

The Royal Americans

COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET



The following is a reproduction of an article titled “Henry Bouquet - A Biographical Sketch” by Lieutenant General Sir Edward Hutton who in 1911, at the time of producing the editorial for “The King’s Royal Rifle Chronicle”, was the Colonel Commandant of the Regiment.

General Sir Edward Hutton had worked tirelessly for the 60th and the country since joining the Regiment in 1867. He died in 1923, and his obituary can be seen in the Chronicle of the same year.

In this reproduction, also published in the KRRC Journal 2004, all references and notes have been omitted because of the size of the document. These may be seen in the Annals or the Biographical Sketch written by Lt Gen Sir Edward Hutton, which is held in the archives of the Royal Green Jackets Museum.

HENRY BOUQUET

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EDWARD HUTTON

*"... The elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
and say to all the world, 'This was a Man.'"*

SHAKESPEARE.

INTRODUCTORY.

An effort has been made in the following pages to give in greater detail than is possible in the limited space of a general history, the biography of a man who played a leading part in the birth of the Regiment, in forming its distinctive characteristics and in giving to it many of those attributes which in the past, as in the present, have proved the sure watchwords of success. The two commanders, who more than any other of their contemporaries, helped to create the spirit of the Sixtieth and - leaving the stamp of their vigorous personalities upon their immediate successors-caused the Regiment to play a prominent and distinguished part in North America from its very inception, were the Swiss soldiers of fortune - Henry Bouquet and Frederick Haldimand.

It has been said that one of the greatest and most valuable attributes of the Anglo-Saxons is their marvellous power of assimilating alien races and absorbing them into their own, benefiting by what is valuable in the stranger and by an unerring instinct rejecting what is useless to their racial success. It is an historical fact that the Saxon race, conquered in turn by Angles, Danes and Normans, swallowed up all three in the end and imposed their customs, their language, their habit of mind and their institutions upon each of the invaders. The Anglo-Saxon power of absorption, thus early displayed and now at work in all parts of the British Empire, has its counterpart in the other great branch of the Anglo-Saxon family, for in the United States we see precisely the same process mysteriously in operation.

As with nations so with individuals, as with the State so with the

Army of the State.

The alien individual in the Army is similarly absorbed into the whole until his identity is lost, and the Army becomes the richer by such sterling qualities as the individual may have brought with him. The British Army of to-day has indubitably benefited by this process in the past, and at this moment is unquestionably the richer by contributions from the many different races and peoples, which are subject to the King.

The Sixtieth in its origin and rise presents in miniature the same spirit of absorption. Composed of the varied elements of English, Scotch, Irish, German, Dutch and Swiss - some born in the Old World, some in the New - the Regiment was an *olla podrida* of nationalities, to which in its diversity of languages and origins, it is hard to find a parallel. It early benefited by the military knowledge and experience of such foreigners as Bouquet, Haldimand, Augustine Prevost and others trained in the modern school of European War, until by the process of absorption and assimilation so characteristic of the British race, the Regiment, in a marvellously short time, became as thoroughly British in its unshaken loyalty, stubborn courage, patient endurance and steady self-reliance, as any of the proud regiments who served the British Crown in North America.

I.

EARLY LIFE.

Henry Bouquet, who was born in 1719, at Rolle, Canton Vaud, Switzerland, was, like his close friend and compatriot Frederick Haldimand, a typical soldier of fortune. Belonging to a family in easy circumstances, he had been well and carefully educated and was a student not only of military subjects but also of science in all its branches, especially excelling in mathematics. He began his military career in the Dutch service and subsequently served in the Sardinian Army, whence in 1748 he was transferred to the Swiss Guards of the Prince of Orange, as a Captain-Commandant, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. Having a mind flexible and adaptive, he was imbued at an early age with the spirit of the French rather than the German school of military thought. His personality was attractive in the extreme, and although firm in resolve and undaunted in action, his manner towards those about him was conciliatory and ingratiating. He is described as undistinguished in appearance, but endowed with a strong and active physique and an honest good-humoured face. He seems to have been

possessed of an emotional and impulsive temperament, which gave him that spirit of sympathy for his men, and for those dependent upon him, which was one of his chief characteristics. Single-minded and forgetful of his own interests, he possessed the highest qualities of a great leader; cool in action, he never failed to inspire the soldiers under him with the most implicit confidence in his superior skill and judgment. As an organizer, he was especially capable, and the influence, which he contrived to gain over the civilian colonists in his subsequent career and over the implacable and savage Red Indian tribes of the Ohio and Great Lakes, showed him to be a man of remarkable character.

After various vicissitudes of military service, Bouquet was still in the Swiss Guards of the Prince of Orange when in 1756 he was offered a transfer as Lieut.-Colonel to a new regiment in the British Army, which regiment had been organized for special and immediate service in North America, and was shortly to be known as the 60th Royal Americans. It appears that the project of raising this special corps, 4000 strong, recruited from German and Swiss settlers, supplemented by others from Europe and by drafts from British regiments at home, had been suggested in 1755, and subsequently communicated to H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, at that time Commander-in-Chief of the British Army.

Favouring this idea, the Duke forthwith informed the British Minister at the Hague Sir Joseph Yorke, who had served with him as his A.D.C. at Fontenoy in 1745, that suitable officers must be found; and thus it came about that Henry Bouquet and his friend Frederick Haldimand, the best Swiss soldiers of Yorke's acquaintance, were persuaded by him to accept service under the British Government.

II.

THE 60TH ROYAL AMERICANS IN 1756-1757.

Attracted by the inducements held out, and by the prospects of immediate active service in the New World, Bouquet and Haldimand after some demur, accepted the British Minister's offers and in 1756 sailed for America, where Bouquet was to assume command of the 1st Battalion in Carolina, and Haldimand the 2nd Battalion in Pennsylvania, each numbering 1000 strong.

The year that followed 1757 was perhaps the period during which the Anglo-Saxon fortunes in North America were at their lowest ebb. Oswego and Fort William Henry were in the hands of the victorious French; Louisburg was defiant. The Army was dispirited, and - still smarting under the startling and overwhelming disaster which had

befallen Braddock at the hands of the French and their Red Indian allies upon the 8th July 1755 - the troops had lost confidence in their leaders; while the colonists, utterly disheartened and disillusioned as to the invincibility of British troops and British Generals, viewed with dismay the desolation of their Western frontier at the hands of their dreaded Indian foes.

In estimating Bouquet's services, it is essential to realise the especial characteristics of these Redskins as fighting men: -

"They were trained to the use of arms from their youth up, and war and hunting were their occupations, the business as well as the pleasure of their lives. They were not as skilful as the white hunters with the rifle - though more so than the average regular soldier - nor would they equal the frontiersman in feats of physical prowess, such as boxing and wrestling; but their superior endurance, and the ease with which they stood fatigue and exposure made amends for this. A white might outrun them for eight or ten miles, but on a long journey they would tire out any man, and any beast except a wolf. Like most barbarians, they were fickle and inconstant, not to be relied upon for pushing through a long campaign, and after a great victory apt to go off to their homes. Their discipline in battle was very high. They attacked, retreated, rallied, or repelled a charge at the signal of command: and they were able to fight in open order in thick cover without losing touch of one another - a feat that no European regiment was then able to perform."

