 votes to 124 and Cobbett returned to London fuming at the venality of the borough and alleging that Bradshaw had tempted the poor with money.[7] Cochrane, however, recontested the seat in the general election of November 1806 and was returned, with Bradshaw, as a member, but whether it was a radical triumph is uncertain. Possibly Cochrane, whose interest was primarily naval reform, was not overscrupulous about the methods necessary to win the seat. Certainly in 1817 he admitted paying ten guineas a vote, although later in his autobiography he represented this as a surprise reward for those who had supported him in the June election, Bradshaw's bribery notwithstanding. Whatever the truth, Cochrane attended Parliament only once before it was dissolved in April 1807.[8]

Rather than stand again at Honiton, Cochrane turned to Westminster, where Paull had made some showing as an independent candidate the previous year. Westminster was, perhaps, the most prestigious urban constituency in the country, the home of Parliament and a "scot and lot" borough of such size, some 17,000 electors (mainly small tradesmen and artisans), that its members had been able to claim considerable popular support. The leading Parliamentary factions had often spared themselves ruinous contests at Westminster by sharing the two seats, but the death of one representative, Fox, in 1806 and the retirement of another in 1807 had thrown the issue open. Furthermore, some of the electorate, reflecting the rising antipathy to both Whigs and Tories, were disposed to support an independent candidate, and a move was afoot to sponsor Burdett and Paull in the election of May 1807.[9]

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6. PR, June 14, 1806, IX, 878-879.
7. ibid, June 14, 1806, IX, 879-886, June 28, 1806, IX, 968-974.
8. A. Cochrane to T. J. Cochrane, Nov. 17, 1806, NLS 2264, f. 70; The Times, May 13, 15, 1807; P.D., Jan. 29, 1817, XXXV, 92, May 15, 1817, XXXVI, 600.
9. J. M. Main, "Radical Westminster, 1807-1820", Historical Studies (Australia and New Zealand), (XIII, 1966), 186-204, pp. 186-187; A. D. Harvey, Britain in the Early Nineteenth Century (1978), 230-231.

Sir Francis Burdett was to become the leader of Westminster's radicals and his principles formed the basis of what might be termed their official ideology. Until the end of the French wars the Westminster programme was essentially Burdettite in character. Burdett contended that the public were endowed with rights guaranteed under the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement and the Habeas Corpus Act. Such privileges - the right to bear arms, to retain property, to be taxed only with consent, to petition and express opinions, and to equal protection before the law - had been preserved in the past by a balanced constitution as described by Blackstone.

Like Cobbett, Burdett believed that the people were no longer protected by the constitution. Parliament consisted of factions vying for the spoils of office. Governments maintained majorities by borough mongering and bribery, and their opponents were unwilling to reform abuses from which they might some day benefit. The Commons had become an oligarchy, imposing alike upon the King and people. It could be reformed by a reduction of sinecure places, offices, pensions and placemen, and by alterations to the electoral system, including shorter parliaments and an extension of the suffrage to taxpayers. Burdett, no less than Cobbett, accepted the social order based upon the supremacy of the landed classes, which, he held, were obliged to preserve the liberties of the people. His radicalism remained paternalistic rather than egalitarian.[10]

Burdett's views were accepted by a number of electors who, in 1807, formed a committee to secure the return of reform candidates for Westminster. Their belief that the election of independent men in the place of parliamentary pensioners, placemen and self-seekers would restore responsible government emphasized the initiative of the people. Electors should resist the overtures of mercenary politicians, search out candidates whose views accorded with their own and bear the expense of their return. Not surprisingly, the Westminster Committee eventually promoted Lancasterian schools in an effort to cultivate respectable public opinion. It was not a permanent body, but a part-time informal organization, without rules or rewards, which assembled to finance and manage elections and to deal with

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10. M. H. R. Bonwick, The Radicalism of Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844) and Early Nineteenth-Century "Radicalisms" (Ph.D., Cornell University, 1967).

particular crises. Most of the members were tradesmen. Samuel Brooks was a glass merchant, William Sturch an ironmonger, and William Adams and George Puller curriers. Many had been associated with the London Corresponding Society, and while they may have been more radical than Burdett, they usually endorsed his opinions and allowed him a free hand.[11]

Although Burdett refused to campaign at Westminster, he permitted the infant committee to nominate him for a seat and promised to take it if returned. The committee wanted to sponsor both Burdett and Paull, but four days before the poll began the two candidates fought a duel in Coombe Wood and both were wounded. The result was a split in the radical support. Most, including the group which later became known as the Westminster Committee, withdrew support for Paull, who, however, continued to canvass with supporters of his own. Other candidates in the field were Richard Brinsley Sheridan, a Whig,

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11. W. E. Saxton, The Political Importance of the Westminster Committee of the Early Nineteenth Century (Ph.D., Edinburgh University, 1957), I, ii, 29-29A, 64-92; Main, op. cit., 188. Politicians were not all as selfish or subservient as the radicals suggested, not even those representing rotten or pocket boroughs. Government majorities relied upon the support of a large number of "independent" members, most of them conservative country gentlemen (A. Aspinall and E. A. Smith, ed., English Historical Documents, 1783-1832 (1971), 21-51). Norman Gash has argued that, contrary to radical opinion, a "basic weakness of the constitution was the looseness of the control exercised by the executive over the legislature." (N. Gash, Aristocracy and People. Britain, 1815-1865 (1979), 48). The ability of governments to control the House had been declining since 1780. Their facility for purchasing support had been reduced by stricter controls of government revenue, pensions, loans and contracts, and between 1782 and 1800 over a thousand sinecures were abolished. According to a Select Committee of 1810-1812, only 342 sinecures remained, many of them due to expire with their holders. Only one important source of patronage, the honours system, seems to have been expanding. In 1822 Charles Arbuthnot remarked that a further diminution of "the just and necessary influence of the crown" would make it "quite impossible for any set of men to conduct the government of this country." (A. S. Foord, "The Waning of 'The Influence of the Crown'", R. Mitchison, ed., Essays in Eighteenth Century History (1966), 171-194, p. 175). The attitude to patronage was a distinction between Burdettite and Whig thinking. The latter accepted that an element of control was necessary to permit executive government to work, but were concerned to confine it to reasonable limits. Some of the radicals, however, argued for the exclusion of placemen from the House, which should consist solely of independent members who would assess legislation according to its merits (Saxton, op. cit., I, i, 175-176, 181-182, I, ii, 86-89).

and the Tory John Elliott, a Pimlico brewer.[12]

Cochrane entered the contest after learning from Burdett that he would do nothing to get himself elected. On April 29 the captain issued an address to the electors in which he attempted to dispel some of the doubts about his eligibility as a member. It was important, he argued, that naval officers should sit in the House so that professional opinion on naval affairs might be made available to government. No issues were discussed, but Cochrane declared himself independent of party, expressed contempt for those whose "sinecures and unmerited pensions...drain the resources of their country" and vowed he would judge measures according to their value to the country. Thus, using the language of Cobbett, he captured the spirit of the embryonic radicalism in Westminster and placed himself in a position of instant favour. Only when doubts spread about his sincerity did his popularity on the hustings wane.[13]

Despite his stance as a reformer, Cochrane ran against Burdett as well as the other candidates, and was at no time supported by the Westminster Committee. His own committee was established after a meeting at St. Alban's Tavern, St. Alban's Street, Pall Mall, on May 1, 1807, and consisted of numerous electors and friends, including naval and military officers. The most active were Peter Richardson, a hotel owner, and John Willock. Thomas Denman, later a Chief Justice, was employed by Cochrane to help manage his election for a fee of £150. Meetings were arranged by the committee in over half a dozen hotels and coffee houses throughout the constituency and dinners were twice held for supporters at Willis's Rooms, St. James's.[14]

Before the voting began, Cochrane had emphasized that "Independence is the ground on which I am determined to stand or fall;" but if this

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12. The Times, May 5, 1807; An Exposition of the Circumstances which Gave Rise to the Election of Sir Francis Burdett... (1807); Add. MSS. 27850, ff. 37-59, 65-85.
13. Cochrane to Electors, Apr. 29, 1807, Public Characters, 1809-1810 (1809), 299-301; Add. MSS. 27838, f. 12; Add. MSS. 27850, ff. 47-48.
14. The other known supporters of Lord Cochrane were his brother, Basil; Captains Walton, King and Marshall of the Navy; Lieutenant Colonel Tyler, Thomas Maude, J. Hebden, William Holmes, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, J. Redit, H. Robins, William Green, William Yarnold, Edward Bowman, John Wright and Messrs. Mortimer, Watkins, Owen, Johnson, Sant and Nutting. Use was made of Richardson's Coffee House, Marylebone Street; the Tower Coffee House, New Bond Street and Grosvenor Street; the British Coffee House, Cockspur Street; the Navy Coffee House, Newcastle Street; Iveson's Hotel, Bridge Street, and Morland's Coffee House, Dean Street. The Times, May 2, 16, 19, 1807; Add. MSS. 27838, ff. 114, 116-117; Cobbett to his wife, Oct. 25, 1811, L. Melville, ed., Life and Letters of William Cobbett (1913), II, 66-68; J. Arnould, Memoir of Thomas, First Lord Denman, Formerly Lord Chief Justice of England (1873), I, 66.

remained the pivot of his campaign, he developed other principles daily during the poll. Indeed, largely because of his remarks the hustings became a mart for defamation and invective, and, as the poll progressed, the sailor's good humour, which had been so effective in the first few days, melted before the increasing hostility of the crowd. On May 7, the first day of polling, Cochrane harangued the people from the top of a narrow bar before the hustings, a feat Sheridan sought to emulate upon occasions, and pledged his independence of party and his friendship to "every species of reform". Parliamentary reform, he maintained, could be achieved by denying votes to sinecure holders, placemen and pensioners and by candidates for election swearing oaths to eliminate bribery. "Lord Cochrane's speech," reported The Times, "was received with great applause and without the slightest murmer of disapprobation; his Lordship appeared a great favourite with all ranks."[15] For four days he headed the poll. On Monday, May 11, Cochrane had gathered 770 votes, 103 more than Burdett who stood in second place. Strangely, none of the candidates had polled well, despite an active canvass on behalf of both Cochrane and Burdett.[16]

The campaign, however, increasingly exposed flaws in Cochrane's suitability as a candidate. To some extent, this was evident from the wild allegations he began to fling out from the second day of the poll when he accused a Commander in Chief of the navy of allocating commissions for borough interest, an attack, as Sheridan afterwards stated, on St. Vincent, who was absent and unable to reply. Instead of defending himself, Cochrane veered to a separate point, castigating St. Vincent for economy measures which sent unsound vessels to sea, a policy which he held responsible for the recent losses of the Atalante and Felix. After the weekend, Cochrane intensified the vilification by describing the effect of long cruises, poor provisions and inadequate shore leave upon the health of the seamen in St. Vincent's Channel fleet. More reprehensible was his accusation on May 12, when he had fallen behind in the poll, that unfit ships were brought by St. Vincent into the Channel fleet to procure borough interest. "He could lead his hearers through the Mediterranean...He could tell them the abuses existing there...He could repeat such a state of the Navy of the

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15. The Times, May 8, 1807; Add. MSS. 27838, f. 109.
16. Add. MSS. 27850, ff. 79-80.

country, as would make the blood of every man who heard him boil with indignation."[17]

These onslaughts provoked outrage in some quarters. The Times editorials attacked Cochrane's methods on May 15, May 18 and May 19, while Sheridan repeatedly vindicated St. Vincent at the hustings, and on May 13 contradicted some of Cochrane's facts. But on that day the captain revealed further cause for complaint against the old admiral. On a plea of ill health that officer had remained in London while Commander in Chief of the Channel Fleet, drawing revenue from the activities of seamen he expected to work, sick or well, at sea. Thus St. Vincent was ranked with the sinecure holders, pensioners and placemen who subsisted upon the public purse and subverted the laudable character of the ancient constitution.[18]

While Cochrane's intemperance aroused indignation in the press, his standing with the crowds about the hustings was damaged by rumours which struck at the heart of the radical idealism which marked the popular mood. James Gibbons, Paull's representative, accused the captain of having used bribery at Honiton, and Cochrane's refusal to answer the charges did not put the fears of the electors at rest. It was suggested by some, including Burdett's spokesman, that Cochrane was in fact a ministerial candidate. It became known that he had been interviewed at Burlington House by the Duke of Portland on May 11, and that he had later seen William Huskisson of the Treasury. Cochrane's explanation, that he had merely been investigating a report that Captain Samuel Hood, who had received ministerial support during a previous election, was to stand again for Westminster, failed to reassure the electors. Other points were scored against him. The family connection between Cochrane and Melville was discovered, and it was suggested that if the grievances against St. Vincent had been genuine, Cochrane would have raised them in the House while representing Honiton.[19]

Towards the close of the poll, Cochrane's speeches at the hustings became briefer. Perhaps he realized that he had overplayed his hand.

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17. The Times, May 11, 12, 13, 1807. The Atalante was wrecked off Île d'Ré on February 12, 1807, and the Felix near Santander on January 23, 1807. J. J. Colledge, Ships of the Royal Navy (1969), I, 55, 206.
18. The Times, May 14, 1807.
19. The Times, May 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 1807.

He was repeatedly in difficulties with the crowd. On May 16 a vulgar remark about Fox raised such a protest that Cochrane's speech was interrupted for twenty minutes. Two days later feeling on the subject still ran high and Cochrane apologized. To retrieve his fading popularity, he gave support to annual parliaments on May 21, but he evaded replying to allegations concerning the bribery at Honiton and was subjected to much abuse. Nevertheless, when the poll closed on Saturday, May 23, Burdett topped it with 5134 votes and Cochrane was a comfortable second with 3708. Sheridan managed to pass Elliott to arrive third with 2645 votes.[20]

An analysis of the voting repays study. Burdett received far more single votes, or "plumpers", than did any other candidate, 1672. In this respect, Cochrane did not significantly outstrip Sheridan, obtaining 632 plumpers to the Whig's 592. Sheridan, who came up fast towards the close of the poll, received more split votes with Burdett (1527) than did Cochrane (1423), but the latter obtained more split votes with Elliott (1264) than did either Burdett (286) or Sheridan (145). It seems that the equivocal image of Lord Cochrane, professed independent and alleged government candidate, enabled him to pick up votes from both right and left, and it is likely that as his popularity among the hustings crowd declined, he lost "radical" split votes to Sheridan but gathered split votes with Elliott from the less vocal conservative element.[21]

Francis Place's story that Cochrane removed his inspectors before the end of the poll to permit Sheridan to make a respectable show by polling "the same man over and over again" is ill founded. Cochrane withdrew his inspectors to reduce expenses, but on May 22 he demanded that the High Bailiff of Westminster, Arthur Morris, administer additional oaths to minimize fraud. Sheridan's committee alleged that this was a ploy to slow down the polling, since their candidate was then gaining upon Cochrane, and that the tactic was compounded by the closure of the poll an hour early. Possibly the accusations were made to fortify a petition Sheridan intended placing before Parliament calling for Lord Cochrane's disqualification. But this, too, was unsuccessful.[22]

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20. The Times, May 18, 19, 1807; Morning Chronicle, May 21, 1807.
21. PR, May 30, 1807, XI, 958.
22. Add. MSS. 27838, ff. 21-22; Add. MSS. 27850, f. 80; The Times, May 23, 1807; PR, May 30, 1807, XI, 973-975; Commons Journals, July 10, 1807, LXII, 681. Sheridan hoped to nullify Cochrane's return by accusing him of bribing the electors with gifts, promises, food and drink, and entertainment. Cochrane held dinners, but there

The election was a triumph for the Westminster Committee, which had organized and financed Burdett's return, and for Cochrane. Since the captain declared his intention of exposing abuses, preventing the waste of public money, restoring the blessings of the ancient constitution and upholding the freedom of the electors and the independence of the Commons, his was also a victory for popular radicalism. But although it was celebrated annually for years, the election scarcely opened a period of successful agitation. Until 1815 the radicals did little more than momentarily marshal public opinion to the liberal cause over occasional incidents. They were unable to develop and sustain a widespread demand for reform. Before Cochrane's role in these events is examined, it is important to attempt a clearer picture of his radicalism.

Cochrane's disgust at the system of promotion in the Navy had led him to Parliament. He was convinced that the borough mongers were at the heart of the problem; commissions were awarded upon the basis of parliamentary interest rather than merit. The conception was naive. Certainly promotion in the service depended upon the Admiralty Board, which largely consisted of members of Parliament who had an eye to their own advantage. More important, however, was the private patronage exercised by captains and admirals, much of which no more reflected merit than did the most political appointments made by the Board. Cochrane believed that promotion should remain with the naval officers, and interpreted Admiralty intervention as a means of securing places for political protégés. At a meeting in New Palace Yard, on February 9, 1810, for example, he stated that the admirals, since 1796, had lost the power to reward merit. He remained blind to the Admiralty's concern that the captains and admirals all too often employed their considerable influence to clutter the quarter-deck with their relatives or aspirants from the families of their friends.[23]

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is no evidence that he resorted to direct bribery. His expenses during the campaign, however, must have been considerable. In 1817 he complained that one election, presumably that of 1807, had cost him £5700. P.D., May 15, 1817, XXXVI, 600.

23. The Times, Feb. 10, 1810; Morning Chronicle, Feb. 10, 1810; The Statesman, Feb. 10, 1810. Forty-six individuals sat on the Board of Admiralty from 1800 to 1815. Over 30 of them, at sometime during their tenure of office, were members of Parliament, the exceptions being generally naval officers. Compare J. C. Sainty, Admiralty Officials, 1660-1870 (1975) with G. P. Judd, Members of Parliament, 1734-1832 (1955).

It is not necessary to regard Cochrane's complaint as a sordid squabble over the control of patronage devoid of all idealism. The captain felt deeply for his lieutenants, Parker and Haswell. But he was unable to make a detached analysis of the problems that fraught the promotion system. Cobbett had provided him with a convenient explanation of the frustrations. Political corruption and a parliament of borough-mongers were the causes. The remedy lay in a purification of the electoral process, a return to the mythical ancient constitution and the establishment of an independent legislature unfettered by sinecures, pensions and office-seekers.

In addition, Cochrane was concerned about the poor conditions in which seamen were expected to maintain the blockade of the enemy coasts. Undoubtedly, he justly attributed some of the blame to Lord St. Vincent's parsimonious regime at the Admiralty, but here his ideas ran counter to the radical current, for they implicitly condemned the retrenchment so many reformers espoused. Cochrane's remarks upon the subject at the hustings are also interesting for what they reveal of the personal dimension of his campaign. His grievances originated in an anxiety for naval reform; but the deficiencies of the system were personified in one man. Cochrane's unconcealed detestation of St. Vincent was counter-productive, for it led him to make unsubstantiated and unnecessary attacks upon the admiral's character which diverted attention from the main issues. His comments were easily dismissed as the products of personal spite. "His foolish & reprehensible conduct," wrote one of St. Vincent's friends, "appears to have been guided by envy, hatred, & malice, & all uncharitableness."[24] Before he had made one speech in the Commons, Lord Cochrane had given a remarkable display of political ineptitude.

Cochrane and Burdett did not immediately collaborate when they took their seats and joined the opposition to the Duke of Portland's new administration. Despite his protestations, Cochrane was not entirely trusted by the radicals, and the government were reportedly not displeased with his election. There were areas of disagreement between Cochrane and many of the reformers. He spent much of his time waging the war which liberals so repeatedly denounced, and he had seen too much of Bonaparte's imperialism at first hand to subscribe,

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24. J. Markham to T. Grenville, May 27, 1807, Harvey, op. cit., 232.

as yet, to the idolatry of the Emperor which marked some radicals. It is true that neither Burdett nor John Cartwright shared this adulation. Sir Francis opposed the war, which he believed an object to restore Bourbon despotism, but his sympathy for the French regimes had cooled. Nevertheless, Cochrane's willingness to serve against France, and later the United States, may have disturbed some of his radical contemporaries. A more fundamental objection to Cochrane was that he held office under the Crown as a captain in the navy, and appeared to lack the independence of Burdett.[25]

If Cochrane fitted uneasily into the radical niche, he had clearly set himself apart from the Whigs by his adoption of the radical platform and declarations of independence. In his maiden speech in the Commons he served notice that "he could not honestly support either of the present parties" but trusted that "some third party would arise, which would keep aloof from selfish interest, and sinecure places and pensions."[26] To some extent the Foxite Whigs saw themselves as the guardians of the people and watchdogs of the Crown. They believed that the "influence of the Crown" threatened the balance of the constitution, and often attacked government patronage to restore a satisfactory equilibrium. As recently as February 1807 the Whig interest in economical reform had been revived with the establishment of a Select Committee to investigate sinecures. But despite their tendency to support liberal causes, and the period of entrenched "Tory" government after 1807 which added to their credibility, the Whig opposition were repeatedly stigmatized by radicals as place seekers.[27]

This criticism was not entirely unjustified since the Whigs still hoped for power from the Prince of Wales. Moreover, as the record of their "Ministry of the Talents" suggested, they found difficulty in promoting reform. The right of the party, under Lord Grenville, whose relatives were major sinecurists, was cool to the issue, and if most of the Whigs were willing to set limits to corruption they were also content to preserve the essential features of the existing system with running repairs. Popular agitation and parliamentary reform awoke fears for property. A few of the Whigs, notably Samuel Whitbread and Thomas Brand, attempted to develop party commitment to reform and

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25. H. Hunt, Memoirs of Henry Hunt (1820-22), II, 271-274; J. W. Osborne, John Cartwright (1972), 76; Bonwick, op. cit., 58-59.
26. P.D., June 26, 1807, IX, 642.
27. Whig attitudes to reform are discussed in M. Roberts, The Whig Party, 1807-1812 (1965), ch. 3; A. Mitchell, The Whigs in Opposition, 1815-1830 (1967), ch. 1.

to cooperate with the Burdettites but without significant success. It is doubtful if even Whitbread's followers would have endorsed the full radical programme, and important differences in emphasis separated the two. Cartwright, for example, criticized Brand's proposed "half reform" in 1810.[28] Burdett and Cochrane believed that the Crown, no less than the people, was prey to the boroughmongers, and the return of Burdett for Westminster in 1807 broke ground with the Whigs on electoral purity.

Cochrane's first interest was not, however, economical or parliamentary reform. Between 1807 and 1813 he attacked naval abuses, raising matters fundamental to the well being of men afloat. These campaigns, which exposed Cochrane's limitations as a parliamentarian, can be conveniently classified under two headings, dealing with conditions of service in the navy and the administration of the Admiralty prize courts.

II

On July 10, 1807 Cochrane launched his campaign with a sweeping attack upon St. Vincent's late command of the Channel Fleet and his regime as First Lord of the Admiralty, drawing attention to "circumstances which for some years have embittered the lives of a portion of the community." The points which had been raised at the hustings in May were now elaborated. Cochrane demanded papers relating to the Atalante and the Felix to illustrate "that vessels are kept at sea under the present system in an unfit and dangerous state" and strengthened his allegations by reading from letters written by the surgeon of the Felix. As for the Atalante, Cochrane recalled he had victualled that ship in 1806, and reported its deplorable condition on more than one occasion.[29]

That economies in the use of timber during St. Vincent's period of office at the Admiralty put the fleet in a state of disrepair is now generally accepted. The Earl came to the Admiralty in 1801 with a fiery determination to reduce expenditure and purge corruption. He attributed increases in the costs of materials to the development of monopolies which undermined competition for contracts and to collusion between the Navy Board and the suppliers which enabled the latter to profit from deliveries deficient in quantity and quality. A cheese-paring Commission of Naval Enquiry, instituted by St. Vincent in 1802,

28. Roberts, op. cit., 279-280.
29. The debate is in P.D., July 10, 1807, IX, 754-768.

furnished little evidence of corruption in the Navy Board, but instanced cases of profiteering by suppliers and of monopolies which had operated against the public interest.[30]

St. Vincent's sincere but misplaced zeal reduced relations between the Admiralty and Navy Boards to deadlock, and adversely affected the fleet. The exhaustion of native oak supplies, not the development of a monopoly, was the prime determinent of timber prices, and while the First Lord resisted what he considered to be exorbitant tenders and cancelled contracts, he denuded the royal dockyards of supplies and ordered only two 74-gun ships from merchant yards during his tenure of office. When the war broke out again in 1803, the navy was compelled to maintain its taxing blockade of the enemy coasts in a general state of disrepair. Nelson, who owed much to St. Vincent, remarked that "we shall break up, unless the new Admiralty act very differently from the old..."[31] St. Vincent was succeeded as First Lord in 1804 by Melville, who deplored "the schemes of false economy and injudicious reforms" of his predecessor. He tried to remedy the deficiencies in the fleet, but the legacy of the truculent Earl was not easily expunged.[32]

Equally valid were Cochrane's complaints that ships were often kept at sea too long without adequate provisions. The consequences were ill health and disease, including scurvy. Scurvy could not be controlled solely by the issue of citrus fruits. "Lime juice is now the substitute," Cochrane explained, "and a cure it is - but a debilitating cure - not fit to re-establish the strength of body impaired by living withcut vegetables for a long period on salted provisions." These problems were exacerbated by the precautions taken against desertion, by manning problems and the rigour of the blockades. The standing orders that "no man be sent on shore unless absolutely necessary" were not suspended until 1808; ships were victualled at sea from storeships instead of being allowed to put into port; shore leave, notoriously inadequate at any time, was restricted; and it was ordered in the Channel Fleet that no man might

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30. Material upon St. Vincent's work at the Admiralty can be found in R. G. Albion, Forests and Sea Power (1926); B. Pool, Navy Board Contracts, 1660-1832 (1966); D. Bonner-Smith, ed., Letters of Admiral of the Fleet, the Earl of St. Vincent (1922-27); N. A. M. Rodger, The Admiralty (1979).
31. Albion, op. cit., 374.
32. C. Matheson, The Life of Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, 1742-1811 (1933), 336; C. Lloyd, Mr. Barrow of the Admiralty (1970), 72-73; Middleton to Melville, Mar. 17, 1805, J. K. Laughton, ed., Letters and Papers of Charles, Lord Barham (1907-11), III, 66-69.

be admitted to a hospital without first being examined by the surgeon of the Commander in Chief. Cochrane was not alone in his criticism of this aspect of St. Vincent's command. Dr. Thomas Trotter, the eminent physician whose work had banished scurvy from the Channel fleet, lamented its reappearance during the command of the old admiral.[33]

Cochrane complained of genuine grievances, yet provoked unnecessary opposition because of his vigorous attack upon St. Vincent. The Scot speciously repeated the allegation that St. Vincent had lived in London while drawing the salary and emoluments of a Commander in Chief. "I shall not be surprised to see," said Cochrane, "some future minister confer the office on a fool or on a child, and make the situation of commander in chief of the channel fleet a sinecure as complete, and a means of corruption equal to any that has lately been the subject of debate in this house." The "unworthy savings" of St. Vincent, he contended, even caused a shortage of lint and other commodities in the hospitals. He moved for papers relating to the Atalante and Felix, the repair and provisioning of ships, the extent of shore leave granted in the Channel fleet, and for copies of any orders restraining the sick from being sent ashore to hospitals.

The motion was seconded by the Hon. Henry A. Dillon, but St. Vincent's collaborators, Sir Samuel Hood and Admiral John Markham, rallied to the Earl's defence. Intellectually, their remarks lacked substance, and Cochrane was able to reply with spirit, but he invited further outrage by accusing Markham of being incapable of maintaining discipline on his ship and implying that Hood's subservience to authority had gained him commands when better men remained unemployed. Such tactless assaults militated against his motion, which others believed in any case should have been first laid before the Admiralty. The motion fell to the ground without the dignity of a division.

Another subject upon which Cochrane dwelt was the payment of seamen serving on foreign stations. During a debate on June 12, 1811 he gave details of nine vessels which had been on the East Indian station between four and fifteen years. Sailors on foreign stations were not paid until they returned home, by which time many of them

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33. C. C. Lloyd and J. L. S. Coulter, Medicine in the Navy, 1714-1815 (1961), 21-23, 165-168; W. Richardson, A Mariner of England (1970), 110-111.

could have died. Payments, even then, might be delayed until the day before the ship was due to sail again, as insurance against desertion. This was a problem to which the Admiralty would shortly address itself. Eventually it became policy to allow a man returning from three or more years abroad at least three months' leave, and five years was generally the maximum duration of foreign service.[34]

The best example of Cochrane's mismanagement of a legitimate complaint was his advocacy in 1813 of a limit to the length of service permitted in the navy. In wartime men were normally discharged only when they had become incapacitated by age, ill health or injury, but inevitably, when manning problems were acute, many were put to labour who ought to have been pensioned. Some sailors purchased their discharge or provided as many as four substitutes, thus, as Cochrane said, returning "into the hands of government all those fruits of their toil, which formerly they looked to as the means of some little comfort in their old age."[35]

The fate awaiting those discharged from active service was not, Cochrane claimed, alluring. Some were placed upon harbour duty, where the work was hard and no distinctions of rank were allowed. If he was lucky, a seaman might receive a place or a pension from Greenwich Hospital, but the claims upon that institution were increasing and it was known that the Hospital was already fulfilling its duties with difficulty. In view of these problems, Cochrane asked the House to give a commitment to fixing limits of service and called for statements on the resources of Greenwich Hospital so that their adequacy could be determined.[36]

The policies were, of course, financially inexpedient. But provisions for retirement were inadequate for both officers and the ordinary seamen whose vulnerability was Cochrane's main concern.[37]

In theory, any disabled or aged seamen might apply to Greenwich for

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34. P.D., June 12, 1811, XX, 590-596. Cochrane's statement that "the seamen" drew less money under the revised prize rates of 1808 revealed a self interest unworthy of his cause. Those rates had increased the proportion of prize money paid to seamen at the expense of the captains' shares. P.D., July 5, 1813, XXVI, 1109; "Nestor", Mar. 4, 1813, N.C. (1813), XXIX, 212-214; M. Lewis, A Social History of the Navy (1960), 318-319.
35. The debates are in P.D., Mar. 11, 1813, XXV, 7-10; P.D., July 5, 1813, XXVI, 1102-1115; P.D., July 8, 1813, XXVI, 1155-1166.
36. According to the information on Greenwich Hospital a balance of £55,989.8.3¾ remained after paying out the pensions in 1812. Commons Journals, 1813, LXVIII, Appendix 13, 927-928.
37. "Justicius", N.C. (1812), XXVIII, 109-112; N.C. (1813), XXX, 479-480; M. Lewis, The Navy in Transitiçn, 1814-1864 (1965), 226-227.

a place or a pension, but his application had to be endorsed by his superiors. There were certainly many unfit men in service, although the scale of the problem cannot be ascertained. Between October 1795 and May 1798 776 patients of Plymouth Hospital, considered unfit by medical personnel, were released for duty by the naval authorities of the establishment.[38] In any event, the numbers of pensions and places available at Greenwich remained, despite improvements, threadbare. In 1813 it required little foresight to envisage the increased demands that would be made upon the Hospital, since the complement of the navy had been declining since 1809. The fall in the numbers of men required for service would inevitably increase the applications to Greenwich. Cochrane argued that the difficulty could be met by a transfer of money from the droits of Admiralty. Eventually, at the end of the war, the Admiralty expanded the Hospital's income by levying contributions from freight and prize money and other sources.[39]

In retrospect, Cochrane appears to have asked nothing unreasonable of the Commons; he wanted a limit to service and adequate provision for those who were retired. The charity of the House did not, however, extend to an acknowledgement of the problem. For this Lord Cochrane was not, primarily, to blame, but he contributed to his failure by clothing his case in such a tissue of exaggeration that John W. Croker, Secretary of the Admiralty, had only to expose the excesses to sap confidence in the resolutions. Only Burdett appeared to perceive that Croker had ravaged Cochrane's argument without impairing its basic validity.

Cochrane supported his claim that the navy was permeated with demoralized and unfit men by describing the service as inefficient. Normally, upon such occasions, he regarded the continuing French coastal trade as evidence of the failure of the navy to fulfill its tasks, but in 1813 he substituted the more topical British defeats in the American war of 1812. Croker had no difficulty with this contention, for the fortunes of the battle combatants related largely to their respective strengths. He was also able to cite examples of British gallantry which destroyed Cochrane's allegations of a general malaise.

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38. Lloyd and Coulter, op. cit., 278-290, 375.
39. Second Report of the Commission of Naval Enquiry, N.C. (1803), X, 209-222, 297-303; W. L. Clowes, ed., The Royal Navy, a History (1897-1903), V, 31-32; N.C. (1815), XXXIII, 68-69; M. Lewis, The Navy in Transition (1965), 176, 226.

Of course, Croker, like Cochrane, gave isolated instances, but the sweeping nature of the captain's generalization that conditions of service were reducing standards invited precisely such an attack. Moreover, Croker was able to colour the debates by affecting and stimulating indignation that Cochrane had indicted the bravery of British seamen; he was the foe, rather than the defender, of the Navy. Cochrane had given the exchange to his adversary. By linking his case to an absurd proposition about the navy's performance, he offered a vulnerable flank to Croker, who cast doubt upon the entire argument.

Cochrane also served his ends poorly by the misleading statements he made during the debates. On March 11 he mentioned two petty officers who had been delegated to harbour duty from which they escaped by raising "£80 or £90 each to obtain their discharge." Challenged on July 5 to name the individuals, he implied that William Ford of the Imperieuse and John Milton of the Pallas had "purchased" a discharge, while William Farley "had returned to him (Cochrane), and died on board, completely worn out in the service." Croker investigated the cases, and three days later informed the House that neither Ford nor Milton had purchased their discharges from harbour duty but had provided substitutes to obtain them. Neither had been invalided or assigned harbour duty, and Milton had subsequently fraudulently attempted to obtain a pension from Greenwich. As for Farley, he was neither invalided to harbour duty nor did he die in the service.

Assisted by Burdett, Cochrane did his best to gloss over the errors, admitting "that the hon. Secretary had contradicted his assertions, but he defied him to disprove one word contained in his Resolution." Ford, he asserted, had paid £90 for four substitutes, and Milton £100 for substitutes. Indirectly, therefore, they had purchased their discharges. The facts Croker had given about Farley "will not be deemed important when it is known...that this respectable petty officer, who had been in 13 general actions and 32 years in the navy, was not invalided until within a few days of his death; and that unable to return to his friends, he died on board the Imperieuse." The fraudulent means resorted to by Milton only served, in Cochrane's view, to highlight the deficiency of the legitimate channels: "Milton deserved that pension, having been wounded under his (Cochrane's) command; he was the first man who boarded the Tapaguese..." Cochrane's

memory of the events was evidently weak, for even his revised version is marginally at variance with statements made to the House three years previously.[40]

Despite this humiliating experience, Cochrane morally had the better of Croker, who merely cited the gallantry of British seamen to dismiss genuine complaints about their conditions of service. On July 8 Cochrane read a letter he had received from the wife of a sailor, whose family had suffered because of the £60 he had had to raise for a discharge from the navy. This must have been one of many cases deserving a more able advocate than Lord Cochrane. His efforts to improve conditions afloat were well meant but inept. It would be unfair to ascribe his failure entirely to these inadequacies. Rather it lay with the conservatism of the House and the complacency of its members, the remoteness of the issues to those safely ensconced on shore, and the financial inexpediency of the reforms he proposed. But Cochrane's intemperate language and inappropriate tactics had facilitated his defeat. It may have been occasions such as these which prompted the biting remark of William Godwin that Cochrane was "the greatest fool he ever met with among men."[41]

III

One of the most frequent complaints of serving seamen concerned the rapacity of the prize courts. Under the prize acts, the Crown had conferred vessels taken during wartime to the captors as a reward for exertion. Prizes were sent into port and an agent appointed by the captors took possession. After the Court of Admiralty had condemned the prize as lawful, it could be sold and the proceeds distributed by the agent to the captors. A commission, normally 5 per cent, was deducted by the prize agent, as well as the expenses incurred during the condemnation. Captures were sometimes challenged, and time was allowed for both claims and appeals. In such cases litigation might be protracted and expensive. If the captors were proved to have acted wrongly and the prize was not condemned, the captain was liable for any damages and the disbursements of the agent.[42]

St. Vincent's commissioners had drawn attention to the problems associated with the prize agents, but left the prize courts themselves unscathed. Cochrane, on the other hand, believed that the expenses of Admiralty court administration were so excessive that the rewards left

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40. P.D., May 11, 1810, XVI, 1010.
41. Roberts, op. cit., 186.
42. Fourth Report of the Commission of Naval Enquiry, N.C. (1804), XI, 31-41, 124-137, 217-226, 295-304, 457-464; N.C. (1804), XII, 23-30, 212-221; P. K. Kemp, Prize Money (1946).

to the captors were a poor incentive to effort. The efficiency of the service could only be improved by sweeping reforms in the prize courts. If this could be achieved, he argued, the size of the naval establishment and the taxes needed to sustain it might be reduced.

Cochrane had a personal interest in such reform. He had his way to make in the world, and the security of the Dundonald title rested upon his efforts. Prize money and promotion were issues to which he was keenly sensitive. In addition, Cochrane possessed the sailor's contempt for administrators who safely milked the produce won with peril by others at sea. In particular he remembered his costly capture of the King George in 1807, from which the crew made nothing. To Cochrane the prize court officials were largely parasites, feeding upon the hard earned rewards of the navy.

In 1810 Cochrane opened a campaign in the Commons to "lay open a system of corruption such as never had been heard of, nor even conceived in this country."[43] He collaborated with John Frederick Pott, a proctor in Doctors' Commons. Two provocative pamphlets from the pen of Pott amplified Cochrane's attacks in the Commons. Much of their effort was devoted to wringing information from the government. On February 19 Cochrane succeeded in obtaining details of two prize court proceedings which failed to satisfy him, and which, Perceval told the King, had been selected only to give weight to the defence. Consequently, the captain moved for additional papers on March 9, and on June 13 he read from a lengthy statement indicting the prize court administration.[44]

Since Cochrane's objections to the Admiralty courts have not been adequately discussed elsewhere, they must be examined in detail. As a single example of his suspicions of the system, the case of William Moir, a British subject by birth but a naturalized Prussian merchant, is instructive. Unfortunately, despite papers presented in Parliament, the story is incomplete.[45] If the statements of Sir John Nicholl, sometime King's Advocate, on February 19 and June 13 are accepted, Moir, in

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43. The 1810 debates are in P.D., Feb. 19, 1810, XV, 469-479; P.D., Mar. 9, 1810, XVI, 12**-15**; P.D., June 13, 1810, XVII, 624-641.
44. J. F. Pott, Observations on Matters of Prize and the Practice of the Admiralty Prize Courts (1810); Pott, A Letter to Samuel Whitbread (1810); Lord Cochrane, Statement Delivered by Lord Cochrane in... Defence of the Rights of the Navy in Matters of Prize (1810); Perceval to the King, Feb. 19, 1810, A. Aspinall, ed., The Later Correspondence of George III (1966-70), V, 517-518.
45. Papers on the Moir case were demanded on February 19, March 5, 9, 13, April 3 and May 8. Commons Journals, LXV, 1810, 105, 146, 161-162, 172, 245, 342. The information is given in the debates and in Pott, Observations, 78-88; Pott, Letter, 15-42.

1803, had informed the British that the French were shipping naval stores from Riga in neutral Prussian vessels, some of them owned by Moir himself. As a result, the ships were seized, and Moir's evidence enabled the Admiralty Court to condemn the cargoes. The King's Proctor at the Court, with the consent of the captors' agents, awarded Moir 30 per cent of the proceeds for his information. However, in 1806 war broke out between Britain and Prussia, and some vessels belonging to Moir which were then being detained were condemned as prizes. Moir tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain restitution, but because of his services and his British nativity, he was allowed to keep one of his ships, the Flora, seized in 1806, as compensation.

Cochrane and Pott could not accept this interpretation of the Moir affair. They pointed out that there was no evidence that Moir had been responsible for giving information which led to the capture of the vessels in 1803, since the first letter of Moir to Admiral Keith was dated after the seizures had been made. Secondly, while Moir was said to have furnished "proofs" that the cargoes had been destined for the French, these did not seem to have been brought into the court, and had been, therefore, unnecessary for condemnation. Litigation, Cochrane showed, continued in one case into 1807, years after the alleged "proofs" had been tendered.

As for Moir's reward of 30 per cent of the proceeds, paying for information was not in itself unusual. In 1811 Cochrane and the naval treasurer, George Rose, exchanged opinions about the Lapwing prize, for which 500 guineas had been paid for the evidence necessary to condemn her.[46] The practice was, however, legal only if the captors agreed to the deduction from their proceeds. Yet, in the Moir case, one agent, Ely Cooke, told Cochrane and Pott that he had refused to surrender the 30 per cent in the instance of one ship, the Tutela, and had agreed to do so only when the King's Proctor threatened either to rescind the condemnation of the vessel or to condemn it to the Crown rather than the captors.

In view of Moir's known collusion with the French, Cochrane believed that the merchant had been caught red-handed shipping enemy produce under his neutral cover. He had then come forward to salvage something from his loss by providing evidence for condemnation which

46. P.D., July 17, 1811, XX, 990-991, 994-995.

would entitle him to a reward. Cochrane said it was a case of an "evil administration" wishing to "reconcile persons" to it, in this instance to the detriment of the captors by accommodating Moir and enforcing the arrangements upon the prize agents. These suspicions were enhanced by curious proceedings in the years following the seizures. In 1805 Moir claimed that the cargoes of four ships which he had earlier deposed as belonging to the French were in fact his own, and he demanded restitution. The ploy was not successful, but there were obvious contradictions in Moir's statements which strengthened Pott and Cochrane's view that Moir had only come forward in 1803 and 1804 after his ships and cargoes had been seized by the Royal Navy. Nor could they accept the reasons given for the return to Moir of the Flora in 1808. This vessel had undoubtedly been a lawful prize.

For all the fuss created over the Moir case in 1810, and some dubious shifts of emphasis in the official explanations proffered by Nicholl on February 19 and June 13, Cochrane and Pott could not clinch their case. If Moir had facilitated the captures, 70 per cent of the proceeds was a reasonable reward to the captors. It is true that the merchant altered his stpry in 1805, but he was not compensated for his lost cargoes. And if Moir had been of service to the French, it could not be shown that this was not part of his usefulness to the British. In such a case, restitution of Flora, originally condemned not to the captors but to the Crown was a magnanimous gesture on the part of the Treasury. It is conceivable that Moir was in collusion with the enemy, as Cochrane believed, and that he had found dupes or collaborators in the Admiralty, but no plausible motives for the latter's acceptance of his pretensions was adduced. Nothing more had been advanced against Moir than suspicious circumstances.

Much more successful were Cochrane's complaints that the Admiralty Court administration involved exorbitant charges. His criticisms were anticipated by a pamphlet by one "connected with the Royal Navy by the ties of blood" published in 1809. Among the examples there given was that of a French prize, about which there could have been no litigation, which sold for £291.11.1., of which no less than £221.1.4. was deducted in bills. In this instance a captain would receive £10.8.0. from the prize, an ordinary seaman 1/6d. and a landman 1/-; the proctor's bill amounted to £27. One proctor's bill quoted in the tract consisted of 66 items, some of which appeared to

be duplications. Thus 7/6 was charged on account of the proctor's clerk, but twice charges of 6/8 were made for fair copies presumably done by the clerk.[47]

In the debates of 1810, and that of July 17, 1811, this criticism was developed by Lord Cochrane.[48] The statutes of 41st Geo. III and 33rd Geo. III, by regulating only the fees of judges and those for the condemnation of prizes "abroad", had left loopholes in the law which enabled the King's Proctor at home to maximise his profits. There was some provision for the reduction of expenses. Upto six privateers of under 50 tons, taken within three months by the same ship, might be included in one monition, and there were considerations for prizes of under £150 value. But these concessions were inapplicable to most cases. Consequently, maintained Cochrane, the captors were repeatedly stripped of their rewards by rapacious courts. In early 1805 a Treasury warrant had been altered to include the proctor as well as the registrar of the court, apparently as a means of claiming more in fees.[49] In the case involving the Two Sisters and the Experiment the proctor's charges amounted to £555.1.6., and included such items as £91.10.6. to the registrar for holding the monies which he might anyway put to use while in his hands.[50] Although improper accounts could be submitted for examination to the registrar, Cochrane complained that this process itself might entail excessive charges.

In addition to the exorbitant costs of condemnation, Cochrane attacked an Order in Council of March 29, 1779, which had given the King's Proctor a monopoly of the navy's business. The captors, whose commanding officer was liable for damages if a prize proved to be illegal, were unable to argue their case before the court, or to employ their own counsel. Their cause was entrusted to the King's Proctor, who was so heavily burdened with work that he could not possibly perform all his duties. In just five days of June 1806 90 vessels had been libelled in the Admiralty Court. A more serious consequence of the monopoly, perhaps, was that he might be placed in a position in which his duties to the captors were in conflict to

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47. "A Friend of the Navy", An Appeal...against a Late Rejection of the Petition of the Captains of the Royal Navy for an Augmentation of Pay (1809); M. Lewis, A Social History of the Navy (1960), 325.
48. The debate of 1811 is in P.D., July 17, 1811, XX, 985-1001.
49. In addition to the debates of 1810, see Commons Journals, Feb. 19, Mar. 6, 1810, LXV, 105, 151.
50. The papers on this case were requested on Feb. 19, 1810, Commons Journals, LXV, 105.

those of the Crown. In recent years the government had taken to sweeping the seas before the declaration of war. Such seizures were liable to be declared droits of Admiralty - those proceeds from ships surrendering voluntarily, wrecked on British coasts, forced into British ports by bad weather or taken before the declaration of war, which reverted to the Crown. Droits of the Crown, on the other hand, were the proceeds from prizes seized at sea during wartime, and went to the captors. If a case, however, was to be decided between the Crown and captors, the King's Proctor, who represented both, might be placed in a difficult position.

Several instances of this had occurred when ships under Prussian and Danish flags and passes had been taken before the declarations of war in 1806 and 1807. Immediately after capture, the Proctor had argued that the prizes were enemy vessels operating under neutral cover; the produce, therefore, was held to be droits of the Crown. However, when hostilities broke out between Britain and Prussia and Denmark, it was found more convenient to pass the vessels to the Crown, instead of the captors, as droits of Admiralty. Conceivably, the Proctor ought to have continued to plead the cause of the captors by contending that the ships were legitimate prize at the time of capture.[51]

Spurred by such considerations, Cochrane moved on June 3, 1810 to allow captors to come into a cause in their own interest, or to employ counsel of their choice. The motion was defeated. Stiff resistance had been encountered during the debates from those who had seen service in the courts. Sir John Nicholl, in February, defended the monopoly of the King's Proctor, arguing that junior advocates were empowered to examine papers to ensure that no injustice was done to the captors when the Crown was in opposition. He also took exception to Pott's statement that many of the offices of the prize court were virtually sinecures. Pott calculated that the emoluments of the King's Advocate were upwards of £25,000 to £30,000 per annum, although he had not attended the Admiralty Court "a dozen times for many years past." And because the King's Attorney rarely argued a cause in the Court of Appeals, the Admiralty Proctor found it necessary to employ and charge for one or two counsel. Cochrane

51. This point is developed by Sir Charles Pole in the debate of February 19, 1810. See also Pott, Observations, 30-43, 47; Lewis, Social History of the Navy (1960), 317, 322.

alleged that the King's Proctor earned over £40,000 a year. The apologists of the system replied with figures only less exorbitant. The King's Advocate and the King's Proctor, they said, did not receive over £7000 to £8000 annually for their efforts on behalf of the navy.[52]

But there is no doubt that Cochrane and Pott were not completely in error over the matter of prize courts, and that the expenses and delays constituted a frequent complaint of the navy. Lord Arden's office of registrar was a lavish sinecure, for his work was performed by deputies. Yet he made some £30,000 a year from fees, and he usually held about £200,000 of suitors' money which he invested for an approximate additional annual income of £7000. In 1812 Henry Martin, supported by Sir Samuel Romilly and Lord Cochrane, attempted to pass a bill which would have controlled the office, but it was defeated.[53] The marshal, like the proctors, also relied exclusively upon fees, and tended to claim as many responsibilities as possible; his "pretensions" drew comment from the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Sir William Scott.[54] Scott's own post was worth a salary of £2500 and fees from which he made a fortune.[55] Nicholl, Rose and Scott were on the defensive during the debates on Cochrane's motions. When criticism was steered from the prize court officials to the prize agents, employed by the captors, they were less reluctant to condemn. Rose stated that he had 153 cases of excessive charges by prize agents before him, and nine had been passed to Sir William Scott for investigation.[56]

Unfortunately, Cochrane made little progress because he failed to delineate more than suspicious circumstances. There is evidence that a screening process was in operation concerning the papers that were eventually given to Parliament.[57] Cochrane was often so completely in the dark that he obtained documentation only to find that he had been

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52. Pott, Observations, 45; Pott, Letter, 7-8.
53. P.D., June 19, 1812, XXIII, 626-629; S. Romilly, Memoirs of the Life of Sir Samuel Romilly, Written by Himself (1840), III, 43-44; Sainty, op. cit., 96.
54. E. S. Roscoe, A History of the English Prize Courts (1924), 61; Sainty, op. cit., 97, 99.
55. E. S. Roscoe, Lord Stowell: His Life and the Development of English Prize Law (1916), 23; J. Sankey, Lord Stowell (1936), 10; Sainty, op. cit., 95.
56. On February 19, 1810 Cochrane referred to Moses Greetham, "an agent at one of the outports" (P.D., XV, 471). Greetham earned Cochrane's emnity because he had been in Gambier's court martial. According to an anonymous correspondent he took some two thirds of the proceeds of vessels for which he acted, which is hardly likely ("Detector" to Cochrane, Feb. 22, 1810, clipping, DP 233/74/3-4).
57. Perceval to the King, Feb. 19, 1810, A. Aspinall, ed., The Later Correspondence of George III (1966-1970), V, 517-518.

mistaken. On July 17, 1811 he charged that the Proctor's final bill for a prize of the Fisgard was in excess of the detailed accounts available. Rose had written in January on this very point, and Cochrane wanted the reply of the agents, Cooke and Halford, in February 1811, laid before the House. Two days after the motion, to which Rose assented, the papers were produced, and since nothing more was heard of the matter it would seem that they were satisfactory.[58]

In 1811 Cochrane renewed his onslaught, but from a different direction. Late in the summer of 1810 the Scot left for the Mediterranean, determined to investigate the Admiralty court at Malta. In January 1811 he wrote to John Sewell, the judge of the court, and John Jackson, its marshal and proctor, requesting details of the expenses for the condemnation of the King George in 1808. Jackson refused to open the account, and in February Cochrane arrived at Valetta after a visit to Sicily. Within a short time he had his opponents in disarray.[59]

On the morning of February 20 Cochrane visited the Admiralty courtroom, the court not then being in session, to seek a copy of the table of fees, which, commanded the 45th Geo. III, c. 72, should be suspended in a conspicuous part of the court. It was not on public view, but Cochrane eventually located it on the door of an apartment behind the court which the officers used as a robing room. Pocketing the table, he left the premises. The fees, Cochrane discovered later, had been concocted by Sewell and members of the court, in contravention of the 37th section of 45th Geo. III, c. 72, which stated that only the King in Council could establish the fees charged by an Admiralty Court. Understandably, the court was unwilling to lose their paper, and a notice was issued calling upon Cochrane to return it within two days. When the summons was ignored, a writ of attachment was prepared. William Stevens, examiner, interpreter and deputy registrar to the court, handed a warrant to John Chapman, who served as the deputy auctioneer and marshal. In the last capacity he acted for the sinecure deputy marshal, Wood, who held his appointment from Jackson, marshal and proctor.[60]

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58. In addition to the debate, see Commons Journals, June 13, July 19, 1811, LXVI, 425, 464-465.
59. Cochrane to Croker, July 1, 1810, Adm. 1/1658, f. 362; Cochrane to Croker, Sept. 26, 1810, Adm. 1/1659, f. 498; Cochrane to Sewell, Jan. 12, 1811, DP 233/65/9; Cochrane to Jackson, Jan. 18, 21, 1811, ibid; Jackson to Cochrane, Jan. 20, 21, 1811, ibid; Morning Chronicle, Apr. 12, 1811.
60. Letter from Malta, Mar. 8, 1811, N.C. (1811), XXV, 299-302; Sewell to Oakes, Feb. 20, 1811, DP 233/65/9; Cochrane deposition, Mar. 2, 1811, ibid; endorsement by Sewell, P.D., July 18, 1811, XX, 1018.

This introduced further illegalities in the Maltese court, since the 41st section of 45th Geo. III, c. 72, specifically prohibited a marshal or a registrar from being an advocate or proctor. Cochrane refused to acknowledge Chapman's right to make an arrest because his ultimate authority was Jackson, who, as proctor, could not act as marshal. The results of such practices were certainly farcical. The charges on one of the proctor's bills, for example, included, "attending the Marshal (himself) and instructing him to serve the same, two crowns; paid the Marshal for service of said Monition, two crowns."[61] Thus Jackson was charging for consulting and feeing himself. Stevens, as registrar, had examined bills containing these irregularities, as well as his own fees as examiner or interpreter, and Cochrane considered him also to have acted illegally. He told Chapman on February 20 and February 21, in strong terms, that he would not submit to an arrest, and, although the Civil Commissioner of the island would not afford him protection, for several days walked openly in the streets flaunting apprehension, armed with a brace of pistols. After an unsuccessful attempt to arrest Lord Cochrane at the Diana Hotel on February 22, Chapman resigned rather than risk further confrontations. In his stead was appointed James H. Stevens.[62]

Not until February 28 was Cochrane apprehended. He was visiting the Naval Arsenal with Captain Murray Maxwell of the Alceste and Navy Commissioner Percy Fraser, when Stevens approached and showed him a fresh warrant. Cochrane declared it to be illegal, and read the relevant passages of the 45th Geo. III aloud, concluding by refusing to be arrested. "Mr. Stevens," he recorded in a temporary diary, "then touched my person and informed me that I was his prisoner. I repeated that I should not walk to jail upon which Mr. Stevens returns and shortly afterwards returned with four men dressed in the uniform of the guards of Malta by whom I was removed into a calesse and carried to the gate of the Public jail where these persons...lifted me and

61. P.D., July 18, 1811, XX, 1019.
62. Sewell to Oakes, undated and Feb. 22, 1811, DP 233/65/9; Cochrane diary, Feb. 20, 21, 23, 25, 1811, ibid; Cochrane to H. Oakes, February 21, 23, 1811, ibid; Oakes to Cochrane, Feb. 21, 22, 1811, ibid; Chapman to Sewell, Feb. 22, 1811, ibid; C. Rowley to Cochrane, undated and Feb. 24, 1811, ibid; Sewell to Rowley, Feb. 23, 1811, ibid; Cochrane to Rowley, Feb. 23, 1811, ibid; N.C. (1811), XXV, 299-302.

carried me to the room of the keeper of the jail who thence showed me into an apartment..."[63] Cochrane spent the next few days in various cells of the Castellanea Prison, but on March 2 he was taken by Stevens to the Admiralty Court to answer charges of having removed the table of fees "from the Registry of the said Court" and with having resisted Chapman's efforts to arrest him.[64]

Cochrane refused to cooperate, explaining that the court was incompetent. It was not a Court of Record, Cochrane had no adequate counsel, no evidence had been called, no oaths administered and no opportunity to cross examine witnesses had been offered him: indeed, no witnesses were present. Instead, he made a deposition of the proceedings containing protests at their irregularity, in the registry of the court, read it to the judge and bullied him into entering it in the court records by stating that a refusal to do so would be noted. After this exchange, Sewell sent Cochrane back to prison for contempt until he surrendered the paper or gave bail.[65]

After further efforts to induce H. Oakes, the Civil Commissioner of Malta, to intervene, Cochrane escaped from prison on the night of March 5-6, using a double rope across an iron bar to lower himself into the street two storeys below. He fled to Gibraltar, despite substantial rewards for himself and his abettors, and arrived in London on April 11, ready to fashion the new material into another attack upon the prize courts in the Commons.[66]

On June 6, 1811 Cochrane displayed a proctor's bill from Malta in Parliament. It was, no doubt, a curiosity, measuring thirty-seven and a half feet and appearing "long enough to reach from one end of the House to the other."[67] Burdett seconded his colleague's motion for papers relating to the Maltese Vice-Admiralty court, and it was well received by Yorke, Lyttelton and Whitbread, who declared that "if the official correspondence did not clear up the case, he would move for further papers if no one else did." Nicholl attempted to absolve Sewell, but Rose admitted that some of the foreign courts had been accused of abuses and three of them were currently being investigated.

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63. Cochrane diary, Feb. 28, 1811, DP 233/65/9.
64. Deposition of Fraser and Maxwell, Mar. 1811, DP 233/65/9; deposition of Cochrane, Mar. 5, 1811, ibid; N.C. (1811), XXV, 299-302.
65. Cochrane diary, Mar. 2, 1811, DP 233/65/9; Cochrane deposition, Mar. 2, 1811, ibid; Rowley, Fraser and Maxwell deposition, Mar. 2, 1811, P.D., July 18, 1811, XX, 1023-1024.
66. Cochrane to Oakes, Mar. 2, 1811, DP 233/65/9; Oakes to Cochrane, Mar. 3, 1811, ibid; N.C. (1811), XXV, 299-302; J. H. Stevens, proclamation, Mar. 6, 1811, P.D., July 18, 1811, XX, 1025; Morning Chronicle, Apr. 12, 15, 1811.
67. P.D., June 6, 1811, XX, 464-470; Commons Journals, June 6, 1811,

But although the motion was carried, Cochrane could find no support when he attempted on July 18 to establish a committee to inquire into the court's behaviour.[68]

The rejection of these complaints closed Cochrane's efforts to reform the prize courts. The campaign had been marked by characteristic vituperation, the struggle to document allegations, some official obstruction and much Commons indifference. It reinforced the captain's emerging radicalism. The opposition in the House was due, Cochrane felt, to a reluctance to reduce profits which were essential to the maintenance of corrupt parliamentary power. His ideas are so well expressed in a pamphlet by "A Friend of the Navy", published in 1809, that it is difficult to believe he was not concerned in it. The prize court officials were largely parasitic to the fleet, but the offices were necessary "to satisfy the demands of those who possess that sort of influence which it is not necessary to name, either to his Majesty or to the country; and which influence, as it has sunk this nation from what she was, will, unless speedily put an end to, complete her degradation and her ruin. How many are the ways in which this poisonous influence is working for our destruction! But, in no way, perhaps, more visibly than in the one here pointed out, where we see it directly opposed to those exertions which are necessary to our national safety."[69] Cochrane was convinced that the offices in the prize courts were tendered as bribes by governments; to reform them would be to strike at the ability of the administration to retain power.

There was cause for complaint against the courts, but Cochrane's reputation for intemperate attacks upon public figures - St. Vincent in 1807 and Gambier in 1809 and 1810 - did nothing to advance confidence in his opinions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer for one told the Commons on July 17, 1811 that "he could not suffer this House, merely at the request of the noble lord, to be turned into a channel for libel and slander to aim their course against any individual."[70]

LXVI, 399-400.

68. P.D., July 18, 1811, XX, 1017-1027.
69. An Appeal...against a Late Rejection of the Petition of the Captains of the Royal Navy for an Augmentation of Pay (1809), 45.
70. P.D., July 17, 1811, XX, 999.

Besides, Cochrane's picture of the courts appeared extreme because it was so one sided. He had nothing to say about the valuable work of the courts in establishing a body of prize law and ensuring that privateers operated within a legal framework.

Lord Cochrane argued that prize court reform would improve the efficiency of the naval and permit a reduction in the size of the fleet. It was a point which told upon his new radical friends, who were apt to follow his opinions on naval matters as blindly as he accepted theirs on the state of the country. In reporting the Maltese affair, to which he devoted much space, William Cobbett expressed a popular view. "There can be no doubt," he said, "but this subject will be revived. It cannot be suffered to rest as it is. Lord Cochrane has stated that five millions a year might be saved in consequence of a reform in the Admiralty Courts. George Rose said, that little or nothing could be saved. I believe Lord Cochrane...for there can, I think, be no doubt that one quarter part of the whole expense of the Navy might be saved by the adoption of proper regulations relating to prizes."[71]

IV

Despite his preoccupation with naval affairs, Cochrane gave occasional but consistent support to the movement for economical and parliamentary reform which found abler leadership in other hands. On July 7, 1807, within two months of his election for Westminster, he moved for a parliamentary committee to inquire into all "Offices, Posts, Places, Sinecures, Pensions, Situations, Fees, Perquisites, and Emoluments of every description" paid to or held for Members of Parliament, their dependents and descendants, with a view to determining "whether there was any possibility of making those who had lived and grown rich upon the public money, feel for the extraordinary burdens under which the people laboured."[72] He was particularly concerned to identify allowances for which the duties were inadequate.

The motion, seconded by Cochrane-Johnstone and reflecting an awakening concern for economical reform, was supported by several prominent members of the House, including Whitbread, Sheridan, John C. Curwen, William Smith and Lord Henry Petty. It was carried after

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71. PR, June 15, 1811, XIX, 1473-77.
72. P.D., July 7, 1807, IX, 745-752, 737-743 (duplicate pagination).

Spencer Perceval had successfully recommended that the information be presented as part of a wider inquiry in the hands of the Finance Committee. Cochrane objected to this move, fearing that it would obscure the essential information about parliamentary dependence, but the evidence, when it came in 1809, was plain enough. Eighty-three members of Parliament held offices, places or pensions from the Crown or other public officers to a total net value of £164,003. Twenty-eight of these, whose pensions, sinecures or offices totalled £42,011, performed duties incommensurate with their allowances.[73]

Having nailed his colours to the mast, Cochrane returned to sea. He was back in 1809, wearing the laurels of his victory at the Aix Roads, an achievement, one balladeer vowed, which would prove insignificant compared to his endeavours on behalf of reform.[74] It was an opportune moment, for Gwyllm Lloyd Wardle, M.P. for Okehampton, had at last aroused a public clamour for both parliamentary and economical reform by his charges that the Duke of York's mistress had been trafficking in army commissions. Some of the more radical Whigs seemed interested, and Cochrane, Burdett and Wardle were joined by four other members of the House for a reform dinner at the Crown and Anchor on May 1, 1809. A few days later Cochrane returned to the subject in the Commons, speaking briefly for parliamentary reform in the debates concerning William Madocks's attack upon Perceval and Castlereagh for an alleged political malpractice. And to consummate these first connections with Burdett's movement, the captain toasted his cclleague in the Crown and Anchor on account of his criticism of J. C. Curwen's bill to prevent the sale of seats.[75]

It was the following year, however, which marked Cochrane's complete identification with the Burdettites. Burdett supported Cochrane's attack upon Gambier in January, and on February 9 both members harangued a public meeting in New Palace Yard as a preliminary to presenting a petition to the Commons advocating shorter parliaments and a reform of the representation system. Cochrane reprobated the sale of seats and developed the links he had been forging between his naval grievances and the corrupt House of Commons. Foreign vessels,

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73. P.D. (1810), XIII, cclxxiii-cclxxxviii.
74. Clio Rickman, "Victory, Cochrane and Reform", Add. MSS. 27838, f. 173.
75. Roberts, op. cit., 246-248; Osborne, John Cartwright (1972), 84-85; P.D., May 11, 1809, XIV, 517; The Statesman, May 24, 1809.

he complained, gained admittance to British ports in defiance of the navigation laws and to the mockery of the blockades. Licenses to trade were available to those "subservient" to political manipulation. If Cochrane's comments were not wholly rhetorical, they indicated the simplicity of the analysis he brought to the problems of his profession. Political corruption provided a convenient scapegoat for a multiplicity of ills, the injustices of the promotion system, the survival of enemy trade and the profiteering in the prize courts.[76]

The most profound demonstration of street support for the Burdettites occurred during the early months of 1810 when Sir Francis was committed to the Tower. The story has been well told, but because it linked Cochrane indelibly with his colleague's cause, it deserves notice here.[77] The commotion had its origin in Charles Yorke's motion in February to clear the gallery of the House during the Walcheren debates. The veteran radical, John Gale Jones, advertised a public discussion on the conduct of the Commons at his debating society and was committed to the Tower for contempt. Predictably, Burdett's concern for the liberties of the people was aroused, but his denunciation of the proceedings was considered a breach of privilege and the House voted for his arrest on a Speaker's warrant on April 5.

Burdett refused to surrender, and barricaded himself in his house at 78 Piccadilly, applauded by angry mobs which gathered outside. On the weekend of April 7-8 disturbances reminiscent of the Wilkite troubles took place. Troops and artillery were located strategically throughout the capital, and on the afternoon of Sunday 8th, after the Riot Act had been read to the crowds, the soldiers tried to clear the streets. Cochrane's part in the affair is mysterious. He spent most of the Saturday with Burdett, one of many sympathetic visitors, including Whitbread, Lord Folkestone and Wardle.[78] The following day Cochrane almost persuaded Burdett to resist arrest by force, and personally

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76. Morning Chronicle, Feb. 10, 1810; The Times, Feb. 10, 1810; The Statesman, Feb. 10, 1810; Commons Journals, Feb. 9, 1810, LXV, 81-82. On May 4, 1812 Cochrane moved for papers relating to French imports but failed to establish misconduct (P.D., May 4, 1812, XXII, 1158-1159; Commons Journals, May 4, 15, 1812, LXVII, 348, 381).
77. Patterson, op. cit., 242-293; D. Gray, Spencer Perceval (1963), 289-298; J. R. Dinwiddy, "Sir Francis Burdett and Burdettite Radicalism", History (LXV, 1980), 17-31, pp. 18-22; Saxton, op. cit., I, ii, 236-263; Add. MSS. 27850, ff. 151-241.
78. Add. MSS. 27839, ff. 40-41.

undertook to supervise the defence of his house.[79] Burdett was arrested by a constable who forced an entry on the morning of Monday 9th, and he was taken to the Tower, but in further confrontations between the army and the crowd three people were killed or fatally wounded.

The responsibilities which normally devolved upon Burdett were shouldered by Cochrane. On April 10 he told the House that Burdett's arrest had been unconstitutional, and at a meeting of the Westminster electors seven days later he joined Wardle in condemning the Commons. He received a petition which he presented to the House the same day. Cochrane attended a gathering on April 19 at the City of London Tavern in celebration of Wardle, and he chaired the reform dinner at the Crown and Anchor on the anniversary of Burdett's election, May 24. There the bond between the two members for Westminster was noisily paraded in public. Cochrane expressed his desire for parliamentary reform and the restoration of the ancient constitution; Jones Burdett, the brother of Sir Francis, complimented the electors upon the return of two men of mutual feeling and lauded their ability to work in harmony.[80]

The Burdett affair of 1810 was widely reported and gave a temporary stimulus to reform which spread beyond London. Petitions and addresses in his cause came from Liverpool, Berwick-on-Tweed, Hull, Carmarthen, Sheffield, Nottingham, Canterbury, Coventry, Worcester, Manchester, Rochester, Reading, Lane End in Staffordshire

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79. Francis Place's characteristically egotistic account, written in 1827, states that Burdett, fearing the authorities would attempt an arrest, sent his brother "to fetch Lord Cochrane, who had contrived an effectual mode of defence against any force that could be used." After consideration, Burdett chose to rely upon an appeal for protection to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, but he was arrested the next morning (Add. MSS. 27850, ff. 198-202). Henry Hunt recalled Cochrane bringing a cask of gunpowder in a coach on the Sunday and preparing to mine the front wall of Burdett's house. He was eventually persuaded to remove the powder (Hunt, op. cit., II, 391). The only contemporary reference to Cochrane's plan appears to be a veiled comment in a ballad, "The Westminster Hero" (Add. MSS. 27839, f. 98).
80. P.D., Apr. 10, 17, 1810, XVI, 625-626, 726-732; The Times, Apr. 18, 1810; Account of the Proceedings of the Electors...on the Commitment of...Sir Francis Burdett, to the Tower (1810); The Alfred, Apr. 20, 1810; Morning Chronicle, May 24, 1810; press clippings, Add. MSS. 27839, ff. 130-138. Cochrane visited Burdett in the Tower (Saxton, op. cit., I, ii, 253). The loose collaboration of the two members for Westminster before 1810 is suggested by Cochrane's failure to support Burdett's plan for parliamentary reform on June 15, 1809. Rumour had it that Cochrane preferred the Haymarket Theatre to the Commons upon that occasion (The Times, Sept. 30, 1812).

and Berkshire. In June, when Burdett was released, enormous crowds assembled in the streets. Although the Whigs were easily alarmed by popular agitation, they were possibly stirred by the episode to give some support to reform if only to rescue the prestige of the House. Thomas Brand's motion on May 21, 1810 for a committee to consider modest reform was supported by 115 votes, Cochrane's among them, a considerable showing.

Cochrane's partnership with Burdett after 1810 was consistent, but not automatic. In 1813 the Scot refused to second Burdett's motion on the case of Captain Phillimore.[81] Normally he was willing to follow the trail blazed by his colleague. He was, for instance, prepared to condemn the war. On January 7, 1812 Burdett addressed the Regent, describing Britain's war aims as inimical to liberty. His naive analysis attributed the country's efforts to suppress freedom abroad to a desire to extinguish reform at home. From the war flowed such evils as the debt, the profit making in the prize courts, the ruin of commerce and manufactures, and pauperism. In England the government oppressed the people with the army, the stamp duties and taxation, the confiscation of landed property, attacks upon the press and the subversion of legal machinery. Nothing but a reform of the representative system could purge this system.[82]

Cochrane rose to second the address. The Portuguese government, for which Britain fought in the Peninsula, was tyrannical; and Cochrane "could not help thinking that the real purpose" of ministerial policy towards Sicily was "not so much to keep the French out of that island, as to keep the people subject to one of the most despicable governments that ever existed." That Cochrane's sentiments were sincere seems to be suggested by the almost identical remarks he uttered in a meeting at the Crown and Anchor on December 14, 1812.[83] With these ideas, Cochrane took a substantial step closer to the radical platform. But, although the members for Westminster were in agreement, they were

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81. Burdett called for the minutes of a naval inquiry concerning Phillimore, but Cochrane attacked the "courts of enquiry" being held in the navy. The witnesses before them were not sworn, nor was the evidence given upon oath. The minutes, he implied, were therefore invalid. P.D., May 5, 1813, XXV, 1136-1147.
82. P.D., Jan. 7, 1812, XXI, 17-49.
83. Morning Chronicle, Dec. 15, 1812; Add. MSS. 27840, ff. 128, 147.

hardly effective. Neither possessed the intellectual equipment to proffer a convincing political analysis; neither showed energy in prosecuting parliamentary reform, nor the ability to inspire the Whigs. Burdett's behaviour in 1810, when he disappointed the crowds who gathered to celebrate his release from the Tower, suggests that he even lacked the élan to sustain momentum as a popular hero.

The thrust of Cochrane's attack remained directed at sinecures and pensions. To them he attributed pauperism and the crime among the lower classes, the excessive flogging in the armed services and the reluctance of the House to implement the recommendations of parliamentary committees. Occasionally, he attempted to initiate action. In 1812 he was particularly vocal. He urged the House to applaud the Duke of Cambridge for his renunciation of the command of the Home District and proposed duties of 50 per cent on sinecures which committees had recommended for abolition and 20 per cent on all other sinecures. He wanted amendations to Henry Bankes's Sinecure Offices bill: it should abolish some sinecures immediately, and not after the deaths of their holders, and the lower limit of pensions to be affected by the legislation should be reduced to £1500. None of these efforts were availing.[84]

The most effective of his speeches on the subject was delivered on May 11, 1810, during a debate on the naval estimates. An admiral, he declared, was superannuated at £410 per annum, a clerk of the ticket office at £700. The widow of a naval commissioner received more than 13 children of admirals or captains, some of whom were killed in their country's service. Lieutenant Chambers, who lost both legs in action, was retired on £80, but the naval commissioner, A. S. Hamond, received £1500 upon his retirement. Warming to his theme, Cochrane exposed the enormities of the sinecure system.

> "To speak less in detail," he said, "32 flag officers, 22 captains, 50 lieutenants, 180 masters, 36 surgeons, 23 pursers, 91 boatswains, 97 gunners, 202 carpenters, 41 cooks, cost the country, £4028 less than the net proceeds of the sinecures of Lord Arden, £20,358, Camden, £20,586, Buckingham, £20,693. All the superannuated admirals, captains and lieutenants have but £1012 more than Earl Camden's sinecure. All that is paid to all the wounded officers of the British navy and to the wives and children of those dead, or killed in action, does not amount

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84. P.D., Jan. 13, 23, Feb. 23, Mar. 13, 1812, XXI, 210, 294-295, 930-931, 1290-1291; ibid, Mar. 17, June 15, 1812, XXII, 22, XXIII, 468-476.

by £214 to as much as Lord Arden's sinecure alone, £20,358. What is paid to the mutilated officers themselves, £11,408.16s. is but half as much. Is this justice? Is this the treatment which the officers of the navy deserve at the hands of those who call themselves his Majesty's government? Does the country know of this injustice? Will this too be defended?...the Wellesleys receive from the public £34,129, a sum equal to 426 pair of lieutenants' legs, calculated at the rate of allowance for Lieutenant Chambers's leg. Calculating by the pension for Captain Johnson's arm, viz. £45, Lord Arden's sinecure is equal to the value of 1022 captains' arms. The marquis of Buckingham's sinecure alone, in the net, will maintain the whole ordinary establishment of the victualling departments at Chatham, Dover, Gibraltar, Sheerness, Downs, Heligoland, Cork, Malta, Mediterranean, Cape of Good Hope, Rio de Janeiro and leave £5466 in the treasury... the right honourable gentleman (George Ponsonby), who, two nights ago made so pathetic an appeal to the good sense of the people of England against those whom he was pleased to call designing men and demagogues, actually receives for having been 13 months in office, a sum equal to nine admirals, who have spent their lives in the service of their country; three times as much as all the pensions given to all the daughters and children of the admirals, captains, lieutenants and other officers who have died in indigent circumstances or been killed in the service and as much as would pay the officers and men employed in the fifteen hulks of the line in ordinary."[85]

Another hallmark of Cochrane's parliamentary work, like that of Burdett, was a readiness to espouse liberal causes. In 1812 he tried to assist General John Sarrazin, who had fled from France and was seeking a passport to Sweden, and the next year Manchester reformers found him willing to present a petition complaining of their false imprisonment and the obstruction of their meetings.[86] Cochrane's most strenuous efforts, however, were on behalf of the French prisoners of war incarcerated at Dartmoor.

On June 14, 1811 Cochrane reported to the House that he had twice visited the prison only to be refused admission. But from a plan he had consulted in Plymouth he believed that the prisoners were too exposed to the inclement Dartmoor weather. Remarks made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and papers produced by Cochrane's motion lend some substance to his charge. At the time of Cochrane's visits, in 1810, the number of prisoners dying at Dartmoor had increased. Mortality rose from 21 of 5993 prisoners in October 1809 to 131 of 5741 prisoners in January 1810. Not until June, when 17 of 5261 prisoners died, did the percentage regain former proportions, and thereafter a steady decline in mortality reduced the number of deaths

85. P.D., May 11, 1810, XVI, 1006-1011.
86. P.D., Mar. 24, 1812, XXII, 170-171; ibid, June 2, 1813, XXVI, 527-528; Commons Journals, June 2, 1813, LXVIII, 539-540; PR, July 7, 14, 1810, XVII, 1039-40, XVIII, 29-32; Morning Chronicle, Jan. 3, Sept. 4, 10, 1812; The Times, Sept. 3, 1812.

to 5 of 6084 prisoners by May 1811. A temporary increase in the death rate had, therefore, occurred, but it was ascribed to a fever introduced by the arrival of West Indian prisoners.[87] Cochrane may have been incorrect, but it is fair to state that Britain's reputation on this count was not high on the continent. Charles Dupin, whose integrity is reputedly established, believed that after 1796 Britain reduced the number of detention centres and overcrowded those which remained in service. His figures suggest that the mortality within the prisons remained low only because very sick prisoners were frequently released. Large numbers were sent home in a dying condition.[88]

By 1814 Cochrane had firmly identified himself with the radicals. He was present at a meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern on June 10, 1811, which led to the formation of the Society of the Friends to Parliamentary Reform, and he eventually joined the Hampden Club, an aristocratic body of reformers founded in 1812.[89] But his expertise and interest remained in the realm of naval reform, and his efforts for parliamentary reform lacked energy and originality. In 1817 he admitted that he had only twice attended meetings of the Hampden Club, one consisting of only three members.[90] Not surprisingly, the members of Burdett's Westminster Committee, who cared little if anything for the naval affairs which absorbed Cochrane, cast about for a reform candidate to partner Burdett in the 1812 general election. Cochrane surmounted this threat to his seat, inducing the Committee to underwrite his parliamentary adventures and consummating his affiliation with the Burdettites.

V

The election of autumn 1812 brought the first challenge to Cochrane's place in the House since 1807. He had no intention of yielding his seat, and hoped to eliminate his electoral expenses by persuading the Westminster Committee to sponsor and finance his return as they undoubtedly would that of Burdett. But the Committee were

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87. P.D., June 12, 14, 1811, XX, 590, 634-639; Commons Journals, 1811, LXVI, 577-578.
88. C. Dupin, A Tour Through the Naval and Military Establishments of Great Britain, 1816-1820 (1822), 24-32.
90. Roberts, op. cit., 288-294; F. D. Cartwright, ed., Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright (1826), II, 371-375, 380-383; P.D., Feb. 25, 27, 1817, XXXV, 645, 763.

undecided about Cochrane. As Place recalled, "he was distrusted by many, he had purposely absented himself when Sir Francis made a motion on reform of parliament (in 1809), had paid little attention to anything which relate to the Electors except attending public meetings, he was an officer in the pay of Government and might be sent out of the country at any time."[91]

Many of these reservations were valid. A member who might be called to service by the government was scarcely the best agent to embarrass it, and Cochrane was, in 1812, pressing his secret war plans upon the Admiralty. Rumours of his employment leaked to the press and undermined the incentives of electors to work for his return. In addition, Cochrane's preoccupation with naval and personal matters had recently interrupted his parliamentary duties. On May 23, 1812 Burdett excused his colleague's absence from a Westminster meeting on the grounds of ill health. The same pretext was advanced for his failure to second Burdett's address at the close of the parliamentary session in August, but this time it lacked foundation. Cochrane had eloped with the young Katherine Barnes for a secret marriage in Scotland.[92]

Francis Place and John Richter believed that either Walter Fawkes or William Roscoe would be preferable to Cochrane as a partner to Burdett, and on September 28 a group of electors decided to sponsor Fawkes and Burdett. But the same day Cochrane declared his intention of standing for re-election. Cochrane and members of the Westminster Committee met to settle differences on September 30, and the captain was able to satisfy the electors on all points except that of his being a naval officer. As a parting shot, he told them he would stand with or without the Committee's support. However, he sent the Committee a second letter giving firm pledges to parliamentary and economical reform and to Catholic emancipation, providing that the Irish renounced the jurisdiction of the papacy, which Cochrane equated with continental despotism. Briefly, he reviewed the other objections to his candidacy. Professional knowledge of naval affairs was essential to the House because the navy consumed a large proportion of government revenue. And Cochrane

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91. Add. MSS. 27850, f. 255.
92. Morning Chronicle, May 25, Aug. 6, 1812.

denied that he was a friend to the flogging system; its use was undesirable, but the availability of the punishment was necessary to the discipline of the fleet.[93]

Having secured some commitment from Cochrane, and reluctant to risk running a candidate against him, Brooks organized two meetings, the last of which, at the Crown and Anchor on October 5, was chaired by William Sturch in an excited atmosphere. Cartwright gained support for extracting additional pledges from Cochrane, but although it was agreed that the captain should resign his seat if he received a naval appointment, Cochrane never gave this pledge. The preliminaries over, Brooks advertised a collection for the return of Cochrane and Burdett. On election day, October 8, no other nominations were received for Westminster, and the two went victorious to Parliament without a contest.[94]

The aftermath of the election introduced Henry Brougham to the politics of the constituency. He was employed by the Westminster Committee to contest the expenses claimed by the High Bailiff for the erection of hustings. A total of £516.3.9. was demanded from the candidates, but initially action was taken against Cochrane. Brougham argued that Cochrane had not come forward as a candidate. He had been nominated by the electors, who had no personal connections with him, and had accepted the seat when it had been offered. Nor had anyone demanded a poll. Eventually the court awarded Arthur Morris, the High Bailiff, £225 and £35 costs, and he proceeded against Burdett for a similar amount.[95]

The outcome of the 1812 election was thoroughly satisfactory to Lord Cochrane. He had been re-elected without cost to himself,[96] and the Westminster Committee had formally adopted him as their representative. There is nothing to suggest that he regretted his increasing involvement with the radical movement. The misgivings lay with others who urged Cochrane to abandon politics for the sea. Britain was at war with the United States, and a number of American naval victories intensified popular conviction that Cochrane, the

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93. Add. MSS. 27840, ff. 3-4, 7-8, 55-56, 72-77; Add. MSS. 27809, f. 28; The Times, Sept. 30, Oct. 6, 1812.
94. The Times, Oct. 6, 7, 9, 1812; The Day, Oct. 9, 1812; Add. MSS. 27840, ff. 9-11, 92.
95. Add. MSS. 27840, ff. 153-183.
96. Add. MSS. 27850, f. 267.

"second Nelson", was necessary for the redemption of the Royal Navy's jaded prestige. The newspapers hummed with rumours. "There is no foundation for the report of Lord Cochrane's being to have the command of a squadron of frigates," commented the Morning Chronicle. "That would look like energy in the Admiralty Board."[97] The appointment finally came in February 1814, after Sir Alexander Cochrane had been named as Commander in Chief of the North American station. But on the threshold of this, his greatest opportunity, Cochrane's prospects were suddenly smashed by the Stock Exchange hoax of February 21 and he was thrust into an ever more militant association with the rising tide of radicalism.

97. Morning Chronicle, quoted in N.C. (1814), XXXI, 63. On July 6, 1813 the Morning Chronicle had reported, "Lord Cochrane is appointed to command the Saturn for North America." See also comment in N.C. (1813), XXIX, 119-120; ibid (1813), XXX, 130-134; ibid (1814), XXXI, 201-203, 213-214; ibid (1817), XXXVII, 382-384.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE HOAX AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1814-1816

I

Cochrane's appointment to the Tonnant in February 1814 was a promising relief from his futile parliamentary activities.[1] Sir Alexander Cochrane had both the power and the inclination to direct large scale operations against the United States, and he could be relied upon to guarantee his nephew a share of the action. Moreover, the amphibious raids along the American coast were particularly suited to Lord Cochrane's genius, and there had been some public clamour for his employment. Financial, as well as professional, reasons made the appointment an important one for Cochrane. He had been drawing half pay since 1809, and continuing expenditure upon his family, parliamentary duties, the accumulation of property and various inventions had considerably diminished his resources.[2]

The decline in income had curbed Lord Cochrane's general open-handedness, and it seems to have soured his relations with his father. In 1813 the Earl lodged with the family of a sick tin plate worker, William Kelly, at 41 Shouldham Street, for which the latter received £10 each month from Cochrane, but after February 1814, when the captain became involved in a controversy with the Stock Exchange, the payments stopped. Dundonald resorted to lobbying the government for support and pawning many of his remaining possessions. He also found time to complain that "most of the Cochrane family" were "a set of Damned Scoundrels", amongst whom he presumably included his brother Basil, who, he said, had failed to honour a promise to furnish him an annuity of £500.[3]

Active service under an admiral as opportunist as Sir Alexander in a theatre of war in which the conflict was intensifying was likely to be profitable for Lord Cochrane. It afforded him excellent prospects

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1. Cochrane to Croker, Feb. 5, 1814, Adm. 1/1666, f. 80.
2. Although it does not reflect the full state of Cochrane's finances, his account with Coutts is illustrative. The annual balances, assessed each June, are given below (DP 233/29/230).

Year	Income	Expenditure	Balance
Oct. 1809 - June 1810	£.6057.10. 2.	£ 4438. 7. 0.	+ £1619. 3. 2.
June 1810 - June 1811	£49413.18. 9.	£48642. 3.11.	+ £ 771.14.10.
June 1811 - June 1812	£36197. 9. 6.	£36143.10.10.	+ £ 53.18. 8.
June 1812 - June 1813	£16482. 6. 3.	£16450. 8.11.	+ £ 31.17. 4.
June 1813 - Feb. 1814	£ 1286. 6.11.	£ 1259. 0. 0.	+ £ 27. 6.11.
Sept.1814 - June 1815	£ 946. 3.10	£ 900. 0. 0.	+ £ 46. 3.10.
June 1815 - June 1818	£ 5631. 3.10	£ 5607. 8. 1.	+ £ 23.15. 9.

3. Dundonald to Lord Liverpool, June 14, 1814, Add. MSS. 38258, f. 51.

for furthering his naval reputation and replenishing his finances. It was indeed unfortunate that at such a time occurred the hoax upon the Stock Exchange, the most famous and ruinous of all the captain's misfortunes. The fraud has been treated elsewhere and requires only brief attention here.[4] In the early hours of Monday, February 21, 1814 a man wearing a scarlet military uniform beneath his grey greatcoat, and calling himself Colonel Du Bourg, aide de camp to the British Ambassador to Russia, made a hurried journey from Dover to London, spreading the news that the French army had been defeated and that Bonaparte had been killed by Cossacks. A little before nine o'clock in the morning he arrived at the Marsh Gate and transferred to a hackney coach, which he directed towards Grosvenor Square. By then he had achieved his purpose. The previous Saturday, February 19, omnium had risen on the Stock Exchange to 26¾%. But when dealings began on Monday, rumours of Du Bourg's escapade drove it up to 30¼%. There it flagged until later in the morning, when the news of a French defeat was apparently confirmed by the journey through London of a chaise and four, from which three men, attired in French uniforms, jubilantly shouted Bourbon slogans. Reinvigorated, the omnium stocks climbed again until about one o'clock in the afternoon, when they began to slump as it became evident that the tidings were not being verified by the government. Omnium, which reached its peak at 32%, resumed the following day its value of the 19th, 26½%.[5]

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4. The scholarly work is J. B. Atlay, The Trial of Lord Cochrane Before Lord Ellenborough (1897).
5. The defendants in the case concerning the journey from Dover to London were Lord Cochrane, Andrew Cochrane-Johnstone, Richard G. Butt and Charles Random de Berenger. The second hoax, involving the London coach journey, was traced to Alexander M'Rae, Ralph Sandom, J. P. Holloway and Henry Lyte. At the trial the prosecution and Lord Ellenborough, who presided over the case, attempted to demonstrate a connexion between the two incidents, but no satisfactory evidence suggests that this was so. The Dover hoax was in preparation on Saturday, February 19, whereas the second hoax was in contemplation as early as February 14 (S. K. Solomon, Trial, 128-132; T. Vinn, ibid, 141-147). Lord Cochrane had no knowledge of M'Rae, the leading figure in the London hoax. The day before the trial he wrote to his uncle, Basil, "I have just heard that Sandom and MacRea are admitted King's evidences - the whole roguery will therefore be out." (Cochrane to Basil Cochrane, June 7, 1814, W. Jackson, Review of the Case of Lord Cochrane, 1830, p. 108). In 1816 he argued that Cochrane-Johnstone had collaborated with M'Rae (P.D., Mar. 5, 1816, XXXII, 1151-1152) but M'Rae himself asserted that both hoaxes were autonomous, and he demonstrated no knowledge of the organization of the Dover plot in his A Disclosure of the Hoax Practised Upon the Stock Exchange (1815), 39-44. The question is complicated, however, by a letter written by M'Rae to Cochrane-Johnstone in April 1814, in which the former requested money in return for information on the subject of the hoax. This suggests that M'Rae may not then have known that Cochrane-Johnstone himself had planned the first hoax, but believed that he could be induced to part with money to clear up the

On March 4, 1814, some days later, a committee of the Stock Exchange published a notice that Cochrane-Johnstone, Cochrane, Butt, M'Rae, Sandom and Holloway had made the greatest profits on the 21st, and a reward for information leading to the identity of Du Bourg was advertised. More direct evidence was supplied on March 7 when it was shown that the hackney coach to which Du Bourg had transferred to the Marsh Gate, early on the morning of the hoax, had been directed to 13 Green Street, the home of Lord Cochrane, and that Du Bourg had been admitted to the house by servants. Further, notes paid out by the imposter on his journey from Dover could be traced to sums issued by Bond & Co. on February 19 to Butt, who, with Cochrane-Johnstone, had been at the Stock Exchange on the morning of the 21st.[6]

Lord Cochrane had been occasionally dealing in "time bargains" on the Stock Exchange for years, and he had recently resumed his speculations because of the gain which the generally favourable events on the Continent seemed to promise. Richard Gathorne Butt, an associate of the captain, undertook voluntarily to manage Cochrane's stocks. Between October 22, 1813 and February 10, 1814 the sailor made a profit of £4781.17.6. on holdings which amounted, at times, to £150,000 in consols and £25,000 in omnium. Four days later he renewed his omnium account, using a stockbroker called Fearn; by February 19 he had purchased stock worth £206,000, but sales had reduced his holdings to £139,000. This last was the sum sold on the morning of the hoax, in accordance with standing instructions to Fearn to sell at a 1% rise. In addition, Cochrane held in February a small account with another dealer, Smallbone, for £2000 in India bonds and £5000 omnium, part of which was not sold until February 22, when the market had fallen. On neither account, therefore, had Cochrane sold his stock to the greatest advantage conferred by the hoax.[7]

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case since his name had been publicly associated with the affair (M'Rae to Cochrane-Johnstone, Apr. 12, 1814, Cochrane-Johnstone to Stock Exchange, Apr. 12, 1814, Trial, 232-233). After his conviction for impersonating Du Bourg, De Berenger stated that he was not acquainted with M'Rae (Cochrane, De Berenger Detected (1816), 17).

6. Stock Exchange report, PR, Mar. 19, 1814, XXV, 354-363. According to the calculations of F. Baily, Trial, f.p. 184, Cochrane-Johnstone sold £410,000 omnium on the 21st and £100,000 consols; Butt had sold £224,000 omnium and £168,000 consols, and Cochrane £139,000 omnium. They obtained respective profits of £4931.5.0., £3048.15.0. and £2470 (ibid, 186). Cochrane-Johnstone claimed that the gains had been exaggerated, and gave figures of £3500 for himself, £1300 for Butt and £1700 for Cochrane in his letter of March 14 to the Stock Exchange (ibid, 234-235). In March 1816 Cochrane also contended that the official accounts were inaccurate, and stated that his gain by the sales of February 21, 1814, was £1083.15.0. (P.D., Mar. 5, 1816, XXXII, 1157-1158).
7. Atlay, op. cit., 13; Coutts account, DP 233/29/230; The Calumnious Aspersions Contained in the Report of the Sub-Committee of the Stock Exchange (1814), 31-32; F. Baily, Trial, facing page 184; J. Fearn, ibid,

When he heard of the Stock Exchange evidence on March 8, Lord Cochrane was preparing the Tonnant for sea. It was, of course, necessary to reply to so open an implication, and the captain took leave from service and swore an affidavit on March 11 which appeared in the press the following day. It named Charles Random de Berenger, an officer in the Duke of Cumberland's Sharpshooter Volunteers who was to accompany Admiral Cochrane to America on the Tonnant, as the only officer he recollected visiting him at home on the morning of the hoax, and it detailed the circumstances of the call. Cochrane supported his statement by forwarding to the Admiralty ten days afterwards the affidavits of his servants, which were subsequently printed in a pamphlet issued in joint cause with Butt and Cochrane-Johnstone.[8] The visit of De Berenger remained the most incriminating of the circumstances connecting Lord Cochrane to the hoax, and since the captain's affidavit of March 11 was, at the time of the trial, almost the only evidence for what had occurred at the house that morning, it merits close attention. Significantly, much of the information which Cochrane voluntarily furnished by his statement was highly prejudicial to himself.

According to the affidavit, Cochrane was working at King's Manufactory in Cock Lane upon his lamp invention the morning Du Bourg arrived at his house. A servant called at the establishment with a note from an officer who was awaiting the captain's return at Green Street. Unable to read the poorly written signature on the message, Cochrane feared bad news of his brother (Major W. E. Cochrane), who had been seriously ill abroad, and returned immediately. At Green Street, however, he found De Berenger, "in great seeming uneasiness..."

> "...All his prospects, he said, had failed, and his last hope had vanished, of obtaining an appointment in America. He was unpleasantly circumstanced, on account of a sum which he could not pay, and if he could, that others would fall upon him for full £8000. He had not hope of benefitting his creditors in his present situation, or of assisting himself. That if I would take him with me he would immediately go on board and exercise the sharp-shooters (which plan Sir Alexander Cochrane, I knew, had approved of.) That he had left his lodgings and prepared himself in the best way his means allowed. He had brought the sword with him which had been his father's, and to

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168; P.D., July 5, 1814, XXVIII, 564; Cochrane, A Letter to Lord Ellenborough (1815), 112-113, 120, Appendix V; P.D., Mar. 5, 1816, XXXII, 1153, 1155; Cochrane to Jackson, Apr. 7, 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F; Jackson, Review, op. cit., 82, 86-87. Time bargains were illegal, but they appear to have been common practice on the Stock Exchange. The speculator agreed to buy stock, but sold it on "settling day" in the hope of making a profit. He did not, therefore, actually lay out money. On the 21st Cochrane sold his stock for between 29¼% and 30½%, when omnium peaked that day at 32%, and £2000 omnium was not sold until the 22nd, for 28½%.