Arriving in America when the crushing disaster of Braddock was still uppermost in the thoughts of soldiers and colonists alike, Bouquet was quick to realise that a complete change in the tactics, dress and equipment of his men must be effected if the prestige of the British soldier was to be restored. With an originality of thought and an adaptiveness all his own, he speedily determined that the system of European tactics and the principles of civilised war as practised in Europe, were quite unsuited to the requirements of fighting in dense woods against so fierce and determined a foe as the Red Indian warrior of the American forests.

Braddock, whose reputation as a soldier of the European model stood as high as that of any of his contemporaries, had been hidebound to the traditions of Frederick the Great; and his troops, unable to accommodate themselves to the requirements of the novel system of savage warfare, suffered the inevitable consequence of their want of adaptability. It was for Bouquet, with the 1st Battalion, quickly followed by his friend Haldimand and the 2nd Battalion in Pennsylvania, to give

an example to the Army of a happier system of conducting military operations under the new conditions: and he immediately set himself to instruct his men upon the lines which he rightly conceived to be necessitated by the Red Indian warfare before them. Bouquet had moreover, that most precious of all gifts - rare now and much rarer then - the intuitive wisdom to discern that military excellence of a high order might be latent in the wearers of homespun coats or hunting shirts, and that pipe-clay and pigtails did not constitute the true measures of a soldier's value. He grasped at once the colonial point of view, and realised that for warfare in the trackless wilds of the New World, the soldier of the European type was too heavy, too pedantic and too elaborate in his movements. He snipped off the long coat tails of his men, browned their shining gun-barrels, cut their hair short and adopted the colonial footgear. Thus relieved of needless encumbrances, the soldier's discomforts were decreased, his freedom of movement was much enhanced and he rapidly became qualified to combat successfully his nimble foe in the hot and dense woods of America. Colonists, as were the great majority, inured as they had been by years of toil and experience to life in the backwoods to the stratagems and methods of fighting adopted by their Indian foes, the men of the Royal

Americans under such commanders as Bouquet and Haldimand quickly responded to the teaching of their leaders. The regiment thus early began to acquire its distinctive character as Light Troops, and to become renowned for the strong individuality and sturdy self-reliance of its men, which characteristics must always be essential attributes of good Riflemen.

From an early age, Bouquet appears to have been proficient in the English language; his letters and despatches show much grace of expression and very considerable literary skill; he was accordingly enabled to advocate his advanced views upon strategy, tactics and equipment with a force and power, which caused them to carry great weight. Thus, it came about that his innovations in drill and tactics were gradually adopted by the Army then serving in North America; and it will shortly be seen that the spirit he inspired of individual action and initiative in the fight was ultimately to be productive of far-reaching results.

III.

CAMPAIGN OF 1758.

Bouquet with the 1st Battalion of the Regiment (by that time known as

the 60th Royal Americans) was allotted to the defence of the Western frontier, there to check the inroads of the Indians and to restore confidence among the settlers. He was spared accordingly the difficulties and humiliations of the disastrous assault upon the French at Ticonderoga on the 8th July 1758. His friend Haldimand however, in command of the Grenadier Companies of the Army, and the 4th Battalion of the Regiment under Baron Munster, played a glorious part in this memorable defeat, which has been aptly described as "the least remembered, though one of the bloodiest, most desperate and most dramatic battles of our history; at once a glory and a shame."

Isolated from the rest of the Army and dependent solely upon his own resources, Bouquet thus gained useful experience of the colonists whose interests he was called upon to defend; and he had at the same time ample opportunities of testing and developing the fighting qualities of his battalion.

"I would rather make two campaigns than quarter my troops in any American town," he writes; and his complaints, as shown by his voluminous correspondence, are loud and vehement against the selfish conduct of the settlers, who denied every possible comfort and assistance in the way of food or shelter to the very men who were living in their midst and were charged with their protection.

The Commander-in-Chief, Abercromby, as part of his campaign in the summer of 1758, had determined upon an expedition which, moving West simultaneously with the advance North upon Lake Champlain, should drive the French from their hold upon the Mississippi and the Ohio. For this purpose, early in April (1758), General Forbes (of Petincrief in Fife) - a Scotsman some sixty-five years of age with a distinguished record, endowed with an indomitable will and calm judgment - was chosen for the task of marching upon Fort Duquesne, the French stronghold at the junction of the Monagahela River with the Ohio. His force consisted of the 1st Battalion of 60th Royal Americans under Bouquet, Montgomery's Highlanders, and some 4350 Provincial troops, numbering in all about 6000 men.

Bouquet was Forbes's chief colleague, while Lieut.-Colonel Sir John Sinclair, also in the 60th, was his Quarter-Master-General. The Provincial troops were to be organized by Colonel George Washington and two tried Virginian soldiers, Colonel Byrd and Major Lewis.

The whole country, comprising the Eastern slopes of the Alleghany Mountain Range, was, save for occasional settlements and a few fortified posts, a vast forest of trackless jungle and morass; and the western slope away to the Ohio valley was impenetrable except to the trapper and the Redskin. The many difficulties with which the

expedition had to contend were consequently of a physical character such as are encountered in the wild primeval forests of Central America at the present day; and such difficulties were calculated to try to the utmost the patience and endurance of the officers, the hardihood and discipline of the men, and the moral courage and resourcefulness of the leaders. The Indians, moreover - emboldened by their sweeping victory three years previously over the panic-stricken troops of Braddock - had ravaged the frontier, burnt the outlying homesteads, destroyed the isolated settlements, and struck terror into the hearts of the settlers, Bouquet had made good use of his time upon the frontier, and, aided by the officers of his Battalion, among whom were several well qualified in surveying, he had familiarised himself with the country on the western fringes of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. A sharp and interesting controversy took place between Washington and Bouquet as to the best route for the expedition. Washington, then quartered with his Virginians at Fort Cumberland on the Potomac, was, perhaps owing to his connection with Virginia, not altogether unprejudiced, and vehemently pressed the advantages of following the road, which had been made by Braddock. This road, although it was longer and necessitated the crossing of several large rivers, was better known, and offered some facilities. However, Bouquet on the other hand, argued with his fluent pen that a new and shorter road should be cut, which more direct and less known, might enable the English troops to take the French by surprise. Owing to the support of General Forbes, Bouquet's arguments triumphed, and in July, the energetic Swiss was sent forward to construct the road, to hew a way over the unknown mountains and to make causeways across the unexplored swamps.