8. Cochrane, Letter to Lord Ellenborough, op. cit., 28-30; Cochrane to Croker, Mar. 22, 1814, Adm. 1/1666, f. 144; Cochrane to Jackson, Oct. 22,

that, and to Sir Alexander, he would trust for obtaining an honourable appointment."[9]

Cochrane, although sympathetic, explained that he was not empowered to take De Berenger aboard the Tonnant without the permission of the Admiralty, and advised him to use his influence with his superior officer, Lord Yarmouth, and others to obtain their consent. De Berenger then swore "he had come away with intention to go on board" and "he could not go to Lord Yarmouth, or to any other of his friends, in this dress...or return to his lodgings where it would excite suspicion (as he was at that time in the rules of the King's Bench)..." Therefore, he begged a hat to wear instead of his military cap. Cochrane found him one, with a black coat, and De Berenger, having wrapped his uniform in a towel, left "in great apparent uneasiness of mind."

By this affidavit Cochrane provided the Stock Exchange with its only evidence that Du Bourg had received a change of clothes at Green Street, but while it supplied the name of the imposter it preserved doubt about De Berenger's guilt by representing him to have appeared in a green uniform and not the red guise of the hoaxer. The affidavit is supported by the private letters which De Berenger wrote at the time. The day after the visit, writing to Cochrane-Johnstone for money, partly in payment for drawings he had made, he stated,

> "I should be enabled to proceed immediately to the Tonnant, for I still think Lord Cochrane might obtain leave for my going on board, at all events; I yet have hopes, though his Lordship seemed in doubt; perhaps you will obligingly urge his endeavours. I fear a much greater difficulty, for I have heard it hinted, that some creditors, fearful of my going to America...contemplate to lodge detainers against me. Among these however, Mr. Tahourdin is not; for I thought it my duty to tell him, and he handsomely consented to my endeavours against America, as the only means to recover from my many losses. My plan is to go on board, if possible, with a view to begin to drill the marines in rifle-shooting and exercise...if my creditors pursue me there..."[10]

1814, DP 233/82/87; P.D., July 5, 1814, XXVIII, 549-550; Cochrane, affidavit, Mar. 11, 1814, Trial, 201-205; Jackson, Review, op. cit., 2; Calumnious Aspersions, op. cit., 46-60. The Independent Whig, Mar. 27, 1814, also published the servants' affidavits, and considered that they, with Cochrane's own statement, satisfactorily answered the suspicions held of the captain.

9. Cochrane, affidavit, Mar. 11, 1814, Trial, 201-205. The explanation of Cochrane's return to Green Street from Cock Lane seems plausible. On that subject see W. E. Cochrane, affidavit, June 14, 1814, Trial, 568-569; surgeon's certificate, ibid, 569-570; Bowering, ibid, 347; Cochrane, Letter to Lord Ellenborough, op. cit., 41-47; P.D., Mar. 5, 1816, XXXII, 1183-1184; D. F. Cochrane, The Case of Lord Cochrane (1965), 12-14.

10. De Berenger to Cochrane-Johnstone, Feb. 22, 1814, Trial, 357-360.

Later, on April 27, Cochrane wrote De Berenger, who had been arrested at Leith on April 8 trying to flee the country, demanding an explanation of his conduct. To this the imposter replied, "Rest assured, my Lord, that nothing could exceed the pain I felt, when I perceived how cruelly, how unfairly my unfortunate visit of the 21st of February was interpreted (which, with its object, is so correctly detailed in your affidavit)..."[11] It must be said, however, that the last letter was printed by De Berenger before the trial took place, and that Cochrane later stated that Cochrane-Johnstone had advised him to write for the explanation.[12] It is impossible, therefore, to avoid the possibility that De Berenger's letter to Cochrane of April 27 was set up to aid the defence.

Eventually, Lord Cochrane, Cochrane-Johnstone, De Berenger and Butt, with M'Rae and his associates, were indicted with conspiring to raise the funds of the Stock Exchange, and the trial took place at the Court of King's Bench on June 8 and June 9, 1814. The captain did not attend. Instead he worked enthusiastically upon his oil lamp, but confided to his uncle, Basil, that he expected that the Stock Exchange would return to him the money he had made on February 21, which had since been held pending the results of the investigation. Unfortunately, a verdict of guilty was returned against all the defendants. "Pray break this subject to Mrs. Cochrane as well as you can," Cochrane told his uncle, Basil, "for I know how much it will distress her...All my fortitude is required to bear up against this unexpected and unmerited stroke."[13]

Cochrane-Johnstone and M'Rae fled upon hearing the verdict, but on June 14 and June 20 Cochrane appeared before Lord Ellenborough, who had presided over the trial, and other justices at the King's Bench and attempted, unsuccessfully, to show grounds for a retrial. Instead, he received a crushing sentence of one year's imprisonment, a fine of £1000 and an hour in the pillory. The captain was shaken. "When the sentence was passed," reported a witness, "he stood without colour in his face, his eyes staring and without expression and it was with difficulty he left the court like a man stupefied."[14] Five days later he wrote to his cousin, the daughter of Cochrane-Johnstone, "I am distressed on your account more than on my own; for knowing my innocence, and unable to speak of the private acts

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11. De Berenger to Cochrane, Apr. 27, 1814, J. Brown, An Antidote to Detraction and Prejudice... (1814), 55-56.
12. P.D., July 5, 1814, XXVIII, 559.
13. Cochrane to Basil, June 10, 1814, Jackson, Review, op. cit., 109; Cochrane to Basil, June 7, 8, 1814, ibid, 108-109.
14. H. Cecil, A Matter of Speculation: The Case of Lord Cochrane (1965), 168-169.

of any other, I cannot bring myself to believe that I shall be disgraced and punished without a cause!"[15]

II

It is impossible to avoid an evaluation of the case against Lord Cochrane, since the verdict, then and since, aroused great controversy. Although much has been written to vindicate or accuse the captain, the question of his guilt cannot satisfactorily be resolved. Certainly, his finances had markedly declined since 1809, and he was, throughout his life, interested in money. But in February 1814 his prospects had been revived by his appointment as flag captain of the Tonnant, and those who knew him gave him a reputation for honesty, and contrasted it with the character of his uncle, Andrew Cochrane-Johnstone. "I can hardly bring myself to believe that he (Lord Cochrane) could have been concerned in so foul a transaction," wrote Napier to Guthrie. "Such...is the consequence of keeping low company. Cochrane Johnstone lost his character many years ago..."[16] A friend of the family wrote of "Ld. Cochrane and Andrew's affair with the stocks. Betwixt ourselves I fear the worst as I know the spirit of the latter. It is a most unfortunate business but let us trust that at least Cochrane himself will get out of the scrape."[17] Similar views were expressed by Burdett, and by William Beckford, the author of Vathek. "What the devil is C. Johnstone up to?" asked the latter. "There's another person who will not come to a good end. But the Hero! The Hero is predestined to glory according to my scriptures; discreet, modest, silent - short in speech, long in thought - there is stuff in that man to become one day a cloak of ermine and gold."[18]

It is possible that Cochrane-Johnstone's villainy has been exaggerated, but even allowing for embellishment he seems to have merited notoriety. His regime, as Governor of Dominica, from 1797, drew complaints of extortion, slaving, corruption and brutality which occasioned his recall in 1803 and the suspension of his army commission. Although a court martial acquitted him of irregularities in 1805, he was unable to expunge the stigma, despite support from Cobbett, his close friend, and resigned his commission. In 1808 Cochrane-Johnstone's election as member for the rotten borough of Grampound, characterized by excessive bribery, was declared void, but his return in 1812 enabled him to attract notice as a

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15. Cochrane to Eliza Cochrane-Johnstone, June 25, 1814, DP 233/177/103.
16. Napier to Guthrie, Mar. 12, 1814, Guthrie Papers, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
17. Letter to T. J. Cochrane, Mar. 24, 1814, NLS 2265, f. 43.
18. D. Thomas, Cochrane (1978), 177; Burdett to Coutts, Mar. 1814, M. W. Patterson, Sir Francis Burdett and his Times (1931), 341.

figure on the radical fringe.[19]

His honesty, however, was repeatedly suspect. Appointed by his brother, Admiral Cochrane, agent for the navy and auctioneer at the time of the capture of the Danish West Indian islands, he was accused of bribing Admiralty court officials at Tortola. It was further reported that he had refused, during the cause, to surrender papers and produce in his hands; instead, he had used the latter to accumulate property, or shipped it to England for investment for profit. His behaviour disturbed even the captors, in whose interests he was alleged partly to have acted, and Admiral Cochrane complained that imprudent remarks made by his brother forfeited much important goodwill. "I shall ever sincerely regret that my attachment to him as a brother," wrote the admiral, "induced me to repose in him the trust that I did." Bluntly he notified Cochrane-Johnstone that he would never appoint him to such a post again.[20]

There were other allegations, that Cochrane-Johnstone defaulted upon arms contracts with the Spaniards and that he was involved in smuggling, but they may not all have been justified. When buying dollars for the Treasury in Spain and Vera Cruz, for example, he was compelled to curb the activities of one Captain Maling, who, in 1809, attempted to ship dollars from Vera Cruz under Cochrane-Johnstone's name without paying the duties.[21] The matter of the arms contract seems to have been more mismanagement than dishonesty. While in Spain, Cochrane-Johnstone seems to have bought wool and sheep which were to be paid for by the export of muskets from England. The venture failed dismally, for his London agent found difficulty in obtaining an export license for the muskets, and the sheep failed to raise much of a price in New York. Late in 1811 the agent was claiming that large sums were owed him by Cochrane-Johnstone on account of the deal.[22]

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19. The sketch in DNB, X, 959-960, uncritically follows A. Mackenrot, Secret Memoirs of the Hon. Andrew Cochrane-Johnstone...(1814). A. Cochrane-Johnstone, Defence of the Hon. Andrew Cochrane-Johnstone...(1805): The friendship with Cobbett is illuminated in Add. MSS. 35145, ff. 9-11; PR, July 2, 1814, XXVI, 6.
20. A. Cochrane to Basil Cochrane, Oct. 18, 1808, Nov. 2, 1808, Feb. 26, 1809, NLS 2572, ff. 172-173; Cochrane to Cochrane-Johnstone, Oct. 25, Nov. 9, 1808, ibid, ff. 172-173; correspondence in NLS 2314, ff. 120-180, NLS 2315, ff. 5-12; Mackenrot, op. cit., 20-38.
21. Mackenrot, op. cit., 38-40; correspondence of Cochrane-Johnstone and Maling, NLS 2316, ff. 46-47, 146-169.
22. J. Tunno to Cochrane-Johnstone, Dec. 25, 1809, NLS 9049, ff. 15-16; Cochrane-Johnstone to P. Wiseman, Jan. 1810, ibid, ff. 19-20; Cochrane-Johnstone to Murray & Sons, Dec. 13, 1810, ibid, ff. 21-23; Murray & Sons to Cochrane-Johnstone, Jan. 9-10, Jan. 28, Feb. 15, 1811, ibid, ff. 23-26, 28, 30-31; Tunno to Cochrane-Johnstone, Sept. 24, Oct. 3, 1811, ibid, ff. 36-38.

Whether the adventurer fought himself clear of this problem or not, he was in serious financial difficulties at the time of the Stock Exchange hoax. In 1813 five persons claimed debts on him totalling £16,301.7.5¾. and pressed for the sale of his property in Dominica. In addition, he hoped to settle an annuity on his three natural children and their mother. Executions were lodged against him in 1814 and his crops in Dominica were seized. Four estates and houses there, some 671 acres, 62 slaves and 16 livestock were placed on sale in August and September, and when Cochrane-Johnstone arrived in the island in the summer of 1815 he found most of his property sold for less than he owed.[23]

Cochrane-Johnstone, therefore, possessed both the motive and the character to initiate the fraud on the Stock Exchange, and there is no doubt that he did so, since all those with whom he was charged independently assigned him that role. Upon this point, the testimony of his daughter, Eliza, who was eighteen years old at the time of the hoax and living in her father's house, is of interest. She believed that Lord Cochrane had been embroiled in a fraud of which he was innocent because of his connexion with Cochrane-Johnstone. More than forty years later she implored the sailor to publish anything he knew which would establish his innocence, irrespective of how odious a light it cast upon her father. "Many years I cannot wish for you," she wrote, "but may you live to finish your book and if it pleases God may you and I have a peaceful deathbed. We have both suffered much mental anguish tho' in various degrees for yours was indeed the hardest lot that an honourable man can be called on to bear. Oh, my dear cousin, let me say once more, while we are still here, how ever since that miserable time, I have felt that you suffered for my poor Father's fault - how agonising that conviction was - how thankful I am that tardy justice was done you - may God restore you fourfold for your generous tho' misplaced confidence in him and for all your subsequent forbearance."[24]

More confused family opinion on the matter was supplied by the ageing 9th Earl of Dundonald, who bore malice to his son for what he considered to be inadequate financial support. Dundonald stated that on May 3, 1812 he had visited Cochrane-Johnstone's house at 11 Alsop's Buildings to warn Lord Cochrane that his uncle "was an unprincipled Villain, Swindler and Coward," but that Cochrane had thrown him down some stone steps. The Earl

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23. NLS 9049, f. 49 following, esp. Gordon to Cochrane-Johnstone, Apr. 27, 1813, and Dr. Johnstone and Gordon to Cochrane-Johnstone, Apr. 14, 1813, ff. 49-51, and "Case for the Opinion of Mr. Hobson from A. Cochrane-Johnstone", July 15, 1815,ff. 59-74; The Times, Oct. 21, 1816; Cochrane-Johnstone to Tahourdin, Feb. 22, 1814, Trial, 356-357.
24. Elizabeth Cochrane-Johnstone (Lady Napier) to Dundonald, Christmas, 1859, DP 233/177/103.

also described his son as "one who from voluntary perjury merits the pillory."[25]

De Berenger, who impersonated Du Bourg, held no stock and clearly acted for others who were fundholders. His most likely confederate was Cochrane-Johnstone, the only one of the defendants with whom he was intimate. Cochrane-Johnstone held more stock than either Butt or Lord Cochrane; he alone of the three was in serious financial difficulties; and only he is known to have been in De Berenger's company after the hoax, probably visiting him on February 26, before the imposter's flight from London, and certainly after his capture. Cochrane-Johnstone was a more important figure than Butt in the acquisition of an office near the Stock Exchange some days before the hoax, and only he, as far as can be determined, was involved in setting up the false alibi used by De Berenger at the trial. When the jury's verdict was pronounced, it was Cochrane-Johnstone who fled, and Butt and Lord Cochrane who applied for a retrial.[26]

Perhaps the most damaging evidence against Cochrane-Johnstone and Butt was a memorandum discovered among De Berenger's effects which consisted of notes to be used for a letter to Cochrane-Johnstone, apparently referring to the share De Berenger expected to receive from the profits of the hoax. "Believe from my informant," it read, "£18,000 instead of £4800 - suspicious that Mr. B. does not account correctly to him as well as me. Determined not to be duped."[27] It will be recollected that Cochrane-Johnstone had claimed

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25. Dundonald to Cochrane, May 13, 1814, Add. MSS. 38257, ff. 249-251; Dundonald to Liverpool, May 13, 1814, ibid, ff. 247-248; The Sun, July 13, 1814; Sunday Review, July 17, 1814. At this time Dundonald was undoubtedly senile, and sufficiently malicious to attempt to ruin Lord Cochrane's chances of re-election as M.P. for Westminster in July 1814. He accused his son of financial neglect, of stealing his furniture and ideas (including the plan for the attack upon the French fleet in the Aix Roads, 1809) and of taking into his service Dundonald's valet, Thomas Dewman, and rewarding him after he had tried to murder the Earl in a street. Cochrane replied that he had taken Dewman from Dundonald after the Earl had assaulted him with a broom. While the Earl certainly lived in poor circumstances, it is difficult to take his allegations seriously. Cochrane stated that he had disbursed some £8000 on his father since 1804. These sums had declined of late, with the sailor's finances. The account book with Coutts shows direct payments to Dundonald from October 1809 of £200 (1809), £373 (1810), £190 (1811), a total of £763 (Account books, DP 233/29/230).
26. G. Lavie, Trial, 137; Mrs. A. Davidson, ibid, 134-135, 137; J. Fearn, ibid, 163, 171; O. Addis, ibid, 192-193; Smith, ibid, 389; De Berenger to Brown, May 26, 1814, Brown, op. cit., 4; P.D., July 5, 1814, XXVIII, 559-560; C. R. De Berenger, The Noble Stock-jobber (1816).
27. Trial, 224.

that the profits from the sales of February 21 had been exaggerated, and that he gave his own calculations, which, it is clear from the title of a pamphlet the defendants issued, were derived from Butt.[28] The combined profits of Cochrane-Johnstone and Butt, as given by the former, amount to £4800, the very sum mentioned by De Berenger in his note. It is conceivable that De Berenger's reward was to depend upon the gains made, and that he doubted the minimal figure Butt had given Cochrane-Johnstone.

De Berenger, a Prussian aristocrat of about forty-two years of age, was shown at the trial to have acted the role of Colonel Du Bourg on the journey from Dover to London. He was an ideal confederate. Versatile and talented - he had made drawings for the Prince Regent, discussed taxation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and put military plans to the Duke of Cumberland - De Berenger, like Cochrane-Johnstone, was in debt. He had traded in engravings from various London addresses, but claimed to have lost some £7000 or £8000 because of an attempt in 1810 and 1811 to establish, among other schemes, a fund for the dependants of artists. Four thousand pounds he owed his solicitor, Gabriel Tahourdin, alone. Consequently, since 1812 he had been a debtor within the rules of the King's Bench.[29]

Since 1798 the Prussian had been in the habit of offering his services gratuitously to military companies, and in 1804 he had entered the Duke of Cumberland's Sharpshooter Volunteers, in which corps he earned a reputation for the application of scientific principles to shooting. In May 1813 he was introduced by his solicitor to Cochrane-Johnstone, who used him to produce drawings of proposed improvements to property at Alsop's Buildings. The two became close friends. Because of De Berenger's ability as a marksman, and his development of new methods of boarding and a device for flame-throwing, Cochrane-Johnstone recommended him to his brother, Admiral Cochrane, who had recently been appointed to the North American station. The admiral was impressed, and tried to obtain an appointment for De Berenger with the fleet. Not until about December 1813, however, did the Prussian meet Lord Cochrane, who found him of value in making drawings for his lamp patent. The imposter's relationship with Butt was even briefer, since the latter was only introduced to Cochrane-Johnstone by Lord Cochrane during an

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28. The full title of Calumnious Aspersions includes the statement "to which are added, under the authority of Mr. Butt, copies of the purchases and sales of omnium and consols..."
29. Brown, op. cit., 29-37, 73-82, 108-122; Atlay, op. cit., 38-39; B. Brooshoft, Trial, 220; Tahourdin, ibid, 369. A manuscript by one Coombe, 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F, emphasizes De Berenger's disagreeable

accidental meeting in January 1814.[30]

Neither Lord Cochrane nor Richard Gathorne Butt were in debt. Butt had been born in 1776 or 1777 and became a pay clerk in Portsmouth Dockyard, where he conceived a grievance against Lord Barham. He first approached Lord Cochrane in an unsuccessful attempt to induce him to make allegations against Barham in the Commons. Later Butt became a successful speculator on the Stock Exchange, and after meeting Cochrane-Johnstone through Lord Cochrane, he bought a house from him in Cumberland Place. Evidently Butt was fairly prosperous, but his involvement in the hoax certainly ruined him. Upon his release from prison in 1815 he pursued Cochrane-Johnstone to the West Indies to obtain payment for debts reportedly amounting to £4200. It does not appear if he was successful, but upon his return he tried to malign Lord Ellenborough, who had presided over the 1814 trial, complaining that the £1000 paid by Butt as a fine had not been lodged with the Pipe Office, its proper place. Cochrane presented his petition to the House of Commons, but the allegations succeeded only in producing a prosecution for libel by the government in May 1817 which secured Butt a further fifteen months' imprisonment.[31]

Lord Cochrane always maintained that Butt, like himself, was innocent of the fraud of 1814. In 1830 and 1831, however, when the latter was a debtor in the Fleet prison and his wife about to be expelled from her lodgings, Butt sought to obtain money from the admiral by threatening to discredit him. Cochrane found the requests for money tiresome, but he was not blind to the tragic element in the situation. "He is an unfortunate creature," he wrote, "and has been cruelly treated by that greatest of all scoundrels, Mr. Johns(t)on(e)."[32] The last information about Butt is a letter he wrote from London to Cochrane in 1847 in which he admitted spending fourteen years in different prisons and begged assistance in his attempts to obtain compensation. Cochrane, he said, knew him

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qualities, a dismissal for insubordination and allegations of dubious activities.

30. Tahourdin, Trial, 352-371; J. P. Beresford, ibid, 377-378; Murray, ibid, 213-217; Carling, ibid, 218-219; Lord Melville, Col. Torrens and H. Goulburn, ibid, 340-345; Cochrane, Letter to Lord Ellenborough, op. cit., 52, 59, 64-66; De Berenger to Sidmouth, May 10, 1814, Brown, op. cit., 71-82; De Berenger, statement, Apr. 25, 1814, ibid, 57-65; Isaac Davis, affidavit, Mar. 21, 1814, Calumnious Aspersions, 56; Cochrane to Jackson, Apr. 7, 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F.
31. Butt to Cochrane, Aug. 24, 1847, DP 233/78/35; Cochrane to Jackson, Apr. 7, 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F; Atlay, op. cit., 26, 278-282; Lord Ellenborough, The Guilt of Lord Cochrane in 1814 (1914), 197-200; P.D., Mar. 8, 1816, XXXIII, 69-72, Mar. 17, 1817, XXXV, 1135-1136; Jackson, Review, op. cit., 75-77, 82-83.
32. Cochrane to Jackson, Apr. 1, 1830, DP 233/44/XXIII; Butt to Cochrane, Dec. 15, 1830, DP 233/26/192; Cochrane to Jackson, ibid; Jackson to Cochrane, Apr. 4, 1831, DP 233/26/193; Jackson diary, Dec. 2, 1830, DP 233/44/XXIII.

to be an innocent man.[33]

At the trial in June Lord Cochrane, Butt and Cochrane-Johnstone were defended conjointly, an absurd practice since it suggested that either all or none were guilty of the charges, and one which would now be unacceptable in the courts. The defendants were united, moreover, against Cochrane's wishes, for he informed his solicitors before the trial that he would not sanction the connexion of his case to that of any other than Butt.[34] Unfortunately, his counsel was ignored. The argument which Lord Cochrane and Butt advanced after the trial was that they had been innocent beneficiaries of a hoax engineered by Cochrane-Johnstone and De Berenger, and that the circumstances which appeared to incriminate them arose from their unfortunate relationship to the pair. They certainly held considerable amounts of stock and profited from the fraud, and they were both frequently in association with Cochrane-Johnstone, but these facts did not, in themselves, constitute proof that they had been party to the conspiracy. It is important, therefore, to examine Cochrane's case as distinct from those of his co-defendants.

There is nothing in the captain's dealings on the Stock Exchange which can satisfactorily be held against him. The prosecution contended that Cochrane-Johnstone, Butt and Cochrane could not have unloaded their large amount of stock on the 21st without depressing the market, and that the motive for the hoax was as much to avoid loss as to seek gain. This thesis is scarcely sound. First, it assumes the speculators were cognizant of the holdings of each other and appreciated the amount of stock

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33. Butt to Cochrane, Aug. 24, 1847, DP 233/78/35. Butt fared less well than the two principals in the fraud, Cochrane-Johnstone and De Berenger. After the verdict Cochrane-Johnstone fled to Calais and then to Dominica, where he endeavoured to arrest the sale of his property. About 1819 or 1820 he moved to Demarara colony and later to Paris, where he lived until his death in 1833. There he regularly met his brothers, and, perhaps, Lord Cochrane upon one occasion. In 1828 he wrote from Rue de Faubourg, St. Honore, Paris, that "Lord Cochrane is gone to London and her Ladyship has issued cards for an immense party on the 5 of this month. I have got the cook...placed with her at a salary of 800 francs." (Cochrane-Johnstone, May 1828, NLS 2270, ff. 139-140). See his papers, NLS 9049. De Berenger, after his release from prison, patented some inventions, opened a stadium in 1830 in the King's Road for galas and fireworks with a display of trick shooting, and published Helps and Hints How to Protect Life and Property With Instructions in Rifle and Pistol Shooting (1835). He was living in Kentishtown in 1827. See G. M. Young, Early Victorian England, 1830-65 (1951), 191; Morning Herald, Aug. 9, 1827; B. Woodcroft, Alphabetical Index of Patentees of Inventions (1969), 148.

34. Sir Travers Humphreys, A Book of Trials (1953), 17-29; Cochrane to Farrer & Co., May 29, 1814, P.D., July 5, 1814, XXVIII, 560.

available for the market, and, secondly, that "settling day" was the same for all three and that it was February 21st. In fact, Cochrane-Johnstone's principal holdings were not with Fearn, the stockbroker he shared with Cochrane and Butt, but with one Hichens who was apparently unknown to Lord Cochrane, and there is nothing to suggest that the latter remained other than ignorant of the purchases. The "settling days" are not known, but De Berenger spoke of February 23, and may have referred to the stock held by Cochrane-Johnstone. Lord Cochrane, however, asserted that he had until March 16 to sell his stock, in which case he needed to be in no hurry to realize his one per cent.[35]

De Berenger's flight to Green Street, after his impersonation of Du Bourg, was a more serious difficulty. Lord Cochrane was evidently not expecting the visit, for he was absent when De Berenger called, and it is conceivable that the Prussian went to Green Street rather than to Cochrane-Johnstone's house in nearby Cumberland Street with the motive attributed to him in the captain's affidavit and suggested by his own letter of the following day. The most unsatisfactory assertion in the account Cochrane gave of the visit - and the main point against him - was his statement that De Berenger appeared at Green Street in "a grey great coat, a green uniform, and a military cap." It was in evidence at the trial that De Berenger had entered the house in the red uniform of Du Bourg. It is scarcely credible, however, that he would have dared to appear before the innocent, Cochrane or others aboard the Tonnant, in a uniform which shortly would be likely to be advertised as the disguise of a criminal. On the other hand, if Cochrane had been guilty he possessed an additional motive for transforming the Prussian's coat, because had he admitted the red uniform he would have left De Berenger, whom he was compelled to name, with no possible defence. It is argued by those who believe in Cochrane's guilt that to avoid incurring these consequences the captain committed perjury by declaring in his affidavit that De Berenger appeared in green.

At the trial Cochrane's defence suggested that Cochrane had simply been in error about the colour of De Berenger's coat, and that it had been red, an explanation which lacks plausibility since it assumes that De Berenger would have been sufficiently foolish to appear before an innocent man in the guise of Du Bourg. Therefore Cochrane, and most of his defenders, have tried to show that De Berenger wore a green uniform more appropriate to his professed purpose of training sharpshooters aboard the Tonnant.

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35. Baily, Trial, 186; P.D., Mar. 5, 1816, XXXII, 1150-51, 1156; Lord Ellenborough, op. cit., 174.

Three problems beset this interpretation. First, it was in evidence that De Berenger entered the hackney which took him to Green Street and left it in red.[36] Cochrane endeavoured to demonstrate that De Berenger had changed on his journey, and assembled evidence which gave Crane, the driver of the hackney, a despicable character.[37] This undermined Crane's testimony that De Berenger had alighted at Green Street in a scarlet coat. At the same time, after the trial Cochrane produced a number of witnesses to show that De Berenger had worn green when he entered the hackney at the Marsh Gate and placed much emphasis upon the statements of his servants. These last were, however, contradictory and confused, and are not admissable as good evidence.[38]

Ironically, Crane, whose reliability had been impeached in relation to the first difficulty, was the key prop to Cochrane's answer to the second. If De Berenger had changed uniforms he must have had the means of doing so. Cochrane insisted that the portmanteau, which the imposter is known to have carried from Dover, contained the green uniform, but only Crane gave much indication of its size, describing it as a "small leather one, big enough to wrap a coat up in."[39] At Cochrane's prosecution of one of the trial witnesses for perjury in 1816 it was shown that De Berenger had arrived at Dover, before undertaking his controversial journey to London, in a bottle green coat. Unfortunately, De Berenger had also left at his inn in Dover a portmanteau and there was nothing to suggest that it did not contain his green coat. De Berenger, in his book, asserted that the bag he brought with him from Dover was merely a bill case, measuring 6" x 10" x 1½", in which event it could not have held an item as large as a uniform coat.[40]

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36. Bartholomew, Trial, 119; Crane, ibid, 124; Cochrane, ibid, 560-561.
37. Statements of C. King, R. Baldwin, T. Critchfield, J. Yeowell, J. Lovemore, July and Aug. 1814, Cochrane, Letter to Lord Ellenborough, op. cit., Appendix 7; P.D., July 5, 1814, XXVIII, 563; "Statement of Claims...by Thomas, Earl of Dundonald...", 1840s, DP 233/73/2; DP 233/83/90E-F. Crane was born in 1792 or 1793, charged with brutality to horses in May 1814 and convicted of robbery in 1826.
38. Affidavits of J. Rayment and J. Miller, July 22, 1814, Cochrane, Letter to Lord Ellenborough, op. cit., Appendix 7; Jackson, Review, op. cit., 16-17. On March 21 Davis, Turpin and Dewman, Cochrane's servants, reported having seen a green collar beneath De Berenger's greatcoat (Calumnious Aspersions, op. cit., 54-56). On May 11, however, Turpin and Dewman informed Cochrane's solicitors that the visitor had worn a red uniform (statement of Farrer & Co., Ellenborough, op. cit., 307-310). Finally, after the trial, Dewman, Busk and Turpin testified respectively to seeing a dark green undercoat, a dark green neck or what could be seen, and a dark green collar or facing (P.D., July 5, 1814, XXVIII, 571-577). The change of emphasis between the first and last statements is interesting inasmuch as Lord Yarmouth testified at the trial that the uniform of his sharpshooters possessed a crimson collar and a bottle green body (Trial, 376-377).
39. Crane, Trial, 123.
40. D. Bangham and H. Mecrow, The Times, July 22, 1816; Ellenborough, op.

Finally, if De Berenger did have a green coat with him when he reached London, why did he seek a change of clothing at Lord Cochrane's? The captain could only suggest that it may have been disrespectful for De Berenger to visit Lord Yarmouth, his superior, in uniform when he was off duty, that the green coat was a drill and not a parade dress or that it was not a sharpshooting uniform at all.[41] The mystery of the coat is not likely to be solved, but it is important because it is virtually the only strong evidence against Cochrane. Three banknotes, belonging to the captain, were found to have been later changed into £1 notes, some of which were subsequently found on De Berenger, but this was poor evidence, since these notes had passed first from Cochrane to Butt. Lord Cochrane was able eventually to show legitimate debts to Butt for the amount concerned.[42]

Apart from this, there exists only an inconclusive remark De Berenger is alleged to have made in the presence of one Alexander Murray many weeks before the hoax,[43] and the allegations contained in De Berenger's book, The Noble Stock-jobber (1816). This last was an unreliable work, but claimed that De Berenger had concocted the masquerade at the instigation of Cochrane-Johnstone, who wished to avoid ruin, and that it was outlined in Butt's office on Saturday, February 19, in the presence of both Butt and Cochrane. De Berenger conceded that none of the participants considered the hoax to be a crime. His story receives support from Butt. According to the diary of William Jackson for 1831, "Lord Dundonald (Cochrane) called...Showed me letters from Butt accusing him of participation in the fraud! and of seeing him with De Berenger on the Saturday before at his office!! Believe I have a letter from Butt indignantly denying ever seeing De Berenger at his office in his life."[44]

Neither De Berenger nor Butt, however, can be taken at face value. In 1814 De Berenger had quarrelled with Cochrane in the King's Bench prison. He accused the sailor of neglecting him and there was a suggestion that he had attempted to obtain money from Cochrane. In fury the Prussian sent accusatory letters to Lord Cochrane, who passed them to the press. They gave a poor impression of De Berenger, "full of most absurd reasoning" as The Times reported, and his book, which Cochrane designated an

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cit., 175.

41. Cochrane, Trial, 560-561; Cochrane, Letter to Lord Ellenborough, op. cit., 74-79.
42. Lance, Trial, 236-240; P.D., July 5, 1814, XXVIII, 564; T. Cochrane, Letter to Lord Ellenborough, op. cit., 110-116, Appendix 6.
43. Murray, Trial, 214-215; Prescott to Cochrane, Nov. 28, 1814, Cochrane, Letter to Lord Ellenborough, op. cit., Appendix 3; M'Rae, op. cit., 32-33.
44. Jackson diary, Nov. 1, 1831, DP 233/44/XXIII.

"infamous publication" and a "falsehood", may have been in the same vein. Butt was certainly seeking money from Cochrane in 1830 and 1831, when he made his statement, and it is possible that he had taken the story from De Berenger's book. Neither of these statements, therefore, is strong evidence against Lord Cochrane.[45]

Such was the case given Cochrane to answer. At best it is contrived from circumstance, and whether it met the "proof" as defined by Cochrane's defence is to be doubted. "All that is proved," Sergeant Best explained at the trial, "may be true and yet the defendants may be innocent. The circumstantial evidence that alone can warrant conviction is the proof of such facts as could not have happened had the accused been innocent."[46] At the same time, there is no doubt that it was a far stronger case than Cochrane's biographers have generally admitted.

Much of the evidence given above was available at the trial. Although blame was often correctly placed upon that occasion, Cochrane was certainly justified in complaining that his defence was not presented to the best advantage. Du Bourg was identified as De Berenger. But the trial blurred the distinctions between the other defendants, and the prosecution, by emphasizing the unity of Cochrane-Johnstone, Butt and Lord Cochrane, was able to imply that if one was guilty, then so were the others. The defence contributed to this impression by dealing with the accused together. The decision to do so was not lightly made, but it seems curious in view of Cochrane's opposition to the idea, and in the light of the declaration made years later by Brougham, one of the defence lawyers, that the counsel privately believed Cochrane-Johnstone to be guilty and Cochrane innocent.[47]

Because of this proceeding evidence, such as the memorandum found on De Berenger after his arrest, could not be used in exculpation of one defendant when it incriminated others, and considerable confusion crept into the testimony. All three were accused of publishing the pamphlet containing De Berenger's false alibi, but the only evidence proved was that this alibi had been taken to Cochrane-Johnstone and that Butt had sold the volume. Similarly, the three were held to have rented an office

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45. The Times, July 27, 1814; PR, July 30, 1814, XXVL, 134-144; Sunday Review, Add. MSS. 35152, f. 70; Cochrane to Jackson, Oct. 4, 1816, DP 233/29/217; Statesman, Aug. 2, 1814.
46. Best, Trial, 258.
47. Brougham to Dundonald, Mar. 29, 1844, Select Committee, 13.

about the Stock Exchange before the hoax, but nothing sworn demonstrated any link between that act and Lord Cochrane. To his credit, Lord Ellenborough charged the jury to consider if any one defendant was exempt from the conspiracy, but this, and portions of Best's speech for the defence, were insufficient to temper the impressions gathered from the previous proceedings.[48]

In addition, there were other doubtful aspects of the trial. The defence, for example, were only permitted one speech, before their witnesses were called, thereby granting the prosecution the advantage of the last word. In this instance an able address by Sir John Gurney was followed by Lord Ellenborough's summing up which was excessively prejudicial to the defendants. Nor can the judge be acquitted of making an unfair decision in compelling the defence to embark upon their case at about 10.30 p.m. of June 8, after the court had been sitting since nine in the morning, and in the face of complaints of weariness by the defence on behalf of themselves and the jury.[49] These, and other less well founded points, were assembled by Cochrane as ammunition in a protracted campaign to establish his innocence, waged from the moment of his conviction.

III

Cochrane failed to obtain a new trial, and he was installed on June 20 in two good apartments on the first floor of the Statehouse of the King's Bench prison, with a couple of acres of ground for exercise.[50] There he began preparing for the inevitable parliamentary debate which afforded him opportunity for an extended public vindication. It was given in the Commons on July 5. Cochrane read from a lengthy document drafted by Jackson and Cobbett which was so outspoken that portions of it were censored for the Hansard record.[51] It is easy to deride the

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48. Smith, Trial, 389; Richardson, ibid, 200; Fearn, ibid, 163, 171; Addis, ibid, 192-193; Ellenborough, ibid, 531.
49. Trial, 254-256, 291-293, 312-313, 319, 332. Ellenborough has been described as a sincere man, but opinionated, overbearing, dogmatic and capable of precipitate judgements (DNB, XI, 660-661; H. Brougham, Historical Sketches of Statesmen who Flourished in the Time of George III (1839-43), III, 210). Henry Crabb Robinson, who witnessed Cochrane's trial, wrote, "Were I a defendant I should dread his first impression exceedingly."(Cecil, op. cit., 168). Ellenborough has been charged with prejudice in the trials of Cobbett (1810) and the Hunts (1812). G. D. H. Cole, The Life of William Cobbett (1947), 156; F. Hawes, Henry Brougham (1957), 69-70, 79.
50. Commitment Book, Minutes of Evidence, 23; Jackson to his wife, Aug. 2, 1814, DP 233/83/90E-F; The Times, Mar. 11, 1815.
51. Jackson to Earp, Apr. 24, 1861, DP 233/29/218; P.D., July 5, 1814, XXVIII, 542-607; Commons Journals, July 5, 1814, LXIX, 427-433.

excesses of Cochrane's statement, and to scorn his flimsy charges that the government, Admiralty, Stock Exchange, prosecution and Lord Ellenborough had conspired against him for reasons of political or personal malice, but his efforts must be placed within the context of the unsatisfactory trial, the denial of Cochrane's appeal for a new hearing, and the vindictive sentence. The sailor's embittered performance certainly struck the public conscience, establishing the popular view of his innocence which was never afterwards undermined.

On the face of it Cochrane's defence was futile, since he was expelled from parliament by 140 votes to 44.[52] It followed his removal from the navy (at the instigation of the Prince Regent) and preceded his expulsion from the order of Bath, both of which acts, Cochrane protested, were irregular.[53] But the comprehensive statement in the House convinced some members of his innocence. When Browne moved for a committee to be established to enquire into the case, T. Brand, Burdett, Whitbread, G. Ponsonby, J. Barham, S. Wortley, Wynn, Lord Archibald Hamilton and Wrottesley voiced their support, some of them forcibly, and part of the opposition was founded upon a reluctance to interfere with a legal verdict rather than upon a belief that it had been a just one. A motion that the matter be adjourned for further consideration was defeated 142 votes to 74.

Amongst the vocal crowd, moreover, it was the parliamentary minority whose views carried conviction. There was an immediate public outcry for Lord Cochrane, Ellenborough was vilified, and one of the sailor's brothers felt sufficiently secure to seek a duel with the author of a tract which vindicated the judge and jury. "His cause," commented one newspaper, "daily gains ground; the clouds of prejudice by which it was at first obscured are rapidly dispersing; one universal conviction of his innocence prevails."[54]

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52. Romilly, who abstained, remarked, "I do not see any reason to doubt his being guilty, but great reason to doubt his having been impartially tried; and the sentence upon him has been inordinately severe..." S. Romilly, Memoirs of the Life of Sir Samuel Romilly (1840), III, 144.
53. Adm. minute, June 24, 1814, Minutes of Evidence, 23; R. V. Hamilton, ed., Letters and Papers of...Sir Thomas Byam Martin (1898-1903), III, 198-200; Cochrane, The Answer of Lord Cochrane to the Address of the Electors of Westminster (1817), 11; Sunday Review, July 17, 1814; The Sun, Aug. 12, 1814; PR, Aug. 13, 1814, XXVI, 210-211; Sidmouth to Cullum, July 15, 1814, DP 233/101/80; Sidmouth to Cochrane, July 15, 1814, DP 233/83/90E-F; Cochrane to Melville, Feb. 10, 1824, NLS 3841, ff. 141-144.
54. Constitution, July 10, 1814; Robinson diary, Cecil, op. cit., 169-170; J. Greig, ed., The Farington Diary (1922-28), VII, 223; P. and G. Ford, ed., Luke Graves Hansard: His Diary, 1814-41 (1962), 4.

The sudden swing of favour to Cochrane rescued the Westminster Committee from the dilemma imposed upon it by the captain's expulsion from Parliament. Cobbett had vigorously campaigned for Cochrane and his uncle since March, but the Committee, anticipating the worst, had discussed the possibility of a replacement for him. Brougham and Sheridan were considered for sponsorship as reform candidates, providing whoever was chosen gave a commitment to taxpayer suffrage, equal electoral districts and annual parliaments. Neither candidate, however, appeared satisfactory. Sheridan was beyond his best in 1814, while Brougham, despite laurels he had won attacking the Orders in Council and his spirited battle with Canning over the Liverpool seat in 1812, fell upon a number of counts. He subscribed inadequately to taxpayer suffrage, was aloof from the electors, had supported a grant to the Princess Charlotte and was believed to be too interested in ministerial office. For these reasons, Brougham was unable to command support from the more extreme radicals, and early in June the veteran reformer, Major John Cartwright, encouraged by Peter Walker, appeared in the lists, threatening to capture some of their votes. Despite a public meeting on June 16 and a private convention of the Westminster Committee two weeks later, there seemed no ready solution to the problem.[55]

It came suddenly, with Cochrane's spirited defence in the Commons. Within twenty-four hours of the debate Brooks' committee had determined to re-elect Cochrane. Bennet, Brougham's champion, "was now as warm for Cochrane", while Cartwright and his supporter, Matthew Wood, agreed to defer to the captain. Adding volume to the chorus was Henry Hunt, who threatened to stand himself if any but Cochrane or Cartwright were supported for the vacancy.[56]

Thereafter the election was a mere formality. On July 11, in a public meeting loud in Cochrane's favour, Sheridan's declaration not to stand against Cochrane was read, and Burdett and Cartwright haranged the

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55. PR, Mar. 26, 1814, XXV, 385-416; Mill to Place, July 30, 1814, Add. MSS. 37949, f. 18; Place to Brooks, May 29, 1814, Add. MSS. 27840, ff. 220-221; Add. MSS. 27850, ff. 275-288; Add. MSS. 27809, ff. 28-31; Walker and Cartwright correspondence, Add. MSS. 27840, ff. 222-224; notice by "A Citizen of Westminster", June 16, 1814, ibid, ff. 225-226. The episode has been discussed in A. Aspinall, "The Westminster Election of 1814", English Historical Review (XL, 1925), 562-569; W. E. Saxton, The Political Importance of the Westminster Committee (Ph.D., 1957), I, iii, 108-131.
56. Aspinall, op. cit., 568; Hunt, Memoirs of Henry Hunt (1820-22), III, 283-284; Brougham to Grey, July 12, 1814, Brougham, The Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham (1871), II, 105-106.

crowd. Burdett severely condemned the trial, court of King's Bench and the House of Commons, declaring that Lord Cochrane was innocent and that he "should feel it to be his duty to attend" the captain in the pillory. Cartwright was equally dogmatic. He announced that "the evidence against Lord Cochrane was like a grain of sand in one hand, while that in his favour was like Westminster Abbey in the other." Matthew Wood informed the crowd that he had met one of the jurors who had returned the verdict against Cochrane in June, and that he had remarked that the evidence made available since the trial made it impossible to consider him guilty. It was resolved that Lord Cochrane had been innocent of the fraud, and that he be nominated to represent Westminster in parliament. Consequently, Brooks organized the captain's return, unopposed, on July 16 at a cost of £114.11.9½.[57] The news was conveyed to Cochrane in the Bench the same day by Burdett and members of the committee. He was greatly "affected" by the display of loyalty, coming at so bleak a time, and his cause gained further ground in a Commons debate three days later. Upon that occasion Lord Ebrington, against Lord Cochrane's wishes, introduced a motion to remit the pillory part of Cochrane's sentence, and during the course of the discussion it was announced by Castlereagh that steps had already been taken to achieve this object.[58]

Within a month of receiving the verdict of the court, therefore, Cochrane had managed to salvage a little from the disaster that had overwhelmed him. He had regained his seat in parliament, and, even more important, had restored much of his credit with the public. To this impression he contributed early in 1815 by the publication of A Letter to Lord Ellenborough, an able statement of his case written by Jackson from information supplied by Cochrane.[59] Difficulties were encountered in advertising the work, but it fed the tide flowing in Cochrane's favour. "If I had needed any thing to convince me of the wickedness

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57. Morning Herald, July 12, 1814; Statesman, July 12, 16, 1814; The Times, July 12, 18, 1814; Add. MSS. 27840, ff. 33-41; election notice, ibid, f. 233. Hostile electioneering appears to have had little effect. "A Native of Westminster", A Letter to the Electors of Westminster on the Case of Lord Cochrane...(1814) and A Second Letter to the Electors of Westminster on the Nomination of Lord Cochrane...(1814).
58. Sunday Review, July 17, 1814; Cochrane to Brooks, July 18, 1814, Add. MSS. 27840, f. 255; P.D., July 19, 1814, XXVIII, 761-791.
59. The book is dated December 21, 1814, and was issued early the following year. Jackson diary, Aug. 24, 1814, DP 233/82/84; Cochrane to Jackson, Oct. 22, 1814, DP 233/82/87.

of that man (Ellenborough) and of the innocence of Lord Cochrane," wrote Thomas Hardy, hero of the London Corresponding Society, "certainly every page of that letter is sufficient to carry conviction..."[60]

Typically, Cochrane did not confine himself to facts which suggested his innocence; he was the victim of a conspiracy and struck out wildly at the establishment and judiciary. Members of the House of Commons and Lord Ellenborough, he believed, had plotted his overthrow with the Stock Exchange and the Admiralty.[61] Cochrane also attacked his defence. They had united his case to that of Cochrane-Johnstone, and failed to support his affidavit at the trial by an examination of his servants on the colour of De Berenger's coat. The counsel's difficulty, in this last respect, arose from the declaration of Cochrane's servants to the solicitors on May 11 that Du Bourg had appeared at Green Street in red. The point was, therefore, conceded at the trial, and told strongly against Lord Cochrane. The matter seems to have been treated with negligence by all concerned. As early as May 12 and May 23 the evidence prepared by the solicitors was read to Cochrane, but not until June 7 did he complain that it contradicted his affidavit. If Cochrane was remiss, however, it is also surprising that

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60. Hardy, Apr. 21, 1815, DP 233/74/3-4; Cochrane, An Address from Lord Cochrane to His Constituents...(1815), 6-7; St. James' Chronicle, Mar. 4-7, 1815, DP 233/82/88.

61. These and some of the other allegations Cochrane made against individuals lack substance. On July 5, 1814 Cochrane told the Commons of his suspicions about the removal of his case from the Old Bailey to the King's Bench, which permitted the use of a special jury. There is no truth in Cochrane's charges that the jury was "packed" (Remarks on the Case of Lord Cochrane by a Near Observer (1814); J. B. Atlay, op. cit., 53-54). Cochrane also doubted the motives of Sir John Gurney, who acted for the Stock Exchange after being consulted by Cochrane's solicitors. The Admiralty's appointment of an acting captain to replace Cochrane on board the Tonnant was considered by the latter precipitate. On April 1 his solicitors discussed the case with Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, and explained that Cochrane was doing all in his power to establish his innocence. To strengthen the argument, on April 5 they consulted William Adam and Gurney on the possibility of Cochrane taking action against the Stock Exchange for libel. Gurney was also approached the following day. An opinion was given, and he received two fees, totalling eight guineas. Subsequently, when Cochrane's solicitors again contacted Gurney, the latter explained that he had by then accepted a retainer to act for the Stock Exchange. Although all the documents which the solicitors had submitted to Gurney on April 5 were public, except, perhaps, "the statement and observations for Counsel", it is possible that further particulars may have been given in conversation, and Gurney's behaviour was injudicious (Farrer & Co., bill, PR, Aug. 31, 1816, XXXI, 270-275; Cochrane to Croker, Mar. 22, 1814, Adm. 1/1666, f. 144; Croker to Cochrane, Mar. 22, 1814, ibid; opinion of Gurney and Adam, Apr. 6, 1814, in Farrer & Co. to Croker, Apr. 7, 1814, Adm. 1/1666, f. 214; Cochrane to Jackson, June 16, 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F). In his Letter to Lord Ellenborough, 8, 67, Cochrane also complained that Germain Lavie, an Admiralty solicitor, was employed by the prosecution, and that an enemy of his uncle Basil, one George Harrison, was used by the Stock Exchange to subpoena witnesses.

his solicitors did not draw the disparity more firmly to his attention.[62]

Having broadcast his case, Cochrane's most sensible course was to have served his sentence so that he could pursue his cause more effectively. But on March 6, 1815, little more than three months from the expiration of his sentence, he escaped from the prison, apparently by scaling the immense outer wall by a "plan scarcely anyone knew, and none would dare to follow."[63] It was a foolish escapade, and served no important purpose. Evidently it had been planned for some time. On February 15 Cochrane wrote that Cobbett approved of his scheme, and the date of the adventure was the anniversary of his escape from the Castellanea prison in Malta. Cochrane maintained that his object was to lodge complaints against Lord Ellenborough in the Commons, but the logic of such action at that time is obscure. It escaped Basil Cochrane, the captain's uncle, who had stood firmly behind his nephew during the whole affair. He was so alarmed that he endeavoured to act as an intermediary between William Jones, the marshal of the prison, and Cochrane, believing that the latter should voluntarily surrender for the sake of himself and his family. He feared that the government would use the escape as a pretext for declaring Lord Cochrane an outlaw and expelling him from parliament.[64]

During the outcry which followed his escape, Cochrane slipped away with a price of 300 guineas on offer for his capture to enjoy eleven days at his country house of Holly Hill. On March 21, however, he suddenly reappeared in the capital, and entered the House of Commons to move for an inquiry into Ellenborough's conduct. News of this startling event was relayed to the prison marshal, who hurried to the Commons with five assistants and forcibly arrested Cochrane before the House went into session. The action provoked further controversy, and a parliamentary committee was needed to determine that the marshal had not breached the privileges of the House. Jones, it was decided, had not acted improperly.; he was a civic officer and had later submitted his conduct to the House for approval. Parliamentary privilege could not be extended to those

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62. The controversy was developed in the Commons debates of July 5 and July 19. Initially Cochrane said that he had not been provided with the full contents of his defence brief, but on August 10 admitted that his solicitors might have read it to him (Cochrane to Farrer & Co., July 25, 1814, Cochrane, Letter to Lord Ellenborough, Appendix 7; Russell Gurney in Lord Ellenborough, Guilt of Lord Cochrane, op. cit., 299-311).
63. Trial of Lord Cochrane...for an Escape...(1816), 10; Jackson to Earp, Feb. 3, 1859, DP 233/29/216; Butt to Cochrane, Dec. 15, 1830, DP 233/26/192; Cochrane, Address from Lord Cochrane to his Constituents (1815); Jackson diary, Mar. 6, 1815, DP 233/82/84; The Times, Mar. 11, 1815.
64. Trial of Lord Cochrane...for an Escape... (1816), 8, 11-12; Cochrane

guilty of breaking prison under a criminal offence, nor could the chamber of the House confer protection when the Speaker and the mace were absent. Radical opinion found the verdict unsatisfactory, and some of Cochrane's defenders considered that it was illegal to imprison a member of the House at all during the parliamentary session.[65]

Cochrane's relations with Jones deteriorated after the escape. There was no doubt in the captain's mind that Jones' attitude reflected Cochrane's campaign against Lord Ellenborough and the Court of the King's Bench. "It is enough to attack a single Hornet," he said later, "to excite the abhorrence and resentment of the whole nest."[66] The day he was recaptured, he told Jones that "he could, at his pleasure, make his escape out of any prison, and that he had determined to leave the King's Bench on the anniversary of the day when he effected his escape at Malta from a much stronger place than the room which then enclosed him."[67] Alarmed, the marshal lodged Cochrane in the strong room of the Bench, a small, evil smelling, insanitary place, dark, cold and damp, and without a fire. The only concession afforded the prisoner was that the floor was carpeted and the windows sashed and glazed on the third day of his occupancy.[68]

In this condition Cochrane remained, refusing to provide a bond against escape, until by April 13 his health, never robust, had seriously deteriorated and his physician reported symptoms of typhus fever. This was confirmed by a doctor brought in by Jones. Lord Cochrane sent the affidavits of the medical men to a current Committee of Enquiry investigating the state of prisons and they found their way to one of the Secretaries of State. Whether this, the complaints of the Committee nembers H. G. Bennet and John Lambton, or the medical certificates themselves moved Jones to transfer Cochrane was an issue between the marshal and his prisoner, but late in April the latter was moved into two large rooms above the lobby, near the prison entrance.[69]

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to Jackson, Feb. 15, 1815, DP 233/83/90E-F; B. Cochrane, Mar. 13, 1815, ibid; Jones, May 9, 1815, The Times, May 10, 1815; statement of Jones to Marryat, The Times, Nov. 22, 1816.

65. The Times, Mar. 13, Mar. 22, 1815, Dec. 18, 1816; Cochrane, May 12, 1815, Examiner, May 21, 1815; St. James's Chronicle, Mar. 21-28, 1815; P.D., Mar. 21, 23, 1815, XXX, 309-314, 336-337; Trial of Lord Cochrane ...for an Escape...(1816), 6; Charles, Lord Colchester, ed., The Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester (1861), II, 532-535.
66. Cochrane, Answer of Lord Cochrane to the Address of the Electors of Westminster (1817), 8.
67. The Times, May 10, 1815.
68. P.D., Mar. 21, 1815, XXX, 313-314; Trial of Lord Cochrane...for an Escape...(1816), 8, 13-14; A. B. Buchan, Apr. 13, 1815, and R. Saumarez, Apr. 14, 1815, ibid, 13-14.
69. The Trial of Lord Cochrane...for an Escape...(1816), 13-14; The Times, May 10, 1815; Examiner, May 21, 1815; The Times, Nov. 22, 1816.

There he remained until his release on July 3, 1815. The sentence had expired earlier, on June 20, but Cochrane had refused to pay the fine of £1000 and thereby voluntarily extended his imprisonment. Not until a fortnight later did he write a bill for the fine, endorsing it with a protest that earned for it a permanent place at the Bank of England.[70]

Upon release, Cochrane hastened to the Commons, arriving in time to cast the deciding vote against a proposal to increase the Duke of Cumberland's allowance of £18,000 on account of his marriage. "I hear the Prince is much annoyed, and justly too," remarked Peel.[71] Having accomplished this and given notice of his intention to move for an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Ellenborough, Cochrane set off for Holly Hill. He was still troubled by a pain in his chest which had developed while he was imprisoned in the strong room, and he breathed with difficulty and tended to perspire. The prospect of Holly Hill was alluring, with its promise of rest, "pure air, exercise, new milk and fresh eggs."[72]

IV

On the bill with which Cochrane had paid the £1000 fine was written, "My health having suffered by long and close confinement, and my oppressors being resolved to deprive me of property or life, I submit to robbery to protect myself from murder, in the hope that I shall live to bring the delinquents to justice." Throughout the remaining months of 1815 the sailor prepared to fulfil his promise. He was incensed at Ellenborough's management of the trial, and determined to attack him in the next parliamentary session. The effort would also serve as a vehicle for a further statement in his own defence.

Accordingly, early in 1816 Lord Cochrane laid before the House fourteen charges against Lord Ellenborough "for partiality, misrepresentation, injustice and oppression."[73] One of the allegations, that the chief justice had refused Cochrane a retrial, was withdrawn because it was felt by some that it would implicate those members of the Court of

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70. W. Tute, Cochrane (1965), f.p. 113. Butt, who also refused to pay the fine, walked out of the prison on June 20 without being challenged, but he was soon recaptured (Jackson to his wife, June 25, July 7, 1815, DP 233/83/90E-F; Minutes of Evidence, 23).
71. Peel to Whitworth, July 4, 1815, C. S. Parker, ed., Sir Robert Peel (1899), I, 181; P.D., July 3, 6, 1815, XXXI, 1074, 1140.
72. Cochrane to Jackson, July 11, 1815, DP 233/26/183.
73. The debates are in P.D., Mar. 5, 1816, XXXII, 1145-1208, Mar. 7, 29, Apr. 1, 26, 30, 1816, XXXIII, 20-22, 706-709, 760-763, XXXIV, 4-5, 103-132.

King's Bench who had shared with Ellenborough the decision called into question. The balance, however, were the subject of a motion by Cochrane on April 30. Seconded by Burdett, he urged that they be referred to a committee of the House. Of course, it was difficult to show that Ellenborough had misrepresented much of the evidence, since it could not be proved that Cochrane was innocent, and, in any event, no one was free from error, as the judge's son pointed out. The members for Westminster found not a single supporter in the House and 89 in opposition. Cochrane was left to prophecy that posterity would judge the matter differently. He would "continue to bring them (the charges) forward, year after year, and time after time, till he was allowed the opportunity of establishing the truth of his allegations."

During these debates, Cochrane was challenged to prosecute the driver of the hackney, Crane, for perjury in his testimony on the colour of De Berenger's coat. Instead, he chose to move against Lancelot Davidson, a prosecution witness who had owned the lodgings used by De Berenger in London. Davidson had testified at the trial that he had seen De Berenger on Sunday, February 20, 1814, the day before the fraud, but he was mistaken since the hoaxer was then in Dover. This error permitted Cochrane to prosecute for perjury, but his motives in doing so are obscure. Possibly he hoped to establish any false testimony on the part of the prosecution. In this case, however, Davidson's information helped the defence because it enhanced the plausibility of De Berenger's false alibi. Some of Cochrane's cryptic references to the affair suggest that he went so far as to believe that De Berenger was part of the conspiracy against him, and that Davidson's evidence was introduced to imply that the imposter had arrived so late in Dover that he could not have had confederates there. Whether Cochrane hoped to unmask the latter is uncertain. When the case was heard at the King's Bench before Justice Abbott on July 20, 1816 Davidson was acquitted. Cochrane, who was sick at Holly Hill at the time of the trial, was disappointed at the result, but it cannot have been surprising. There was no proof that Davidson's mistake had been deliberate.[74]

Cochrane had not finished with Davidson, but first he had to face a jury himself on account of his escape from the King's Bench prison.

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74. The Times, July 22, Nov. 22, 1816; Cochrane to Jackson, July 5, 21, 1816, DP 233/26/184; Cochrane to Jackson, DP 233/83/90E-F; Cochrane, Answer of Lord Cochrane to the Address of the Electors...(1817), 7-8; Jackson, Review of the Case of Lord Cochrane (1830), 30-31.

The trial took place on August 17, 1816 at the Surrey Assizes in Guildford, before Justice Burrough and a special jury. Cochrane, who spent the previous night at Ripley, conducted his own defence. This lent a sense of occasion to the affair which was heightened by the presence of Burdett, Brooks, Jackson and other friends in the crowded courtroom. It was impossible for Cochrane to obtain an acquittal, since Marryat, for the prosecution, had only to establish that an escape had taken place, but the episode enabled Lord Cochrane to parade his grievances against the prison marshal, Jones. Repeatedly wandering from the point, but handled gently by the court, he probed the witnesses in support of charges he wished to make against Jones. He attempted to demonstrate that the marshal had abetted evasion of the law by allowing some prisoners the benefit of the Rules for a financial consideration. Cochrane maintained that he was being prosecuted because he had left the prison without tendering the bribe. An escape, he also argued, was an attempt to evade justice, but in his case the reverse was true, for he had only left the Bench to seek justice at the hands of the House of Commons. Therefore no escape had taken place. Brooshoft, Jones' deputy, defended his chief by testifying that Crown prisoners had never been furnished liberty within the Rules, and Cochrane's definition of an escape was not accepted.

Finally, Lord Cochrane quoted the Bench rules of May 19, 1760 which empowered the marshal to punish an escape by committing the offender to another prison for upto a month. Yet Cochrane had suffered close confinement for nearly a month in the strong room, followed by three months in a "grated chamber over the lobby". So excessive a period of close imprisonment could only be interpreted as punishment for the escape, and further pursuit amounted to persecution. On this point Cochrane's emotional speech, dwelling upon the rigours of his tenancy of the "hole", clearly affected the jury. Their foreman, W. Haydon, while returning a verdict of guilty, recommended clemency, since it was the jury's belief that Lord Cochrane had already received punishment adequate to the offence, and his announcement was applauded in the court.[75]

The trial demonstrated public sympathy for Cochrane and the success

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75. Trial of Lord Cochrane...for an Escape...(1816); The Times, July 29, 1815, August 19, 1816; Cochrane to Jackson, June 1816, DP 233/29/217; Jackson to his wife, Aug. 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F. As late as 1826 Lord Cochrane was overcome with emotion when describing the Stock Exchange case. Lord Broughton, Recollections of a Long Life (1909-1911), III, 155.

of the radical campaign upon his behalf.[76] The approval reappeared on November 21 when Cochrane attended the Court of King's Bench before Justices Holroyd, Bayley and Abbott for sentencing. The escape, Cochrane told them, had been proved, but not the intention to evade justice; in the case of Davidson, however, Justice Abbott had emphasized the intention of the accused, rather than the act he had committed. The defendant had been acquitted because it could not be shown that he had intended to commit perjury. The cases were not, of course, comparable, but Cochrane, reading from a statement, went deeper into the Davidson trial, charging Abbott with distorting the evidence when making observations upon that occasion. An argument followed in which the Court understandably attempted to rule the remarks on Abbott irrelevant to the case in hand, and Lord Cochrane persisted in refusing to mutilate his brief by extracting any portion from it. He would sooner say nothing than abridge his defence. "It is so connected," he said, "that I do not know how to separate it, and I must leave your lordships to pronounce your sentence without being heard. A series of injustices have been heaped upon me, from which I have not the power to vindicate myself: injustice has been done me by the Bench, and injustice has been done me by perjured witnesses."[77]

The Court was faced with a simple choice. Either they allowed Cochrane to make his complaints against Abbott or they invited censure for refusing the captain permission to speak in mitigation of the sentence. After failing to solicit from Cochrane only the pertinent material, the Court discontinued the defence and pronounced a verdict, a fine of £100. "Lord Cochrane remained on the floor for a few moments, but the fine not being paid the tipstaff was sent for, and to the custody of that officer he was committed. In passing through Westminster-hall, his lordship was repeatedly cheered by a crowd of persons who were waiting to hear the result. He was afterwards conveyed to the King's Bench prison, and placed in the apartments above the lobby which he had occupied after his escape until the expiration of his sentence."

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76. In March 1816 John Gale Jones gave a one-hour defence of Cochrane in a debate at the "British Forum" and two months later Lord Cochrane himself aired the matter at a reform meeting in the Freemasons' Tavern. John Hunt, editor of the Examiner, offered to print anything of service to Cochrane (Jackson, Mar. 22, 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F; Hunt to Jackson, Aug. 26, 1816, DP 233/29/216; The Times, May 24, 1816).
77. The account of these proceedings is taken from The Times, Nov. 22, 1816.

Committing Cochrane to the supervision of Jones caused immediate recrimination. The next day Cochrane became ill, but he was informed by Brooshoft, whom he respected, that he was to be moved in the morning to an apartment on the ground floor of the statehouse which had been unoccupied for three weeks. He refused to move, and relented on November 23 when his breakfast was withheld and a threat was made to take away his kettle. Cochrane thus found himself, as he reported to Samuel Brooks, in an unfurnished chamber, separated by a thin wall from the "hole".[78]

The Westminster Committee may have sensed their opportunity to provide the public with a martyr at a time when the pace of reform agitation was quickening. Brooks, upon receipt of Cochrane's letter, convened a meeting of the electors chaired by Peter Walker at the Crown and Anchor on November 25. After expressing sympathy for their representative, the electors decided that a penny subscription would give the public a chance to advertise their solidarity with the prisoner in a practical way. Brooks was to be the treasurer of the fund, and even before the meeting was over "pence were flying from all quarters, and a large quantity were already collected." Any sums in excess of the £100 necessary to release Cochrane, it was agreed, would be contributed towards defraying his other expenses in the cause.[79]

Thomas Cleary, who acted as secretary, extended the appeal to the country, and it went successfully in Bath, Bristol, Manchester, Norwich, Liverpool and elsewhere. Lewes, in Sussex, sent 360 contributions, Hinckley 300 and Bingham, in Nottinghamshire, 273; the London fund alone raised the £100. Walker, Cobbett and Hunt were so pleased that they planned to draw the pennies in a cart on a bundle of sticks to the Crown Office, and to bring Lord Cochrane in a triumphal procession from the Bench to his house in Bryanston Street. The idea was abandoned, however, because the High Bailiff of Westminster dared not convene a public meeting to implement the proposal, and the master of the Crown Office refused to accept all but £10 in copper. As a result Cochrane was released quietly on December 7, 1816, after less than three weeks in prison. But he had still reason to be pleased at the result. The public had fulfilled his expectations, and the fund was continued in the hope that it could eventually extinguish also the fine of £1000 paid in 1815. It was probably partly successful. Certainly at a meeting at the City of

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78. The Times, Nov. 26, 1816; Cochrane to his brother, Nov. 26, 1816, DP 233/26/184.
79. The Times, Nov. 26, 1816.

London Tavern on December 29, 1817, Cochrane renounced at least £100 of these sums as a contribution towards a fund then launched in favour of the radical publisher, William Hone.[80]

V

The three years which followed Cochrane's alleged participation in the Stock Exchange fraud were the most controversial of his life. His guilt or innocence cannot now be satisfactorily established, but many of the subsequent difficulties were of his own making. If innocent, he had just cause to complain of Cochrane-Johnstone and De Berenger. His defence merited censure, but while Lord Ellenborough had handled the trial unsatisfactorily and vindictively there were no more grounds for suggesting that he was in collusion with the prosecution than there was justification for Cochrane's description of the jury as packed. The refusal of the Court of King's Bench to grant a new trial was also unfortunate, and perhaps arbitrary, but there could be no question that the justices had considered the case and exercised their right to reject the application. Complaint might more aptly have been directed at a system which permitted a judge to decide the propriety of his own conduct. Cochrane's controversy with Jones, the Marshal of the King's Bench, arose from the prisoner's foolish escape in March 1815. He had also arraigned the hapless Davidson for perjury, and attacked, with little justification, Justice Abbott. Certainly Burrough, at the Guildford trial, and the Court responsible for sentencing Cochrane in November 1816 had shown considerable forbearance in handling the temperamental sailor.

Nevertheless, if the controversies owed something to Lord Cochrane, there is much that can be said in extenuation. The retribution exacted upon him, to which Ellenborough was party, was savage and lay Cochrane's career in ruins. It was not simply a fine, imprisonment and degradation, but the loss of an entire livelihood. Cochrane had enjoyed his naval career, and excelled in it, and it had been removed when his prospects had never been brighter. He had chosen the navy as one of the few outlets available to him, and he had acquired from it a personal fortune which had been reduced by 1814. At a stroke all prospects were destroyed, and Lord Cochrane confronted a future devoid of any means of income, without resources and possibly without honour.

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80. The Times, Dec. 3, 11, 18, 1816, Dec. 30, 1817; Henry Hunt, Memoirs of Henry Hunt (1820-22), III, 295-298; G. Baxter, Dec. 9, 1816, DP 233/83/93; Jackson to his wife, Dec. 6, 21, 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F; Jackson to his sister, Mary F. Parnham, Dec. 5, 1816, DP 233/82/84.

Cochrane's comfort had been the public response to his misfortunes. It had sustained his honour, restored him to parliament and rescued him from prison, and his gratitude to the people increased with the bitterness he felt towards the government. The bond between the electors and their representative tightened; Cochrane believed that he owed them a personal debt.

It was understood, too, by the Westminster Committee. At a heated meeting in the captain's favour chaired by Major Cartwright at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on December 17, 1816, Peter Walker recalled Lord Cochrane's parliamentary services and a declaration affirming belief in his innocence was enthusiastically acclaimed. An address was framed for presentation to his Lordship. "And while," it read, "they (the electors) are endeavouring to discharge their duty towards your Lordship, they entertain the consoling reflection that the day is not distant when you will mainly assist in carrying forward that measure of radical Parliamentary Reform, which can alone be a safeguard against all sorts of oppressions, and especially oppressions such as those under which your Lordship has so long and so severely suffered."[81] Cochrane was quick to respond to this call. Not the least consequence of the Stock Exchange affair was that it drove him more deeply into the ranks of the reformers.

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81. The Times, Dec. 18, 1816, Jan. 2, 1817; The Answer of Lord Cochrane to the Address of the Electors of Westminster...(1817).

THE PARLIAMENTARY CAREER OF LORD COCHRANE, 1816-1818

I

The years immediately following the French wars witnessed increasing unrest and recrimination. Protest was widespread, articulated by the landed and industrial interests as well as the labouring and artisan classes. Its many forms included parliamentary criticism, riot and agrarian outrage. The distress sprung from diverse sources. Improved harvests and the renewal of imports of foreign corn produced a fall in the price of bread which the Corn Bill of 1815 seemed powerless, in the long term, to arrest. Endeavouring to preserve profits, the chagrined landed sector clamoured against public expenditure and taxation, and found common cause with the industrialists who also hoped to gain by government retrenchment. They too had been squeezed, between the declining profitability of industry and commerce on the one hand, and a landed parliament on the other. A revival of continental manufacturing and the withdrawal of war contracts had reduced the demand for goods, while taxes and the Corn Bill, it was held, undermined the ability of the industrialists to reduce the costs of labour. They thus found themselves both the allies and the opponents of landed society.[1]

The more acute distress of the working classes was spawned partly by the depressed wages and unemployment which accompanied the problems of agriculture, industry and commerce. It was due, additionally, to the rising population and the overstocked labour pool, aggravated by the demobilization of the armed forces, and to a multiplicity of other developments, the spread of technology and the pressure of large upon small units in both farming and manufacturing. Although the immediate grievances of artisans and labourers were many and varied, the four years following the French wars were marked by an emerging unity of purpose which some have described as the birth of the national working class movement.

For the proponents of parliamentary reform the unrest offered long awaited opportunities for recruiting public support to their programme. One issue, too, commanded a wide consensus, and it was thrust forward as the nucleus of reforming rhetoric. As Cochrane

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1. The first two paragraphs draw upon E. Halevy, The Liberal Awakening, 1815-1830 (1961), 4-6; A. Briggs, The Age of Improvement (1959), 201-204, 207-208; E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1968), ch. 6-9.

explained in the House, taxation was the cause of the prevailing distress. It reduced home demand and, by increasing the costs of manufacture, undermined Britain's trading position overseas. In some instances, for example the malt and salt taxes, it directly oppressed the poor. Methods of alleviating want, such as relief funds or the issue of Exchequer bills, were misplaced because they failed to recognize the fundamental importance of taxation.[2]

As long as the radical argument remained a simple denunciation of taxation it could carry considerable support, but it went further. Taxation was a product of a venal Parliament. It originated in the corrupt nature of government, by which an oligarchy secured control with bribes, pensions and sinecures; it was necessary to extinguish the war debt and lavishly to reward the fundholders who had helped perpetuate an unjust war; and it was the means by which a standing army was maintained to threaten those repelled by the system. Radical opinion, therefore, contended that retrenchment, the abolition of sinecures, places and pensions and the reduction of the interest on the funded debt served a dual purpose.[3] They improved the national economy and the plight of the poor, and they eroded the ability of the borough-mongers to control Parliament and to impede parliamentary reform which alone could avert oppression. But here the radicals pioneered programmes which the owners of property found unacceptable.

This last was predictable from the beginning. The Whigs, on whom any degree of parliamentary success ultimately rested, could find no unity on the issue of reform, despite their campaign against Vansittart's income tax proposals in early 1816. Even Brougham, who dared to hope for a Whig-Radical alliance, was alienated by the extremism of many of the reformers. On February 23, 1816, a number of liberal Whigs - Brougham, Bennet , Brand and Lambton - attended a meeting in New Palace Yard to listen to Cochrane and other radical leaders condemn taxation, but when Henry Hunt began to denounce both major parties in the Commons they left. The episode demonstrated the

2. P.D., Mar. 13, 1817, XXXV, 1069-71; ibid, Apr. 28, 1817, XXXVI, 15-16, 36-38.
3. P.D., Mar. 7, 1817, XXXV, 909-910.

fragility of any Radical-Whig rapprochement.[4]

Ultimately, the fear for property frustrated radical aspirations in the four years following the war, but in 1816 the reformers wrestled with the opportunities which the unrest afforded. Reform seemed to depend upon their ability to mobilize mass support for their programme, and to communicate it to the House of Commons. Both of these objectives were to be realized, with unprecedented success, but within two years the movement would disintegrate, its apostles scattered and embittered.

II

It was Lord Cochrane, now, in Hunt's opinion, "a real Radical",[5] who secured a timely victory to strengthen radical morale at the beginning of the campaign. In the parliamentary session of 1816 he had skirmished in support of the Whigs, voting with the majority against the property tax on March 18, with the minority against an increase in the salary of the secretary of the Admiralty on March 21, and for the successful reduction of the salary of the vice-treasurer of Ireland in June.[6] His speeches revealed extreme antipathy to the government. On February 28, in a debate on the army estimates, he deplored the standing army at home and British military rule overseas. France was being occupied "for the purpose of oppressing the people and establishing despotism against their will." Britain ought to appoint the Maltese to the lucrative positions in their own islands "instead of sending out shoals of ministerial creatures to feed upon and plunder them." Castlereagh's secretary was instanced, for he lived at home but derived £7000 a year as vendue master.[7]

But it was a stormy meeting at the London Tavern on June 29 which provided the first radical triumph of the year. The gathering, called to raise funds for the relief of distress, was lent importance by the attendance of the Duke of York, who took the chair, and other dignitaries, including the Dukes of Kent, Rutland and Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, Earl Manvers, William Wilberforce

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4. The Times, Feb. 24, 1816; Morning Chronicle, Feb. 24, 1816; PR, Mar. 2, 1816, XXX, 270-286; A. Mitchell, "The Whigs and Parliamentary Reform Before 1830", Historical Studies (XII, 1965), 22-42, pp. 22-25; A. Mitchell, The Whigs in Opposition (1967), 15-17; A. Aspinall, Lord Brougham and the Whig Party (1927), 49-76.
5. Henry Hunt, Memoirs (1820-23), III, 302.
6. P.D., Mar. 18, 21, 1816, XXXIII, 451, 511-513; ibid, June 17, 1816, XXXIV, 1129; S. Maccoby, English Radicalism, 1786-1832 (1955), 313-319.
7. P.D., Feb. 28, 1816, XXXII, 1014-1015.

and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Cochrane rose amidst great clamour, but, softly and quietly, opposed a resolution of the Duke of Kent and tried to secure the recognition of taxation, rather than the transition from war to peace, as the root of the current unrest.

> "Cochrane kept cool," Place informed Mill, "looked simplicity itself, waited patiently and used the intervals of silence dexterously electrifying the company at every interval, but to judge of the effect you must have been present - standing like the mast of a ship, his eye fixed on the chair, unmoved amid the noise, with the finance papers of Dom Com in his hands; the effect was so comic yet so imposing, it so feelingly, so emphatically proclaimed victory that the people shouted us on when no words were spoken, the manner was as good as the matter and (the) whole undescribable."[8]

When he was able to resume, Cochrane referred to Treasury returns which indicated that some two thirds of the government's net revenue was absorbed by debt interest. He called upon the Duke of Rutland to surrender his sinecure, and begged others not to render the meeting a "fraud" by aiding "the distresses of their country by paying half a crown per cent out of the hundreds which they took from it." Only momentarily appeased when the Duke modified his resolution, Cochrane renewed the assault by declaring that the fundholders, sinecurists and placemen ought to surrender as much as half of their property in support of the poor, and he proposed a resolution stating that effective relief could only come from the government, through retrenchment in expenditure upon the armed forces and the extinction of half of the national debt. The Duke of York retired from the chair amidst derision without putting Cochrane's resolution to the meeting, and when the Duke of Kent was encouraged to succeed as chairman he refused to call a vote upon a political question and was hissed from the room. "Lord Cochrane," reported The Times, "remained for the space of near 20 minutes behind, supported by a great number of voices, but nobody being found who would take the chair, his Lordship at length withdrew and the crowd dispersed."[9]

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8. Place to Mill, Aug. 2-3, 1816, Add. MSS. 35152, ff. 199-200; Add. MSS. 27809, ff. 15-16.
9. The Times, July 30, 1816. See also PR, Aug. 3, 1816, XXXI, 135-159. Radical allegations that the government was responsible for the distress was largely misplaced, but the hypocrisy of the relief fund was effectively exposed. On August 21, 1816, Hunt stated that "He had looked at the subscription list of the gentry of the London Tavern, and found it amounted that day to the sum of £33,000; so that it appeared Lord Camden received, in the course of a year, from the public, much more than was subscribed in a month by all the rich paupers to its distesses" (The Times, Aug. 22, 1816). At a Westminster meeting of September 11 Cochrane explained that the fund

"Many years have passed since I witnessed anything so exhilharating," confessed Place, "...the agitation this meeting has caused exceeds anything of the kind I ever witnessed. Burdett professes to be roused, he and several others unconnected talk of a Westminster meeting, this will however come to nothing, and yet if a few energetic men would meet and do their duty as it was done at the City of London Tavern, tyranny would receive a dreadful blow." Cobbett considered that Cochrane's triumph merited "a monument to its fame infinitely more than the battle of Waterloo," and credited it with provoking more discussion than had either the Melville impeachment or Wardle's revelations about the Duke of York's mistress. "Men who love the country," he claimed, "are every where congratulating one another on the gallant conduct of Lord Cochrane."[10] This was not a total exaggeration, for Cochrane was voted thanks in gatherings throughout the country.[11]

The recognition was not untimely for Cochrane, since it enabled him to resist Brougham's final efforts to partner Burdett as M.P. for Westminster. In May and June Lord Dundonald was rumoured to be ill, and Brougham, bearing laurels from the income tax debates, had again expressed interest in the Westminster seat. He was reportedly often in Cochrane's company, but neither they nor Burdett gave satisfaction to more dedicated reformers. Brougham refused to attend a dinner on May 23, when he heard that Hunt was to be present, and in the Political Register of June 1 Cobbett went so far as to call for the replacement of Cochrane by Major Cartwright. However, he would have none of Brougham. To this speculation, the London Tavern meeting wrote a finis. In October, when Bennet suggested that Brougham should replace Cochrane, there was no support for the substitution.

> "As to Cochrane," Place declared, "having seen much of him, my opinion is he cannot be relied on. I do not believe that he really cares at all for the people but he has been made the rancorous enemy of the Government and in the want of a friend to the people to represent them, the people of Westminster will put up with the

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would purchase "one penny-roll and one pint of beer to each pauper in the realm" and calculated the generosity of the contributors according to their sinecures or pensions. The "most liberal", he found, was "old George Rose", who paid "four farthings and a fraction in the pound" from his sinecure to the fund (The Times, Sept. 12, 1816).

10. PR, Aug. 10, 1816, XXXI, 168; ibid, Aug. 24, 1816, XXXI, 229. Place's accounts are cited above.
11. Paisley meeting to Cochrane, Oct. 20, 1816; H. Battersby of Leigh to Cochrane, Nov. 13, 1816; and J. Wardle, Stockport, to Cochrane, Oct. 16, 1816 refer to the London Tavern meeting. R. Pilkington, Bury, to Cochrane, Nov. 11, 1816, and J. Wright, Manchester, allude to Lord

enemy of the Government. Cochrane has indeed fixed himself firmly for some time to come and has shut out every competitor, his unparalleled victory over the Dukes of York and Kent, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and that bitter enemy of the whites, Old 'Vital Christianity', at the London Tavern, has put the finishing stroke to all that was necessary to make his returns certain."[12]

III

However inspiring the London Tavern meeting had been, it had no part in the wider strategy of the radicals to muster public support for reform and to bring its full weight upon Parliament. Their plan crystallized between May and September, 1816. On May 18 the London Hampden Club urged reformers to petition Parliament, and on June 15 the suggestion was developed at a meeting chaired by Burdett. Cartwright expounded the three basic reform principles: taxpayer suffrage, equal electoral districts and annual parliaments. If men were taxed arbitrarily by those others had set over them there was no safeguard for property, liberty or life. "We, therefore, exhort all Englishmen who desire the deliverance of their country," he stated, "to raise their Constitutional voice by Petition, for claiming, as a lawful inheritance and undoubted right, that Representation be equally distributed throughout the community; and that Parliaments may only have a continuance according to the principles of the Constitution."[13] John Gale Jones called for a national appeal for reform and the establishment of provincial Hampden Clubs.

Cochrane, fusing perspicacity and impracticability, doubted that the House would abolish the practices from which it so lucratively benefitted. For the second time that year he suggested that the public abstain from using heavily taxed articles, "and sure he was, that if the country resorted only for one year to this expedient, it would be impossible to maintain the present standing army, or the House of Commons that was the cause of all the corruption. Whether any would follow the example which he was determined to pursue he knew not."[14] He nevertheless supported Cartwright's petioning plan,

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Cochrane's public conduct. Wright reported the sentiments of "the most numerous meeting ever held in this part of the country." DP 233/83/93.

12. Add. MSS. 27809, f. 31; ibid, ff. 13, 28-31; Place to Mill, Aug. 30-Sept. 2, 1816, Add. MSS. 35152, ff. 207-211; PR, June 1, 1816, XXX, 673-694; Aspinall, op. cit., 56-69.
13. A Full Report...of the Meeting Convened by the Hampden Club...at the Freemasons' Tavern... (1816), 16; J. Cannon, Parliamentary Reform, 1640-1832 (1973), 167.
14. A Full Report...of the Meeting Convened by the Hampden Club... (1816), 22. Cochrane had first proposed this plan at the Westminster meeting of February 23, 1816. Burdett advocated it about the same time. See

and Burdett was persuaded to lend his name to the call for petitions.[15]

The plan was extended on September 11 at an enormous public meeting in Westminster, chaired by Arthur Morris, the High Bailiff. Burdett appealed for meetings over the country, and Cochrane suggested an idea which became the other important component of the scheme:

> "He had drawn up another resolution which he should now read to them, but which he did not wish to be put to the vote. It was, That it should be recommended to the inhabitants of all counties and towns, unrepresented, and misrepresented, to meet together and prepare remonstrances to the House of Commons; and that two or more deputies should be appointed to carry these remonstrances to the door of the house, there to await its decision upon them, and carry the result to their constituents. He should also have had to propose, That the present meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster should be adjourned to the first day of the next meeting of Parliament; then to assemble for the purpose of presenting their remonstrance to the house."[16]

This was consistent with Lord Cochrane's concern that the House would be unresponsive to mere petitioning, and that additional leverage was necessary. The plan, endorsed by Burdett, was subsequently adopted, and Cartwright circulated invitations to the provincial Hampden Clubs to send their delegates to London.[17]

During the later months of 1816, while petitions were being prepared, the radicals continued to propagate their views, and the Hampden Clubs, which appeared in various parts of the country, were testimony to their success.[18] It is well known, too, that Cobbett's decision to publish his Register as a two-penny pamphlet from November 2 placed radical propaganda within the means of many of the labouring classes and permitted the fiery journalist to become the national voice of the movement. His writings, recalled Samuel Bamford, "became of great authority; they were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts..." and they guided the labourers towards a "deliberate and systematic" support of reform.[19]

M. H. R. Bonwick, The Radicalism of Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844) and Early Nineteenth-Century "Radicalisms" (Ph.D., Cornell University, 1967), 52.

15. Add. MSS. 27809, ff. 33-34.
16. The Times, Sept. 12, 1816.
17. PR, Sept. 21, 1816, XXXI, 356-376; Hunt, op. cit., III, 409-410; PR, Apr. 11, 1818, XXXIII, 431-432.
18. Samuel Bamford, Passages in the Life of a Radical (1967), II, 7. On October 21, for example, the people of Quick, Yorkshire, resolved to found a Hampden Club and voted thanks to Burdett, Cochrane, Cartwright and others (Quick meeting to Cochrane, DP 233/82/86).
19. Bamford, op. cit., II, 7.

Cochrane, it has been alleged, was the originator of the idea of printing a cheap edition of the Register.[20] Presumably the notion derives from a remark by Cobbett's biographer, G. D. H. Cole, that "Lord Cochrane and others were pressing Cobbett to write a really popular statement..."[21] The source of this information has not been found, but other evidence suggests its plausibility. Cobbett's own account credits the idea to a conversation he enjoyed with "a neighbour" in September, and it must be remembered that his country home of Fairthorn, Botley, near Southampton, was less than five miles from that of Cochrane, at Holly Hill, Titchfield. The two men were frequently in company, even when absent from London, and they exchanged visits at their country houses within one week in October 1816.[22]

Cobbett's Register gave further impetus to a development already underway. Before the end of 1816 a national movement existed, its focus the city of Westminster and its mouthpieces Henry Hunt and William Cobbett. Despite this, the campaign was in trouble before the new parliamentary session. Two considerable meetings at Spa Fields, Islington, on November 15 and December 2, fed the tide of reaction. They were not organized by the Westminster radicals, but by the Spencean republicans, an insurrectionary group led by Arthur Thistlewood, Thomas Preston and James Watson. These seem to have hoped to precipitate an armed rising, and on December 2, before Henry Hunt arrived at Spa Fields to address the meeting, Watson and his son led some 200 men from the crowd to attack the Tower of London. Although they were easily suppressed, the insurgents raised once more the spectre of revolution. The propertied classes, willing to attribute the Spencean motives to radicals in general, began to close ranks against reform. In reality, there was little collusion between the Westminster group and the Spenceans. Burdett, Cochrane, Cartwright, Robert Waithman (a City of London radical) and Hunt were invited to speak on November 15, but only the latter attended, and he rejected a Spencean memorial to be put to the meeting and substituted his own resolutions which embodied the established call for economical and parliamentary reform,

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20. C. Lloyd, Lord Cochrane (1947), 137; W. B. Pemberton, William Cobbett (1949), 92-93.
21. G. D. H. Cole, The Life of William Cobbett (1947), 206.
22. W. Reitzel, ed., The Autobiography of William Cobbett (1967), 141-144; W. Jackson to his wife, Oct. 26, 1816, DP 233/83/90E-F. Jackson wrote that Cobbett "is as clever with his Tongue as he is with his pen."

annual parliaments and government retrenchment.[23]

The meetings signalled more than a retreat from reform by many of the propertied classes. They revealed a rift which had for some time been developing among the Westminster radicals themselves. Burdett, apparently irritated by Hunt's presumption, refused to help present the Spa Fields petition of November 15 to the Prince Regent. Unsatisfied with Sir Francis's excuses, Hunt recommended that the meetings at Spa Fields on December 2 and Bristol twenty-four days later lodge their petitions with Lord Cochrane. Burdett's name was eventually coupled with Cochrane's by the crowd at Spa Fields, but he would have nothing to do with their petition because it called for universal suffrage and the secret ballot.[24] The personal issue between Hunt and Burdett was, perhaps, unimportant, except that it foreshadowed a more fundamental difference which arose in the new year.

In some respects the deeper fissures were an inevitable consequence of the extensive support reform was finding among the labouring classes. Under their impact, guided with growing ascendancy by Henry Hunt, the radical programme became more extreme and threatened to jettison the conservative reformers in the process. When the provincial deputies, who had come to London to accompany their petitions to Parliament, assembled at the Crown and Anchor on January 22, 1817 the conflict came into the open. Neither Burdett nor Cochrane was present, so Cartwright took the chair and Thomas Cleary acted as secretary. During the proceedings Cartwright, supported by Cobbett, proposed a resolution in favour of taxpayer

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23. Hunt, op. cit., III, 327-343; The Times, Nov. 16, 1816; J. Stevenson, Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870 (1979), 193-197; T. M. Parssinen, "The Revolutionary Party in London, 1816-1820", Institute of Historical Research Bulletin (XLV, 1972), 266-282. James Watson was acquitted of high treason in June 1817. The relationship between Hunt and Watson which afterwards developed is described in J. C. Belchem, "Henry Hunt and the Evolution of the Mass Platform", English Historical Review (XCIII, 1978), 739-773. At the time of the disturbances on December 2 the authorities believed that an attempt was to be made to liberate Cochrane from the King's Bench Prison, where he was being held pending the payment of a fine. William Jackson, who tried to visit Cochrane that day, was turned back. "Nobody was allowed to go in or out," he wrote, "and the outside yard was full of soldiers" (Jackson to Mrs. Parnham, Dec. 5, 1816, DP 233/82/84).
24. The Times, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 30, 31, 1816; Hunt, op. cit., III, 354-355; Burdett to Crabtree, Dec. 7, 1816, Bonwick, op. cit., 61; M. W. Patterson, Sir Francis Burdett and His Times (1931), 415. At a meeting at Spa Fields on February 10, 1817 Burdett's refusal to present the petition of December 2 was announced to the crowd. Hunt called for a vote of thanks to Cochrane, who had received the petition and "acted a faithful and honourable part towards his countrymen" (The Times, Feb. 11, 1817).

suffrage, but Hunt and Bamford contended for universal manhood suffrage and eventually had their way. The meeting declared also for the secret ballot and annual parliaments. Unfortunately, Burdett was considerably disturbed by the resolution for universal suffrage, and thereafter treated the campaign with evident coolness. The extent of his dissent may not have been immediately appreciated, because a third assembly of the delegates, in the King's Arms, Palace Yard, on January 27, was dissolved leaving the baronet a free hand to frame a reform bill for introduction during the parliamentary session.[25]

The more extreme programme also alienated much of the Whig support essential for parliamentary success. Grey lamented to Holland on January 17 that agreement among the Whigs on reform was "hopeless" and the question "must be left, as it hitherto has been, for individuals to act upon according to their respective opinions."[26] At one extreme, the Fitzwilliam and Grenville groups would have no truck with it, and at the other Brougham, Bennet and a few of their colleagues were receptive to moderate reform but deplored the doctrines of annual parliaments and universal suffrage.[27] The few prospects of amity between the Whigs and the radicals over reform in 1817 were further reduced by the attack on the Prince Regent's coach at the opening of Parliament. While Cochrane was apt to dismiss the incident (and, incredibly, was prepared to believe that the holes in the coach windows were made "by the halberd of a Beef-Eater!"), the waverers in the Commons, smelling another whiff of revolution, swung to the government while the parliamentary committees sifted for evidence of sedition.[28]

The inauspicious opening of Parliament on January 28, 1817 was the occasion of a further display of independence from Burdett, who refused to accompany the reform delegates and their petitions to the House. Hunt accordingly whipped up a crowd and escorted the deputies to Lord Cochrane's lodgings at 7 Palace Yard. There Lady Cochrane served them with wine, while Hunt conversed with Cochrane upstairs. His Lordship was reluctant to part with Burdett, but the persuasion of Hunt, Cobbett and Lady Cochrane, and the presence of

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25. Hunt, op. cit., III, 409-421; Bamford, op. cit., II, 15-19; The Times, Jan. 28, 1817; PR, Apr. 11, 1818, XXXIII, 432-433.
26. Mitchell, The Whigs in Opposition (1967), 17.
27. P.D., Jan. 31, 1817, XXXV, 162-163.
28. Cochrane to Jackson, Jan. 30, 1817, DP 233/82/87; Mitchell, The Whigs in Opposition (1967), 103-104.

the crowds outside who cheered every appearance at the window, induced him to agree to head the procession to Parliament. Bamford has left a vivid impression of Cochrane, with his rolling sailor gait, coming down to the deputies and, nursing various petitions, being chaired to the door of Westminster Hall. But Burdett, whom the delegates visited later, was a disappointment:

> "He was one of our idols and we were loath to give him up. Still I could not help my thoughts from reverting to the simple and homely welcome we received at Lord Cochrane's, and contrasting it with the kind of dreary stateliness of this great mansion and its rich owner. At the former place we had a brief refection, bestowed with a grace which captivated our respect; and no health was ever drunk with more sincere goodwill than was Lord Cochrane's; the little dark-haired and bright-eyed lady (Lady Cochrane) seemed to know it, and to be delighted that it was so. But here scarcely a servant appeared; and nothing in the shape of refreshment was seen."[29]

At the House Sir Francis gave notice that he would move later on the subject of parliamentary reform,[30] but the next day he failed to second Cochrane's amendment to the Regent's speech and threw away an opportunity to make a stand against the preparation of repressive legislation. There was nothing in the amendment repellent to Burdett's principles. It simply contended that conciliation, by a consideration of parliamentary and economical reform, rather than "rigor" was necessary "at this time of universal distress", and it urged the Regent to acknowledge that those meeting to petition for reform had not attempted to produce civil disorder. Since Burdett at different times voiced all of these ideas, his motive in permitting Cochrane's amendment to fall unsupported is obscure. He had little to offer in his defence when Hunt attacked him on the question at a Westminster meeting on February 25, but explained that he would not be manipulated "like a puppet" by others.[31]

There is no evidence that Cochrane complained of the lack of support from his colleague. Instead, he busied himself with deluging the House with petitions. "I have now commenced operations within point blank of the enemy," he told a cousin, "and I hope for, if not a successful, at least an amusing campaign."[32] Cartwright and Cleary

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29. Bamford, op. cit., II, 19-22; Hunt, op. cit., III, 423-429; The Times, Jan. 30, 1817; PR, Aug. 16, 1817, XXXII, 619-624.
30. P.D., Jan. 28, 1817, XXXV, 5.
31. P.D., Jan. 29, 1817, XXXV, 142-143; The Times, Feb. 26, 1817.
32. Cochrane to T. J. Cochrane, Jan. 1817, NLS 2265, f. 122.

fed him petitions to supplement those he received direct, and he unloaded them in the House in an atmosphere charged with hostility. "Never surely," remarked Place, "was man so bullied, scoffed at and condemned as he (Cochrane) was, the whigs like a pack of hounds open mouthed at him, ministers backing these stupid curs and urging them on. Day by day was the attack continued, calumny was heaped upon him, ridicule knew no bounds, contempt of him and the reformers was incessantly resorted to."[33] Despite this, Cochrane enjoyed himself. "I am getting on famously," he said, "petitions and letters of thanks come from all quarters."[34] His persistence was acknowledged by J. A. Warre in the Commons. "The noble lord," he remarked, "was certainly an admirable channel for such petitioners. He appeared in that House every night like a busy trader, with his commodities under his arm. Not satisfied with that, he must hurry down into the country, watch petitions as they came into existence, and then return and serve them up hot and hot to parliament."[35]

During the campaign, Cochrane played the parliamentary acrobat, walking a tightrope between affirming and denying the threat from the people. On the one hand, he sought to forestall repression by emphasizing the sobriety of reformers; on the other, he believed that reform would not be achieved by petitioning alone, and that the House would have to be frightened into action. Thus, while he attacked those who depicted a state of general insurrection, he never denied the revolutionary potential of the people. "It was in vain to imagine that they (the poor) would quietly lie down and die in a ditch...," he said on March 7. "The present system must soon cease; and if his majesty's ministers continued to oppose every change, it would come at last in that dreadful form which would not only sweep away the landed property, but involve the whole kingdom in confusion and utter ruin."[36]

On the first day, January 29, the mood of the House was evident as members probed for means by which the petitions might be rejected. In presenting an offering from Bristol, "about the size of a tolerable barrel",[37] Cochrane anticipated criticism by challenging anyone to

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33. Add. MSS. 27809, f. 50.
34. Cochrane to Jackson, Feb. 15, 1817, DP 233/26/184; Cochrane to Jackson, Jan. 8, 1817, DP 233/29/217; T. Cleary, statement, DP 233/78/35.
35. P.D., Feb. 14, 1817, XXXV, 362.
36. P.D., Mar. 7, 1817, XXXV, 910.
37. PR, Aug. 16, 1817, XXXII, 620.

show "an instance in which the slightest wish to subert the constitution, or to promote riot, was expressed at any meeting to petition upon the subject of parliamentary reform."[38] The document described the widespread distress, condemned the taxation which maintained placemen and sinecurists and the civil list, and argued for universal suffrage, annual parliaments and the ballot. It was permitted to be laid upon the table. The Quick petition, which Cochrane then presented, drew the opposition into the open. Its language was, said Canning, an incitement to rebellion, since it denied the legitimacy of the House, which, it averred, had usurped the representation of the people and "must be for ever put down, or the liberty of England must perish, and the security of property be annihilated." Resistance, the petition read, should be "by all possible means warranted by the constitution."[39] Brand believed the supplication ought to be accepted, but condemned the "vain theories of annual parliaments and universal suffrage."[40] Even this exceeded the charity of most members of the House. Quick's petition was rejected by 135 votes to 48.