Washington, despite his heroism and greatness of soul, was only human; and annoyed at his advice being overruled and at the disadvantage, which his own State of Virginia would have to bear from the proposed route being diverted to another State, he allowed his feelings to overcome his better judgment. "All is dwindled into ease, sloth, and fatal inactivity", he writes in September, "nothing but a miracle can bring the Campaign to a successful issue."

In the meantime, Reastown (now Bedford) some ninety miles from Fort Duquesne was the advanced base where the troops were being collected; but the greatest difficulty was experience by Bouquet in getting the colonists to support him by providing transport and supplies.

At this time Forbes wrote to him: "I believe neither you nor I value one farthing where we get provisions from, provided we are supplied, or interest ourselves either with Virginia or Pennsylvania, which last I hope

will be damned for their treatment of us in the matter of waggons, and every other thing whereby they could profit by us."

Forbes, now in his sixty-fifth year, and never physically robust, contracted during August the illness that was to kill him; but in spite of breaking health, he urged forward the preparations with untiring energy and determination. His plan of action was to advance slowly along the route prepared beforehand by Bouquet and, by establishing defensive posts, make good his line of communication, then finally to press rapidly forward upon the objective, Fort Duquesne, and overwhelm the resistance of the French and their Indian allies by a vigorous onslaught of his numerically superior force.

Early in September, Bouquet with the advanced camp reached Loyalhannon, half way to Fort Duquesne, and at this juncture Major Grant an impetuous Highlander, urged the advisability of making a rapid march forward in order to carry out a reconnaissance in force upon the French. On Bouquet reluctantly consenting, Grant set out on the night of the 13th with a detachment of 100 Royal Americans, 300 Highlanders, and 350 Provincials under Lewis, an experienced frontiersman.

After marching fifty miles, the troops arrived upon a high ridge overlooking the Fort situated at the junction of the two broad rivers the Ohio and the Monagahela. With an unaccountable want of caution, Grant sent Lewis forward during the night with some Virginians and some Highlanders. Strange to bush fighting the Highlanders fell into confusion, and at dawn, the advanced force returned. Grant thereupon pushed onward, but was speedily overwhelmed by numbers. Three hundred men were killed or taken by the enemy, the remainder fled through the bush in hopeless disorder, while Grant and Lewis were both taken prisoners. Bouquet hearing of the reverse pressed forward with the 1st Battalion of the 60th, and thus saved the remnant of the force from annihilation at the hands of the Indians.

General Forbes, prostrate on a bed of sickness, showed in face of this reverse the magnanimous spirit of a gentleman. He abused no one, but merely wrote to Bouquet: "There are two wounded Highland officers just now arrived, who give so lame an account of the matter that one can draw nothing from them, only that my friend Grant most certainly lost his wits, and by his thirst of fame brought on his own perdition, and ran great risk of ours."

Nothing daunted by this check, the gallant Forbes, although acutely suffering from illness, would hear of no pause in the advance.

The situation now began to improve and the prospect was brightening. News reached Forbes of the bold seizure of Fort Frontenac

at the head of Lake Ontario by Bradstreet of the 60th with 200 men of the 4th Battalion and 3000 Provincial troops. The sagacious handling of the Indians through Post, the Moravian Missionary, was also bearing fruit. The Red Indian tribes of the Ohio - former allies of the French - were beginning to be shaken in their allegiance to a tottering cause, and spies brought word that they had begun to abandon De Ligneris and the French at Fort Duquesne.

Bouquet, with his intrepid spirit, his resourceful brain and his tactful personality, proved himself the ever-active lieutenant of his Chief, who now had to be carried in a litter at the head of the troops. Moving in three divisions, and with every caution, the men thus led pressed cheerily forward, and reached the vicinity of the fort upon the 23rd November, to receive the unexpected news of its destruction and abandonment. Two days later (November 25th) the English were at last in occupation of the scorched and deserted ruins of the French stronghold, which for ten long years had dominated the Western frontier of British territory.

Thus ended an operation, which constituted a brilliant triumph over great physical difficulties, difficulties that could only have been overcome by sheer determination, endurance and pluck. "The solid value of this achievement," observes the historian Parkman, "was above price. It opened the great West to English enterprise, took from France half her savage allies, and relieved her Western borders from the scourge of Indian Wars."

Considering that its leader, the resolute Forbes, was so broken in health as to be incapacitated for any physical exertion, it may reasonably be supposed that the success of the enterprise was as much due to the unquenchable energy of Bouquet as to the courage and determination of Forbes, so the Swiss soldier of fortune must share with the Scottish General the credit of having converted the French Fort Duquesne into the English Fort Pitt, thus scoring a decisive victory for British arms at a most critical period in the history of North America.

After leaving an adequate garrison in the captured fort, Forbes with his entire force set out for Pennsylvania. It was a journey of close on 300 miles, and the dying General - carried feet foremost through the freezing forests - did not reach Philadelphia until the middle of January. In February, he expended the last remnants of his strength in writing a memorandum of the expedition, and caused a medal to be struck in commemoration of the taking of Fort Duquesne.

Early in March he died, and was buried with military honours in Christchurch; but the place of his grave has been forgotten, "as may with equal truth be said of his services and his unselfish valour."

IV.

FRONTIER LIFE, 1759-1762.

Early in 1759, Major-General Amherst succeeded General Abercromby as Commander-in-Chief, and set himself to concentrate all his available force upon his main line of advance, with a view to co-operation with Wolfe's Army upon the St. Lawrence. Bouquet and his battalion were directed to maintain order upon the Western borders of the colonies, and to capture such posts upon the great lakes as were still held by the French - a difficult and a dangerous task. This enterprise was peculiarly fitted to Bouquet's especial gifts; and under his able leadership the forts of Venango, Le Boeuf and Presque-Isle were taken from the French and garrisoned by detachments of the 60th, thus making good the communication of Fort Pitt (late Fort Duquesne) with the Great Lakes. Similarly Rogers, the celebrated partisan leader, with a body of Provincial Rangers captured the more distant forts of St. Joseph, Miamis, Outánon, Sandusky, Michillimackinac and Detroit, which were shortly afterwards taken over and garrisoned by Bouquet's Royal Americans. The well-being and efficiency of the numerous small garrisons, and the delicate negotiations with their Indian neighbours, called for all Bouquet's tact, capacity and resourcefulness. "The work of conquest was finished," says Parkman in his picturesque account of these events: "The fertile wilderness beyond the Alleghenies, over which France had claimed sovereignty - that boundless forest, with its tracery of interlacing streams which, like veins and arteries, gave it life and nourishment - had passed into the hands of her rival. It was by a few insignificant forts, separated by oceans of fresh water and unconnected leagues of forest, that the two great European powers, France first and now England, endeavoured to enforce their claims to this vast domain. There is something ludicrous in the disparity between the importance of the possession and the slenderness of the force employed to maintain it. A region embracing so many thousand miles of surface was consigned to the keeping of some five or six hundred men."