Of eight petitions presented by Cochrane that day, five were rejected, generally on the pretext that their language was unacceptable. There was also a suggestion that they had been forged. Canning observed that "these petitions were not only expressed in the same terms and with the same spirit, but appeared to come from the same office, and to be written with the same hand."[41] Two days later an effort was made to impede further petitions when the Chair ruled, during a debate on petitions from Halifax tendered by Burdett, that members should have themselves read any document they put to the House. In view of the hundreds of petitions being prepared by Cochrane and Burdett the ruling was obstructive.[42]

Brougham, on that occasion, added his protest to those of the members for Westminster, but the liberal Whigs joined in the attack upon what Brougham termed the "absurd and pernicious" and "impracticable" doctrine of universal suffrage. On February 14 he defied any member of the House to defend the principle, and Cochrane alone was prepared to answer. Militia lists, Cochrane said, could be employed

38. P.D., Jan. 29, 1817, XXXV, 80.
39. P.D., Jan. 29, 1817, XXXV, 82.
40. P.D., Jan. 29, 1817, XXXV, 87.
41. P.D., Jan. 29, 1817, XXXV, 98.
42. P.D., Jan. 31, 1817, XXXV, 148-163.

as a basis for the practical application of universal suffrage, and if Brougham believed that the idea was absurd clearly thousands did not. He contended that, although he himself preferred a household franchise and annual elections, triennial parliaments would probably reduce the price at which seats were sold. He defended "the honourable character" of Major Cartwright, with "whom these petitions originated," and denied that the petitioners harboured intentions of overthrowing any part of the constitution.[43] "You will see by the papers that Brougham most unwarrantably attacked all the reformers," he told Jackson afterwards. "I gave him a dose in reply but I have got that in reserve which will put him down for ever."[44]

The "reserve", supplied by Place, consisted of a statement in support of annual parliaments and taxpayer suffrage made by Brougham on June 23, 1814 when he was seeking election for Westminster. On February 17 Cochrane returned to the defence of the radical platform, and quoted Blackstone on the principle that the law bound only those who agreed to its enactment; most of the people were not, consequently, bound by the legislation of the Commons. Universal suffrage might meet this anomaly. He read Brougham's 1814 statement to the House and reconciled it to the cry for universal suffrage by explaining that he "knew no man who wore shoes or eat (sic) bread, who did not pay taxes." Although on this occasion even Burdett came forward to declare universal suffrage unnecessary, Cochrane was not unsatisfied with his efforts. "I have finished Squire Brougham who attacked us all in a very base way," he wrote.[45]

While Burdett shrank from the full radical programme, Cochrane remained the anchor-man of the parliamentary campaign. The support he commanded was not always insignificant, especially in divisions relating to the acceptability of petitions. On February 11, for example, he submitted a petition from Lymington which alleged that the "corrupt and degenerate" representation met "for little else than to lay additional burthens upon the people", and found 43 members of

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43. The debate is in P.D., Feb. 14, 1817, XXXV, 358-368.
44. Cochrane to Jackson, Feb. 15, 1817, DP 233/26/184.
45. Cochrane to Jackson, Feb. 18, 1817, DP 233/26/184; P.D., Feb. 17, 1817, XXXV, 368-384; Add. MSS. 27809, ff. 53-57.

the House willing to accept it, many of them leading Whigs.[46] March 3 saw the highpoint of the campaign when Burdett, assisted by Cochrane, presented 527 petitions to the House. Some days afterwards, when an analysis had been made, 499 of them were rejected: one was unsigned, two had no names affixed to the petition itself, twenty-eight were couched in language similar to that of the refused Quick petition of January 29, and 468 were printed.[47]

By May 20, when Sir Francis moved for a select committee on the state of representation, the majority of the hundreds of petitions presented had not been admitted.[48] Nevertheless, they demonstrated as never before the widespread bitterness towards government and a demand for reform. Principally, the protest emanated from the Midlands and the North, but there could be no doubt that it was a national movement, drawing upon considerable support, even in Scotland.[49] But even this display found the Commons entrenched

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46. Cochrane and Lord Archibald Hamilton acted as tellers for the division, in which the petition was rejected 72 to 43. The minority included George Tierney, F. C. Ponsonby, George Ponsonby, Brougham, Bennet, Lambton, Lord Folkestone, Burdett, Peter Moore, Curwen and Lord Ossulston. P.D., Feb. 11, 1817, XXXV, 314-316.
47. P.D., Mar. 3, 12, 1817, XXXV, 859-863, 991-1004; Commons Journals, Mar. 3, 12, 1817, LXXII, 128-129, 155-156.
48. The Hansard record shows that Cochrane presented at least 20 petitions upto May 20, 12 of which were accepted. The petitions were from Bristol; Quick (2); Castleshaw, Saddleworth, Yorkshire; Ashton under Lyne (2); Oldham (2); Delph, Yorkshire; Hamilton, Lanarkshire; London (2); Manchester; Hampshire; Lymington; Glasgow; Dumbarton; Narborough; Burgh of Irvine; and Grooby (P.D., Jan. 29, Feb. 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14, 17, Mar. 4, 1817, XXXV, 78-99, 202, 220-222, 233-238, 312-321, 334-338, 358-359, 368-384, 871-876; Commons Journals, LXXII, 6-8, 24-25, 29, 32-33, 46-49, 55-56, 75, 79, 134-135). The record is incomplete, since some petitions which were presented did not feature in the debates. For example, Cochrane also presented the petition from Beith, Ayrshire, on February 27 (The Times, Feb. 28, 1817; Commons Journals, Feb. 27, 1817, LXXII, 117). At a Westminster meeting on March 23, 1818 Cochrane accepted the point made against printed petitions, considering that they might not "be the spontaneous opinions of those who signed them" (Morning Chronicle, Mar. 24, 1818). Cartwright, who continued to support printed petitions, should have known from his previous experience that they would have been rejected by the House (The Times, May 24, 1816).
49. Cannon, op. cit., 171-172, gives an analysis of the petitions presented in 1817. In all there were over 700 from more than 350 towns.

against reform. It is possible that the petitions contributed to the fear of widespread disaffection, and fed the House's determination to resist. In any event, the vote on May 20, when only 77 members supported Burdett's motion, proved that most of the Whigs had been frightened away.[50]

This is what Cochrane had feared all along. He had never believed that Parliament would voluntarily reform itself. "There was nothing wicked which did not emanate from that House," he had boldly told the members during the debate on Burdett's motion. "In it originated all knavery, perjury and fraud."[51] Encouraged by the stand of the Whigs against the suspension of habeas corpus, Cochrane had fleetingly hoped that they might be of use. "I have resolved to steer another political course," he confided to a friend; "seeing that the only means of averting military despotism from the country is to unite the people and the Whigs, so far as they can be induced to cooperate, which they must do, if they wish to preserve the remainder of the Constitution."[52] On February 26 he admitted in the House that "he had experienced a sort of malicious satisfaction at seeing, for ten years past, that the hopes of the opposition were disappointed by their being kept out of power. He was now, however, decidedly of opinion, that their restoration to place and power was the only means of giving us a chance of escaping degradation and ruin."[53] Cobbett and Hunt wrote to Grey in support of Cochrane's overtures, and an assembly of the electors of Westminster on March 13 urged the Regent to change his ministers, but their efforts were unsuccessful.[54]

Responsibility for the hostility to reform during the session lay partly with the scaremongering which had followed the Spa Fields riots and the attack upon the Regent's coach. On February 5 Parliament received papers collected by Lord Sidmouth suggesting revolutionary activity throughout the country, and later in the

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50. P.D., May 20, 1817, XXXVI, 704-812. Brand seconded the motion, and Cochrane, Bennet, Brougham, Curwen, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Lambton, Madocks, Moore, Romilly, W. H. Lyttelton and Tierney voted with the minority.
51. P.D., May 20, 1817, XXXVI, 754.
52. Cochrane to Jackson, Feb. 28, 1817, DP 233/82/88.
53. P.D., Feb. 26, 1817, XXXV, 758.
54. H. R. Vassall Fox (Lord Holland), Further Memoirs of the Whig Party, 1807-1821 (1905), 253; W. E. Saxton, The Political Importance of the Westminster Committee of the Early Nineteenth Century (Ph.D., Edinburgh University, 1957), III, iv, 148-151.

month committees of both houses gave weight to the fears and paved the way for four bills passed in March. The legislation was repressive. It suspended habeas corpus, curtailed public meetings, prohibited the election of deputies and attacked seditious literature.

Lord Cochrane consistently opposed these measures. In February he put the blame for the Spa Fields riots upon the Spenceans, whose ideas of land nationalization and redistribution struck him as a "wild theory". He presented a number of petitions from Hunt, defending himself and the people who had gathered at Spa Fields from recrimination.[55] Cochrane feared for public liberty. Even before the legislation inhibiting meetings some magistrates had attempted to deter public gatherings.[56] But the suspension of habeas corpus and the Seditious Meetings Bill would "erect every magistrate in the country into a petty tyrant."[57] He instanced the case of J. M'Arthur of Glasgow, a divinity student who had reportedly been seized and imprisoned by the overzealous authorities on the pretext that he had attended a political meeting.[58] When a Westminster petition protesting at the suspension of habeas corpus was presented to the House, Cochrane impudently announced that he would defy the legislation. "Whether the Suspension Bill passed or not, was a matter of indifference to him: he should never abstain from going into any meetings or societies whenever he thought proper to do so." Many, however, were less brazen. Some months later Cochrane joined Burdett and Cartwright for a reform dinner at the Freemasons' Tavern, but no one else arrived and the meal was cancelled.[59]

Recalling the days following the repressive legislation, Bamford wrote, "It seemed as if the sun of freedom were gone down, and a rayless expanse of oppression had finally closed over us. Cobbett, in terror of imprisonment, had fled to America; Sir Francis Burdett had enough to do in keeping his own arms free; Lord Cochrane was threatened but quailed not; Hunt was still somewhat turbulent, but he was powerless for he had lost the genius of his influence when

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55. P.D., Feb. 4, 5, 24, 1817, XXXV, 210-211, 220-222, 546-551.
56. P.D., Feb. 11, 1817, XXXV, 312-313.
57. P.D., Mar. 14, 1817, XXXV, 1129-1130.
58. P.D., Feb. 28, Mar. 3, 4, 14, 1817, XXXV, 794-795, 856-857, 871-872, 1129-1130.
59. P.D., Feb. 25, 1817, XXXV, 645; Commons Journal, Feb. 25, 1817, LXXII, 110; The Times, June 3, 1817. Cochrane presented a Birmingham petition against the suspension of habeas corpus on February 27 (P.D., Feb. 27, 1817, XXXV, 762-764).

he lost Cobbett...The worthy old Major remained at his post, brave as a lion..."[60] It seemed, in retrospect, that the great petitioning campaign, although it led to some retrenchment and the relinquishment of a few emoluments, had merely contributed towards the alarm which had legitimized the repression.[61] At best ill timed, it had at worst seriously backfired. In the experience Cochrane saw a vindication of his despondency about the legislature, and he prophesied that more desperate measures would be necessary to achieve reform. "If the bills now about to be brought in should be passed into laws," he stated, "the people...would have no resource but an appeal to physical force...or that tacit resistance which they might have it in their power to offer, by withholding those taxes which it might be attempted to draw from their pockets."[62]

Not the least misfortune which had befallen the reformers had been the dissension within their own ranks. Cochrane and Cartwright unwillingly occupied the middle ground between Cobbett and Hunt on the left and the more conservative Burdett, whose principles fell short of universal suffrage. In July Cobbett, from America, charged the baronet with "indecision" and "inconsistency" and accused him of jealousy towards Lord Cochrane. By the following year his attack had been extended to include the Westminster Committee, a "junto" led by Brooks, Adams, Sturch, George Harris and others but controlled by Burdett.[63] However, the Committee were also disappointed in Burdett, and feared for his public image.[64]

To Cochrane's credit, he avoided these quarrels and preserved amicable relations with both parties. On February 10 he accompanied Cobbett to a meeting at Portsdown Hill, near Portsmouth, while Hunt

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60. Bamford, op. cit., II, 44. In 1817 44 people suspected of treason were arrested. One died in prison, and the rest had all been released by January 1818 (N. Gash, Aristocracy and People (1979), 92). Before Cobbett left England, Cochrane had persuaded him to consign part of his Register to William Jackson, to whom he supplied material from the United States (Jackson to Mrs. Parnham, July 3, 1818, DP 233/82/84; Jackson, Nov. 7, 1817, Feb. 26, 1819, ibid; Cochrane to Jackson, Mar. 28, 1817, DP 233/26/184).
61. In February Lord Camden resigned his profits except for a salary of £2500, and the Regent surrendered £50,000 per annum of his income (P.D., Feb. 11, 1817, XXXV, 324-325, 334; Maccoby, op. cit., 327).
62. P.D., Feb. 24, 1817, XXXV, 628-629.
63. PR, Jan. 3, 1818, XXXIII, 2-32; Patterson, op. cit., 425-426.
64. Place to Brooks, Dec. 31, 1817, Add. MSS. 35153, f. 30.

spoke at Spa Fields,[65] and the three helped initiate an assembly of the Hampshire freeholders near Winchester Cathedral on March 11 to discuss the attack upon the Regent. It was a disorderly affair, "Such a scene of riot, confusion, and uproar," recalled Hunt, as "never, I believe, disgraced a county meeting."[66] Radical participation had been anticipated, and the crowd was packed with parsons, and, if Hunt is to be believed, the dependents of the corrupt boroughs of Andover and Winchester, who shouted down the reformers. Notwithstanding them, Cochrane proposed an amendment to the address of Sir Charles Ogle, and Cobbett and Hunt sought a pledge of support for the constitution as guaranteed by the Magna Carta, the Habeas Corpus Act and the Bill of Rights. The meeting was dissolved precipitately, when Cochrane tried to set Ogle's address aside, but not before the Sheriff had threatened to arrest Cochrane and Hunt, and Cobbett had been challenged to a duel. Cochrane described the gathering as "the most turbulent and riotous that ever he attended."[67] Two days later he joined Burdett for a Westminster meeting which urged the Regent to remove from his royal councils those ministers antagonistic to economy measures.[68]

The failure of the petitioning campaign was consummated in 1818 when the reformers relentlessly pursued their jaded strategy to its inevitable conclusion. In compliance with the legislation against public meetings, and a resurrected statute of the reign of Charles II which prohibited more than 20 signatures to a petition, the monstrous documents of 1817 were succeeded by more modest if more frequent supplications. The session produced 1570 in all, Cochrane unloading 137 of them in one day and declaring that he had hundreds more in preparation. Cochrane's last act as a parliamentarian was the presentation of a reform petition from William Cobbett. By then, however, the method possessed no originality, and it did not enjoy the impact it had made in 1817.[69]

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65. The Times, Feb. 11, 1817.
66. Hunt, op. cit., III, 459.
67. P.D., Mar. 12, 1817, XXXV, 985; Hunt, op. cit., III, 457-459; PR, Mar. 15, 1817, XXXII, 321-334; Malmesbury to Lord Bathurst, Feb. 19, 1817, F. Bickley, ed., Report on the Manuscripts of Earl Bathurst (1923), 432.
68. The Times, Mar. 14, 1817; The Morning Herald, Mar. 14, 1817.
69. All of the 137 petitions were accepted. Ninety-nine were from Leeds, 4 from Westminster, 5 from Bristol, 24 from Tunstal and 5 from Newcastle, Ladywell, Manchester and Ashton under Lyne. See P.D., Mar. 3, 1818, XXXVII, 753; ibid, June 2, 1818, XXXVIII, 1185; Commons Journals, LXXIII, 123; J. Cannon, op. cit., 175.

Additionally, the radicals supported the unsuccessful Whig attacks upon the continued suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and upon the Indemnity Bill, which protected the authorities from legal action on account of the many false arrests made in 1817. In this respect Cochrane considered ministers particularly culpable. They had, in his opinion, employed spies and agitators to fabricate the alarm which justified oppression. Agents provocateurs, like John Castle of Spa Fields and 'Oliver', had instigated the needy to acts of desperation for which their lives and the reputations of reformers were alike forfeit. During the session Cochrane submitted petitions to the House protesting at the suspension of habeas corpus, and gave evidence secured by Cobbett in America which further incriminated 'Oliver the spy'.[70]

The petitioning campaign collapsed on June 2, 1818, when Burdett, radicalized by Jeremy Bentham, moved resolutions in favour of universal suffrage, the ballot, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, one day polling and single member constituencies.[71] Cochrane, making his last appearance in the Commons, rose to second the address with characteristic emotion. It was his farewell to Parliament:

"...if the House did not reform itself from within, it would be reformed with a vengeance from without...for certain he was, that unless some measures were taken to stop those feelings which the people entertained towards that House, and to restore their confidence in it, they would one day have ample cause to repent the line of conduct they had pursued...The commotions to which that conduct would inevitably give rise would shake not only that House, but the whole government and frame of society to its foundations...

"He would not trespass longer on their time. The situation which he had held for eleven years in that House, he owed to the favour of the electors of Westminster. The feelings of his heart were gratified by the manner in which they had acted towards him. (Here the noble lord spoke with great agitation, and the House seemed to sympathise with his feelings). They had rescued him from a desperate and wicked conspiracy, which had nearly involved him in total ruin. He forgave those who had so done, and he hoped when they went to their graves they would be equally able to forgive themselves. All this was foreign to the

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70. Morning Chronicle, Mar. 24, 1818; P.D., Mar. 3, 1818, XXXVII, 754-755; ibid, May 14, 1818, XXXVIII, 661-664; John Buchanan, Robert Thom and William Irvine, petition, Commons Journals, Mar. 3, 1818, LXXIII, 123-125. There is disagreement as to how far 'Oliver' precipitated the Derbyshire insurrection of 1817, for which three men were executed, or emboldened a movement already underway (E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1968), 711-734; Stevenson, op. cit., 209-211).
71. P.D., June 2, 1818, XXXVIII, 1118-1185; Bonwick, op. cit., 81-83; Patterson, op. cit., 463-464.

> subject before the House - but he trusted they would forgive him (Hear, hear). He would not tresspass upon their time longer now - perhaps never again on any subject. He hoped that his Majesty's ministers would take into their serious consideration what he had now said. He did not utter it with any feelings of hostility. Such feelings had now left him; but he trusted they would take his warning, and save the country, by abandoning the present system before it was too late."[72]

However, members were not impressed by the efforts of Bentham, Burdett and Cochrane, and there was no support for what Brougham termed a "disconnexion of franchise and property." The resolutions fell 106 votes to 0. No firmer demonstration of the intransigence of the House and the failure of the radical campaign could have been made.

IV

By 1818 Lord Cochrane appears to have wearied of the futility of radical politics and the divisions among reformers. The voice of the people had only been raised to be silenced, and the reformers were devoid of better tactics. Rebellion was neither desirable nor possible, for it would have pitted an unarmed and unorganized people against a standing army.[73] But the alternatives seemed equally ineffective. Once Parliament had snubbed the petitions for reform, the radicals were compelled to lobby the House by different means, or worse, they were reduced to gestures. 'Remonstrances' were prepared to the Prince Regent; the threat to withhold taxes was resuscitated; mock elections returned 'legislatorial attorneys' in unrepresented towns; and a Smithfield meeting of July 1819 even declared that acts of Parliament would cease to have legal binding after January 1, 1820. Possibly, in their frustration, not all of the radicals realized that their protracted campaign may have been gradually undermining resistance by suggesting to many politicians that reform, of some kind, was inevitable.[74]

Cochrane's exasperation was evident at a meeting outside the King's Arms Tavern in Palace Yard on March 23, 1818. "The only influence that could affect the assembly which met over the way was fear," he said. Most of the discussion pivoted about a number of resolutions sponsored by Cartwright, but Cochrane pressed for the

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72. P.D., June 2, 1818, XXXVIII, 1150-1151. At a meeting on May 23 at the Crown and Anchor Cochrane had promised that he would "go to the farthest extent in his assistance to the measure of Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage" (Statesman, May 25, 1818; The Times, May 25, 1818).
73. There is evidence that Cochrane was not completely hostile to the idea of revolution. See Henry Reeve, ed., The Greville Memoirs (1888), I, 307.
74. Cannon, op. cit., 182-184, argues that resistance in Parliament to reform began to weaken after 1820.

condemnation of the government's use of agitators. He would not support Cartwright's adherence to the rule confining 20 signatures to a petition, but believed that the people possessed the right to "meet in thousands and hundreds of thousands" to subscribe to as large a petition as they wished. Both members for Westminster were criticized at the meeting for their lax attendance in the Commons during the current session, and Burdett for his failure to support universal suffrage. On the latter Cochrane would not be drawn, but he was frank about his record in the House. He was tired of "mock debates", and the air in Parliament "was enough to poison the devil."[75]

Two months later Cochrane's determination to resign his seat was announced at the anniversary dinner at the Crown and Anchor on May 23.[76] Two days after the failure of Burdett's motion on reform Cochrane took his leave of the electors in the same tavern. Brooks, as usual, had organized the meeting, William Sturch took the chair and Cochrane gave a performance that was both nostalgic and embittered. To petition such "a sink of corruption" as Parliament was a delusion, for only pressure from "without" would reform the House. "The only immediate hope of the country was that the extravagant and oppressive measures of government would lead to the last stage of distress and degradation, when the people of this country could no longer endure it..."[77] Referring to his imminent departure for Chile, Cochrane admitted that he felt no remorse in leaving a country of church builders, Bible societies, tax gatherers and tax eaters, spies and informers, but he would always remember the debt he owed to his constituents. "I thank you," he said amidst great applause, "for your uniform support - and above all, for the feelings you expressed at a time when I thought the whole world had deserted me. Even when my last breath is about to depart, I shall recollect your conduct with gratitude."[78]

The meeting demonstrated that Cochrane's resignation left a void not easily filled, for the task of naming a successor led to such disorder that the gathering disintegrated. The extremists, under Hunt and Cartwright, were anxious to prevent Burdett's nominee,

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75. The Times, Mar. 24, 1818; Morning Chronicle, Mar. 24, 1818; Statesman, Mar. 24, 1818.
76. Earlier intimations of the decision were given in PR, Jan. 3, 1818, XXXIII, 6, and The Times, May 15, 1818.
77. The Times, June 5, 1818.
78. The British Press, June 5, 1818; A Correct Report of the Proceedings of the Meeting Held at the Crown and Anchor...(1818); Add. MSS. 27841, ff. 53-56.

Douglas Kinnaird, from securing the vacancy, and the confusion spilled into the election with the result that the radicals lost one of the Westminster seats to Sir Samuel Romilly, the liberal Whig, who topped the poll.[79]

Cochrane's disillusionment with politics was a minor factor in his consideration of employment abroad. It seems that he met Jose Alvarez Condarco, the Chilean agent, in May 1817 and before the end of the summer had decided to accept his invitation to command the patriot fleet against the Spaniards in the Pacific.[80] In itself the offer was not unattractive, especially for a seaman who had spent nearly a decade ashore, but the most cogent argument in favour of acceptance lay in the condition of the family finances. By 1817 Cochrane had made and lost a fortune. The basis of his prosperity had been the prize money which he had earned between 1805 and 1809, but thereafter Cochrane's active service had ceased and his only regular income was his naval half pay. Nevertheless, Cochrane had continued to spend freely, supporting his parliamentary activities, sponsoring inventions, maintaining domestic servants, printing books and financing an extended ramble about the Mediterranean. In 1812 he had secretly married a fifteen year old girl of middle class parentage, Katherine Frances Corbet(t) Barnes, who bore him two children before he sailed for South America six years later.[81]

Between 1811 and 1813 Lord Cochrane made good the loss of the Dundonald country estate, Culross, by purchasing property. He obtained Warsash, a small copyhold estate in Titchfield Manor on the Hampshire coast, near the Isle of Wight, from his uncle, Andrew Cochrane-Johnstone, for £6,400, on October 13, 1811. More significantly, in 1812 and 1813 he secured the pleasing mansion of Holly Hill with some 200 acres of ground, a customary copyhold in the same manor bearing a few ancient duties in addition to the purchase price of £11,133.1.1. The property was released by Thomas Swain and Michael Maurice, and it became Cochrane's official residence. Apparently he spent some money on "improving" the estate, for on October 12, 1815 he invited Dr. Guthrie to Holly Hill, informing him that "you shall see a system of farming which Cobbett and I am pursuing to the

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79. The story of the 1818 election has recently been retold by Alice M. S. Prochaska, Westminster Radicalism, 1807-1832 (Ph.D., Oxford University, 1976), 78-87.
80. Eleventh Earl of Dundonald and H. R. Fox-Bourne, The Life of Thomas Cochrane (1869), I, 129.
81. See Appendix I.

astonishment and horror of all the surrounding farmers."[82] Like most public men, Cochrane also rented a number of houses in London during the parliamentary session, and there are references to a cottage at Ryde, on the Isle of Wight, in 1812, and to a subsequent lodging at Boulogne.[83]

Gradually Cochrane's wealth was depleted, but his appointment as flag captain to Admiral Alexander Cochrane in February 1814 promised to repair the damage. Unfortunately, in the same month occurred the fraud on the Stock Exchange which not only involved Cochrane in additional expenses but also deprived him of further prospects of employment at sea and the half pay which constituted his major income. The result is partly discernable in a surviving account book with Coutts. In the three year period 1809-1812 Cochrane spent over £89,000; his expenses for an identical period in 1815-1818 amounted to only £5600.[84]

The sales of Holly Hill and Warsash symbolize the exhaustion of Cochrane's resources. It seems that Cochrane had fallen into arrears with one Townsend and others on his mortgage for Holly Hill. An attempt was made to place the property on the market, and Cochrane's creditors obtained legal possession. Cochrane held that the estate was being deliberately undervalued so that he would remain in debt after the sale. He hoped to sell Holly Hill himself for a more appropriate price, and while he tried to satisfy his most urgent creditors he refused to surrender the house.

At Easter 1817 Lord Cochrane placed his "garrison" at Holly Hill on a defence footing before leaving for London. He returned on May 7 to find that two officials were in occupation. Cochrane waited until one of the officers had gone to the stable with some cattle and then lured his colleague out of the front door which was shut and locked behind him. The officers were threatened with

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82. Cochrane to Guthrie, Oct. 12, 1815, Guthrie Papers, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; records of the Court of Titchfield Manor, 1811-1813, Minutes of Evidence, 125-136.
83. Minutes of Evidence, 61, 75-77; Report of the Evidence of the Countess-Dowager of Dundonald...(1862); Report of the Evidence of William Jackson...(1862), 14, 17. The records reveal the following addresses for Cochrane: 14 Old Cavendish Street (1802); 67 Harley Street (1806-1807); 12 Portman Square (1812); 34 St. James's Place (1812); 111 Park Street (1813-1814); 13 Green Street (1814); Quebec Street (1815); 19 Upper Morley Street (1816); 7 Palace Yard (1817) and 9 Bryanston Street (1816-1817).
84. Arranged in three year periods, the expenditure in the account is as follows: £89,224.1.9 (1809-1812); £18,609.8.11 (1812-1815); and £5607.8.1 (1815-1818). Coutts Account book, DP 233/29/230.

death if they tried to force an entry, and they fled to report their humiliation. The following day Under-Sheriff Hollis arrived at Holly Hill and parleyed with Lord Cochrane through a window. When the talks proved abortive, Hollis summoned reinforcements from Gosport, Fareham and Portsmouth, and a posse, perhaps 75 strong, arrived at Cochrane's mansion determined to repossess the property. Preparations had been made to receive them. Cochrane had stacked bags of powdered charcoal at windows and doors, complete with trains, to give the appearance of explosives, for which, of course, he was famous. About the house were posted signs which read, "Take notice, explosion-bags are set within; thieves beware." When the posse dared to approach, Cochrane himself appeared at a window with a gun and fired. Later it was learned that the piece was primed only with powder. However, after an exchange of letters Hollis and his men retreated.

The Under-Sheriff's next move was to recall his superior, then in London. Satisfying himself with the legal position, the Sheriff appeared before Holly Hill on May 14 with Hollis and a number of assistants. No one seemed to be available in the house to take a message, so the officials broke some windows to pull away any explosion bags with a boat hook. At this point Cochrane was discovered in the library. He offered no further resistance, but packed some belongings and left for London, leaving the Sheriff occupying the house. Nevertheless, the battle was continued on his behalf by Sir Charles Brisbane, to whom Cochrane had let the premises. Quartered in a nearby inn, Brisbane apparently delayed the sale until a Mr. Parkins loaned Lord Cochrane the sums he required to pay off his mortgage. The captain was able to sell the estate for a few thousands of pounds profit essential to meet his expenses in fitting out for South America.[85]

Cochrane's remaining resources were ploughed into the South American venture. Before 1817 had ended his mind was teeming with projects. He wanted to design and build a steam cruiser for the Chilean fleet, and he planned to liberate Napoleon Bonaparte from St. Helena and carry him to South America. To this end he intrigued

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85. The Times, May 20, 1817; Cochrane to Jackson, May 1817 (two letters), DP 233/26/184; Jackson, June 9, 1817, ibid; Jackson to Mrs. Parnham, Aug. 7, 1817, DP 233/83/90E-F.

with Colonel Latapie and General Brayer, two prominent Bonapartists, but details of their escapade were soon in the hands of the French government. The Ministers for the Navy and War, Comte Molé and Cochrane's old adversary, Gouvion St. Cyr, were instructed to forestall any efforts to release Bonaparte; the Consul General in Brazil was notified by the French Embassy in London; and early in 1818 Louis XVIII's commissioner on St. Helena was alerted by the French chargé d'affaires in Rio de Janeiro.

Cochrane learned all he could about St. Helena in conversations with Sir George Cockburn, and planned to assemble a force to swoop upon the island. His exact intentions are obscure. In September 1817 Molé informed the Duc de Richelieu that Cochrane proposed seizing the island of Fernando de Noronha and using it as a base to fit out an expedition for St. Helena. The force was to consist of two armed schooners and a 74-ton vessel, manned by 80 French officers and 700 mercenaries recruited in the United States. Whether Bonaparte himself was privy to the plot is unknown, but he named Brayer as a beneficiary in his will in 1821.

No attempt was apparently made to put the plan into operation. Lady Cochrane later recalled that her husband was aware that he was under suspicion. She stated that Cochrane envisaged visiting St. Helena on his way to Chile, but the opportunity was denied him. Later he sent an aide to Bonaparte from South America, apprising him of the plans, but the herald did not reach St. Helena before the former Emperor's death.[86]

The Bonaparte affair, while stillborn, suggests Cochrane's excitement at the prospect of the new horizons Chile had opened to him. He was ready for fresh adventures. After serving with distinction in the Royal Navy, he had been dismissed the service and his honours withdrawn. Professional advancement could only be achieved abroad, and there were suitable offers for a man of his reputation. The Chilean appointment possessed the additional advantage of being consistent with Cochrane's liberal principles.

Although the British political scene remained open to him, it was an unattractive and expensive alternative. It was true that the Westminster Committee guaranteed his returns free of outlay, but the

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86. G. Martineau, Napoleon's St. Helena (1968), 204-206; W. Tute, Cochrane (1965), 175-176.

social round of dinners and meetings was damaging to a man of small means. Furthermore, parliamentary work had been barren of results. Cochrane's efforts to reform the naval administration between 1807 and 1813 had achieved nothing; his labours for parliamentary reform between 1816 and 1818 had only unleashed the forces of reaction. The prospects of the radical movement, harried without and fragmented within, seemed bleak in 1818.

Finally, Cochrane's personal fortunes had come full circle. An heir to an honoured but bankrupt title, he had seen his efforts to establish a home and security first prosper and then fail. Prohibited from exercising his professional talents at home, Cochrane sold his services abroad, trusting that the rewards might enable him to sustain the dignity of his family. By 1818 Lord Cochrane was in sore need of the new outlet he found in Chile. In the summer he slipped away quietly from Rye in a small fishing boat bound for Boulogne. There, on August 15, 1818, he boarded a new frigate and sailed westwards at the age of forty-three, once more to seek his fortune.[87]

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87. The Times, Aug. 22, 1818; Dundonald and Fox-Bourne, op. cit., I, 130.

THE REHABILITATION OF LORD COCHRANE, 1818-1860

I

Between 1818 and 1828 Cochrane served successively as admiral of the navies of Chile, Brazil and Greece during their wars of independence. The events of those years, which have been treated elsewhere, do not require recapitulation.[1] More relevant to the present study is the process by which Cochrane, after 1828, attempted to rehabilitate his character in Britain, and to restore financial security to the Dundonald title. In this respect, Cochrane's services abroad were of value. They brought financial rewards and an international reputation which did much to improve the admiral's standing in England. He won new friends amongst liberals by his achievements on behalf of the struggling new nations. "There is no man I envy so much as Lord Cochrane," commented Byron. "His entrance into Lima, which I see announced in today's paper, is one of the great events of the day."[2] But prejudice against him remained, and as a result of the problems British merchants encountered in the Pacific because of Cochrane's blockades it was sometimes increased. Maria Graham, for example, whose Journal of a Residence in Chile was in part a memorial to the admiral, protested that a hostile review of her book served no better purpose than that of "adding one more insult to a great man who can have no fault in your eyes but that of having been of the Liberal Party in politics..."[3]

In addition, the years abroad permitted time to heal some of the wounds. Cochrane's earlier efforts to reverse the verdict of 1814 were, perhaps, too close to the events themselves to be successful. He had written from Rio de Janeiro in 1824 to Melville, enclosing his insignia of Bath and affirming his innocence of the hoax.[4] The following year the admiral returned to England and requested an investigation into his case, but he was then informed that it was impossible for a court legally

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1. The best studies are D. J. Cubitt, Lord Cochrane and the Chilean Navy, 1818-23 (Ph.D., 1974, 2 vols.); A. de Avila Martel, Cochrane y la Independencia del Pacifico (1976); B. Vale, "The Creation of the Imperial Brazilian Navy, 1822-23", M.M. (LVII, 1971), 63-88, "Lord Cochrane in Brazil, I: The Naval War of Independence, 1823", M.M. (LVII, 1971), 415-442, "Lord Cochrane in Brazil, II: Prize Money, Politics and Rebellion, 1824-25", M.M. (LIX, 1973), 135-159; D. Dakin, British and American Philhellenes During the Greek War of Independence (1955); W. St. Clair, That Greece Might be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence (1972).
2. D. F. Cochrane, Lord Cochrane de Chile by Pablo Neruda (1970).
3. M. Graham to J. Murray, Dec. 19, 1824, R. B. Gotch, Maria, Lady Calcott (1937), 244-245.
4. Cochrane to Melville, Feb. 10, 1824, NLS 3841, ff. 141-144.

to revise proceedings so old. A free pardon from the Crown would dispense with the verdict and sentence of 1814, but it could only be recommended if the Secretary of State and Crown law officers were satisfied of the injustice of the original decision.[5] Cochrane was unable to press the matter at the time because of his employment in Greece, but shortly after his release from foreign service he prepared a memorial applying for reinstatement into the Royal Navy. It was submitted to Wellington's government by Sir Robert Preston in June 1828 but was not placed before the King.[6]

The admiral devoted his remaining years largely to his own cause. Personal and family honour were, of course, involved, but financial considerations were no less important. The fine of £1000 imposed upon him as part of his sentence was the least significant aspect of this problem. It was his expulsion from the navy, and the consequent loss of employment or half pay, which had most severely undermined his finances and driven him abroad. Certainly Cochrane won another fortune as a freelance liberator, but when he returned to England he was confronted with the prospect of spending the rest of his life without a means to supplement these resources. It was important to the admiral, therefore, to obtain a regular income through restoration to the Navy list.

The sums which Cochrane had earned abroad could not sustain his continued expenditure. He had left Chile without having received his full salary, and Brazil was quitted in equally unsatisfactory circumstances. Defending himself from charges of rapacity in selling his services to the Greeks, he claimed that Brazil had owed him the greater part of 1,200,000 milreas (£250,000) on account of the capture of 127 vessels, 10 of them warships, and that 11,520 milreas of table money and a pension worth 5,700 milreas had been surrendered by Cochrane upon his resignation. "From these," he told Ellice, "you will judge whether I have asked too much of the Greek Deputies, or whether I have offered to make a sacrifice with a view to serve their enslaved country."[7] From Greece he wrung £37,000 which he invested in Greek bonds for the benefit of his family. It seems that they prospered for some time, but at the end of 1830 the admiral was compelled to sell some of them. The remainder were settled

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5. Melville to Cochrane, Nov. 4, 1825, Select Committee, 22-23.
6. Cochrane memorial, June 1828, ibid, 1-2; Duke of Clarence to Preston, June 14, 1828, ibid, 11; Jackson diary, 1828, DP 233/44/XXIII; Jackson to Cochrane, June 24, 1828, DP 233/26/191.
7. Cochrane to Ellice, Aug. 18, 1825, NLS E7, ff. 23-24.

upon his wife in 1839 and willed to her in 1860.[8]

Between 1830 and 1848 the considerable rewards from Cochrane's foreign services were frittered away, and he was able to claim that he owned little more than his portmanteau, while his wife "has not within her door one article of furniture of her own."[9] The financial imperative behind his campaign for rehabilitation is therefore evident. Before these efforts are examined, however, it will be necessary to attempt some explanation of the loss of this, Cochrane's second fortune, and to ascertain the continued expenses which the admiral incurred.

II

During his later years Cochrane, unlike his father, tended to live within his means and was seldom in serious debt, but he usually spent all that he earned and failed to accumulate reserves. Between 1828 and 1860 his annual balances with Coutts for the years when he was not on active service never credited him with more than £1757.7.0. On the other hand, £705.6.6. was the most he ever owed the account. His books record favourable, if modest, balances for 1830 to 1833, 1842 to 1844 and 1846 to 1860. The greatest amount paid into the account in a single year was £50,142.12.2. in 1829 to 1830, and the lowest £505.15.0. in 1840 to 1841. In both cases similar sums were withdrawn over the same period.[10]

Evidently large sums slipped through Cochrane's fingers, and it is difficult to trace the causes of all of the expenditure. There were many routine claims upon his purse: lodgings, board, legal expenses, medical

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8. Cochrane to Ellice, Nov. 28, 1847, NLS E7, ff. 30-31; L. Strachey and R. Fulford, ed., The Greville Memoirs, 1814-60 (1938), I, 399; Jackson diary, Jan. 25, 1831, DP 233/44/XXIII; Cochrane's will, Feb. 21, 1860, DP 233/177; I. Grimble, The Sea Wolf (1978), 332.
9. Cochrane to Jackson, July 8, 1847, DP 233/28/206.
10. Cochrane had accounts with various banks during this period, including Ommaney's, Ricardo's and the Bank of British North America. The flavour of the account with Coutts is conveyed by the selected annual balances below, drawn from Cochrane's bank books, 1828 to 1860, DP 233/29/230.

June to June	Income	Expenditure	Balance
1828 - 1829	£3,630. 3. 5.	£3,780. 7. 1.	- £150. 3. 8.
1829 1830	£50,142.12. 2.	£49,321. 0. 6.	+ £821.11. 8.
1831 1832	£27,548. 3. 7.	£25,790.16. 7.	+ £1757. 7. 0.
1833 1834	£6,679. 8. 4.	£7,384.14.10.	- £705. 6. 6.
1838 1839	£1,802. 7. 0.	£1,812. 3. 9.	- £9.16. 9.
1839 1840	£661.12. 6.	£720.13. 0.	- £59. 0. 6.
1841 1842	£591.17. 9.	£591.13. 1.	+ 4. 8.
1842 1843	£1,391.14.11.	£1,341.11. 5.	+ £50. 3. 6.
1847 1848	£682. 8. 8.	£679. 0. 2.	+ £3. 8. 6.
1852 1853	£2,593. 3. 6.	£2,589. 3. 6.	+ £4. 0. 0.
1857 1858	£22,051.13. 7.	£21,265.11.11.	+ £786. 1. 6.
1858 1859	£6,629.13. 3.	£5,756.15. 6.	+ £872.17. 9.
1859 1860	£6,183.10. 4.	£5,986.16. 9.	+ £196.13. 7.

charges, printing costs and payments to domestic staff. According to his grandson, Cochrane spent some £14,000 in litigation arising from claims against his operations in the Pacific.[11] Three major sources of additional expenditure can be identified: the purchase of Hanover Lodge, provisions for children, and the promotion of engineering projects.

A substantial residence was expected to accompany any honoured peerage. Cochrane purchased in 1830 the impressive mansion of Hanover Lodge, Regent's Park, consisting of a conservatory, three drawing rooms, a banquetting room, a hall, statue gallery, two dressing rooms, nine bed chambers and extensive quarters for domestic servants. With it came four acres of ground which contained an orange orchard, a greenhouse, a stable and two coach houses. Hanover Lodge cost Lord Cochrane £12,200, but he was unable to maintain it, and in August 1846 sold it for about £5000, a considerable loss. At the same time the admiral was forced to place a share in a colliery upon the market at a loss of some £5500. Dundonald castle and its adjoining land, which had been regained by the family, had to be mortgaged, and Cochrane had to bequeath £400 to his heir to extinguish the claims upon it. Hanover Lodge was the last important residence which the admiral tried to secure for the Dundonalds. Thereafter, he used or procured, probably by rent, a number of temporary houses in London: 1 or 2 Victoria Square in 1846 to 1848, 2 Belgrave Road upon his return from active service in 1851, his brother's house at 5 Osnaburgh Terrace in 1854 to 1856, 12 Prince Albert Road, and his son's home at 12 Queen's Gate, Kensington, in 1858 to 1860. From the 1830's Lord Cochrane modestly maintained his wife in France.[12]

Cochrane's children were a constant source of pecuniary difficulty. "All my sons," the admiral once remarked, "at least three of them, think that I was made to find money for them to spend."[13] Educating the boys and outfitting them for careers in the armed services proved to be difficult, especially as the two eldest chose outlets in the army where promotion was directly related to wealth. Thomas, the heir, for example, cost his father £250 in 1837 for a lieutenant's commission in the Horse Guards. Horace, the second son, was placed in the army after dismal but expen-

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11. Select Committee, 15-16.
12. Jackson diary, Dec. 11, 1830, DP 233/44/XXIII; details of the sale of Hanover Lodge, DP 233/184; Cochrane to Jackson, July 17, Aug. 18, 20, 22, 1846, DP 233/27/205B; Cochrane to Jackson, Sept. 15, 1846, DP 233/108/9Y; Cochrane, Feb. 15, 1848, DP 233/45/XXVI; Cochrane's will, Feb. 21, 1860, DP 233/177; Grimble, op. cit., 332, 334; Cochrane to Guthrie, May 6, 1839, Guthrie Papers, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
13. Cochrane to Jackson, May 25, 1847, DP 233/45/XXVI.

sive performances at Eton and Sandhurst, but he was eventually compelled to abandon the profession because his father lacked the resources to support him. He was indolent and irresponsible, and in 1850 reportedly sought to extract money from his mother by threatening to publish scurrilous matter in the newspapers. The family correspondence portrays him as an embarrassing spendthrift. "I feel very low," Cochrane confessed in 1855, "the imprudence of my second son having forced me to pay his extravagance by parting with even his last shilling of my legacy and getting £820 in Ommaney's debt."[14] The two younger sons, Arthur and Ernest, were placed in the navy at the respective ages of sixteen and thirteen. Ernest, his father admitted, was "far too young to send into the world", but there were not the means to continue his education.[15]

Finally, Cochrane found persistent pleasure in his technical projects. "You are always very considerate to him," his wife wrote the admiral's cousin, "and I am sure he would have as much enjoyment as anything could give him that was not a marine plough or a Pitch Lake."[16] Between 1825 and 1848 he was issued with seven patents applying the steam engine and the screw propellor to the warship. His rotary engine, perfected in 1833, although not entirely satisfactory, was an improvement upon existing designs. It was fitted into three or four vessels, including the Firefly (1832) and the Janus (1844), the latter a steam frigate which Cochrane built for the Admiralty, and between 1834 and 1838 the London and Greenwich Railway assisted the admiral to adapt it to locomotives. Cochrane's 86 foot Scorpion was for some time a principal attraction on the line.[17]

More important still was the admiral's patent number 6018 of October 20, 1830 which outlined apparatus to facilitate excavation and mining operations in subaqueous conditions. During such activities, the patent explained, water could be held from the working chamber by a compressed air lock, the pressure of which could be maintained during the movement of men and materials to and from the caisson by means of a double door system. These caissons were eventually combined with Brunel's tunnelling shield by Greathead and became the integral instruments of modern bridge and tunnel

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14. Cochrane to Jackson, DP 233/28/212; Cochrane, June 6, 1837, DP 233/14; Cookersley to Cochrane, Aug. 10, 1831, Cookersley to Katherine, June 24, 1831, ibid; Cochrane to Jackson, May 26, 1844, DP 233/27/203; Katherine to T. J. Cochrane, June 1, 12, 1850, NLS 2291, ff. 91-100.
15. Cochrane to Jackson, Aug. 16, 1847, DP 233/45/XXVI.
16. Katherine to T. J. Cochrane, Aug. 24, 1853, NLS 2293, ff. 153-156.
17. E. Gauldie, ed., The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885 (1969), 42-43; Cochrane to R. Roberts, Nov. 1833, written upon a copy of his leaflet, "The Steam Engine Simplified", Nov. 5, 1833, NLS 3418, ff. 238-239; "Report of the Select Committee on Steam Navigation to India", Sessional Papers 1838 (478) XIV, Appendix 20, plates 7-8; J. J. Colledge, Ships of the Royal Navy (1969), I, 209, 289; Grimble, op. cit., 326-330; S. Smiles, Lives of the Engineers (1968), III, 349.

engineering.[18]

When Cochrane returned from active service in the West Indies in 1851 he possessed a share in the Trinidad Pitch Lake, the bituminous products of which he tried to apply to a number of purposes in patents issued in 1851 to 1853. For a few years he resolutely promoted the use of Trinidad asphalt, but it was not until 1876, long after the admiral's death, that the product was successfully employed on roads, in Washington D.C.[19] The inventor conceded that his bitumen and steam boilers had been unprofitable, attributing the blame to the inadequacy of his resources and the chicanery of coadjutors. "Not one single thing has succeeded of all that I counted on," he wrote in 1855, "not because they have failed or would have failed if put in practise, but because nothing has been done to those who obtained concessions to work my patents which (as it now appears) they obtained solely to prevent their being put in practice."[20] Cochrane, like his father, spent considerable sums to little personal advantage in his sponsorship of projects which would later be successful for others.

Gradually the admiral's fortunes were exhausted. The expenditure on the steam boilers forced him to sell Hanover Lodge and a colliery share in 1846, and he was left £1050 in debt to Coutts. Some of his goods were seized as security for payment, and other possessions, which were stored in a warehouse, were threatened because of arrears in rent. From this position the sailor was rescued by his appointment, in 1848, as Commander in Chief of the West Indian and North American station. The substantial salary restored him to solvency, and there were a number of perquisites. One of the most important was a gift from the Governor of Nova Scotia of a 5000 acre estate on Cape Breton upon the condition that 50 per cent of it was allocated to

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18. The compressed air method was first employed in bridge building by William Cubitt and John Wright on the Rochester Bridge over the Medway (1851) and by Brunel on a bridge at Chepstow (1852). James B. Eads introduced the technique to the United States of America while building the St. Louis bridge in 1874. De Witt Clinton Haskin pioneered the method in tunnelling on the Hudson River tunnel (1874-1908). A parallel effort, in Europe, was the Antwerp tunnel of 1879. R. Hammond, Tunnel Engineering (1959), 1-12, 54-75, 91-97; P. Beaver, A History of Tunnels (1972), 37-45, 84-92, 143-147; G. E. Sandström, The History of Tunnelling (1963), 208-244; H. Shirley-Smith, The World's Great Bridges (1964); C. Singer, et. al., ed., A History of Technology (1954-58), IV, 452-464; Grimble, op. cit., 325-326, 329-333.
19. Dundonald, Brief Extracts from the Memoranda of the Earl of Dundonald... (1857) and Notes on the...British West India Islands and the North American Maritime Colonies... (1851); Singer, et. al., op. cit., 540; P. E. Spielmann and A. C. Hughes, Asphalt Roads (1936), 9-11.
20. Cochrane to Jackson, Nov. 23, 1855, DP 233/28/212; Cochrane to Jackson, Sept. 13, 1855, ibid; Cochrane to Jackson, Mar. 8, June 1, 1852, ibid; Cochrane to Jackson, Mar. 8, 185-, ibid.

industrious farmers.[21]

In his last years Cochrane also received payments against his extensive claims upon Latin American governments. Chile awarded him £6000 in 1845 and a pension ten years later, and Brazil followed suit. By 1858 the admiral was in receipt of an annual income of £3348, consisting of £748 in half pay; £288 from a good service pension awarded in 1841; £332 respecting his rank as rear admiral; £1280 from Brazil and £700 as a pension from Chile.[22] Considerable as was this sum, it could not meet the projects which exercised Cochrane's mind, and he remained in difficulties. As late as 1855 he owed a total of £800 to Coutts and Ommaney, and a year later he could complain that "I am without enough to pay omnibus fare."[23]

Cochrane's ceaseless agitation after 1828, first for the restoration of his naval rank and honours, and secondly for indemnification for the losses he had incurred by his dismissal from the service, cannot be understood except in the context of this continuing financial crisis. It was a struggle which the admiral pursued to the end and bequeathed to his heirs, and it involved throughout the need to establish his innocence of the fraud of 1814. The battle began in earnest in 1830 when Lord Cochrane returned to England from the Continent. The moment seemed propitious. The Duke of Clarence had become William IV, and Wellington's Tory administration, from which Cochrane could expect little sympathy, was tottering. "The ministers are in a minority of 29!" Cochrane wrote Jackson, "And they must go before many days. Pray, therefore, lose no time in making out the Petition to the King and put the Review in the press without delay."[24]

III

William Jackson's Review of the Case of Lord Cochrane, printed in 1830 and prepared under the admiral's supervision, was a competent attack upon the verdict of 1814.[25] Copies of the book were circulated to members

21. Cochrane to Jackson, Mar. 14, Aug. 15, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 1846, DP 233/27/205A, 205B; Cochrane to Jackson, June 10, 1851, DP 233/28/208.
22. Pocketbook, DP 233/16.
23. Cochrane to Jackson, Sept. 19, 1856, DP 233/28/213; Cochrane to Jackson, July 17, 1855, DP 233/28/212.
24. Cochrane to Jackson, Nov. 16, 1830, DP 233/26/192.
25. Jackson, Review of the Case of Lord Cochrane (1830). Jackson's connexion with Cochrane is worth notice. He was born on July 17, 1784, and when a boy served as a clerk in Doctor's Commons. An elder brother, John, became Marshal and Proctor of the Maltese Admiralty Court, and was attacked by Lord Cochrane in 1811 for corruption. Apparently relishing his brother's discomfort, William Jackson, then living at Whatton, near Bingham, Nottinghamshire, wrote to Cochrane on September 16, 1811, enclosing a poem, "The Rape of the Table", which he had written commemorating the captain's visit to Malta that year. Pleased with

of Grey's new Whig government in December and a petition pleading for a reconsideration of the case was submitted, through Melbourne, the Home Secretary, to the King. Throughout 1831 Cochrane's cause made headway, and in July the Prime Minister promised his support. Some months later Grey promised Sir Francis Burdett, now shorn of his radicalism, that he would, if necessary, silence Croker, who Cochrane feared to be sowing rumours that he had acted against British interests in the Pacific. Despite this, the admiral was not optimistic. "I have not been able to do anything with the ministers," he wrote in October, "although every effort has been used. Lords Grey, Lansdowne, Brougham, Durham, Holland and Sir James Graham all profess to be friendly but their acts do not bear out their words...They fear to offend some of the old...Tory gang who still hold places in the Cabinet and who are and ever will remain hostile to me."[26]

In July 1831 the death of Cochrane's father raised the admiral to

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this testimony to "my humble endeavour against the arbitrary hand of oppression", Cochrane had the poem printed and circulated (Cochrane to Jackson, Oct. 2, 1811, DP 233/26/182). Thereafter, the two were close correspondents. Jackson's talent and wit were employed by Cochrane to produce a book-length poem, The Gambieriad, attacking Admiral Gambier. In March 1814 Jackson travelled to London hoping to join Cochrane aboard the Tonnant, bound for America. He remained in the captain's service after the Stock Exchange affair, drafting letters and addresses, and writing A Letter to Lord Ellenborough (1815). Three years later Jackson became part publisher of Cobbett's Political Register, but eventually he left for Chile on the Rising Star and served Cochrane as secretary both there and in Brazil. From 1830 he was an energetic instrument in the campaign for the admiral's rehabilitation, and wrote Review of the Case of Lord Cochrane (1830) and Observations of Naval Affairs (1847) in Cochrane's interest. He corresponded with Lord Cochrane almost daily until the admiral's death in 1860. House of Lords Committee for Privileges, Report of the Evidence of William Jackson...(1862), 4-6, 18, 43; Jackson to Cochrane, Sept. 16, 1811, ibid, 27-28; Cochrane to Jackson, Sept. 20, 1811, ibid, 28; Cochrane to Jackson, Oct. 31, 1811, Feb. 28, 1812, DP 233/26/182; Cochrane to Jackson, Mar. 24, July 18, 1812, DP 233/26/193; Cochrane to Jackson, Mar. 28, 1817, DP 233/26/184; Jackson, Dec. 17, 1846, DP 233/27/205B; Jackson to Cochrane, Dec. 20, 1859, DP 233/29/216; Jackson to Earp, July 26, 1860, DP 233/29/217; statement of Jackson's connexions with Cochrane, DP 233/29/219; Earp to Lord Cochrane, DP 233/67/17.

26. Dundonald to Jackson, Oct. 7, 1831, DP 233/26/193; Petition of Cochrane, Dec. 10, 1830, Select Committee, 2; correspondence in ibid, 11-12; correspondence in M. W. Patterson, Sir Francis Burdett and His Times (1931), 352-354; Cochrane to Grey, Dec. 23, 1830, DP 233/44/XXIII; Dundonald to Graham, Sept. 16, 1831, ibid; Graham to Dundonald, Sept. 17, 1831, ibid; Dundonald to Burdett, Sept. 11, 1831, ibid; Dundonald to Jackson, Oct. 22, 1831, ibid; Grey to Lady Dundonald, July 19, 1831, DP 233/14.

the Earldom of Dundonald. Within four months of acquiring his new title he composed a fresh memorial to the government, dated November 27, alluding to his patriotism while serving abroad in preserving the secrecy of the war plans he had submitted to the Prince Regent in 1812. Dundonald personally lodged the document with the King at Brighton, and his wife wrote in support of it the following February or March. This time he was successful, for, after further collaboration between Burdett and Grey, a free pardon was issued Dundonald on March 24, 1832. Before the momentum of his victory was squandered, the new Earl prepared another petition in Southampton and submitted it to the government through Burdett. The Admiralty recommended that Dundonald be restored to the Navy List without loss of seniority, and on May 2, 1832 an Order in Council reinstated the Earl in the service with the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue. Grey was surprised at the pace of events. Three days after Dundonald's restoration to the Navy he wrote triumphantly to Burdett, "I succeeded beyond my hopes in Lord Dundonald's business."[27]

Undoubtedly, these victories were significant. Dundonald's rank, reflecting the position he would have held on the Navy List had he not been dismissed in 1814, suggested, perhaps, that his expulsion had been undeserved, and the free pardon removed the taint of official disapproval. Moreover, Dundonald was eligible for the regular half pay of an admiral, and at 57 years of age he could still hope to be called to active service. Yet he was not satisfied. His honours had not been restored, and he considered that the half pay which he had lost as a result of his dismissal from the Navy was owed him. To spearhead the renewal of the campaign, Dundonald resurrected his secret war plan, the adoption of which would place the government under an obligation to him. His faith in these novel proposals was undiminished. "I continue to think," he wrote in 1839, "that they will produce a greater change in the art of war than was made by the invention of gunpowder."[28] Dundonald advanced his

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27. Grey to Burdett, May 5, 1832, Patterson, op. cit., 609-610; correspondence in ibid, 354; Select Committee, 2-5; Dundonald to Grey, Jan. 28, 1832, DP 233/44/XXIII; Dundonald to Jackson, Nov. 27, 1831, ibid; Burdett to Dundonald, Apr. 9, 1832, ibid; Burdett to Cochrane, Mar. 19, 1831, DP 233/14; Burdett to Dundonald, Mar. 2, 1832, ibid; Taylor to Lady Dundonald, Feb. 16, 1832, ibid; Lady Cochrane to Grey, ibid; Grey to Lady Dundonald, ibid; Grey, Mar. 10, 1832, ibid.
28. Dundonald to Lansdowne, Mar. 30, 1839, DP 233/70/29/1.

plans in the belief that they could not be employed without an accompanying token of gratitude or the offer of an appointment to put them in practice. He had hopes for his arrears in half pay. The Earl regarded half pay as "a retaining fee for prospective services and not for past services and on that score the government ought to give it to me and allow me to make what use I can of the plans I have offered to them."[29] Unfortunately, since he had been in foreign service between 1818 and 1828 he could scarcely lay claim to half pay for those years.

Nevertheless, anticipating that the adoption of the secret plans would strengthen his case, in November 1838 Dundonald offered his schemes to Lord Lansdowne, who placed them the following year before the Admiralty. Dundonald considered that they would enable Britain to retain her traditional naval supremacy, then threatened by the development of stronger fortifications and ordnance in France. He no longer advocated the ship mortar which he had invented in 1811, but instead suggested that old vessels, laden with coal and soaked in tar, could be kindled to the windward of enemy fortifications to produce a thick smoke to mask the approach of warships or sulphur vessels. This was the first occasion upon which the admiral proposed both a smoke and gas attack.[30] Neither Melbourne's Whig nor Peel's Tory government, to which Dundonald submitted the war plans in 1842 and 1844, showed interest. "Lord Dundonald," Peel told Wellington, "seems to be under the impression that there is a fund at the disposal of the Government to be offered as a reward for the invention of destructive instruments - and says that in that case he is ready to contend for a premium. But there is no such Fund."[31] A petition of July 24, 1846, however, piloted through the Lords by Brougham, succeeded in arousing the interest of Lord John Russell's administration, partly because it was supported by the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Auckland, one of Dundonald's close friends. Twenty years before he had had an affair with the admiral's wife. On October 12 a commission was appointed, consisting of Sir Thomas Hastings of the Ordnance Office, J. Burgoyne and J. P. Colquhoun, to consider the war plans.[32]

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29. Dundonald to Jackson, July 6, 1839, DP 233/27/201.
30. Dundonald to Lansdowne, Nov. 17, 1838, May 6, 1839, DP 233/70/29/1; Dundonald, "Means of Counteracting the Destructive Effects of the New Ordnance Recently Adapted for the Defence of the Ports and Roadsteads of Continental Powers," June 18, 1839, DP 233/84/104.
31. Peel to Wellington, Aug. 6, 1844, Add. MSS. 40460, f. 244.
32. Dundonald to Haddington, Jan. 28, 1842, DP 233/73/2; Standard, Aug. 3, 1844; Scotsman, Aug. 7, 1844; memorial to the Queen, 1846, Select Committee, 14; Dundonald to Jackson, Aug. 4, 1846, DP 233/27/205B; Auckland to Dundonald, Aug. 20, 21, 1846, DP 233/70/29/1; Dundonald to Jackson, Aug. 15, 1846, DP 233/27/205B; Admiralty to Dundonald, Sept. 9, 1846, DP 233/45/XXVI; Dundonald to Admiralty, Sept. 10, 1846, ibid; Admiralty to Hastings, Oct. 12, 1846, DP 233/184.

Dundonald made light of the problems the commission raised about the practicability of his plans. The danger to the attackers was partly obviated by the smoke screen; both the smoke and sulphur vessels could be anchored, kindled and abandoned by their crews, or towed back and forth by steam tugs, and they could be preceded by explosion launches which would detract opponents from intercepting them to tow them away. Fifty tons of sulphur and 250 tons of charcoal would be sufficient to give the weapon a range of upto a mile. Although sulphur fumes were heavier than the atmospheric air, they were light enough to be blown upwards, and their gravity would enable them to resist dilution. The "lateral pressure" of the fumes would prevent "the atmospheric air inserting itself amongst the vapor or beneath the vapor, as in the case of ordinary smoke."[33]

It was essential, Dundonald contended, that the element of surprise be preserved. Were he a Commander in Chief charged with conducting an attack upon Cherbourg, the Earl stated that he would employ his vessels in routine blockade work for some time in order to reassure the enemy. "To this deception," he added with humour, "the English papers would contribute by clamouring for a younger admiral." Then, when a favourable and steady breeze arose, he would permit his officers to open their sealed instructions which would reveal to them the details of the smoke and gas attack. Once the batteries at Cherbourg were silenced and the passage between the breakwater and the Ile Pelee guarded, the enemy ships could be destroyed or driven ashore.[34] Such weapons, he added in January 1847, had been used in ancient times to attack Constantinople.[35]

The commission eventually reported on January 16, 1847. The smoke screen, it was believed, was valuable, and a specification of it should be lodged with the Admiralty. But the gas proposal, alone or combined with the smoke weapon, would require experimentation. "After mature consideration we have resolved that (it) is not desirable that any experiments should be made. We assume it to be possible that the plan no. 2 (gas) contains power for producing the sweeping destruction the inventor ascribes to it, but it is clear this power could not be retained exclusively by this country because its first employment would develop both its principle and application...We considered in the next place how far the

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33. Dundonald to Hastings, Dec. 15, 1846, DP 233/84/104.
34. Plans, Dec. 9, 1846, DP 233/84/104; memoranda, DP 233/82/85.
35. Hastings to Dundonald, Nov. 26, 1846, DP 233/45/XXVI; Dundonald to Hastings, Nov. 26, 1846, Jan. 19, 1847, ibid.

adoption of the proposed secret plans would accord with the feelings and principles of civilized warfare. We are unanimously of opinion that plans no. 2 and 3 (gas and smoke) would not be so. We therefore recommend that as hitherto, plans no. 2 and 3 should remain concealed."[36]

While he pursued this abortive campaign, Dundonald applied directly for the restitution of his honours and half pay. From Melbourne's last government he obtained nothing more than a good service pension in 1841, although he was one of the few officers who had not asked for it.[37] Peel's Tory administration, which replaced that of the Whigs, promised even less. In 1842 Dundonald was confronted with another impediment to his cause. On May 14 Haddington, the First Lord of the Admiralty, informed the Earl that the Cabinet could not support his application for the restoration of his honours because William IV, in 1832, had expressly insisted that this should not be done.[38] The rebuff succeeded in deterring Dundonald for two more years. Brougham, urging him forward, then authorized him to state that William IV had "only objected to the Bath being restored at the same time with your rank, and not absolutely and at all times," and that, in 1814, Cochrane's counsel, of whom Brougham had been one, "were clearly of opinion the verdict, as concerned you, was erroneous, and I always considered that you had sacrificed yourself out of delicacy towards your uncle, the person really guilty."[39] But, despite Brougham's assistance, Dundonald's efforts were unavailing. "I am quite tired and worn out with expectation and hope deferred," he confided to Jackson, "and feel ready to blow up the earth or do anything to free myself from a state in which I am so pressed and annoyed."[40]

Again it was a change of government which permitted further progress. Russell's first cabinet, which appointed the commission to examine the secret war plan, was formed in July 1846. The Earl of Minto, whom Dundonald respected, was Lord Privy Seal, Auckland went to the Admiralty, and Lansdowne and Hobhouse, both the Earl's friends, found places in the cabinet. Dundonald's aspirations were spurred by his receipt of a "delightful letter" from Auckland almost immediately after the latter's

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36. Committee to Marquis of Anglesey, Jan. 16, 1847, DP 233/45/XXVI.
37. Dundonald to Jackson, July 6, 1839, DP 233/27/201; Minto to Dundonald, July 1, 1839, Jan. 27, 1840, DP 233/45/XXVI; Dundonald to Minto, July 19, 1839, ibid; Dundonald to Melbourne, July 11, 19, 1839, ibid; Melbourne to Dundonald, July 13, 1839, ibid; Minto to Dundonald, Jan. 3, 1841, DP 233/73/2.
38. Haddington to Dundonald, Jan. 23, May 14, 1842, DP 233/73/2; Dundonald to Haddington, Mar. 25, Apr. 27, 1842, ibid.
39. Brougham to Dundonald, Mar. 29, 1844, Select Committee, 13.
40. Dundonald to Jackson, Aug. 8, 1844, DP 233/27/203; Dundonald to Peel, Sept. 1844, Select Committee, 12-13; correspondence of Peel with Dundonald and Haddington, Sept. and Nov. 1844, Add. MSS. 40551, ff. 111-117, 123-124.

appointment. "We shall now see what we shall see," the admiral told Jackson, "but it will not do to begin about our business before he has had time to turn himself about."[41]

While Hastings' commission deliberated over the war plans during the winter, Dundonald enlisted the help of Jackson to work upon public opinion. In February 1846 an Admiralty circular had invited officers to submit details of their careers as an official record, and the Earl's interest in autobiography had been rekindled. He established a profitable relationship with William O'Byrne, whose post at the Admiralty provided access to the government archives, and after sending an abstract of his career to the Board, he employed Jackson to expand the material. In April 1847 the result, Observations of Naval Affairs, was published. Dundonald's memory of his earlier years in the navy was failing, as his correspondence amply demonstrates at this time. Despite recourse to the naval histories of Brenton and James, some family papers and O'Byrne's material, the admiral's book contained many misconceptions and errors which escaped uncontested. Nevertheless, it portrayed an ill used but brilliant man, and explained the background to the current claims upon the government. Copies were distributed to old friends, such as Edward Ricketts and James Hoare (who was then living at Trafalgar Place, Stoke, Devonport), and to the influential. But, while the general comments upon the navy of 1847 elicited some response, Dundonald was disappointed as to the book's principal purpose. "The pamphlet," he said, "no doubt is still increasing the favorable opinion of the public but it has not yet produced any desired effect that I can learn in the quarter to which we must look for justice. Lord Lansdowne was with Lady Dundonald yesterday and spoke, she tells me, very feelingly as an individual, but said all his endeavours and those of Lord Auckland could not prevail over the reluctance hitherto manifested by others to take so decisive a step...He therefore told her that she would do well to see Lord Palmerston and others, which she proposes to do."[42]

Fortunately, Lansdowne underestimated the extent of his influence, for after he had visited Queen Victoria she promised, as her own act and without reference to the Cabinet, to grant the first vacant order of Bath to Dundonald. Consequently, on May 26, after the death of Admiral Sir D. Gould,

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41. Dundonald to Jackson, July 4, 1846, DP 233/27/205B; Dundonald to Jackson, July 2, 1846, ibid.
42. Dundonald to Jackson, May 4, 1847, DP 233/45/XXVI; Dundonald to Jackson, Apr. 27, Dec. 17, 1846, DP 233/27/205A; Jackson to Dundonald, May 22, 27, 1846, ibid; Dundonald, Observations of Naval Affairs...(1847); Admiralty circular, Feb. 1, 1846, DP 233/71/36. The remarks on the Coast Guard led to an amusing correspondence in Naval and Military Gazette and East India and Colonial Chronicle (April 10, 24, 1847) which included some retractions by Dundonald.

Dundonald was restored to the order of Bath with the rank of Knight Grand Cross. The installation occurred on July 12. "I wish this day was over," Dundonald admitted in the first of two letters to Jackson that day. "There are three knights of the Bath to be installed, a German prince, Sir Harvey Smith of Alewall and myself." The Queen was sufficiently tactful to forego the knighting ceremony in Dundonald's case, thus confirming the original ceremony of 1809, and two of the Earl's old opponents, Wellington and Ellenborough, came forward to congratulate him. "Wonders will never cease!" he wrote.[43]

No act could have been more publicly welcomed. Auckland had desired the restoration because he felt that it would have been inappropriate to employ Dundonald without such a gesture, and that the country might have need of his services. But the popular press and the public acclaimed the event an act of justice. Their interest, and the renewed confidence of Dundonald, were reflected later that year. The admiral offered himself as a candidate for a vacancy among the Representative Peers of Scotland. His announcement came too late, when most of the peers had promised support to others, but crowds travelled great distances to view the old warrior in the packed Holyrood Hall on September 8, 1847, when he appeared for the voting.[44] The restitution of the honours left Dundonald with but one goal, that of securing indemnification for his loss of half pay. To this task, he told Jackson the day after he had been installed in the order of Bath, he intended to devote himself.[45]

IV

Within a few days of the installation Dundonald visited Auckland at the Admiralty and consulted him about the prospects of recovering his arrears of half pay. There were no precedents to such a claim to smooth his path. Later the case of Sir Robert Wilson, who had been dismissed from the army in 1821 and restored to rank nine years later with a commission backdated to 1825, was cited. Wilson had, indeed, successfully applied for arrears in half pay. But he received an award for the five years following the date of his renewed commission, May 27, 1825, and not for the period which preceded it. When Dundonald had been restored to the navy, however, his commission bore the current date of

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43. Dundonald to Jackson, July 12, 1847 (2 letters), DP 233/45/XXVI, DP 233/28/206; Dundonald to Jackson, May 6, 8, 9, 1847, ibid; A. Woods to Dundonald, May 26, 1847, ibid.
44. R. V. Hamilton, ed., Letters and Papers of...Sir Thomas Byam Martin (1898-1903), III, 198-200; Nautical Standard and Steam Navigation Gazette, May 29, 1847; W. C. Taylor, "Memoirs of the Earl of Dundonald", Bentley's Miscellany (XXII, 1847), 1-5; Dundonald to Jackson, July 5, 1847, DP 233/28/206; Dundonald, To the Rt. Hon. the Elective Peers of Scotland (1847), DP 233/14; Caledonian Mercury, Sept. 9, 1847.
45. Dundonald to Jackson, July 13, 1847, DP 233/28/206.

1832, from which time he drew half pay as a matter of course. The case of Wilson, therefore, afforded no basis for Dundonald's claim to half pay for the years before 1832. Wilson himself had referred to the earlier case of Major H. Bristow, who had been removed from the army in 1823 for an alleged infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Act. In fact Bristow had not served abroad, but merely attempted to raise men for the Spanish constitutionalists. He was granted £1800 as the price of his commission in 1826 as compensation, but four years later he was reinstated in the army and applied for his back pay. The decision of 1826 had clearly been an error, and Bristow was required to pay £555.10.0. as the difference between his arrears and the £1800 which had been the cost of his commission.[46]

In his interview with Auckland, Dundonald found the First Lord formal. The matter, he was told, lay with the Treasury. "There," the Earl recorded, "the conversation paused and I shortly after resumed it by saying that it (the restitution of half pay) was a natural consequence of the gracious act of Her Majesty's to which he answered that he did not view it in that light. I see I shall have a battle for it but I am quite sure of success. You are dispirited. I am not, for with perseverence and a just cause the public feeling is sure to carry the point."[47] The matter came to a head earlier the following year. In January Auckland was persuaded to forward a petition of Dundonald to the Treasury, drawing attention to the admiral's distinguished services in support of it. The appeal became suddenly one of urgency. Returning from Portsmouth to London on the evening of January 3, 1848, Dundonald discovered a letter upon his table, dated the same day, offering him an appointment as Commander in Chief of the North American and West Indian station. It was, of course, an attractive proposition, but it thrust upon the Earl a financial crisis for on January 22 he was compelled to explain with embarrassment that he had not the means to equip himself for the command. Auckland eventually induced him to travel to Plymouth to hoist his flag aboard the Wellesley there, but the trip from and back to London cost him all but five shillings of his ready cash. "I can go no further without borrowing," Dundonald informed Jackson in despair, "and who will lend?"[48]

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46. Select Committee, v-vi, 17-22.
47. Dundonald, Aug. 3, 1847, DP 233/45/XXVI.
48. Dundonald to Jackson, Jan. 31, 1848, DP 233/28/207; Dundonald to Jackson, Jan. 4, 10, 13, 1848, ibid; Dundonald to Auckland, Jan. 22, 26, 1848, ibid; Dundonald to Jackson, Dec. 16, 1847, DP 233/45/XXVI; Auckland to Dundonald, Dec. 14, 1847, Jan. 3, 5, 16, 25, 26, 1848, ibid; Select Committee, 6-7.

The rejection of Dundonald's claim by the Treasury on February 3 was, in these circumstances, a crushing blow. Upon receipt of the news, the Earl resigned the appointment as Commander in Chief, much to Auckland's regret. Honour, rather than finance, Dundonald explained, lay behind his intransigence. "The case of Sir Robert Wilson," he complained, "who was accused of breach of military discipline, may have permitted his submitting without moral dishonor to a partial concession, but my circumstances admit of NO compromise. There is not any sacrifice I am not prepared to make in order to relieve my mind from the humiliation of acquiescing in any vestige of implication for the perpetration of fraud."[49]

Eventually, under pressure from Auckland and Lady Dundonald, the old Scot relented, and again took up the post. Seldom had an admiral undertaken so lofty a station in such distressing circumstances. He unsuccessfully applied to the Admiralty for the reimbursement of travel expenses worth £100, incurred in 1809; he sold most of his possessions, including a sword for £108, and barely managed to save his father's watch, a family heirloom; and he borrowed like a midshipman from a navy agent. Writing sadly to Jackson, he admitted that he had "not courage to commence on a larger piece of paper" for "I declare I know not now what to do. I have got half of my equipment on bills of nine months and yet I have not obtained all I require, so expensive is an outfit to keep a table and get clothes and things essential to the situation of a Commander in Chief."[50] When he finally departed for Devonport, it was "with a very, very heavy heart" and considerably in debt.[51]

Despite the unfortunate beginning to Dundonald's command, he seems to have enjoyed the three years which he spent abroad, and returned in 1851 with his finances to some extent repaired. Ominously, however, his head was full of expensive ideas for the exploitation of Trinidad bitumen, which he unsuccessfully promoted for some time. The necessity for continued pressure upon the British and Latin American governments to satisfy his financial claims therefore remained. No immediate opportunity to reopen the controversy with the Treasury occurred, but Dundonald advanced, step by step, to complete rehabilitation. Prince Albert, for example, in 1854 proposed that the admiral be elected a

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49. Dundonald to Admiralty, Feb. 6, 1848, DP 233/28/207; Auckland to Dundonald, Feb. 4, 1848, ibid; Dundonald to Auckland, Feb. 4, 1848, ibid; Dundonald to Jackson, Feb. 5, 1848, ibid; Auckland to Lady Dundonald, Dec. 7, 1848, Select Committee, 7.
50. Dundonald to Jackson, Mar. 4, 1848, DP 233/28/207; Dundonald to Jackson, Feb., Feb. 9, Mar. 3, 11, 1848, ibid.
51. Dundonald to Jackson, Mar. 14, 1848, DP 233/28/207.

member of Trinity House, and the same year the Earl became Rear Admiral of the United Kingdom.[52]

The outbreak of the Crimean War finally provided Dundonald, then 79 years old, with an opportunity to renew the campaign for his back pay. He applied for the Baltic command, but the government feared that he might employ his secret plans and appointed instead Sir Charles Napier, a younger man with an outstanding record. In explaining the decision to Queen Victoria, Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty, made a remarkable tribute to the aged admiral. Dundonald, he said, "though his energies and faculties are unbroken, and with his accustomed courage he volunteers for the service, yet on the whole there is reason to apprehend that he might deeply commit the force under his command in some desperate enterprise, where the chances of success would not counteract the risk of failure and of the fatal consequences which might ensue. Age has not abated the adventurous spirit of this gallant officer, which no authority could restrain; and being uncontrollable it might lead to unfortunate results. The Cabinet, on the most careful review of the entire question, decided that the appointment of Lord Dundonald was not expedient." Only when Napier failed to obtain results was there some regret. "There was a question of appointing Lord Dundonald, a far abler man," wrote Greville, "but he is seventy-nine, and besides, he made it a condition that he should be allowed to destroy Cronstadt by some chymical process of his own invention." Dundonald himself would not have approved of the argument about his age. "The unreasoning portion of the public," he told Graham, "have made an outcry against all old admirals (as if it were expected that they should be able to clear their way with a broadsword) but, my dear Sir James, were it necessary - which it is not - that I should place myself in an armchair on the poop with each leg on a cushion I will undertake to subdue every insular fortification at Kronstadt within four hours from the commencement of the attack."[53]

Failing to secure an appointment, the Earl, on July 22, 1854, offered his secret plans to Graham for use against Cronstadt, a fortification of formidable strength, explaining that Admiral Napier had agreed to permit him to supervise the attempt. Once again the proposals were submitted to

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52. Prince Albert to Dundonald, Nov. 26, 1854, DP 233/45/XXX; Dundonald to Graham, Oct. 24, 1854, ibid.
53. Graham to Victoria, C. S. Parker, ed., Life of Sir James Graham (1907), II, 228; L. Strachey and R. Fulford, ed., The Greville Memoirs, 1814-60 (1938), VII, 16; Dundonald to Graham, Nov. 11, 1854, DP 233/45/XXX.

a committee, this time consisting of Sir John Burgoyne and Admirals M. F. F. Berkeley, Sir William Parker and Sir Thomas Byam Martin. His proposals were similar to those tendered before, but they contained minor improvements. The smoke ships, Dundonald suggested, could be made unsinkable. They might be made of iron, or loaded with buoyant materials which would keep them afloat when pierced by shot. About this time Dundonald also considered that the safety of the attackers might be increased if the smoke ships, laden with coal and tar, or the sulphur ships, containing charcoal, coke and sulphur, were ignited from a distance by balls of potassium and naphtha floated upon the water. Thus the Earl continued to expand his chemical arsenal, groping towards the use of petroleum as an incendiary and, perhaps, to the rediscovery of "Greek Fire", a renowned weapon at the time of the Byzantine empire. He anticipated that his tactics would enable the British to capture Fort Alexander and two other fortresses at Constradt, the guns of which might then be turned upon the Russian fleet.[54]

Michael Faraday, with whom the plans were placed for an opinion, introduced doubts about the efficacy of the attack. He believed that the smoke ships would burn too slowly to produce a sufficiently dense screen, while the sulphur fumes, which were denser than the atmospheric air, might not attain a height of fifteen feet and would be diluted as they passed over the surface of the water. In view of the importance of Fort Alexander, a hundred foot tower, these criticisms were highly pertinent, and, with the obvious dangers the attack would pose for those entrusted with its execution, swayed the opinion of the committee. On August 9 it reported that the plan was "hazardous, unpromising of success, and by probable failure likely to bring discredit on the service..."[55] Dundonald was simply informed by Graham that it was "inexpedient to try the experiment in present circumstances."[56]

Three developments then played into Dundonald's hands. The first was the formation in February 1855 of a new government under Palmerston. The second was the stubborn and costly resistance of the Russians at Sebastopol and the apparent inability of the orthodox forces to make progress. Finally, public opinion, fed by the Earl's letters to the press, began to clamour for the use of the secret plans as a speedy means of achieving victory. Although

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54. Dundonald to Graham, July 22, 1854, DP 233/45/XXX; Graham to Dundonald, July 26, 1854, ibid; memoranda, 1854, DP 233/84/104; memoranda, 1854, Add. MSS. 41370, ff. 321-331; C. Lloyd, "Dundonald's Crimean War Plans", M.M. (XXXII, 1946), 147-154.
55. Committee to Admiralty, Aug. 9, 1854, Add. MSS. 41370, ff. 356-362; Faraday, observations, Aug. 7, 1854, ibid, ff. 334-336; ibid, ff. 346-351.
56. Graham to Dundonald, Aug. 15, 1854, DP 233/45/XXX. Dundonald's disappointment is evident in his reference to Berkeley, Parker and Martin as "the three old Grannies of Admirals" (Dundonald, Oct. 30, 1854, DP 233/189/2/21).

the nature of Dundonald's weapon was unknown - it was speculated that it might be some kind of overwhelming explosive - there was widespread faith in the admiral. A member of the Court of Common Council of London suggested the establishment of a public subscription to finance a Dundonald expedition; a committee of Edinburgh citizens demanded a public meeting to discuss the subject; one Captain Bosanquet offered his services to the Earl and a personal donation of £500 towards outfitting the venture; and even in the fleet off Sebastopol there was some support. "Is it not the proper moment, therefore," urged the Morning Herald, "to let loose against the enemy that gallant and distinguished veteran flag officer, the Earl of Dundonald, with all the engines of destruction that he can bring to bear upon the Russians? There is the greatest confidence in the ability of the noble Earl to achieve that which he says he can do and this confidence is felt by many professional men who are slow to believe in the possession of efficiency of such a power and would rather storm Cronstadt than make use of Lord Dundonald's appliance."[57]

In March 1855 Dundonald wrote to Brougham, explaining that he could not permit the government to squander men storming Sebastopol when his plans would gain them possession of the fortifications at small cost. "Ought the remainder of our troops to be sacrificed?" he asked. "Armies may be lost, or fleets disgraced, whilst our rulers are deliberating on the measures to be pursued. What ought to be done, my dear Lord?"[58] As a result of Brougham's efforts, Palmerston's government expressed interest in the plans, which Dundonald himself offered to execute. A new committee was appointed, of which Lord Playfair and Dr. Thomas Graham, the eminent scientists, were members, and in the summer they issued the most competent report to date.[59]

The gas attack was sound in theory. One pound of sulphur would produce 12 cubic feet of sulphureous acid and render 15,000 cubic feet of air untenable. In the same volume of air in which a quarter of a pound of sulphur was burned "some could respire...for several minutes and all by

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57. Caledonian Mercury, Apr. 26, 1855; The Times, May 23, 1855; C. Reed, "What is Lord Dundonald's Plan?" Notes and Queries (XI, 1855), 443; Stephenson to Dundonald, May 4, 1855, DP 233/78/35; Acting Committee to Dundonald, July 18, 1855, DP 233/45/XXX; Bosanquet to Dundonald, July 19, 1855, Goldsmith to Dundonald, June 19, 1855, ibid; clipping from Morning Herald, ibid.
58. Dundonald to Brougham, Mar. 17, 1855, DP 233/45/XXX.
59. Dundonald to Palmerston, Feb. 13, Apr. 8, 1855, DP 233/45/XXX; Brougham to Dundonald, Mar. 17, 1855 (2 letters), ibid; Palmerston to Dundonald, Apr. 6, 1855, ibid; Dundonald to Jackson, Mar. 21, 1855, DP 233/28/212; Dundonald to Playfair, May 2, 1855, DP 233/184; W. Reid, Memoirs and Correspondence of Lyon Playfair, First Lord Playfair of St. Andrews (1899), 159-161.

making use as a respirator of a folded towel frequently moistened in water. Any exertion causing deep and full respirations would, however, have been impossible..." It was calculated that 75 tons of sulphur was capable of rendering untenable a square mile upto a height of 100 feet. Moreover, the efficacy of the weapon was emphasized by a fire at a Newcastle warehouse on October 6, 1854, in which a quantity of sulphur had exploded and emitted fumes into the neighbouring area, prostrating scores of people. Others had fled, The Times reported, "as before an earthquake", leaving several dead. Lingering in the air for days was a thick, bluish-yellow smoke with "a deadly stench." The one flaw which the Committee uncovered in the plan was in total contradiction to Faraday's reservations of the previous year. The relatively dense gravity of the sulphur fumes would not counteract their tendency to rise because of the ascent of the heated air, and released at long range they were likely to pass above a target. Furthermore, in strong winds they would quickly dilute. "In conclusion, then," the committee reported, "we consider that Lord Dundonald's plans, as submitted to us, offer a reasonable prospect of success when sulphur vessels can be brought within a distance of 100 yards which his Lordship considers attainable but that beyond this distance the presumption is against success."[60]

Both the Secretary for War, Lord Panmure, and Palmerston were tempted. "What would you say to try Dundonald's scheme on the Malakoff?" Panmure asked General James Simpson, in command at Sebastopol. "It might answer." A few weeks later Palmerston told his Secretary for War, "I agree with you that if Dundonald will go out himself to superintend ... the execution of his scheme, we ought to accept his offer and try his plan. If it succeeds, it will, as you say, save a great number of English and French lives; if it fails, in his hands, we shall be exempt from blame, and if we come in for a small share of the ridicule, we can bear it, and the greater part will fall on him. You had best, therefore, make arrangements with him without delay, and with as much secrecy as the nature of things will admit of."[61]

This decision, however, had been made too late, for in September Sebastopol was captured, and although Dundonald suggested that his plan might still be directed against Cronstadt the war came to an end in 1856.

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60. Report of the Committee, 1855, DP 233/184; Dundonald to Playfair, Aug. 29, 1855, DP 233/45/XXX.
61. Panmure to Simpson, July 20, 1855, G. Douglas and G. D. Ramsay, ed., The Panmure Papers (1908), I, 305-308; Palmerston to Panmure, Aug. 7, 1855, ibid, I, 340.

Another half century passed before the admiral's proposals were again placed before the government, by Dundonald's grandson, and by then the weapon had been developed in Germany.[62] Dundonald, who had hoped that the plans might have paved the way for the reconsideration of his claims for back pay, was over 80 years of age when the Crimean war ended, but he had lost none of his determination. Instead, he summoned his remaining energies for what he knew would be his final effort to vindicate himself.

V

During his last years the admiral's health began to deteriorate, and in 1860 a number of operations were necessary. Every relapse was viewed with suspicion. "I am far from being well," Dundonald wrote seven months before his death, "and fear that this is the beginning of the end."[63] He needed medicine constantly, for depression, gout, rheumatism, pains in the bladder, piles, diarrhoea and other ailments, admitting, "I am evidently getting weaker and weaker." In these circumstances, correctly predicting that he would not live to witness the final outcome of his work, Dundonald gave himself to one last attempt to obtain his half pay and rehabilitate his character.[64] Further appeals to the government, he reasoned, would not in themselves achieve these aims. "No administration," he said, "ever will do me justice by reason of my firm adherence to an early promise I made from the Hustings that I never would support party measures, or any measures which I did not judge to be for the Public interest."[65] Public opinion would have to be rallied, and it could be done by the publication of an official autobiography. "I have no doubt," Dundonald's son was informed, "but that I will get from the Government by force of public opinion all my arrears of pay, the rascally fine imposed by the Court of the King's Bench, and I feel a conviction also the amount of such a pension as was bestowed on others who did less for their country."[66]

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62. Dundonald to Palmerston, Jan. 11, Feb. 9, 1856, DP 233/45/XXX; Palmerston to Dundonald, Jan. 1, 1856, ibid; Dundonald to Wood, Jan. 8, 1856, ibid; Wood to Dundonald, Jan. 9, 1856, ibid. In 1914 and 1915 the 12th Earl of Dundonald put the plans to Winston Churchill, then at the Admiralty, who established a committee to conduct experiments. Churchill attended the trials and anticipated employing the smoke screen against the German lines on the Continent or in the Dardanelles. The gas attack, however, breached the principles of the Hague Conference of 1899 and was rejected. Untroubled by such compunctions, the Germans launched the first major gas attacks in modern history in 1915. W. S. Churchill, The World Crisis (1938); DP 233/167; DP 233/168; DP 233/184.
63. Dundonald to Jackson, Mar. 20, 1860, DP 233/190.
64. Dundonald, August 7, DP 233/14; Dundonald to Earp, Apr. 23, DP 233/67/17; prescription book, DP 233/189/4.
65. Dundonald, c. 1854, DP 233/189/2/5.
66. Dundonald to Lord Cochrane, Sept. 4, 1859, DP 233/14.