Such was the responsibility now resting almost exclusively upon Bouquet and his battalion of the 60th Royal Americans. The letters written to him by such of his officers as were in command of the various posts, or employed in making reconnaissances, are of considerable interest. Hardship, scarcity of food and the need of constant vigilance fell to the lot of officers and men alike.

"We have no kind of flesh, venison, or fish," writes Ensign Schlösser, at Fort Joseph upon Lake Huron, to Bouquet, in quaint and mis-spelt English, on the 24th January, 1762, "the porck is so bad that

neither officers nor men can eat it - and self lief (i.e., I myself have lived) more than seventeen weeks upon flour and peace-soup, and have eat no kint of meat but a little bear at Christmas." While a portion of Bouquet's battalion accompanying Amherst and the main Army to Montreal in September 1760 was present with the 4th Battalion under Haldimand at the surrender of the French under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Bouquet himself with the greater part of his Battalion was engaged in less interesting and more prosaic duties upon the frontier.

For nearly five long weary years, from 1759 to 1763, Bouquet thus found himself engaged in that particular phase of a soldier's duty which is perhaps the most trying of all; the temper of the Colonial Governments on which he necessarily depended in all matters of accommodation and supply for his men, as well as in establishing order upon the frontier, was vexatious in the extreme; and the soldier was treated with scant consideration, by reason of the selfish and petty spirit which prevailed on all sides among the colonists.

Patience, tact and firmness were the primary qualities needed for success, and in all three Bouquet particularly excelled. Experience, which was to prove of great value during the final episodes of his life, was thus gained by him, not only in dealing with the colonists, but also in understanding the idiosyncrasies and peculiarities of the Red Indian tribes.

The drill and tactics adopted by Bouquet had now been accepted by the whole Army, and we may be sure that they were perfected and improved by so persevering and painstaking an officer with all that careful attention to detail which is exhibited by his orders and memoranda,

Thus, imperceptibly and without interruption he had prepared himself for the stirring and final actions of his life. It is easy to understand that he allowed himself little relaxation from his arduous duties, and that the less strenuous period following the collapse of the French power in America did not bring leisure to his men and himself in their lonely frontier posts. There are, however, indications of an attachment to a fair lady in the Eastern States, and his no correspondence throws no light on upon such a delicate matter, and no allusion is made to it in the testamentary disposal of his property.

V.

THE PONTIAC CONSPIRACY, 1762-63.

The last months of 1762 and the early days of 1763, had been a time of

general unrest among the Red Indian tribes of the Six Nations inhabiting the shores of the Great Lakes, and the region at the head of the Ohio Valley. The withdrawal of the French and the consequent transfer of power to the British had upset the Redskins pre-conceived idea of French superiority. The French had been the first to invade their inland strongholds, but it was the increasing power and relentless vigour of the British which indicated that ere long the Red Race would have to yield to the indomitable enterprise of the White; and instinct told the Indians over all this vast region that the time had arrived to make one strong and sustained effort to check the incoming tide. As usually happens, the moment revealed the man, and in Pontiac - an Ottawa chief - was found an able leader, almost indeed a genius, who showed himself capable not only of organizing the warrior tribes of his countrymen into a close confederation, but also of making vigorous war peculiarly appropriate to the time and place.

Carefully and secretly Pontiac arranged that simultaneous attacks should be made suddenly upon the whole of the Forts spread over the immense area of forest, lake and river, garrisoned almost entirely by men of the 60th.

In May 1763, the blow was struck, and without warning, the greater number of the posts were either attacked by overwhelming numbers or captured by stratagem. In the general confusion the two most important, garrisoned by Bouquet's officers and men, stood firm. Fort Pitt commanding the Ohio valley was held by Captain Simeon Ecuyer, of the 60th, and Fort Detroit commanding the water channel between Lakes Erie and Huron by Major Gladwyn. The crisis was a serious one, and Amherst realised that the relief of these two important points was of the utmost urgency. Directing a relieving force to be sent by water to Fort Detroit, he very reasonably and wisely entrusted to Bouquet the relief of Fort Pitt.

This expedition called for a display of the utmost strength of purpose, of infinite tact and of determined and steadfast courage. North America had been denuded of troops after the expulsion of the French, so that there were not sufficient regular soldiers available for Bouquet's purpose. Many regiments had been dispersed; some to England, others to the West Indies; and the Royal Americans themselves had been reduced to two battalions. Bouquet appealed to the State Governments, but although the Red Indian warriors were everywhere invading the settlements, although the unhappy farmers upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Carolina, and Virginia were being driven from their burning homesteads with all the horrors attendant upon Indian warfare, these apathetic State Governments still declined

to vote a single man for their own protection. At such a crisis, the conduct of the colonists is inexplicable. Panic-stricken though they were, it was impossible to induce either the State legislature or individual colonists to take the steps necessary for their own defence. A wild and helpless terror seems to have been universally inspired by the Indian invasion and its horrors. But Bouquet nothing daunted, set himself to assemble what regular troops he could; and by the end of June he had contrived to concentrate at Carlisle in the valley of the Susquehanna (150 miles west of Philadelphia) a small force composed of detachments from his own Battalion of the 60th Royal Americans, the 42nd Highlanders, Montgomery's Highlanders, and a few others - in all about 500 men.

Considering the critical position of affairs and the magnitude of the task, every officer and man must have realised the insignificant numbers of the force and the gravity of the situation; and we may well admire the splendid courage and indomitable self-reliance, which Bouquet infused into his troops.

VI.

BATTLE OF BUSHEY RUN

August 5th and 6th, 1763.

Having completed his column with such transport and supplies as he could extract from the obstructive and timorous colonists, Bouquet prepared to move his force forward to Fort Bedford and then to Fort Ligonier. In spite of the obstructions and even personal insults to which he had been subjected at this trying crisis, the high-minded character of the man is well illustrated in an official letter, dated 13th July, 1763, addressed to Governor Hamilton at Philadelphia. After describing the hordes of Indians devastating the settlements, Bouquet thus writes to his friend: - "I march to the relief of Fort Pitt, and hope to draw the attention of the enemy upon me, and by that means to be of some service to this people."

It would be difficult to over-estimate the value to Bouquet and his Royal Americans of the experience and knowledge, which they had gained during their five long years of incessant struggle with the physical difficulties of nature in impenetrable forests, dangerous morasses, little known rivers and vast lakes. Frequent skirmishes with bands of Indians and daily contact with the braves of the Five Nations - the best fighting tribes inhabiting the vast regions south of the Great

Lakes - had moreover given Bouquet an insight into the Indian character and a familiarity with the peculiar Indian methods of war, which enabled him with his men to render to the English Crown those eminent services which constitute his claim to exceptional distinction.

Small marvel was it, therefore, that he was selected by Amherst for the command of the relieving column, and that he took with him all the available men of his tried and experienced battalion. The strong detachment of the 42nd Highlanders - having recently disembarked in America after peculiarly trying active service in the fever-stricken islands of the West Indies - were not only still worn with the fever which they had brought with them, but were also ignorant of the Indian style of fighting and new to savage warfare in primeval forests. "I cannot," writes Bouquet to Amherst, "send a Highlander out of my sight without running the risk of losing the man."

Bouquet had made up his mind to follow the route cut by himself in 1758 for the successful advance of his old chief, General Forbes; but by this time, it was practically obliterated. He accordingly marched for Fort Bedford, and thence for Fort Ligonier, where he determined to leave his waggons and heavy stores and, accompanied only by 350 pack-horses, to push forward through the fifty miles of dense forest still separating him from his objective. The Indians, who were beleaguering the sturdy Ecuyer and his garrison at Fort Pitt, having precise information of the movements of the British, now broke up the siege with the intention to waylay and overwhelm the small relieving column while entangled in the forest, and suffering from exhaustion consequent on a march at the hottest time of the year.

Bouquet, with his usual intrepidity, pushed on, rifle in hand, at the head of his gallant band, and soon found himself in continual conflict with the Indians, who hung upon his flanks and rear as his weary men stumbled through the forest. With a force, so weak not only in numbers but also in composition, the fine spirit of leadership in Bouquet was given full scope.

As the numerical disparity between the weak column and the constantly increasing hordes of savages, hovering unseen in the dense screen of forest, made it impossible for reconnoitring parties to leave the immediate vicinity of the line of march, intelligence of the enemy was almost entirely wanting. Thus, it happened that on the 5th of August, after a wearisome day of seventeen long miles, Bouquet approached the high and craggy hills, which constitute the defile of Turtle Creek near Bushey Run within a few miles of his destination. It was proposed to halt clear of the defile, feed and rest the troops, and then under cover of darkness push rapidly through the dangerous pass. Suddenly,

however, at about 1 p.m., the advance guard, composed of Royal Americans, became involved in a desperate struggle with an overpowering body of Indians. Quickly reinforced, the troops held their ground and by a spirited charge made good their position until Bouquet was able to take up a defensive post upon some rising ground surrounded on all sides by a dense forest. Placing his pack-horse transport and wounded in the centre, he formed his small but gallant band of Royal Americans and Highlanders into an irregular circle, and thus awaited the onslaught of his enemy.

Attacked on every side, the troops showed splendid courage, fighting with the utmost obstinacy and making repeated onslaughts with the bayonet; until at last darkness fell upon the combatants and compelled a cessation of the life and death struggle. Throughout the night, the Indians, impatient for victory, kept up a withering fire, making night hideous with war-whoops and exciting shouts at the approaching slaughter of their foe. Guarded, as is the wording of Bouquet's despatch to Amherst, it is easy to read between the lines that he felt the situation to be grave in the extreme.

Situated as the force was within a few miles of the scene of the appalling disaster in July 1755, when Braddock's far larger force was annihilated under almost precisely the same conditions, as now prevailed, it is easy to imagine that except under the influence of a leader of indomitable spirit Bouquet's troops would have looked upon themselves as doomed.

VII.

VICTORY AND ITS EFFECT.

At the first glimmer of early dawn, the Indians renewed their attacks with the utmost vigour and with undaunted spirit. The English troops, in spite of their inferiority in numbers, their incessant watching throughout the night, and their want of water, showed the same determined valour as on the previous day. At last, the Indians dismayed by the failure of their repeated onslaughts, began to withdraw behind the cover of the forest and sought to wear down the spirit of the troops by beleaguering rather than by further attack. The fight thus became stationary, and the troops on their side began to realise that the fate of Braddock's force might well be theirs.

Fortunate for them was it that their commander Henry Bouquet, was a man cast in a very different mould from leaders who like Braddock had been formed in the pedantic school of European warfare.

Everything now depended upon the steadfast courage, the gallant example and the ready resources of their Chief; and Bouquet realised that the time had arrived to compel the enemy to further action, before exhaustion and incessant fighting had worn out the spirit of his own men. A happy inspiration flashed into his mind; why not adopt the stratagem of his savage foe, and feign a retreat by withdrawing a portion of his circle, thus tempting his vigilant opponents to rush forward and expose themselves to a vigorous and determined counterattack? This idea he accordingly carried out, withdrawing the Grenadier companies of the 42nd and 60th; and at the same time under cover of the ground throwing forward unseen the Light Infantry companies of the same, so as to outflank and overwhelm the enemy should they fall into the trap. The ruse succeeded, and the result was short and sharp. The Indians following up the retreating companies, were caught by the unexpected flanking fire of the Light Companies, and staggering from its effect, were promptly assailed by a desperate charge of the Highlanders and Royal Americans thirsting for revenge. This onslaught fairly overwhelmed them. In a few moments, the crisis was over, and on all sides the Indians followed by the exultant British sullenly withdrew into the fastnesses of the forest.

Not only did this successful stratagem, executed at the critical moment, rescue the Force from the most imminent danger; but the very character of the operation was precisely such as to impress the Indian with a feeling of respect for the fighting qualities of the British troops, and the sagacity of their leader. The moral effect of the victory was far in excess of the actual loss in killed and wounded. British soldiers had for the first time defeated Indian braves of the dreaded Iroquois and Wyandot Nations by Indian methods of stratagem, and forest-warfare upon ground of Indian choosing.

It is a question which to admire most, Bouquet's resolute and skilful leadership, or his narration of his brilliant victory. His letter to Amherst, written on the spot, is eminently characteristic. After a short recital of the two days fighting, but without reference to himself, he thus sums up the conduct of those who had followed his leadership: -

"The behaviour of the troops on this occasion speaks for itself so strongly that for me to attempt their eulogium would but detract from their merit."

However, in his generous spirit, he especially commends the men of the 42nd Highlanders who, weakened by sickness and new to American forest warfare, had shown all those fine qualities which he expected and proved in his own tried veterans of the 60th inured to savage war. "The Highlanders (42nd)," he writes from Fort Pitt on the

28th of August, "are the bravest men I ever saw, and their behaviour in that obstinate affair (August 5th and 6th) does them the highest honour."

"The battle of Bushey Run," writes the American historian Parkman, "was one of the best contested actions ever fought between White men and Indians." "The troops," says another account written from Fort Pitt on August 12th 1763, "behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and the Indians were never known to behave so fiercely." And Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief, writes in eulogistic fashion to Bouquet himself: -

"New York, 31st August 1763.

"The disposition you made for the reception of the Indians the second day was indeed very wisely concerted, and as happily executed. I am pleased with every part of your conduct on the occasion, which, being so well seconded by the officers and soldiers under your command enabled you . . . to rout a body of savages which would have been very formidable against any troops but such as you had with you."

Bouquet reached Fort Pitt upon August the 10th 1763, to find that the whole force of Indian warriors had withdrawn. Such was the immediate result of the victories of the 5th and 6th.