William Jackson, in whom the Earl reposed complete confidence, had long been his ghost writer. With Jackson at his elbow, Dundonald had need of no other, and in 1846 declined offers by Marryat, whom he sometimes met at the Admiralty, to act upon his behalf.[67] But when the Earl began his autobiography Jackson was beset by troubles of his own. He had lost an able son, who, after a railway accident, had become mentally ill and been placed in an asylum; he was, in 1862, in a debilitated, bedridden condition, unable to move but short distances without sticks, and suffering from lung and heart complaints; and he was embarrassed by a mortgage on his property at Long Clawson, Melton Mowbray. Dundonald tried to help. "Though I am hard pushed by an unthinking family," he said, "I shall endeavour to relieve you from the loss threatened by a sale of your property - let me know the amount you require."[68]

With Jackson incapacitated, the Earl looked elsewhere for literary assistance. "A Mr. Earp," he told Jackson in 1857, "the person who arranged Admiral Napier's defense (if so I may call it), is anxious to be entrusted with the operation but I cannot work with a stranger or place myself in his hands." George Butler Earp had written books on Australasia and concocted, in a scant three months, a vindication of Napier's Baltic campaign. He offered to edit Dundonald's papers at his own expense, a condition to which the Earl objected, and an agreement was eventually negotiated by which Earp would fund most of his expenses but receive ten per cent of any sums which the books might secure from the government. He began work, and quickly inspired confidence: "there is not another man in these Kingdoms - judging from the experience when I could rightly form an estimate - who would or could effect what I feel confident he can do," Dundonald wrote.[69]

In 1862 Earp gave a description of his methods which is substantially accurate. His "general Practise in writing that Book was to write it from his Documents, not from his Words, because I frequently found his Memory fail of late Years. I wrote it from his Documents, and in general he made very little, if any, Alteration; he was quite content with it." Nevertheless, Earp engaged Dundonald in lengthy conversations, and the admiral read through the work, suggesting such amendments as occurred to him. Searching through books and documents in the British Museum, the Admiralty and the Naval Club library, and corresponding with friends or

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67. Dundonald to Minto, June 18, 1839, DP 233/70/29/1; Dundonald to Jackson, May 19, 1846, DP 233/27/205A.
68. Dundonald to Jackson, DP 233/29/216; Jackson to Cochrane, July 16, 1855, DP 233/28/212; Minutes of Evidence, 97-102.
69. Dundonald to Lord Cochrane, Aug. 31, 1859, DP 233/14; Dundonald to Jackson, June 8, 1857, DP 233/28/213; Earp to Dundonald, Jan. 8, 1857,

acquaintances of the Earl, Earp gathered additional material, not all of it reliable. One informant, John P. Beaven, for example, furnished some dubious particulars of the Stock Exchange affair of 1814, but he had been only fifteen at the time and transmitted the surprising information that Lord Ellenborough had presided over Cochrane's trial while he was a cabinet minister.[70]

Dundonald wanted to provide a definitive and accurate statement of his life upon which he could base his financial claims upon the British, Chilean and Brazilian governments. "I am anxious," he told Earp, "that the work shall go before the Public with as few errors as possible."[71] But, despite this, the product was misleading. Sincere as Dundonald generally was, he had seldom been capable of seeing more than one side of a question, and the project reflected the purpose for which it was partly designed. Earp wrote as a partisan, developing at length the portrait of a brilliant but misused man who had deserved better. Unfortunately, he was also careless, writing in haste and employing his material both clumsily and injudiciously, and while Dundonald and Jackson corrected some of the mistakes the process was inhibited by the Earl's failing health. "I have been again under the Doctor's hands," he wrote Earp one day, "and am suffering great pains - consequently am impatient, perhaps unreasonable. It would be a very great consolation could I look over the last three chapters to see in what manner the former course has been superseded with the hope that my mind could thereby be relieved from some part of its heavy load. I am scarcely able to hold my pen, my hand trembles so."[72] It was between such bouts of sickness that Dundonald endeavoured to revise his scribe's material. "My dear Mr. Earp," he wrote jubilantly in June 1860, "I feel much better today, so if you have any questions to ask, or anything for my perusal, pray let me see you as early as convenient, for I may get tired, being still so weak."[73]

In 1858 and 1859 appeared the two volumes of Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru and Brazil, published by James Ridgway. "It is my intention," Dundonald informed Edward Ellice, "if God spares my life, to follow these by others describing my experience in the British Navy and also in that of Greece, in which I hope to do justice to the disinterested patriotism which ranks you amongst the best friends of that

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DP 233/67/17; Dundonald to Earp, Jan. 26, 1857, DP 233/67/18.

70. Minutes of Evidence, 86-87; Dundonald to Jackson, Aug. 22, 1859, DP 233/29/216; Earp-Beaven correspondence, DP 233/84/100.
71. Dundonald to Earp, DP 233/67/18.
72. Dundonald to Earp, Sept. 19, DP 233/67/18.
73. Dundonald to Earp, June 11, DP 233/67/18.

country."[74] There were, however, delays in the appearance of succeeding volumes. "The necessity of great care in drawing up the criticism on the (Gambier) Court Martial and the charts," Dundonald wrote, "has prolonged the work, which, when it is completed, will astonish the world. The villainy is not exceeded by the Star Chamber, Jeffries, Titus Oates or all the doings in the Reign of the Stuarts."[75]

When the first two volumes of Autobiography of a Seaman, covering Dundonald's career upto 1814, were finally published in 1859 and 1860 by Richard Bentley they were an immediate success. But the projected sequel did not appear. On the evening of October 30, 1860 the admiral was residing at the home of his eldest son, 12 Queen's Gate, Kensington, and seemed in as good health and spirits as a man of eighty-five might reasonably expect. But during the ensuing night he was struck by one of his periodic illnesses, and at one o'clock the following morning died, after a few hours of pain, in the arms of his son. For some time there was a strong sense of public bereavement, and an elaborate funeral at Westminster Abbey on Wednesday, November 14, drew large crowds. Both were, in part, testimony to a widespread conviction that Dundonald had been innocent of the Stock Exchange fraud and to the recognition of his services. The Earl's books and the sense of loss at his death at last succeeded in mobilizing the national opinion which, as the old warrior had anticipated, made possible his final victory.[76]

VI

The publication of the family biography - completed in 1869 by two further volumes entitled The Life of Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, by H. R. Fox Bourne and the 11th Earl of Dundonald - consummated the rehabilitation of Dundonald's character. His innocence was generally accepted and his achievements internationally applauded. More surprisingly, his career was spared an impecunious end. Admittedly, the wealth immediately bequeathed by the admiral was scant enough for one who had twice possessed a fortune, but within twenty years the legacy proved to be profitable.

Dundonald's will had originally been made out in December 1859, but he reserved his signature for a more auspicious date, and the eventual

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74. Dundonald to Ellice, Dec. 17, 1858, NLS E7, f. 34.
75. Dundonald to Jackson, Feb. 2, 1860, DP 233/190.
76. 11th Earl of Dundonald to A. Burdett-Coutts, Nov. 6, 1860, DP 233/16; 11th Earl to E. Marjoribanks, Nov. 6, 1860, ibid; 11th Earl, undated letter, ibid; press cuttings, DP 233/45/XXX; file of some 120 letters requesting one or more tickets to the abbey funeral service, DP 233/71/32.

endorsement read, "Given under my trembling hand this the 21st of February 1860 - the anniversary of my ruin." The Countess Dowager received some investments in the French funds, furniture and plate at Boulogne and elsewhere, and £6000 of the money awarded by Brazil. Dundonald's heir, Thomas, was left with nothing more substantial than an unremunerative share in the Trinidad bitumen plant, the ruins of Dundonald castle, and a share, with his three brothers, in any monies paid by Latin American governments. The claims upon the British government for arrears in half pay, however, were willed to Douglas, Dundonald's grandson, who was in direct succession to the title. Finally, the Earl wished his friend, Jackson, to receive £100, and his servant and cook, Sarah Stevens, £50 and an annual pension of £10. In a final will of August 16, 1860 Dundonald repeated these stipulations, but cut in Earp for 10 per cent of any sums awarded against the claims upon various governments. Certainly, the legacies appeared thin, but in time the admiral's campaign reached posthumous fruition. Brazil generously paid £38,000 in 1875, and three years later a parliamentary committee recommended the settlement of the British claim, and Douglas, Lord Cochrane, received £5000 as compensation for the 10th Earl's loss of half pay. The act was not simply a financial windfall; it amounted to yet another public vindication of Dundonald's character.[77]

The Earl's campaign for rehabilitation was, in many ways, a microcosm of the man's career as a whole. Scarcely conforming to the stereotype of the miserly Scot - Dundonald was naturally a generous man - he had been driven into difficulty by his family responsibilities and his love of science and technology; he had construed his case as a crusade for justice; and he pursued his objectives with uncompromising energy and determination, using every resource at his command, unable to accept defeat. Eventually his persistence triumphed. Materially the Dundonalds were not left wealthy placed beside families of comparable standing, but if they were modest in means they were also high in honour. The most valuable possession bequeathed by the 10th Earl to his descendants was the lustre of his name.

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77. Dundonald's will, Feb. 21, 1860, DP 233/177; Lord Ellenborough, The Guilt of Lord Cochrane in 1814 (1914), 315-316; Grimble, op. cit., 381.

CONCLUSION

The career of Lord Cochrane was one of extremes. It shifted erratically from success to failure and from wealth to poverty, and by 1818, when he was over forty years of age, it had completed its first circle. Cochrane inherited a bankrupt if distinguished title, his only patrimony his father's gold watch.[1]. Relatively late, at the age of seventeen, he entered the navy, one of the few suitable outlets, with the knowledge that upon his efforts would rest his career and the future of the once great House of Dundonald.

Promotion in the Royal Navy depended less upon money than "interest", and Cochrane advanced rapidly under the sponsorship first of Captain Alexander Cochrane, his uncle, and later of Admiral Lord Keith, a friend of the family. In 1801 he became a post captain after only eight years in the service. For Cochrane, however, promotion never came fast enough. Because the list of captains was long, and promotion to flag rank was by seniority, only those who had received an early promotion to the rank of post captain were likely to become admirals. Cochrane's dissatisfaction with the promotion system was sown during his first years in the navy. He attributed the frustrating delays in his progress to the Admiralty's satisfaction of those with borough interest, and his subsequent difficulties in obtaining the promotion of his officers, Parker and Haswell, reinforced his opinion. He believed that if promotion were placed in the hands of the serving officers, who supervised naval operations, merit was more likely to be rewarded.

While Cochrane's grievances simmered, he served with distinction in 1800 to 1801 and 1805 to 1809 successively as commander of the Speedy, Pallas and Imperieuse, capturing or destroying nearly 200 enemy ships, forts, batteries or signal stations. The success was not the product of chance. Cochrane conscientiously collected or moulded choice crews, disciplined and drilled them in continuous action, and developed their confidence in scores of engagements. He improvised methods by which the fire power of his ships could be increased, prepared attacks and calculated risks with remarkable precision, and trained his men to operate under batteries and in confined waters. Cochrane's own qualities, his seamanship and his

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1. Autobiography, I, 49.

leadership, audacity and aggression, his energy, resourcefulness (especially with unorthodox weaponry) and mastery of surprise tactics helped to make his ships first class battle units. With acute strategical insight, he operated off the Spanish and French coasts in 1808 and 1809, distinguished himself in the defence of Rosas and materially impeded the French attempts to control Catalonia; and in 1809, at the Aix Roads, he defeated the French fleet in one of the last battles of the naval war.

Nevertheless, Cochrane was a restless and insubordinate officer, whose individuality was unamenable to discipline. His outspoken attack upon Admiral Gambier, after the action in the Aix Roads, probably secured his reputation as a troublemaker with the Admiralty. Cochrane's lack of employment at sea after 1809 reflected both his temperament and his genius. Dissatisfied with the pedestrian prosecution of the war, he urged the Admiralty to wage a vigorous coastal offensive against the French, and proposed that they destroy enemy naval power with ship mortars and poison gas attacks which he had invented. Twice he was offered a command, in 1810 and 1812, but refused to accept either; unable to serve according to his own dictates, he chose not to serve at all. The decisions were unfortunate, since they deprived the service of a talented officer and directed Lord Cochrane from the life to which he was most suited. In 1814 he was, finally, given a ship, but his conviction for a fraud on the Stock Exchange prevented him from taking it to sea.

Cochrane's naval career had been outstandingly successful. It gave him an international reputation and a fortune in prize money. The latter enabled him to purchase the estate of Holly Hill; on the Hamble, and to enter Parliament intent upon reforming naval abuses. Characteristically, Cochrane's experiences with the Admiralty prize courts had left him further complaints. The prize court administrators, he claimed, exorbitantly siphoned away the profits from ships captured by the navy, and the abuses were permitted because they rewarded the supporters of corrupt governments. Cochrane believed that unless conditions of service were improved and the incentives from promotion and prize money increased, the navy would be inefficient. Between 1807 and 1813, as M.P. for Westminster, he campaigned for improvements

in ship safety, victualling, leave and methods of payment. He attacked the greed of the prize courts, and argued for the establishment of limits to the length of naval service and for increases in the funds available for the Greenwich Hospital pension system. The lack of success which attended these efforts was partly the result of Cochrane's indifferent parliamentary tactics. His material was often carelessly composed, his language intemperate, and he provoked opposition by transforming his complaints into personal attacks upon individuals, especially Lord St. Vincent.

Cochrane's election as member for Honiton (1806) and Westminster (1807) brought him into contact with the movement for radical economical and parliamentary reform. Influenced principally by Cobbett and Burdett, he found ready explanations of many of his naval grievances in the radical rhetoric which depicted the Tories and the Whigs as place-seekers, willing to employ sinecures, places and pensions to control Parliament for their own ends. Cochrane agreed that such activity undermined the balance of the ancient constitution, and constituted a threat to the liberty and property of the people. The abolition of pensions, sinecures and places; the election of independent and incorruptible men to the House; the purification of the electoral process; and a measure of parliamentary reform would diminish the ability of the parties to control the Commons, and would place government in the hands of those who would handle the affairs of state in the interests of the nation. Nevertheless, as a naval officer, Cochrane fitted uneasily into the radical camp, and it was not until 1812 that he was adopted by Samuel Brooks's Westminster Committee, which sponsored the return of reform candidates, and then largely because they could not find a substitute strong enough to run against him.

It was Cochrane's conviction for fraud in 1814 which intensified his involvement with the reformers. Embittered at the government, but fortified by his electors and by public opinion, he became the most energetic of the radicals in parliament between 1816 and 1818. Unfortunately, his efforts to bring pressure upon the House in favour of reform, at a time when unrest among the artisan and labouring classes alienated many of the middle class, the Whigs and reformers, were counter-productive and failed. The political adventures of Lord Cochrane from 1806 to 1818, when he resigned his seat, were as futile as his naval career had been successful.

The conviction for fraud, possibly an unjust verdict, was a severe blow to Lord Cochrane. He managed to retrieve his parliamentary seat and public credit, but he lost his honours, regular income and livelihood, and in 1817 he was compelled to sell his estates. At the age of forty-three Cochrane was again without financial security. Inevitably, he went abroad, as a free lance admiral, and returned after Grey's Whig administration had taken office with his finances restored and a world-wide fame. Although he was pardoned in 1832 and reinstated in the navy, he once again dissipated his fortune, and by 1848, when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the North American and West Indian station, he was in penury. Cochrane, therefore, pressed financial claims upon the governments of Brazil, Chile and Britain. He regained his honours in 1847, and thirty years later he was posthumously awarded by the British government £5000 as compensation for the half pay he had lost in consequence of his dismissal from the navy in 1814. These acts, and the public belief in the admiral's innocence of the fraud, were Cochrane's final victories. Financially, his legacy was modest - if substantially greater than that bequeathed by his father - but he had expunged the stigma of his conviction and brought lasting lustre to the Cochrane name. When Garibaldi's aide visited England in 1860 he requested an interview with "the bravest seaman of modern days". Thirteen years later a statue, the first of several memorials, was erected to his memory at Valparaiso, and in 1901 the Brazilian ambassador and personnel of the Brazilian warship Floriano performed a ceremony at the admiral's grave in Westminster Abbey as testimony to "the first pilgrimage from our continent to the tomb of the South American Lafayette."[2]

Lord Cochrane's naval career had been unusually successful, and it was the basis of his financial security. Ashore, as a parliamentarian and promoter of important but unprofitable technical projects, he managed to lose all that he had gained at sea. In this respect he was prey both to his personality and his fascination with engineering and chemistry.

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2. W. de Rohan to Dundonald, Sept. 21, 1860, DP 233/5/57-60; E. R. Mery, Lord Cochrane (1953); Brazilian Tribute to Lord Cochrane, June 28, 1901 (1901).

The financial aspects of Cochrane's career have been emphasized. It has sometimes been assumed that his interest in money arose from intrinsic selfishness. James Paroissien, who met Lord Cochrane in South America, considered him

> "the most careless, unmethodical man I ever knew, promises everything and performs nothing. He appears only to be anxious about making money. Avarice and selfishness do certainly appear to form the ground-work of his character and from his speculative disposition he is often in great want of money to obtain which he is not so scrupulously exact in his word as every man ought to be, particularly a man of his rank and station. Not a day passes but brings some proof of this unfortunate selfish disposition..."[3]

In fact Cochrane was naturally a generous man, often in need of money because it slipped easily through his fingers. His material circumstances were also unstable. For most of his life he felt insecure: upto 1805, between his dismissal from the navy in 1814 and his service for Greece in 1827, and after 1846, when he had squandered a fresh fortune made abroad. The sources of his difficulties have been explored. Irregularities in income; parliamentary, engineering and industrial activities; the accumulation of property; and the claims of the family and title all made important contributions. Inevitably, Cochrane invites a comparison with his father. Both hoped to restore prosperity to the family. The 9th Earl of Dundonald "improved" his estates and launched novel industrial projects, but failed; his son twice succeeded, using his naval talents, and twice threw the fruits away, partly because of his interest in science and technology. Both died without estates or houses, having frittered away vast sums of money.

Both of the Earls were prisoners of the spirit of their times. After the Act of Union, increased contact with the more prosperous English aristocracy may have imparted to many of the Scottish lairds a sense of inferiority which sharpened the rising expectations generally held of the peerage. At the same time a growing economy and the Scottish "Enlightenment" encouraged the development of estates, expanded industrial horizons and stimulated scientific and technological enquiry. Men searched for new possibilities. The Dundonalds were

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3. R. A. Humphreys, Liberation in South America, 1806-1827: The Career of James Paroissien (1952), 82-83. Significantly, Paroissien revised part of his opinion. Shortly afterwards he wrote, "What a pity this man, who certainly does possess the elements of a hero is so extemely avaricious!" (ibid, 93).

parties to these trends. They tried to maintain the dignity of a once powerful house, mixing with social equals whose wealth was greater, but their resources were inadequate for the task. Undoubtedly, many other peerages suffered similarly, but probably few were borne down so completely after such travail.

The 9th Earl of Dundonald inherited little spare income, but, recognizing the value of the mineral resources at Culross, gambled his property upon the prospects of "improvement". But mining was expensive, and inventions such as his coal tar process demanded considerable private investment to be brought to a state in which they might command the attention of financiers. Before Dundonald had been issued with his first patent, creditors were agitating for the sale of Culross. Like many entrepreneurs, Dundonald raised money through loans, first from friends and relatives, and then from financiers. Businesses as seriously mortgaged as Dundonald's were usually impatient for profits. Coal tar could have been profitable, operated initially upon a small scale and extended according to demand. The product was a new one, and needed time to prove its value. It had many uses, and the cost of the raw materials, which were plentiful, was partly offset by the sale of by-products. But in his enthusiasm, Dundonald miscalculated the market. Financing large scale production across the country by further loans, he grossly outstripped demand. The Earl exemplifies not only the entrepreneur in a hurry, but also the amateur, lacking a head for business.

Dundonald's problems - credit and management - were not uncommon. Substantial capital was difficult to find. Dundonald's major financiers, Arthur Cuthbert, an East Indies merchant, and Keith Stewart, receiver general for Scotland, proved to be unsatisfactory. The obvious recourse was to lease to capitalists, who would finance and manage his concerns for a return. This tactic was widely employed by landlords developing their mineral resources, and would have eased the burdens on Dundonald, but he seems to have been reluctant to surrender any control of his affairs and did not lease his mines until he was on the brink of bankruptcy. It is worthy of note that the Earl had to go as far as Newcastle to find suitable lessees. The British Tar Company was financed disastrously from loans, and the management was partly in the hands of Dundonald and his brothers.

Learning his lesson, the Earl leased his promising alkali process to capitalists. His fears that an Act of Parliament which prohibited more than five people from operating a patent would obstruct him were groundless. Only four lessees appeared, Lord Dundas, Aubone Surtees, William Wood and William Reynolds, and the former had little ready money. Nevertheless, the alkali process did well enough until Dundonald began to hamstring it by looking for money to save Culross.

The 10th Earl might easily have travelled the same road, since he invented apparatus as soon as he had money to spend. He was more of an engineer than a chemist, but inherited his father's talent and engaged the leading minds of his day, including those of Congreve, Brunel, Stephenson, Faraday, Graham and Playfair.[4] William Walker depicted Cochrane in one version of his famous engraving, "Distinguished Men of Science".[5] Before 1818 Cochrane's resources were not seriously affected by his technological enquiries. Improvements in gas lighting limited the prospects of his oil lamp, but the invention, managed sensibly by Samuel Brooks, paid for itself. Only after Cochrane returned to England in 1830 did he ruin his credit in the interests of steam locomotion.

What appeared to many as mere material selfishness in the Dundonalds was produced by the interplay of social and economic factors: the financial misfortunes of the family, the increased expense of maintaining status among the aristocracy, and the currents released by the industrial revolution and the renaissance in science and technology. Its origins lay in pride, an abundance of energy and talent and in intellectual curiosity, and it waxed and waned according to circumstance.

It does not appear that the 9th Earl was ever accused of dishonesty in his search for money. The most serious charge levied against Lord Cochrane, his alleged participation in the fraud on the Stock Exchange in 1814, is beyond proof or disproof. Those who

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4. For example, Brunel's diary for May 20, 1833 contains notes on Dundonald's steam engine. It can be consulted in the library of the Institute of Civil Engineers, London. I am indebted to Paul B. Clements, author of Marc Isambard Brunel (1969), for this information.
5. L. Cust, The National Portrait Gallery (1901-1902), II, 110-112. Walker pictured 48 scientists in the Library of the Royal Institution.

have argued his guilt must necessarily impute to Lord Cochrane a second fraud, since for many years he laboured to convince the government of his innocence as a basis for claims for compensation. This ill fits the reputation for integrity which he enjoyed among his close associates.

Cochrane's veracity was also occasionally challenged, the fate, perhaps, of most public men. For example, at the hustings during the election campaign of 1807 he seems to have first denied and then admitted a family connection with Lord Melville. On the other hand, Cochrane's opinions, while often eccentric and ill considered, seem to have been generally sincere. He made unsupported attacks upon political adversaries, convinced of the truth of his allegations. Alexander Galloway, the radical engineer, once aptly summarized Cochrane's political qualities for John Cam Hobhouse:

> "I need not tell you that he always feels strongly both with regard to men and things and he is generally incautious in his expressions and his communications on these matters. He always believes what he says to be true and so far as intention goes he is always honest although not always correct. He is admirably great on the quarter deck, but wholly unfit to steer the political vessel surrounded by the collisions of party and equal(ly unfit) to judge of the materials of which they are composed if he embarks his own feelings into the contest."[6]

Recently, Cochrane has been charged with political corruption.[7] In this respect only two allegations bear examination, both concerning Cochrane's earliest political efforts. At worst they might demonstrate that Cochrane had not then imbibed the new radical principles so fully as to discount the traditional practises of his time. Lord Cochrane stood at Honiton in June 1806 and Westminster in May 1807 upon a platform of free elections, and he seems to have abided by his promises in those contests. The points raised against him relate to the Honiton election of November 1806 and an alleged intervention in the Grampound election of the following year. Nothing more need be said of the first (see p. 178), for which Cochrane had his own explanation.[8] The other is an equally obscure affair, detailed in

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6. A. Galloway to J. C. Hobhouse, July 5, 1825, Add. MSS. 36461, ff. 151-155.
7. A. D. Harvey, Britain in the Early Nineteenth Century (1978), 224-225.
8. Autobiography, I, 180-181, 203-204.

a letter written by Joseph Childs to Lord John Russell some time before the borough of Grampound, in Cornwall, was disfranchised for corruption in 1821.[9] In May 1807 Cochrane's uncles, Andrew Cochrane-Johnstone and George Cochrane, were returned as members for the notoriously rotten borough of Grampound. The former was unseated in March 1808 for corruption and replaced in May by William Holmes. According to Childs, Lord Cochrane assisted his uncles in 1807 by transferring one of the electors, John Hore, a seaman, to his ship, the Imperieuse, presumably to improve his prospects. Hore was then given "unlimited leave of absence" by Cochrane to attend to the "business and entertainments of the election" at Grampound. Having done so, Hore returned but met Cochrane in the street. The captain would not let him aboard, even to recover his chest of clothes, but sent him home, informing him that he would be summoned when required. By this time, Hore afterwards learned, Cochrane had registered him as a deserter and confiscated his belongings. Just before a subsequent election "some years" later, Hore opposed the Cochrane interest, and his home was raided on an Admiralty warrant. It was suggested that the Admiralty had been notified of Hore's whereabouts. Some of the seaman's friends complained of the treatment of Hore to Childs, but Hore and his colleagues were, by some "means", deterred from cooperating with further enquiries.

It is impossible, without Cochrane's version, to reach a conclusion on this matter. Superficially, the allegations are baffling. The muster-books of the Imperieuse show that Hore was transferred from the Penelope to the Imperieuse on June 11, 1807, and appeared on board nine days later. This was not only a month after the Grampound election had taken place, but when the frigate was commanded by Captain Alexander Skene in Cochrane's stead. Skene held the post between April 9 and August 18, 1807. Hore was discharged by Cochrane at Plymouth on August 23, although it can hardly have been for the purpose alleged by Childs. By January 1808 Hore had indeed been marked as a deserter. But it is difficult to see why Cochrane should have done so if his purpose was to keep Hore in the Cochrane interest. Deserters were proscribed by the Admiralty, who could have traced Hore to Grampound at any time from the muster-book. The objective of using Hore would have been better met by

9. Copy of Joseph Childs to Lord John Russell (undated), Bodleian Library, MS. English History, b. 197, ff. 71-81.

advancing him on board ship. It is at least possible that Hore invented the story to account for his own failure to report for duty, and that when his friends reported it to Childs, who was willing to have the affair raised in the Commons, Hore became alarmed and refused to cooperate.[10]

Harvey's opinion that Cochrane was "a frondeur, opposing the powers that be, by fair means or foul, out of resentment for their treatment of him personally, and disgust at their manifest weakness, while all the time himself partaking of the vices he denounced in the system of which he was a part" is unnecessarily severe. Cochrane, like most protesters, worked from personal experience, and he was certainly vindictive to those he supposed to be the authors of his grievances. But there is no doubt that he was capable of sympathy for the afflicted, and that he could vigorously champion their cause to his own disadvantage. He had proved that before setting foot in Parliament. Although the point is far from established, it is possible that Cochrane was not consistent to radical principles in 1806 and 1807. Evidently he found them attractive, but they were new to him and his commitment to them was probably slighter than his determination to enter Parliament to reform naval abuses. Cochrane's interest in parliamentary reform deepened over the years and was gradually translated into more positive action.

It is as an admiral that Cochrane is largely remembered. He was a man of action par excellence, combining the talents of leader, tactician, seaman and engineer with the qualities of courage, energy, shrewdness, ingenuity and aggression. His weakness, the arrogant, headstrong and restless nature, made him insubordinate and wayward; he was unhappy in blockade or convoy work. But when the enemy was in sight, he was unsurpassed.

Cochrane's efficiency reflects the advantages which the Royal Navy possessed over other fleets. Command of the sea enabled British captains to develop the skills of seamanship and gunnery which were the cornerstones of their battle supremacy. So superior was the Royal Navy in this respect that officers like Howe, Nelson and Duncan abandoned the old "line ahead" tactics for close quarter melees which exhibited British gunnery to the fullest advantage. As Nelson once said, "no captain can do very wrong if he places his ship alongside

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10. Imperieuse muster-books, Adm. 37/1457-1458.

that of an enemy."[11]

The remarkable victories of Lord Cochrane over the Spanish El Gamo and the French Minerva vindicate the confident aggression of such abler commanders. They could not have been won against opponents of comparable efficiency. Nelson's other legacy to the British fleet was his idea that the annihilation of an enemy force was the principal object of battle. Cochrane fully endorsed this view. It caused him to criticize Admiral Gambier and, more significantly, the conduct of the naval war after 1809.

Cochrane's plans of 1810, 1811 and 1812 are an interesting comment upon Britain's war policies. The blockade of the enemy coasts and seizure of colonies and ships may have protected British economic interests but gave inadequate assistance to allies fighting the French in Europe. The "maritime strategy" helped provide subsidies, but ccalition after coalition against France collapsed. The few raids that were mounted by the British were isolated, and failed to divert sufficient enemy strength from other fronts. More distressingly, perhaps, the Royal Navy could not even suppress the French coastal trade; and the enemy fleet was being rebuilt in ports all over the Continent.

Some tactical difficulties obstructed the adoption of a more positive policy. Combined operations were difficult to co-ordinate, and the French ports were powerfully defended, their ships largely inaccessible. It was generally assumed that vessels were safe in major harbours, where they were supported by fortifications, shoals, dockyard facilities and armed forces ashore. Nelson had tried to coax his adversaries out of Toulon with "open" blockades, and had been defeated attacking Santa Cruz de Teneriffe and Boulogne. An inferior Danish fleet had given him the hardest battle of his career at Copenhagen.[12] Cochrane's defeat of the French in the Aix Roads in 1809 and Pellew's reduction of Algiers in 1816 were rare occasions.

More than any other officer, Cochrane tried to show the Admiralty a way forward. He wanted a sustained and active campaign

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11. Paul M. Kennedy, The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery (1976), 127.
12. Dudley Pope, The Great Gamble (1972).

against enemy coasts to divert armies ashore, the seizure of close bases from which to harass commerce, and attacks upon warships sheltering in harbours. He believed that his new weaponry - explosion vessels, ship mortars and gas attacks - could virtually destroy French naval power. Of course, his optimism was excessive. Cochrane's experiments were not always successful. Explosion ships helped defeat the French fleet in 1809, mines were used by Cochrane to disperse a Portuguese fleet in 1823, and his steamer, the Perseverance, proved her value in Greece. But Cochrane achieved little with Congreve rockets in Spain in 1808 or in Peru in 1819, and most of the steamships he helped to build were unsatisfactory.

The Admiralty rightly treated Cochrane's proposals with caution, but his foresight is significant. Napoleon Bonaparte, Nelson and Wellington fought with the weapons of the eighteenth century. Cochrane stands out because he anticipated the transformation which warfare was to experience at the hands of the scientific and technological revolution. In his work are glimpses of the weapons of the future: rockets, steamships, mines, ironclads, gas attacks and even aerial propaganda.[13] Cochrane's appreciation of the most radical of these suggestions, chemical warfare, expanded throughout his life. The poison gas weapon was devised in 1811; a smoke screen was added in 1838; and by 1854 he was considering the use of petroleum as an incendiary. Of the moral implications of his discoveries, he wrote: "No conduct that brought to a speedy termination a war which might otherwise last for years, and be attended by terrible bloodshed in numerous battles, could be called inhuman, and that the most powerful means of averting all future war would be the introduction of a method of fighting which, rendering all vigorous defence impossible, would frighten every nation from running the risk of warfare at all."[14] Whatever their propriety, these remarks herald the modern age.

Cochrane possessed a practical intelligence, ideal for solving tactical and technical problems but less impressive in the realm of abstract ideas. His political analysis was shallow. He accepted without criticism the tenets of Burdettite radicalism, but to his

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13. Autobiography, I, 201.
14. C. C. Lloyd, "Dundonald's Crimean War Plans", M.M. (XXXII, 1946), 147-154, p. 154.

colleague's concern about taxation and the infringements of public liberty, Cochrane added conditions in the navy. Like Burdett, he too readily saw remedies in a restoration of the balance of the constitution, but Cochrane's radicalism spilled into social reform. Improvements in ship repair, victualling, shore leave and pensions and the introduction of limits to naval service were all part of his platform. Cochrane recognized that these schemes would cost money, but he was prepared, in the interests of the seamen, to condemn "false economy".

Some members of the Westminster Committee probably found Burdett's radicalism tepid, but they left him untroubled, submitting to his prestige. Cochrane's penchant for naval reform was little appreciated, but he endorsed Burdett's views, and his standing with the crowd made him a difficult man to unseat. After a weak attempt to discipline Cochrane in 1812, the Westminster Committee allowed him a free hand. This deference, which earned the Committee the hostility of Cobbett and Hunt, was reinforced by the social status of the two Members for Westminster. Politics was still, to a large extent, in the hands of the aristocracy. On May 18, 1807 Colonel John Elliott was chanted from the hustings with the cry, "Off! Off! Let us have no small beer brewer as a Representative."[15]

Burdett himself may have underestimated the revolutionary potential of his programme. He advocated economical reform, electoral purity and a taxpayer suffrage. This would have diminished the ability of the King to influence the legislature through his ministers and emphasized the importance of Parliament. Simultaneously, free elections and francise reform would have led to more seats being contested upon issues, rather than bribes, and the return of candidates identifying with the opinions of the electorate. Taken together, such developments portended a more fundamental reformation of society than Burdett anticipated, and after 1816 the potential increased with the widespread distress and subscription to universal suffrage, annual parliaments and the secret ballot.

Before the end of the French wars the achievements of Burdettite radicalism were modest. Neither of the members for Westminster built up a following in the House, and the popular cry for reform outside was intermittent. Only briefly, in 1807, 1809 and 1810, was

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15. Clipping, May 19, 1807, Add. MSS. 27838, f. 171.

public enthusiasm kindled. In the post-war years, however, the radicals cultivated a national movement, and Cochrane, their principal parliamentary spokesman in 1817, was an indispensable figure in the campaign. The reform agitation of the 1790's was surpassed, but with an identical result, alarm, reaction and repression. John Stevenson aptly points the moral. The radical "problem was to make the most of popular support, while avoiding giving the Government an opportunity for repression and alienating 'respectable' opinion."[16] If the reformers failed to rally public opinion, their cause was dismissed by Parliament. If they excited too great a clamour they were suppressed. Although parliamentary reform, as demanded in 1817, was far beyond the toleration of the House, the radical activity before 1820 was not futile. It educated many throughout the country to see in reform a panacea for their sufferings, one which would be raised as regularly as the misfortunes of the economy. Gradually governments realized that they could not indefinitely postpone an issue which commanded such persistent and vociferous support.

Cochrane's criticism of naval administration was ineffective. His diagnoses were not always accurate. In the case of promotion, Cochrane believed that the Admiralty assigned commissions according to borough interest, and that merit was insufficently rewarded. He complained that the ability of serving officers to reward effort had diminished. It was true that all Admiralty appointments owed something to "interest", and that many captains and admirals assisted meritorious but uninfluential personnel. Captain Alexander Cochrane advanced John Larmour, Lord Keith assisted Philip Beaver, and Lord Cochrane fought for Parker and Haswell. But it was the captains who controlled the flow of aspirants to the quarter-deck, and who swamped the lower ranks with their relatives and friends at the expense of others. Alexander Cochrane and Keith's efforts on behalf of Lord Cochrane are testimony to this practice, and even Cochrane himself took protégés on board: his brother Archibald in the Speedy, and Marryat, Cobbett, Stewart and Napier in the Imperieuse. It would be difficult to establish that the Lords of the Admiralty, many of whom, like Sandwich and St. Vincent, made a stand against unfair appointments, were capable of grosser

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16. J. Stevenson, Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870 (1979), 189.

partiality than that shown by the captains and admirals on behalf of their friends and relations. Lord Cochrane's criticism may have been valid, but he found no remedies.[17]

Cochrane's turbulent personality undermined his ability to evaluate and profit from political circumstances. His fearless and outspoken impetuosity made him inept in dissimulation; his view that opposition was founded upon malice or corruption, his suspicion, and his sense of justice fed the fierce partisanship which marked his campaigns; and the determination with which he pursued enemies - especially St. Vincent, Gambier and Ellenborough - amounted to persecution. As late as 1842 he tried to raise Gambier's incompetent handling of the fleet off Aix Roads with the Admiralty.[18]

It is easy, in the light of much tactless and foolish behaviour, to forget the other qualities Cochrane displayed, his warmth, loyalty and concern for justice. Those who expected the fiery zealot were surprised by his shy and gentle manner. Hobhouse found him "a mild, very gentleman-like, agreeable man," and Charles Greville described him as "a fine fellow...so shrewd and good humoured." To S. G. Howe he appeared "warm and affectionate," and to Finlay "lively and winning in manner." Redding discovered him to be "a remarkably plain, quiet, fine young man, wholly unassuming."[19]

He was a tall man, above six feet in height, powerful but lanky, and a slight stoop and sailor's walk gave him an awkward appearance. In his prime his hair, except for reddish side whiskers and eyebrows, was blonde, but it became snow white in later

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17. J. A. Sullivan, "Nelson and Influence", M.M. (LXII, 1976), 385-386. Five of Sandwich's dockyard appointment books, containing some 300 applications, exist. Only 13 candidates advanced political arguments in favour of their applications, and 9 of these were unsuccessful. Master Shipwrights with a political patron rose no more quickly than those devoid of influence. See R. J. B. Knight, "Sandwich, Middleton and Dockyard Appointments", M.M. (LVII, 1971), 175-192.
18. Correspondence of Dundonald and Haddington, 1842, DP 233/45/XXVI, DP 233/83/99; DP 233/73/2.
19. P. Napier, Revolution and the Napier Brothers, 1820-40 (1973), 181; Lady Dorchester, ed., Lord Broughton's Recollections of a Long Life (1909-11), II, 96; L. Strachey and R. Fulford, ed., The Greville Memoirs, 1814-60 (1938), I, 399; L. E. Richards, ed., Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe During the Greek Revolution (1907), 250; G. Finlay, A History of Greece (1877), VI, 420; C. Redding, Fifty Years' Recollections (1858), I, 148.

years. He was fair complexioned and freckled, and his expression, as his portraits confirm, suggested benevolence.[20] Despite an athletic frame, Cochrane's constitution was delicate, and he was frequently ill.[21] He dressed conservatively, normally appearing, when ashore, in "grey pantaloons" and a "frogged great coat."[22] Perhaps the most pleasing portrait of Lord Cochrane was given by Miss Mary Mitford, who saw him at Cobbett's Botley home. He was then, she wrote, "in the very height of his warlike fame, and as unlike the common notion of a warrior as could be. A gentle, quiet, mild young man, was this burner of French fleets and cutter-out of Spanish vessels, as one should see in a summer day. He lay about under the trees reading Seldon on the Dominion of the Seas, and letting the children (and children always know with whom they may take liberties) play all sorts of tricks with him at their pleasure."[23]

Probably Cochrane's most evident characteristic was his tenacity. He relished battle on land or sea, and was never without an adversary or a cause. Adversity and age did not deter him, and as a veteran of more than eighty years he shunned the idea of a peaceful retirement. Cochrane remained a fighter to the end.

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20. Cochrane to Dundonald, June 15, 1798, DP 233/105/22(12); E. B. Billingsley, In Defence of Neutral Rights (1967), 61; S. Bamford, Passages in the Life of a Radical (1967), II, 20; M. Graham, Journal of a Residence in Chile (1969), 39-40, 150; The Champion, Mar. 12, 1815; G. E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage (1916), IV, 530. A lock of Cochrane's hair is preserved in DP 233/189.
21. PR, Aug. 31, 1816, XXXI, 257.
22. The Times, Mar. 22, 1815.
23. E. G. Twitchett, Life of a Seaman (1931), 155.

Appendix I

THE COCHRANE FAMILY, 1758-1860

Thomas, 8th Earl of Dundonald

Thomas, 8th Earl of Dundonald, was born about July 23, 1691 and died at Lamancha, Peebles, on June 27, 1778. He married twice.[1]

(1) Elizabeth Kerr (daughter of J. Kerr and Grizel Cochrane) about 1721. She died in 1743. There were two children by the marriage.

(i) William, b. about 1722, d. Sept. 17, 1730.
(ii) Grizel, b. July 11, 1727, d. spring 1778.[2]

(2) Jane Stuart, September 6, 1744. Born about 1722, she was the eldest daughter of Archibald Stuart of Torrance, Lanarkshire, and died at the house of her son Basil in Portman Square, Middlesex, March 21, 1808.[3] By this marriage there were the following children.

(iii) Elizabeth, b. Edinburgh, baptized Aug. 16, 1745, d. Feb. 19, 1811. She married Patrick Heron (1775).

(iv) Argyle, b. 1746, d. Dec. 21, 1747.[4]

(v) Archibald, b. Jan. 1, 1748,[5] d. Paris, July 1, 1831. The Ninth Earl of Dundonald.

(vi) Charles, b. Jan. 12, 1749, d. New York, Oct. 18, 1781. He married Catherine Pitcairn.

(vii) John, b. July 3, 1750, d. 3.00 a.m. Nov. 21, 1801 in Harley Street, London. He married a Miss Birch in 1801.[6]

(viii) James Atholl, b. Oct. 1751, d. Mar. 1823.[7]

(ix) Basil, b. Holyrood Palace, Apr. 22, 1753, d. Aug. 14, 1826. He married Caroline Gosling (1812).

(x) Thomas (died young).

(xi) George (died young).

(xii) Alexander Forrester Inglis, b. Apr. 22, 1758, d. Paris, June 29, 1832. He married Maria Shaw, widow of Captain Sir Jacob Wheate (1788).[8]

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1. Unless otherwise indicated, details are drawn from K. Parker and J. Anderson, Pedigree of the Cochranes... (1908); K. Parker, "Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald", J. B. Paul, ed., The Scots Peerage (1906), III, 334-368; J. Burke, Burke's...Peerage (1967), 868-871.
2. W. Nairne, Answers for Alexander Stuart of Torrence, Andrew Stuart and Others... (Edinburgh, July 27, 1784) NLS 5378, ff. 173-183.
3. Material on Jane can be found in Adam Smail, "A Noble Scottish Lady and Her Friends, Being some Letters of Jane, Countess of Dundonald", typescript from The Scots Magazine, DP 233/112/4.
4. Note in DP 233/123. This genealogy is sometimes inaccurate.
5. NLS 8277, f. 21.
6. Dundonald to Lord Cochrane, Nov. 21, 1801, DP 233/105/A23(19).
7. Copy of Newlands Parish Registers, DP 233/112/4; Gent's.Mag. (1823), 281.
8. J. Marshall, Royal Navy Biography (1823), I, 257-266, gives the birthdate

(xiii) George Augustus Frederick, b. Nov. 26, 1762, d. 1831.[9]

(xiv) Andrew James, b. Belleville, May 24, 1767, d. Paris, 1833. He married Georgiana, daughter of the third Earl of Hopetoun (1793) and, secondly, Amelia Etienette, daughter of Baron de Clugny, Governor of Guadeloupe, and widow of Reymond Godet of Martinique (1803).[10]

Archibald, 9th Earl of Dundonald

Archibald Cochrane, the 9th Earl of Dundonald, married three times, as follows:

(1) Anna Gilchrist (second daughter of James Gilchrist and his wife, Anna), October 1774.[11] Her father was a distinguished naval officer. A post captain in 1755, he retired from the service after his left arm had been injured in the capture of the Danae in the North Sea in March 1759. Captain Gilchrist lived at Annsfield, Hamilton parish, Lanarkshire, and was a burgess and Guild Brother of Edinburgh. He died in 1777.[12] The Countess of Dundonald died at Brompton, Middlesex, Nov. 15, 1784.[13] She gave the Earl seven children.

(i) Thomas, b. Dec. 14, 1775 at Annsfield, d. Oct. 31, 1860, 12 Queen's Gate, Kensington. The Tenth Earl of Dundonald.

(ii) Anne, b. Annsfield, Mar. 10, 1777, d. young.

(iii) James Gilchrist, b. Culross, Sept. 22, 1778, d. young.

(iv) Basil, b. Culross, Dec. 17, 1779, d. May 14, 1816.

(v) William Erskine, b. Culross, Mar. 20, 1781, d. March 16, 1871. He married Mary Ann Manson.

(vi) Archibald, b. Culross, Nov. 4, 1782, d. Aug. 6, 1829. He married Hannah Jane Mowbray, daughter of Arthur Mowbray of Sherburn Hall, Co. Durham (1812).

(vii) Charles, b. Culross, May 7, 1784, d. young.

(2) Isabella Raymond (daughter of Samuel Raymond of Belchamp Hall, Essex), London, Apr. 12, 1788. She was the widow of John Mayne of Teffont, Wiltshire, who had died on Dec. 24, 1785. There were no children by the marriage, and Isabella died in December 1808 at Belchamp Hall.[14]

(3) Anna Maria Plowden (daughter of Francis Plowden), Fulham, April 1819. She died in Hammersmith, Middlesex, Sept. 18, 1822. By this marriage, Dundonald had one child.

(viii) Dorothy, b. March 1820, d. Oct. 3, 1830.

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as April 23, 1758.

9. Note, DP 233/123.
10. NLS 9049, f. 57; Jackson diary, Feb. 4, 1834, DP 233/65/10-12.
11. The date is usually given as October 17. Gent's. Mag. (XLIV, 1774), 494, says October 7.
12. DNB, VII, 1220-1221.
13. Gent's. Mag. (LIV, ii, 1784), 878; John Cochrane to Robert Rolland, Nov. 16, 1784, DP 233/105/A7.
14. NLS 8353, ff. 160-161; NLS 8277, f. 154.

Lord Dundonald had also an illegitimate daughter, Janet, who married Major Thomas Woodhall, and, on June 8, 1807, Sir George Tuite. She died on February 21, 1845.[15]

Thomas, 10th Earl of Dundonald

Lord Cochrane had one wife, but he married her three times. Katherine Barnes, born about October 1796, was the daughter of Thomas Barnes of Romford, Essex, and his wife, Frances. Her mother, the daughter of James Corbet of Bridgnorth, Salop, and Mary Whitehouse, boasted descent from the family of Sir Vincent Corbet, who had been created a baronet in 1642. Katherine's parents died when she was young, and the girl became a ward of her godfather, Thomas, 2nd Earl of Clarendon, and of Lady Charlotte Villiers. She received some schooling at Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, and in 1812 was living at 9 Bryanston Street, Portman Square, Middlesex, in the care of an aunt, Mrs. Jackson, whose husband kept a stationer's shop in Oxford Street.[16]

Cochrane, who lodged at the time with his uncle nearby, was introduced to Katherine by his cousin, Captain Nathaniel D. Cochrane. The girl was still a ward, but Cochrane proposed marriage and both Katherine and her guardian, Mrs. Jackson, assented. It appears that Katherine's decision was influenced by a message she had received from Lord Cochrane, who, when ill, had desired her to pass his window in Portman Square that he might see her.[17] The marriage, however, was not to Cochrane's pecuniary advantage. Katherine had little money, and the sailor's uncle, Basil, had promised his nephew a handsome legacy if he found a suitable wife. Consequently, Cochrane determined that his marriage to the propertyless ward would be a secret. He gave Mrs. Jackson a written promise to marry Katherine (whom he called "Kate" or "Mouse"), and eloped with her in a hired post chaise on August 6, 1812. The couple was accompanied by Lord Cochrane's servants;

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15. Parker, op. cit., 362; W. Hamilton to Dundonald, July 13, 1797, DP 233/105/B11.
16. Burke, op. cit., 640-643; Cochrane to Jackson, Oct. 8, 1846, DP 233/27/205B; memorial of Dundonald, DP 233/175/2/6. The details of the marriage are largely drawn from Minutes of Evidence, 56-83, 117-125; Report of the Evidence of the Countess-Dowager of Dundonald (1862); declaration of the 10th Earl of Dundonald, June 30, 1860, copy in DP 233/186. P. C. Standing, "Katherine Frances, Countess of Dundonald", Chamber's Journal (7th Series, II, 1912), 653-656, purports to have used unpublished documents, but contains nothing new.
17. There are several references to this illness. "Lord Cochrane, Basil

Richard Carter and Ann Moxham.[18]

During the journey Cochrane pointed out landmarks from the coach, eventually announcing that they had crossed the border into Scotland. "He said, 'Mouse, we are over the Border.' He said, 'Here we are, over the Border now, and nothing but God can separate us.' I think he said, at the same Time, 'You are mine now, and you are mine for ever,' and he snapped his Fingers in that way as Scotchmen do when they are pleased."[19] On August 8 they arrived at the Queensberry Arms lodging house at Annan, Dumfriesshire, not far from Gretna. Inside Cochrane wrote a note, acknowledging Katherine as his wife and stating his desire to "avoid a public Marriage". She signed a declaration, also written by Cochrane, accepting him as her husband, and it was witnessed by the servants.[20] Then, when Moxham and Carter had left, Cochrane danced the hornpipe before hurrying home to attend his uncle's wedding on August 13, 1812.[21] Katherine returned to Middlesex with the servants, lived with her aunt until August 18 and then went with Lord Cochrane to a cottage on the Isle of Wight.