The reputation previously gained by Bouquet among his Indian opponents was immensely increased by the indomitable spirit, which he had shown in the fight at Bushey Run; and, above all, the cunning stratagem which had won the day especially appealed to the warlike instincts of savages. His charm of manner, and firm but conciliatory spirit, coupled with his reputation as a fighting man, speedily won the confidence of the neighbouring tribes, and contributed largely to re-establish the prestige of British arms, and bring about the ultimate destruction of the Pontiac Conspiracy.

This great achievement, forgotten in the dim twilight that preceded the gloom of the British disasters in the War of American Independence, has recently been rescued from its unmerited obscurity, and Fortescue points out that "the history of the army can show few finer performances on its own scale than this victory of a handful of English, Highlanders and Germans, under the leadership of a Swiss Colonel."

But though in England we may have been oblivious of Bouquet's triumph, in the United States his remarkable exploit has won a permanent place in the hearts and minds of the great people who now inhabit the regions wrested by him from the Red Indians. The memory of the battle of Bushey Run is carefully cherished, and in 1883, an anniversary was held by the inhabitants of Pennsylvania upon the scene of that historic struggle.

VIII.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE INDIANS ON THE OHIO, 1764.

Leaving a sufficient garrison at Fort Pitt, Bouquet hastened to return to the Settlements, determined to urge the importance of following up his successes and of breaking once and for all the Indian power in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

The death knell of the Red Indian warrior had sounded; the doom of the race was sealed, and no human power could avert it. The savage warriors themselves, however, could hardly be expected tamely to accept their fate, or to acknowledge their defeat at the hands of the hated English. The more distant tribes, which had not directly taken part in the hostilities of the year before, and the wild undaunted spirits, who had fought at Bushey Run, were still sanguine and defiant. Putting their women and children in a place of safety, and removing their villages and settlements lower down the valleys of the Ohio and its tributaries, the warriors of the Delawares, Shawanoes, Senecas and Wyandots began again to renew their savage attacks upon the Western settlements. As the winter of 1763 closed in, the frontier was the scene of constant surprises from marauding bands of savages, and the forests resounded with their war-whoops. The valleys were illumined by burning homesteads, and families fled through the biting air of snow and ice, seeking any refuge from their terrible foe. Distress and dismay again reigned supreme upon the fringes of civilisation. The brave frontier-folk were goaded to desperation no less by the ill-suppressed animosity of their Quaker countrymen than by the savage butcheries and brutalities of the Indians. Reprisals were attempted, and riotous discontent in the towns and repeated hostilities on the frontier were the natural results.

Early in 1764 Amherst, urged on by Bouquet and other brave spirits, proceeded to take active steps to re-establish order, and he decided to recommence operations against the Indians in the spring. In March, General Gage succeeded Amherst as Commander-in-Chief, and renewed the efforts, which had already been made to induce the Provincial Governments of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, to raise men and co-operate with the British troops in active measures for their own protection.

It was decided to take the offensive, and in the coming summer to march an expeditionary column south-west from Fort Pitt into the heart of the Indian strongholds upon the Ohio and its tributaries, the Muskingum and the Scioto; and at the same time to despatch a second expedition by the Great Lakes, thus to coerce into obedience the Indian

tribes upon their southern shores. The first expedition was naturally entrusted to Bouquet, the promoter of the scheme, whose reputation already stood so high as soldier and administrator. The second was given to Colonel Bradstreet, a tried and capable officer, also of the 60th, who had won great distinction in earlier phases of the war, and had shown especial aptitude both as a partisan leader and in handling Provincial troops. He was unfortunately not blessed with sound judgment, and was moreover, fond of notoriety.

The difficulties of raising men, and organizing supplies and transport for the expedition, were again, as upon the previous occasions, well nigh insuperable. "Your friend Colonel Bouquet is here," writes General Gage to Haldimand from Philadelphia, "and is very impatient to know what he is to do, which I cannot tell him till the Province of Pennsylvania shall finally determine whether they will grant supplies of men or not." "All the Colonies," he continues, "are in great wrath that they are to pay their proportion of the expenses of State. They are all to be taxed by a vote of the British Parliament, and will contribute to pay the troops and fleet on the American service."

Thus early did the American Colonies, with their intense love of individual liberty and of Anglo-Saxon ideals of representative government, show resentment towards the well-intentioned efforts of the British Ministers for their own protection and defence. Virginia and Maryland flatly refused to grant a man, and only after repeated and urgent appeals did Pennsylvania, whose Quaker element had now been fairly scared into acquiescence, at last send a reasonable force of 1000 Provincial troops.

At this period honours fell thick upon Bouquet for his victory at Bushey Run. The special approval of the King was conveyed to him publicly in a very flattering manner. Congratulations were showered upon him on all sides, and from his old friend Haldimand came an especial letter of affectionate goodwill.

The incursions of the Indians meanwhile continued, and the frontier settlers were exasperated beyond all bearing. It has been stated that not less than 2000 white inhabitants had been seized and carried off as prisoners; and the country-folk, at the mercy of wandering bands of Indians were kept in a perpetual state of terror.

Bouquet suffered the usual fate of British generals; applauded as a saviour by some, he was abused as a monster by others. Steadfast to his purpose, he never swerved, and, by the exercise of immutable firmness and ready tact, he reached Carlisle on the 5th August, 1764, having with him detachments of his own regiment, of Provincials, and the 42nd Highlanders - for the most part veterans of Bushey Run. Hard

put to it for troops, he invited Colonel Lewis of the Virginia Militia to send him a detachment. Two hundred men accustomed to the backwoods responded to the appeal, and joining him at Fort Pitt took the place of 200 Pennsylvanians, who had deserted.

IX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1764.

Upon the 17th of September Bouquet reached Fort Pitt by the same route which he had already twice followed successfully. His colleague Bradstreet, having in the meantime made good his advance, had exceeded his powers, and with untimely consideration proceeded to make a treaty of peace with the Indians on the Lakes without naming conditions, or exacting any penalties for their murders and their treacherous dealing. Bradstreet, thinking to forestall Bouquet in placating the savage tribes, had communicated his achievements to the Commander-in-Chief; and he also sent a despatch to Bouquet, his senior officer, counselling him to follow his pacific example.

The sturdy Bouquet was the last man who would have accepted such ill-timed advice, and in forwarding Bradstreet's letter officially to Governor Penn, he very plainly says: -

"Fort London, 27th August, 1764.

"I hope the General will not confirm it, and that I shall not be a witness to a transaction which would fix an indelible stain upon the nation. I therefore take no notice of that pretended peace, and proceed forthwith on the expedition."