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and William dined with us yesterday," wrote a family friend. "The former looking very ill indeed, the others well." Letter to T. J. Cochrane, Feb. 12, 1812, NLS 2264, ff. 192-193.

18. Carter had been an Able Seaman on board the Arab in 1803. He remained in the captain's service until his death at Valparaiso in 1819. Cochrane to Croker, June 1810, Adm. 1/1658, f. 340; declaration of Joseph Carter, DP 233/185. Katherine recalled that Lord Cochrane "was extremely fond of Dick." Minutes of Evidence, 59. Moxham entered Cochrane's service in 1812 and left it the following year. Subsequently she used the name Ann Beckett, and died of cancer in St. George's Hospital, London, in 1833. Declaration of Ann Beckett, Feb. 1847, DP 233/185.
19. Minutes of Evidence, 59.
20. Report of the Evidence of the Countess-Dowager of Dundonald, 5.
21. Basil Cochrane married Caroline Gosling, widow of the Reverend S. Lawry. Basil entered the civil service in 1767 and two years later joined the East India Madras Civil Establishment. He was made responsible for collecting grain supplies for the army and for managing the districts of Nagore, Negapalam and Karrical. One of his employees, Vydenadah, was accused of stealing grain and secreting accounts, and Cochrane had him imprisoned and flogged. He died a few days later, on November 9, 1783. Cochrane was acquitted of murder in 1787 and restored to the service, becoming manager of the Guntoor Circar for Fhuzelly 1200. Again controversy followed him. Cochrane was alleged to have used injudicious methods in collecting revenues from the Zemindars. Some of his servants appear to have obtained sums without authorization, and they were accused of attrocities. One Goontepelly Lambanah seems to have been imprisoned, starved and given 75 lashes on Cochrane's orders. In discussing reports by the Board of Revenue upon these events, the authorities remarked, "We have, in former instances, marked our disapprobation of Mr. Cochrane's intemperate behaviour, and we consider him to have acted very improperly in

Before the captain left for South America to head the Chilean fleet he placed his marriage upon a more formal footing, believing that if he was killed in action the former ceremony might be questioned. Accordingly, on June 22, 1818 a church ceremony was held at Speldhurst, Kent, Cochrane being described as a "bachelor" and Katherine as a "spinster" for the occasion. Finally, on October 18, 1825, at Edinburgh the couple were married again, according to the forms of the Church of Scotland. Sir Robert Preston, a relative of Lord Cochrane, had stipulated the ceremony as a condition he would demand for passing Culross, which he owned, back to the Dundonalds. Such a transfer, however, did not take place.

Although Cochrane always spoke well of his wife, Katherine was not entirely faithful to him. In 1825 and 1826 she had a brief affair with Lord Auckland, who bestowed small presents upon her, and before 1839 the Countess left England to live apart from her husband.[22] She died at Boulogne on January 25, 1865, having provided Cochrane with several children.

(i) Thomas Barnes, b. 13 Green Street, London, Apr. 18, 1814, d. 4 Hyde Park Place, London, Jan. 15, 1885. The Eleventh Earl of Dundonald.[23]

(ii) Horatio Barnardo William, b. Mar. 8, 1818, d. Feb. 6, 1900. He served in the 92nd Gordon Highlanders and married Frances J. Nicholson, Oct. 29, 1844.

(iii) Elizabeth Josephine, b. Chile, Mar. 6, 1820, d. Mar. 21, 1821.[24]

(iv) Katherine Elizabeth, b. Dec. 9, 1821, d. Florence, Aug. 25, 1868. She married John Willis Fleming, Feb. 27, 1840. Im

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treating Goontepelly Lambanah with unusual severity, how much-soever it might have been deserved, without a previous reference to your Board." Letter to the Board of Revenue, Nov. 24, 1792, NLS 5375, ff. 79-80. A canal which Cochrane projected from Ennore to Madras was opened in 1803. Four years later Basil returned to England, where he published An Improvement in the Mode of Administering the Vapour Bath (1809). W. Anderson, The Scottish Nation (1864), II, 101-102; notes by D. Hooper, DP 233/102/84, citing H. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800 (1913); NLS 5375, ff. 70-75, 95-96; NLS 8456-8462.

22. Katherine to Auckland, May 14, 1824; 1825 (two letters); Apr., May 8, 1826, Add. MSS. 34459, ff. 397, 430-433, 439-440, 443; I. Grimble, The Sea Wolf (1978), 332, 334. Cochrane wrote in 1839 that his wife had "not resided here for years." Cochrane to Guthrie, May 6, 1839, Guthrie Papers, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
23. Baptism Record, DP 233/185.
24. Parker gives the date of death as March 21, 1821. Katherine told Guthrie that her daughter had died in February. Katherine to Guthrie, Oct. 9, 1821, Guthrie Papers, National Maritime Museum.

1844 he succeeded to the estate of Stoneham Park, Hants., valued at £14,000, but the marriage was not successful and the couple separated in 1847.[25]

(v) Arthur Auckland Leopold Pedro, b. Sept. 24, 1824, d. Aug. 20, 1905. He entered the Navy in 1840 and after a distinguished career became Commander in Chief of the Pacific station, 1873-1875.[26]

(vi) Ernest Grey Lambton, b. June 4, 1834, d. Feb. 2, 1911. In 1847 he entered the Navy and saw varied service thereafter, twice being mentioned in despatches while aide de camp to Sir Harry Jones in the Crimean War, and reaching the rank of commander. He married Adelaide Blackwall, Sept. 15, 1864, and later Elizabeth Doherty of Red Castle, Donegal, Oct. 16, 1866. Ernest retired to Red Castle and served as a J.P. and High Sheriff. He had nine children.

Thomas Barnes, 11th Earl of Dundonald

Thomas Barnes Cochrane enlisted with the 66th Foot, served in Canada and China, and rose to the rank of captain in the army. Between 1879 and 1885 he was a representative peer for Scotland. Inheriting some of his father's interests, the 11th Earl patented inventions in hydro-carbons and the extraction of oil from bituminous substances. He was, it appears, fairly successful, for at his death he held estates of 2000 acres and over £7000. His wife, Louisa Harriett Mackinnon, whom he married on December 1, 1847, was the wealthy daughter of William and Emma Mackinnon, and died on February 24, 1902. The couple had several children.[27]

(i) Louisa Katherine Emma, b. Sept. 1, 1848, d. Aug. 10, 1942.

(ii) Alice Laura Sophia, b. Sept. 8, 1849, d. Dec. 8, 1914.

(iii) Thomas Alexander, b. Apr. 10, 1851, d. July 25, 1851.

(iv) Douglas Mackinnon Baillie-Hamilton, b. Oct. 29, 1852, d. Apr. 12, 1935. The Twelth Earl of Dundonald.

(v) Elizabeth Mary Harriett, b. June 22, 1854, d. Mar. 30, 1951.

(vi) Esther Rose Georgiana, b. Feb. 15, 1856.

(vii) Thomas Horatio Arthur Ernest, b. Apr. 2, 1857, d. Jan. 17, 1951. Created 1st Baron Cochrane of Cults (1919).[28]

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25. Cochrane to T. J. Cochrane, Oct. 2, 1844, NLS 2285, ff. 211-222; Cochrane to Jackson, Dec. 10, 1847, DP 233/28/206.
26. Arthur and Ernest are treated in Who Was Who, 1897-1916 (1920), 145. There the date of the former's death is given as Aug. 27, 1905.
27. Cochrane, Feb. 15, 1848, DP 233/45/XXVI.
28. Burke, op. cit., 593.

Appendix II

THE CAREER STRUCTURE OF THE ROYAL NAVY, 1793-1815

One of the obvious features of the Hanoverian Navy was the extent to which it reflected the structure of English society. The commissioned officers, who commanded the ships, were generally men from a gentle social background, the peerage, the landed gentry and the professional classes; a group of senior warrant officers, the master, surgeon, purser and chaplain, usually lacked the social status of the commissioned officers, but possessed some formal education and, perhaps, financial backing; and the sailors, whose lot it was to handle the ships and guns, were from the humbler uninfluential classes. This hierarchy was reinforced by the living quarters of the ship. Commissioned officers and major warrant officers lived aft, and they were privileged to walk the quarter deck, while the rest of the company slept forward and performed duties on the lower decks. It was this arrangement which occasioned the description of the navy popular in the merchant service, "Aft the most honour, forward the better man!"[1]

Inevitably, the pay structure shows a similar differentiation. The annual pay received by various ranks in 1815 given below includes the allowances awarded some officers in compensation for the loss of servants in 1794. It reflects both post and rank, the pay of an officer depending also upon the type of ship in which he served.

Landsman	£14.12.6.
Ordinary Seaman	£16.11.6.
Able Seaman	£21.15.6.
Boatswain/Gunner	£62. 9.0. to £85. 4.0.
Carpenter	£62. 9.0. to £98. 4.0.
Master's Mate	£34. 2.6. to £49.14.6.
Surgeon's Hospital Mate	£109. 4.0.
Master	£93. 6.0. to £175. 4.0.
Surgeon	£179. 8.0. to £313.16.0.
Midshipman	£26. 6.6. to £36. 1.6.
Lieutenant	£120.12.0. to £129.14.0.
Captain (6th rate, c. 200 men)	£309.12.0.
Captain (1st rate, c. 800 men)	£783. 8.0.
Admiral	£823. 0.0. to £2857. 0.0.[2]

1. O. Warner, A Portrait of Lord Nelson (1958), 23.
2. M. Lewis, A Social History of the Navy, 1793-1815 (1960), 293-313. See also J. Masefield, Sea Life in Nelson's Time (1973); G. J. Marcus, Heart of Oak: A Survey of British Sea Power in the Georgian Era (1975).

Prize money, the proceeds from the sale of captured enemy merchantmen, was distributed unequally amongst the captors. Before 1808 the captain received three eighths of the prize money available to the captors, but one of his eighths might be claimed by his admirals. Lord Mulgrave reformed the distribution in 1808, transferring to the bulk of the ship's company one of the captain's eighths, and leaving him one quarter of the prize money, a third of which might be taken by flag officers. The division, however, still accorded the captain the greatest share.[3]

The captain or captains	$\frac{1}{4}$ *
Captains of Marines, sea lieutenants, master and physician; equal shares in	$\frac{1}{8}$
Lieutenants of Marines, secretary of admiral, principal warrant officers, master's mates, chaplains, equal shares in	$\frac{1}{8}$
The rest of the ship's company, equal shares in	$\frac{1}{2}$

* Admirals might claim one third of the share

Few men from humble origins became commissioned officers. The initial selection was made by the captains, who were empowered to appoint the midshipmen. While captains occasionally promoted men of merit from the lower deck, they normally had relatives, friends or the protégés of the influential available for vacancies.[4] Once a midshipman had sufficient experience at sea he might apply for an examination which would qualify him as lieutenant, the most junior of the commissioned ranks. Thereafter his promotion would be a matter for the Admiralty, and it would reflect the "interest" he could command.

After an officer became post captain he rose by seniority towards flag rank. The process, however, was so slow that only those who had reached post rank at a relatively young age had much prospect of hoisting a flag as admiral. This was particularly hard on those who

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3. Lewis, op. cit., 318.
4. A small number of quarter-deck aspirants were fed into the service by the Naval Academy at Portsmouth. However, the entry to the academy was restricted to the sons of the nobility and the gentry. F. B. Sullivan, "The Royal Academy at Portsmouth, 1729-1806", M.M. (LXIII, 1977), 311-326.

lacked the "interest" necessary for early promotions, and few of the officers who had risen from the lower deck reached flag rank. Their difficulties in making the step from lieutenant to captain are illustrated in figures provided by Lewis and based upon an examination of the careers of some 1800 commissioned officers.[5]

Family Background	Percentage of sample	Percentage reaching post rank by 1849
Titled	12.0%	84%
Landed Gentry	27.4%	50%
Professional	50.0%	55% *
Business/Commercial	3.9%	46%
Working Class	6.7%	16%
	100.0%	

* The high number of officers in the sample from a professional background, and the large percentage of them who became captains is explained by the inclusion in this group of those whose fathers were naval officers.

It is evident that the vulnerability of the service to promotion by influence rather than merit, which, however, remained an important factor, and the arduous conditions on board the ships exacerbated the manning problems of the navy throughout this period.

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5. Lewis, op. cit., 31.

Appendix III

THE CRUISES OF THE 'SPEEDY', 'PALLAS' AND 'IMPERIEUSE'

Cruises of the Speedy, 1800-1801

1. May 10, 1800.	Between Cagliari and Leghorn. Captured French lateen privateer, 6 guns, and her prize, a brig from the Speedy's convoy. Steel's Navy List (Aug. 1800) gives the privateer as L'Intrepide, 42 men.
2. May 14, 1800.	Off Montecristo. Recaptured 2 vessels taken by privateers from Cochrane's convoy. The enemy prize crews were aboard.
3. June 15, 1800.	Off Elba. Captured tartan.
4. June 17, 1800.	Off Montecristo. Recaptured Ragusian brig, Madonna de Rosario, with French prize crew on board.
5. June 22, 1800.	Off Capraia. Recaptured tartan, laden with oil and wool from Sardinia, and drove French privateer under a fort.
6. June 26, 1800.	Off Bastia. Captured Spanish privateer from Tunis bound for Barcelona. She had 10 guns, 28 men.
7. July 9, 1800.	St. Sebastian. Cut out small vessel from beneath fort.
8. July 19, 1800.	Gorgona Island. Captured French privateer, Constitution, 1 gun, 19 men.
9. Aug. 20, 1800.	Cape Mola, Minorca. Captured French privateer from Corsica bound for Toulon.
10. Sept. 17, 1800.	Gorgona Island. Captured small vessel laden with corn from Capraia bound for Genoa.
11. Sept. 22, 1800.	Recaptured Neopolitan vessel from the French.
12. Dec. 14, 1800.	Strait between Dragonera Island and Majorca. Drove French bombard ashore and captured La Eslach a La Liza, 6 guns, 19 men, from Alicante bound for Marseilles with barilla.
13. Dec. 23, 1800.	Fort Genoese. Captured tartan laden with wine and drove off a Spanish escort.
14. Jan. 20, 1801.	Castell de Ferro, Spain. Captured Genoese vessel.
15. Jan. 22, 1801.	Off Barcelona. Captured French vessel of 10 guns and Spanish brig of 8 guns. The prisoners from both vessels numbered 57. In the action the French lost about 2 killed and 1 wounded.
16. Feb. 24, 1801.	Tunis Bay. Captured La Caroline, French brig, 4 guns, from Genoa bound for Alexandria laden with wine and ordnance.
17. Apr. 11, 1801.	Cabo de Tortosa. Captured market boat.
18. Apr. 12, 1801.	Near Oropesa. Cut out Genoese boat in ballast and fired her.
19. Apr. 14, 1801.	Near Oropesa. Captured Spanish xebec, 6 guns, laden with pilchards.
20. May 3, 1801.	Off Barcelona. Captured Vera Amelia Ragusa laden with hides, cocoa, spices and cotton, and from Lisbon bound for Leghorn.
21. May 4, 1801.	Off Barcelona. Captured Spanish lateen pinco of 2 guns, laden with corn and oil and from Majorca bound for Barcelona.

22. May 6, 1801. Off Barcelona. Captured Spanish frigate, El Gamo, 32 guns, 319 men. The Spaniards lost 15 killed and 41 wounded, the British 3 killed and 8 wounded.

23. May, 1801. Probably the Spanish coast. Captured Spanish privateer of 6 guns. There are no muster or log books for the Speedy's voyages after May 6. This incident is given in Autobiography, I, 121.

24. June 8, 1801. Almanara. Blew up a 2-gun tower. According to Autobiography, I, 122, a Spanish privateer of 7 guns was taken at the same time.

25. June 9, 1801. Oropesa Harbour. The Speedy and the Kangaroo (18) attacked a convoy and escort defended by a 12-gun fort. The escort - 3 gunboats and a 20-gun xebec - was destroyed, sunk or driven ashore. Three brigs, laden with wine, from the convoy were cut out and the balance driven ashore. The number of merchantmen taken or destroyed is not known. Pulling (Adm. 1/404, f. 188) gives the whole number of vessels as 5 escorts and 12 merchantmen, but his estimate of the former was incorrect. Cochrane, Observations of Naval Affairs (1847), 88, stated that there were 11 gunboats, privateers or merchant ships in all.

26. June 11, 1801. Off Minorca. Speedy seized a suspicious chase. This is recorded in the log of the Kangaroo.

27. July 2, 1801. Off Alicante. Autobiography, I, 125, says that the Speedy destroyed "some vessels" laden with oil.

28. July 3, 1801. Off Gibraltar. Three French sail of the line, the Desaix, Formidable and Indomptable, and a frigate, captured the Speedy. The French squadron was commanded by Rear Admiral Charles-Alexandre-Léon Durand-Linois, and it was from Toulon bound for Cadiz.

Cruises of the Arab, 1803-1804

29. March 1804. French coast near Boulogne. Attempted to cut out 8 French vessels which were protected by 5 gunboats and some shore batteries. Defenders who gathered on the shore were dispersed, but the British failed to destroy the vessels and Lieut. Trollope was wounded in the face.

Cruises of the Pallas, 1805-1806

30. Feb. 5, 1805. Off the Azores. Captured Spanish Carolina, Capt. J. Aspeliga, 14 men, laden with sugar and logwood and from Havana bound for Cadiz.

31. Feb. 13, 1805. Off the Azores. Captured Spanish ship from Havana, bound for Cadiz, laden with logwood, sugar, ingots of gold and silver, and dollars.

32. Feb. 15, 1805. Off the Azores. Captured Spanish Fortuna (also known as the Pilar), Capt. Pedro J. Estulante, 28 men. She was from Vera Cruz and bound for Cadiz, laden with mahogany, logwood and specie to the value, reportedly, of 432,000 dollars.

33. Feb. 16, 1805. Off the Azores. Captured Spanish privateer, Sacra

		Familia, 14 guns, from Vera Cruz and bound for Cadiz, laden with sugar, logwood and specie, allegedly 149,000 dollars. This vessel and the ship listed at number 31 are given in the Pallas muster-book under names which do not permit identification: Pastora, Capt. Juan B. Corletto, and the San Miguel, Capt. Antonio Vico, 30 men.
34.	Jan. 30, 1806.	Somme estuary. Cut out small sloop.
35.	Feb. 8, 1806.	Varne shoal. Captured small boat dropped by a French privateer. Papers found on her were sent to the Admiralty.
36.	Mar. 24, 1806.	Bay of Biscay. Cut out 7 French fishing vessels.
37.	Mar. 26, 1806.	Vendee coast, Bay of Biscay. Cut out 2 French chasse marees laden with wine, Le Dessaix and L'Isle Daix.
38.	Mar. 27, 1806.	Near Sables d'Olonne. Captured 2 brigs, one called La Pomone, the other a large brig. According to Lord Cochrane's despatch of Apr. 8 (Adm. 1/130, f. 225) he captured, in addition to the above, another chasse maree, apparently between Mar. 27 and Apr. 6.
39.	Apr. 6-7, 1806.	Gironde and its estuary. Cut out the Tapageuse, 14 guns, 95-97 men, from beneath batteries over the Gironde; ran ashore Malicieuse (16), Gloire (20) and Garonne (20). Three men were wounded belonging to the Pallas.
40.	Apr. 16, 1806.	Off the Gironde. Captured small French vessel.
41.	Apr. 28-May 1, 1806.	St. Martin's Roads and Sables d'Olonne. Destroyed 5 signal stations.
42.	May 8-9, 1806.	Point d'Aguillon, Breton Strait between the mainland and Île de Ré. Destroyed signal station and a battery of 36-pounders. The log says there were 8 guns, the despatch 3. Three men of the Pallas were wounded, and a French prisoner was taken by the landing party.
43.	May 14, 1806.	Off Basque Roads. Pallas defeated French squadron, consisting of Minerva (44), Lynx (14), Sylphe (14) and Palinure (14) but took no prizes and was towed from the action. The British lost 1 killed, 5 wounded; on the Minerva 7 men were killed, 14 wounded.

Cruises of the Imperieuse, 1806-1809

44.	Dec. 15, 1806.	Ile d'Yeu, Bay of Biscay. Captured chasse maree, Le Jean Baptiste, 6 men, laden with wine.
45.	Dec. 18, 1806.	Near Sables d'Olonne. Captured 2 chasse marees, El Anna and Le Pere de Famille, laden with wine.
46.	Dec. 27, 1806.	Near Sables d'Olonne. Cut out small vessel.
47.	Dec. 30, 1806.	Bay of Biscay. Captured chasse maree, La Decide.
48.	Jan. 1, 1807.	Bay of Biscay. One or two chasse marees captured. While loading provisions for a prize the cutter of the Imperieuse was stoved and a man drowned.
49.	Jan. 2, 1807.	Bay of Biscay. Captured chasse maree.
50.	Jan. 4, 1807.	Bay of Biscay. Chasse maree taken alongside and prize crew put aboard. Cochrane's despatch of Jan. 7 (Adm. 1/133, f. 72) lists 8 vessels captured since Dec. 15: La Jean Baptiste, El Anna, Le Pere de Famille, a French sloop laden with wine called L'Amiable Nannete, La Decide laden with rosin, the Le Joseph lugger, a cutter and the Wilhemina national transport galliot.

51. Jan. 5-7, 1807. Bay of Archachon, Bay of Biscay. Fort Roquette, 7 guns, stormed and destroyed, and 7 vessels taken: Frederico, ship transport, wrecked; St. Jean, ship transport, wrecked; chasse maree, sunk; La Conficinee de Nantes, destroyed; chasse maree, destroyed; sloop, sunk; small sloop.

52. Nov. 14, 1807. Northeast coast of Corsica. Captured polacre privateer, King George, 6 guns (pierced for 10), 52 men, Capt. Parquali Giliano. The British lost 2 killed and 13 wounded; the privateer 1 killed and 15 wounded. This prize proved to be an illegal Maltese privateer.

53. Dec. 22, 1807. Valona Bay, Adriatic. Vessel under Turkish colours, laden with salt, cut out; another vessel with French troops aboard ran ashore.

54. Jan. 12, 1808. Straits of Otranto. Siezed neutral settee from Corfu bound for Otranto with a cargo of cloth, iron, hare skins. Some French property on board was taken and the vessel allowed to proceed.

55. Feb. 10, 1808. East of Barcelona. Captured 2 Spanish vessels, the Activo (2), a tartan laden with barilla and rope; and a vessel laden with barilla.

56. Feb. 17, 1808. West of Cartagena. Attacked Spanish convoy, capturing 2 Spanish vessels, both called St. Antonio, laden with copper, cocoa, hides and sardines. Marryat's log (Marryat papers, National Maritime Museum) states that two enemy gunboats were also sank.

57. Feb. 18, 1808. Near Cartagena. Attacked a Spanish convoy escorted by four gunboats. One gunboat of 6 guns was sunk; another gunboat, 6 guns, 32 men, was captured; a Spanish brig, Virgin del Carmen (4), with 19 men and laden with brass and tobacco, was captured.

58. Feb. 21, 1808. Almeira Bay. Imperieuse engaged a four-gun tower while the boats cut out a French privateer, L'Orient of 9 or 10 guns (but pierced for 16) and 28 men; a xebec settee and 2 Spanish brigs. These last are given in Cochrane's despatch of February 23 (Adm. 1/414, f. 92) as St. Antonio, laden with rope; Virgin del Mare (4), laden with ordnance and stores; Virgin del Carmen (8) with oil, wine and provisions. Two men were killed and 11 wounded in taking L'Orient. Marryat contends that the enemy losses aboard the French ship were 8 killed and 16 wounded, the balance either jumping overboard or being taken prisoner.

59. Mar. 20, 1808. Dragonera Island, Majorca. Captured settee laden with wood.

60. Mar. 21, 1808. Off Minorca. Captured brig laden with timber.

61. Mar. 26, 1808. Off Minorca. Captured Spanish sloop from Port Mahon in ballast, bound for Sardinia.

62. Mar. 28, 1808. Alcudia Bay, Majorca. Captured 2 settees laden with wine.

63. Mar. 30, 1808. Off Minorca. Captured Spanish settee laden with wine and oil.

64. Mar. 31, 1808. Off Minorca. Boarded American brig laden with oil and marble. The vessel was believed to have infringed neutrality, and a prize crew was put aboard.

65. Apr. 2, 1808. An island off Minorca. Blew up a Spanish tower.

66. Apr. 5, 1808. Cape Formentor, Majorca. Cut out Spanish brig laden with barilla from under the batteries.

67. Apr. 8, 1808. Cape Formentor, Majorca. Captured Concepcion brig, a French ship laden with wine. The crew had deserted her.

68. Apr. 11, 1808. Off Minorca. Captured Spanish settee laden with wine. It appears to have been sailing under Moorish colours.

69. Apr. 21, 1808. Minorca. The boats attacked a tower, dismounted 3 guns and partly burned the tower and barracks.

70. May 5, 1808. Valencian coast. Captured xebec under Moorish colours, laden with lead and navigated by Spaniards; a Genoese polacre ship under French colours and laden with barilla was also captured. It had 8 guns and had been deserted by all but one of her crew.

71. May 7, 1808. Cullera Bay, Valencia. Cut out French polacre. Her crew fled. She was laden with barilla and possessed 4 guns.

72. May 11, 1808. Near Vinaron, Valencia. Captured French polacre brig, Postilion (2) laden with barilla; silenced 2-gun battery and brought from under it Spanish ship, Rosarie, 4 guns, laden with barilla and deserted by her crew.

73. May 21, 1808. Near Cabo de Palos. Attacked convoy and escort. The logbook records that 3 Spanish gunboats were captured and 1 escaped. The former were the Terrible Angones (2) with 44 men, the Estrilla (2) with 44 men, and the Rapida (3) with 44 men. A list of captures (Adm. 1/414, f. 127) gives the following prizes also taken: 2 French xebecs laden with barilla; 1 sloop; 1 settee laden with lead; 2 vessels destroyed. In addition a martello tower of 3 guns at Cabo de Pira and a tower at the mouth of the Rio San Bone River were destroyed. Marryat in his log (Marryat papers) reports that 20 sail and 4 gunboats were attacked, and that all were ran ashore except for 1 gunboat and 2 settees. The ships on shore were burned.

74. May 22, 1808. Cabo de Palos. Captured settee.

75. July 5, 1808. Spanish coast. The log suggests that a Spanish vessel was cut out from beneath batteries. Since Cochrane was then under orders to co-operate with the Spaniards, the entry is misleading; it may refer to a vessel held by the French.

76. July 10, 1808. Near Mataro, Catalonia. Destroyed portions of the coastal road.

77. July 24, 1808. Arenys de Mar. Burned French bridges ashore and removed guns from a battery.

78. July 25, 1808. Arenys de Mar. Destroyed the coastal road and took off 3 cannons.

79. July 26, 1808.	Cape Tossa. Destroyed works ashore, presumably fortifications.
80. July 28, 1808.	Catalonian coast. Destroyed part of the road.
81. July 31, 1808.	Mongat, Catalonia. The post, between Barcelona and Gerona, was garrisoned by 73 Neopolitans. The British and Spanish irregulars captured the fort. Two of the garrison were killed and 7 wounded; 71 were taken aboard the Imperieuse as prisoners. The post was destroyed and 5 cannon, 80 muskets, 13 barrels of gunpowder and munitions, and some bayonets were captured.
82. Aug. 13, 1808.	Sète, Golfe du Lion, France. Destroyed "mud engines" used on canals.
83. Aug. 15, 1808.	Near Sète. Captured settee, a French despatch boat.
84. Aug. 18, 1808.	Golfe du Lion. Destroyed La Pinide signal post, and further west destroyed the signal post and castle at Frontiganen, near Sète.
85. Aug. 19, 1808.	Golfe du Lion. Boats destroyed Canet signal station and spiked a battery.
86. Aug. 23, 1808.	Golfe du Lion, near Port Vendres. Destroyed signal post of St. Frazaére (?).
87. Aug. 24, 1808.	Bourdique, Golfe du Lion. Destroyed signal post and battery of 2 brass twenty-four pounders in the face of troops ashore.
88. Sept. 7, 1808.	Cape Mejean. In company with the Spartan sent boats to attack vessels inshore. Three ships were destroyed. Cochrane lost one man killed.
89. Sept. 8, 1808.	Golfe de Fos, east of Bay of Les Saintes Maries. Destroyed Fos signal station.
90. Sept. 10, 1808.	Canet, north of Port Vendres. The boats of the Imperieuse and Spartan destroyed a battery at Canet village; an attack was then made upon two more batteries, each consisting of 2 twenty-four pounders, situated on the St. Lauren isthmus. These guns shielded vessels inshore. The cavalry were driven away, and the British boats landed, destroying one battery, while the fire from the frigates reduced a central battery. Two of the enemy vessels were also destroyed. Cochrane and Brenton lost three men wounded.
91. Sept. 12, 1808.	Montpelier. Destroyed two "pontoons" of canals, some guard houses, a customs house, and carried off small arms.
92. Sept. 13, 1808.	Point d'Tigre. Attacked small convoy. Boats from the Imperieuse and Spartan captured or destroyed a xebec, a bombard, a tartan, a ship and 3 brigs, according to Captain Brenton's despatch of Sept. 16 (Adm. 1/414, f. 213).
93. Sept. 28, 1808.	Golfe de Fos. Destroyed new telegraph post of Fos, dispersing troops ashore and killing an officer.
94. Sept. 30, 1808.	Golfe de Fos. Destroyed houses ashore.
95. Nov. 13, 1808.	Barcelona. Blew up a fort and captured a boat. Fired rockets into the defences.
96. Nov. 20-Dec. 6, 1808.	Rosas. Imperieuse assisted in the defence of the town, besieged by 12,000 French under Pino and Reille. From November 23 to December 5 Cochrane

defended Fort Trinidad with some 160 men, twice repelling enemy attempts to storm a breach. He lost 5 killed and 12 wounded, but was compelled to abandon the fort after the surrender of the town and citadel of Rosas.

97. Dec. 30-Jan. 9, 1808-1809. Cadaqués. The Imperieuse drove the French troops from the town, spiked or removed a shore battery of 9 guns and seized a convoy. According to the log there were 11 vessels, but Cochrane's despatch of Jan. 2, 1809 (Adm. 1/415, f. 46) states that there were 11 victuallers and two escorts, La Gauloise cutter (7), M. Avenet and 46 men; and La Julie lugger (4 swivels and 5 guns), M. Chaseriau and 44 men. The town was occupied by the British until January 9.

98. Jan. 9-11, 1809. Puerto de la Selva. The boats were sent inshore to bring off a battery in defiance of large numbers of troops ashore. Two of the men were taken prisoner by the French, and at least four wounded. The enemy administered a heavy musket fire from behind rocks, but were kept at bay by the frigate's guns. Eventually 4 guns were hauled off from the shore battery, 3 with a hawser.

99. Jan. 22, 1809. Near Tarragona. The Imperieuse came across a French army with artillery marching by the seaside, and shelled it for six miles.

100. Apr. 11-16, 1809. Aix Roads. French fleet destroyed or driven ashore. See below.

Action in the Aix Roads, April 1809

The British Fleet

Caledonia (120) Admiral J. Gambier; Capts. H. Neale and W. Bedford
Caesar (80) Rear Admiral R. Stopford; Capt. C. Richardson
Gibraltar (80) Capt. H. L. Ball
Hero (74) Capt. J. N. Newman
Valiant (74) Capt. J. Bligh
Theseus (74) Capt. J. P. Beresford
Donegal (74) Capt. P. Malcolm
Revenge (74) Capt. A. R. Kerr
Bellona (74) Capt. Stair Douglas
Illustrious (74) Capt. W. R. Broughton
Resolution (74) Capt. G. Burlton
Indefatigable (44) Capt. J. T. Rodd
Imperieuse (44) Capt. T. Cochrane
Aigle (36) Capt. G. Wolfe
Emerald (36) Capt. F. L. Maitland
Unicorn (32) Capt. L. Hardyman
Pallas (32) Capt. G. F. Seymour
Mediator (32 or 36) Capt. J. Wooldridge
Beagle (18) Capt. F. Newcombe
Dotterel (18) Capt. A. Abdy
Foxhound (18) Capt. P. B. Greene

Redpole (10) Capt. J. Joyce
Lyra (10) Capt. W. Bevians
Aetna bomb (8) Capt. W. Godfrey
Thunder bomb (8) Capt. J. Caulfield
Insolent (14) Lt. J. R. Morris
Conflict (12) Lt. J. B. Batt
Encounter (12) Lt. J. H. Talbot
Contest (12) Lt. J. Gregory
Fervent (12) Lt. J. E. Hare
Growler (12) Lt. R. Crossman
Whiting rocket schooner (4) Lt. H. Wildey
Nimrod rocket schooner, Masters Mate E. Tapley
King George rocket cutter, Masters Mate T. Mercer

The French Fleet

Ocean (120) Vice-Admiral Z. J. T. Allemand; Captain P. N. Rolland. Driven ashore, Apr. 11, but reached Charente, Apr. 14, severely damaged.
Foudroyant (80) Rear-Admiral A. L. Gourdon; Capt. A. Henri. Driven ashore, Apr. 12, but escaped to Charente, Apr. 17.
Varsovie (80) Capt. Cuvillier. Destroyed, Apr. 12-13.
Tourville (74) Capt. C. N. Lacaille. Driven ashore, Apr. 11, but arrived in Charente, Apr. 16, severely damaged. Reported to be ordered cut down into mortar vessel.
Regulus (74) Capt. J. J. E. Lucas. Driven ashore, Apr. 11, arrived in Charente, Apr. 28, badly damaged. Believed to be ordered converted to mortar vessel.
Patriote (74) Capt. J. M. Mahé. Driven ashore, Apr. 11, but reached Charente, Apr. 14, damaged. Reported being converted into mortar ship.
Jemmappes (74) Capt. J. Fauveau. Driven ashore, Apr. 11, but arrived in the Charente, Apr. 15.
Aquilon (74) Capt. J. R. Maingon. Destroyed, Apr. 12-13.
Tonnerre (74) Capt. N. C. de la Ronciere. Destroyed, Apr. 12.
Cassard (74) Commodore G. A. Faure. Driven ashore, Apr. 12, but reached Charente, Apr. 16, damaged.
Calcutta (56) Capt. J. B. Lafon. This ship carried 26 thirty-two pounders, 28 eighteen pounders and 2 nine pounders. Destroyed, Apr. 12.
Indienne (44) Capt. G. M. Proteau. Destroyed, Apr. 16.
Elbe (40) Capt. J. F. Bellenger. Driven ashore, Apr. 11, but escaped to the Charente, Apr. 14. Believed wrecked.
Hortense (40) Capt. E. Halgan. Driven ashore, Apr. 11, but reached Charente, Apr. 14.
Pallas (40) Capt. A. F. Le Bigot. Driven ashore, Apr. 11, but reached Charente, Apr. 14.

Appendix IV

THE INVENTIONS OF THE EARLS OF DUNDONALD

The Ninth Earl of Dundonald

Patent Number	Date	Description
1291	Apr. 30, 1781	Extracting tar, pitch, essential oils, volatile alkali, mineral acids, salts and cinders from pit coal.
2015	Oct. 4, 1794	Preparing and obtaining alum, or sulphate or vitriol of argil; and other salts, saline matters or substances at the same time.
2039	Feb. 28, 1795	Preparing and applying certain saline bodies and other substances as manures or stimulants to the ground and for the destruction of insects.
2043	Mar. 11, 1795	Disengaging and obtaining mineral or fossil alkali or soda, and a vegetable alkali or potash, from neutral salts or solutions of the same; applying the products to various purposes.
2189	Aug. 16, 1797	Making or preparing ceruse or white lead.
2211	Jan. 25, 1798	Preparing certain neutral salts, substances and things, and applying those and other neutral salts to valuable purposes.
2529	July 31, 1801	Preparing a substitute for gum Senegal and other gums extensively employed in certain branches of manufacture.
2719	June 28, 1803	Treating or preparing hemp and flax so as to aid the heckles in the division of the fibre, and in other operations.
2896	Nov. 19, 1805	Machinery for spinning cotton, wool, silk, hemp and flax, and substitutes for hemp and flax.
3547	Mar. 14, 1812	Preparing and manufacturing alkaline salts from vegetables.

The Tenth Earl of Dundonald

Patent Number	Date	Description
3657	Mar. 3, 1813	Lighting cities, towns and villages.
3772	Dec. 24, 1813	Regulating atmospheric pressure in lamps, globes and other transparent cases; supplying combustible matter to flames, and preserving uniform intensity of light.
4217	Feb. 3, 1818	Purifying oil of tar.
4241	Apr. 8, 1818	Making street lamps adapted for the combustion of purified oil of tar; arrangement of part of lamps, rendering them also capable of producing a clear light by the combustion of the said oil; the use thereof in such lamps.
4253	May 4, 1818	Machine for removing the smoke or gases generated in stoves, furnaces or fireplaces; also in certain cases for directing the heat and applying such smoke or gases to useful purposes.
5256	Sept. 15, 1825	Propelling ships, vessels and boats at sea.
6018	Oct. 20, 1830	Apparatus to facilitate excavating, sinking and mining.
6036	Nov. 11, 1830	Rotary engine to be impelled by steam.
6530	Dec. 20, 1833	Construction and operation of rotary engines and apparatus connected therewith.
6923	Nov. 5, 1835	Machinery and apparatus applicable to purposes of locomotion.
9593	Jan. 19, 1843	Rotatory engines; apparatus connected with steam engines; propelling vessels.
10497	Jan. 28, 1845	Rotatory engine to be impelled by steam; applicable to other purposes.
12064	Feb. 10, 1848	Marine steam boilers; apparatus connected therewith.
13698	July 22, 1851	Construction and manufacture of sewers, drains, waterways, pipes, reservoirs, receptacles for liquids or solids; also

		making columns, pillars, capitals, pedestals, vases and other articles from a substance never before employed for such purposes.
277	Oct. 6, 1852	Coating and insulating wire.
656	Nov. 5, 1852	Rendering bituminous substances available for purposes to which they never heretofore have been successfully applied.
740	Nov. 13, 1852	Apparatus for laying telegraphic or galvanic wires in the earth.
496	Feb. 26, 1853	Producing compositions or combinations of bituminous, resinous and gummy matters, thereby obtaining products useful in the arts and manufactures.
1347	June 1, 1853	Apparatus for laying pipes in the earth; juncture of such pipes.
2201	Aug. 19, 1857	Preparing land for agricultural purposes.
2136	Sept. 23, 1858	Improved machine or apparatus for tilling and preparing land for cultivation.

Compiled from B. Woodcroft, Alphabetical Index of Patentees of Inventions (1969), 115, 176-(169), and material kindly furnished by Miss Jean Sheward, Science Reference Library, London.

GLOSSARY

Back, to. To brace a sail so that the wind blows directly onto the front of it and so retards the ship's progress.

Bomb vessel. A vessel reinforced to carry heavy mortars for use in bombardment.

Bower. Anchors situated on the bow of a ship. The "best bower" was the anchor on the starboard (right) side of the bow.

Brig. A two-masted square-rigged vessel. Weaker than frigates, brigs and sloops were used for similar duties.

Bumpkin. A short boom used to extend the lower edges of the principal sails on the masts.

Carcass. A shell filled with combustible materials used as an incendiary.

Carronade. A heavy gun used for close-quarter engagements.

Catamaran. A float used to convey mines or "torpedoes" designed by Robert Fulton.

Cathead. Wooden projections on a ship's forecastle from which the anchors were lifted clear of the bows after being brought to the surface.

Chain-plates. Attachments to the "chains", platforms on the outside of a ship from which the shrouds and ratlines were led to the masts.

Chasse-marée. A French coasting lugger.

Commissioned Officer. An officer of the rank of lieutenant or above who held the King's commission from the Admiralty.

Corvette. A French sloop (see below).

Entail. The laws of entail permitted an estate to be secured for the heirs as an inalienable inheritance.

Felucca. A small oared vessel, sometimes also equipped with a lateen sail.

Frigate. A three-masted square-rigged warship mounting between 24 to 44 guns. Frigates were light and fast, and served as "cruisers", gathering intelligence, carrying despatches, protecting commerce and attacking enemy merchantmen, privateers and smaller warships. They were not strong enough to stand in line of battle.

Heritable jurisdictions. Abolished in 1747 to increase the power of central government. Previously in Scotland some landowners had inherited the right to administer certain areas. See regalities and stewartries.

Jib-boom. An extension to the bowsprit of a ship attached by a stay to the fore topgallant-mast.

Jointure. A form of family settlement, allocating land or income to a wife for the period in which she survives her husband.

Lateen Sail. A triangular sail suspended on a yard at an angle of some forty-five degrees to the mast.

Leeward. The direction to which the wind is blowing. A vessel to the leeward is on the sheltered side of the ship. A lee shore faces an onshore wind. In naval warfare a ship adopting the leeward position places the enemy between herself and the wind. If crippled, such a vessel can escape by running before the wind.

Line of Battle. The regular battle formation of fleets was line ahead, so that each ship presented a broadside towards enemy vessels.

Lord Lieutenant. The chief executive authority in a county. He stood at the head of the magistracy.

Lords of Council and Session (commonly Lords of Session). Justices of the Court of Session, the supreme civil court in Scotland. The five justices who constituted the outer house were known as the Lords Ordinary.

Masts. The principal masts on a large warship were the fore, main and mizen masts. Topmasts and topgallant masts were extensions to these masts.

Multiple Poinding. In Scottish Law an action by the holder of a property or fund to decide ownership among competing claimants.

Omnium. A mixed investment consisting of both Consols and Reduced government securities. It was more sensitive than either of its component parts.

Orlop Deck. The lowest deck of a ship, above the hold.

Placemen. Supporters of the government in Parliament, dependant upon the administration for offices, seats or pensions. They provided the government with indispensable votes in the House. Naval officers, who depended upon the Admiralty for appointments, were often considered to be placemen.

Plumpers. Generally two parliamentary candidates were elected to represent a constituency, and voters were allowed to cast two votes, although not for the same candidate. A voter might cast only one of his votes - a "plumper" - to avoid assisting a rival of his choice.

Polacre. A three masted Mediterranean vessel, generally possessing square-sails on the mainmast and lateen sails upon the fore and mizen masts.

Quarter-deck. A raised part of the upper deck, to the rear of the mainmast, reserved for the use of officers.

Regality. Territorial jurisdiction of a royal nature, originally granted by the King.

Settee. A Mediterranean vessel with a sharp prow and lateen sails on two or three masts.

Ship of the Line. A principal battleship, strong enough to stand in the line. Generally they had 64 or more guns, although "fifties" were occasionally used.

Shrouds. Standing rigging from masts to the ship sides.

Sling. The middle part of a yard, encircled by a sling hoop from which it is suspended from the mast and hoisted or lowered.

Sloop. The term was used loosely in the Navy to describe warships smaller than frigates. They might be two-masted brigs or three-masted ships. The French called sloops corvettes.

Spindle. The upper part of a mast.

Spritsail. A small sail suspended from the bowsprit.

Stewartry. An administrative division under the jurisdiction of a steward originally appointed by the Crown. In Scotland the post could be inherited by landowners until the abolition of most heritable jurisdictions in 1747.

Studding Sails. Sails set out upon booms from the square sails in good weather.

Tack. To turn the ship by putting the head against the direction of the wind.

Taillie. The limitation of an estate to an heir. See entail.

Tartan. A vessel used in the Mediterranean, generally having one mast, a large lateen sail and a foresail.

Warrant Officer. An officer on board a ship appointed by a warrant of the Navy Board. The most important warrant officers were the master, surgeon and purser.

Warping Off. Pulling a ship into deeper water by laying out anchors and using the capstan.

Wear. The reverse of tacking. The ship is turned by putting the bow away from the wind. The process caused less strain than tacking but lost more time.

Windage. The amount of air within the bore of a gun about the shot. The snugger the shot fitted into the bore the more velocity it acquired.

Windward. The reverse of leeward. Anything to windward of a ship was between the vessel and the wind. The windward position in a naval action was the best for launching an attack; ships with this advantage were said to have the weather gauge, and they could attack with and not against the wind. To weather a ship was to pass to windward of it.

Xebec. A three-masted vessel, lateen-rigged but with some square sails. They were said to differ from polacres principally in the shape of the hull. Xebecs possessed longer hulls and some short masts.

Yard. A spar across a mast supporting a sail.

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Lord Cochrane, Naval Commander, Radical, Inventor (1775-1860). A Study of His Earlier Career, 1775-1818

John Sugden.

Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, is chiefly remembered for his naval campaigns on behalf of Chile, Peru, Brazil and Greece during their wars of independence. Historians have given less attention to his earlier career, and this dissertation is the first detailed reassessment of Cochrane's role as an officer in the Royal Navy and as radical M.P. for Westminster.

The son of an indigent Scots peer, Cochrane's career was dominated by his search for security and status. Joining the navy in 1793, he used the patronage of relatives and friends to achieve rapid promotion and became a post captain after eight years. Cochrane repaired his fortunes with prize money as the commander of various ships, and established a reputation for successful leadership. His campaigns culminated in efforts to expel the French from Catalonia in 1808 and his defeat of the Rochefort fleet in 1809.

Cochrane's sensitivity to issues such as promotion, prize money and social conditions in the navy led him into Parliament as a reformer. His elections for Honiton (1806) and Westminster (1807) brought him under the influence of leading radicals, and his platform expanded to include support for parliamentary reform. These duties were interrupted by a conviction for a fraud on the Stock Exchange in 1814. Expelled from the navy and imprisoned, Cochrane soon dissipated his finances and was driven into a career as a liberator abroad. Later he was reinstated, rehabilitated his honour and obtained compensation for losses caused by his dismissal from the service.

The dissertation documents an example of a peerage in decline and provides a case study in naval promotion. It explores Cochrane's role in the French wars, drawing attention to his attempts to pioneer new methods of combat, and examines his participation in the movement for radical parliamentary reform.