Bouquet's disgust finds full vent in a private letter to the Commander-in-Chief: -

"I received this morning advice from Colonel Bradstreet. The terms he gives the Indians are such as fill me with astonishment. . . . Had Colonel Bradstreet been as well informed as I am of the horrid perfidies of the tribes . . . he never could have compromised the honour of the nation by such disgraceful conditions, and that at a time when two armies after long struggles are in full motion to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. Permit me to represent to Your Excellency that I have not deserved the affront laid upon me by this treaty of peace, concluded by a younger officer. . . . I can therefore take no notice of his peace, but shall proceed forthwith to the Ohio."

After allowing a week to elapse, Bouquet wrote to Bradstreet in measured terms, which however when read between the lines, indicate

very clearly his opinion. The correspondence is typical of Bouquet's inflexible determination to do what he considered his duty, no matter what the cost to himself or his troops.

Gage, with sound discrimination, repudiated Bradstreet's peace and censured his conduct in a strongly-worded despatch, while he as emphatically endorsed in all particulars the wise counsel of the resolute and self-reliant Bouquet.

With infinite pains, Bouquet set himself to complete and equip his expedition; and it is a curious fact that this expedition, in which the 1st Battalion, under his command, took a prominent role, was, in its characteristics and in the magnitude of its results, not unlike the Red River Expedition in 1870 under Colonel Sir Garnet Wolseley, in which the 1st Battalion of the Regiment again played the leading and controlling part. Both expeditions were organized for similar purposes and with the same close attention to detail; Bouquet's expedition was however mainly by forest tracks and Sir Garnet Wolseley's by lake and river routes. The column under Bouquet, consisting of the 1st Battalion 60th Royal Americans, the 42nd Highlanders, two battalions of Pennsylvanian troops, and some Virginian backwoodsmen - in all about 1500 strong - was to "penetrate through a continued depth of woods, and a savage, unexplored country, without paths, and without a retreat if they failed of success."

Everything that they would require was to be carried with them; and it is interesting to observe Bouquet's thoroughness, and his grasp of the minutest details of administration and of tactical formations, in bivouac, in battle, or on the line of march. To those acquainted with Lord Wolseley's methods of war in savage campaigns, the arrangements made in 1764 are a most instructive study.

Upon the 2nd October, the troops left Fort Pitt, and began their trying march into a wilderness which no other Army had ever sought to penetrate.

"The backwoodsmen of Virginia, veteran hunters and Indian fighters, were thrown far out in front and on either flank, scouring the forest to detect any sign of a lurking ambush. The pioneers toiled in the van, hewing their way through woods and thickets, while the Army dragged its weary length behind them through the forest like a serpent creeping through tall grass. The surrounding country, whenever a casual opening in the matted foliage gave a glimpse of its features, disclosed scenery of a wild primeval beauty. Sometimes the Army defiled along the margin of the Ohio by its broad eddying current and by the bright landscapes of its shores. Sometimes they descended into the

thickest gloom of the woods, damp, still, and cool as the recesses of a cavern, where the black soil oozed beneath the tread, where the rough columns of the forest seemed to exude a clammy sweat, and the slimy mosses were trickling with moisture: while the carcasses of prostrate trees, green with the decay of a century, sank into pulp at the lightest pressure of the foot." Thus with picturesque imagery begotten of personal knowledge, does the American historian Parkman describe the progress of the troops.

On the tenth day after leaving Fort Pitt, the Army reached the River Muskingum, and Bouquet was then in the heart of the enemy's country. The vigour of the leader, the precision of the march, the confident and inflexible demeanour of the troops confounded the Indians. They were amazed at the audacity of Bouquet, and astounded that an army of such size had been able to force its way so deep into the forest fastnesses, which they had thought to be impenetrable.

Bouquet meanwhile, well known and respected as he was, had by means of judiciously selected emissaries entered into communication with the Chiefs. Respect had bred confidence, and on arriving at the more open banks of a lower reach of the Muskingum Bouquet arranged that a great council should take place.

With characteristic dignity and solemnity the leading Chiefs of the Delawares, Shewanoes, Senecas and Wyandots, arrived at Bouquet's camp, where the English troops were displayed in all the pomp and circumstance of a disciplined and well equipped array. Fifteen hundred red-coated Royal Americans, kilted highlanders, and Provincial Rangers in leather coats with feathered leggings and moccasins, formed an army sufficient in itself to 'strike' awe into the minds of savages, who, living in wild un-populated regions, had never before seen so many men gathered together.

Bouquet's address - preserved in his official diary - is a model of firmness and discrimination, forcibly recalling; Sir Garnet Wolseley's words and attitude to the Chiefs at Ulundi in July, 1879, at the end of the Zulu campaign. It was declared by Bouquet that, as a primary condition of peaceful negotiations, all the prisoners held by the Indian tribes were without exception to be surrendered within twelve days. Impressed by Bouquet's stern and uncompromising attitude, the sullen warriors departed to consider these terms. Wise counsels prevailed, and, after further conferences had been held, the Indian Chiefs accepted the conditions. The troops meanwhile set to work to clear the forest and make their camp defensible, while chosen officers and small parties were despatched far and wide to the settlements of distant tribes.

The captives now began to arrive daily and soon many hundreds of

men, women and children, who had been detained prisoners - many of them for long, weary periods of years - found themselves once more free among their countrymen. Touching are the scenes recorded of husbands returned to their wives, and of children restored to their mothers.

By the middle of November Bouquet, finding that the Indians were genuinely desirous of carrying out the first conditions of peace, again convened a great council of all, the tribes concerned and in clear and kindly terms addressed in turn the deputation of each tribe.

"The King, my master, has commissioned me not to make treaties for him, but to fight his battles; and though I now offer you peace, it is not in my power to settle its precise terms and conditions." For the conditions, Bouquet referred the Chiefs to His Majesty's Agent for Indian Affairs, and he insisted that a deputation should be sent, forthwith to arrange the Peace, the Indians meantime leaving hostages in his hands as security for their good behaviour.

This judicious firmness and well-managed display of force achieved the desired result; and the Indians accepted the conditions laid down as the preliminary to a formal Treaty of Peace.

X.

PROMOTION AND DEATH, 1765.

The expedition, having succeeded in its object, returned to Port Pitt, arriving on the 28th November, 1764. Remarkable indeed was the result of this bloodless campaign, which happily ended the combined action of the great Indian tribes, and cleared the way for the steady inroad from the West of the ever-encroaching White population.

Bouquet himself returned to the Eastern settlements, where he received the cordial appreciation of all the grateful citizens, and the hearty congratulations of Gage and the military authorities. The Governments of Pennsylvania and Virginia passed votes of thanks, expressing in earnest terms their appreciation of his services, and acknowledging the regard, which he had shown to the civil rights of the inhabitants. Both these Legislatures recommended the successful leader to the King for special consideration on the strength of his admirable work.

Bouquet, however, was not suffered to escape the penalty, which too often is exacted, from British officers serving Colonial Governments. The Virginian Assembly declined to pay for the detachment of Militia, which had volunteered for the expedition, and efforts were even made to

force Bouquet himself to pay the expenses out of his own slender means.

Disgusted beyond measure at this ungenerous conduct, and weary, perhaps, with prolonged and strenuous service, Bouquet wrote to Gage, and begged to be allowed to return to England and be released from his command. Difficulty also as to his military future had arisen, by reason of existing regulations on the subject of nationality. Although he had become a naturalized British citizen in April 1762, he was still uncertain as to the course, which might be adopted in England. Suffering from the consciousness of injustice; he was making preparations for his return to Europe, when he received the announcement of his promotion to Brigadier-General.

"The unexpected honour which His Majesty has condescended to confer upon me fills my heart with the utmost gratitude," he writes to Gage, 11th April, 1765.

Of all the good feeling shown to him upon his well merited promotion, none could have given him greater pleasure than a letter, which he received from the officers of his tried and trusted battalion of the 60th Royal Americans, with whom he had served as their commander through nine long years of peculiarly trying and arduous service. If the orthography is open to criticism, and the expressions unlike those, which we of the present day might think appropriate, there can be no question as to the real feeling of honour, respect and regard, which the letter shows.

"Sir,

As every accession of Honour and Prosperity to you must afford us a sincere satisfaction, we are extremely happy in having an opportunity of paying you our compliment of congratulation upon your being promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General.

"When Glory and Reputation are established by a series of honourable designs and actions, and acquired by real Desert, they are neither subject to diminution nor to envy. A well governed conduct, and long tried Faith in the service of the Publick have alone raist you to Promotion and Honour, we feel a singular pleasure in the distinction which has been paid you.

"The connection that has long subsisted between you and us (which we are unwilling to suppose any change of Station or Circumstance will totally cancel), and the Lenity and Reasonableness of your command intitle you to our best Regards and Esteem.

"Accept therefore, Sir, of our most hearty wishes that the honour to which you have so justly attained may still increase: and that you may long serve your country with that spirit and steady Perseverance, which

have so powerfully recommended you to the best of Kings.

"We are, Sir, with the most perfect sincerity,

"Your most obedient and humble servants,

"Signed in behalf and by request of the Officers,

"John Joseph Schlosser, Captain."

"From our Headquarters at Lancaster, April 27th, 1765."

The promotion of Bouquet to General's rank was quickly followed by his appointment to the command of all the troops in the Southern Colonies of British America with headquarters at Pensacola; and Augustine Prevost succeeded to the command of the 1st Battalion in his place.

After taking up his command at Pensacola, Bouquet soon began to pay the price for his long command and arduous service on the frontier. The multitudinous difficulties of organising and administering his three expeditions in face of the passive resistance and obstructive attitude of the Provincial Governments had worn down his health and even broken his spirit. The hotter and more relaxing climate of the South doubtless helped to aggravate the fits of depression to which he was subject. Before many months were over, his iron constitution gave way, and on the 2nd September 1765, he succumbed to an attack of fever after a short illness.

Thus at the early age of forty-seven, passed away one of the most brilliant figures in a romantic period of our military history.

Chivalrous, brave, and forgetful of himself, Bouquet's name was cherished by all who had served under him; and his exploits are still remembered in those regions of the United States, where the history of the early Indian wars has now been almost merged into a series of picturesque traditions. His name was a household word in America, and the memory of his heroic deeds were cherished for generations with fond affection by descendants of pioneer settlers whom he had rescued from the tomahawk of the Red Savages.

Besides that intrepid courage and superior knowledge which gave him such extraordinary power over his men, Bouquet had the spirit to initiate and the necessary force of character to carry through the changes in drill, tactics, and equipment, which were demanded by the peculiarities of savage warfare in almost impenetrable forests. The changes thus effected in his own Regiment, and through it introduced into the British Army in North America, were mainly responsible for the successful issue of the Indian wars and frontier troubles.

By no one was Bouquet more deeply lamented than by his old friend and comrade in the 60th, Colonel Haldimand, whom he left sole

executor and residuary legatee of his estate, and who, by a curious coincidence, succeeded him as Brigadier-General. A monument to Bouquet was erected by his friend in the cemetery at Pensacola on a bluff close to the Bay, but it has been long since washed away by the encroachment of the sea; and truly, he needs no monument, for his spirit is still living in the Regiment - that he led so well.

AN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

The period covered by Henry Bouquet's career in North America - from 1756 to 1764 - has been unaccountably overlooked by the military historians of our country. Yet these were the years which saw the destruction of the French power upon the Great Lakes, the overthrow of the French hold upon the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, the break-up of the long-standing French alliance with the Red Indians, and finally, the defeat of Pontiac and his Confederacy of the most powerful tribes of North America. This ultimate triumph of civilisation over savagery gave to the British Crown the whole vast region now comprised by the States of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Western Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois. In all the foregoing events Henry Bouquet played a leading part. Judged by results, this portion of our military history is second to none in the magnitude of the issues. It was mainly - it may be almost said solely - by the British Army that this great feat of conquest was achieved. "It is no more than truth to say," writes Fortescue, "that the brunt of this most dangerous and trying warfare had fallen wholly upon the King's troops. It was they who held Detroit: it was on them, in their miserable, ruined forts, that the refugees of Pennsylvania had relied for a time; it was they who fought and won the action of Bushey Run."

The larger share of these services unquestionably fell upon the 60th Royal Americans, and a lion's share of credit is due to the officers and men who composed the Regiment, commanded as it was by leaders of such exceptional merit as Bouquet, Bradstreet, Haldimand, Augustine Prevost, assisted by younger officers such as Gladwyn, young Simeon Ecuyer, Etherington and Archibald Blane.

The officers and men of the Royal Americans, half of whom were themselves settlers, were inured to the country and to the climate. For many a long year they had been accustomed to incessant fighting with their Indian neighbours, and to combating the difficulties and dangers of impenetrable forests and treacherous rivers. Brave as other British troops undoubtedly were, it was impossible that they could have the

knowledge and experience of the woods and of the Indian methods of war possessed by the men of the 60th.

It is worth careful analysis why so little consideration has been given to this period of our military history, and why so little appreciation has fallen to the lot of the 60th for its share in the annexation of a region which has now, developed into so vast and populous a portion of the present United States.

In the first place, the disastrous events of the War of Independence obliterated the important but inconspicuous successes, which have been sketched in the preceding biography. In the second, the United States - rather than the British Crown - profited most directly; and thirdly, the origin of the 60th was precisely such as to cause its services at this period of its history to receive less than their due meed of recognition.

It has been already shown that the four battalions of the 60th were raised in 1756 of approximately half German and Swiss settlers, one quarter German and Swiss from Europe, and one quarter volunteers from British Regiments. The senior officers were largely drawn from the armies of the European continent; and a considerable proportion of the company officers were similarly appointed - in many instances men of high military attainments, some of whom were qualified; engineers. Therefore, the 60th would have been regarded by their comrades of the British Army as foreigners or aliens rather than British in the full sense of the word; and a jealousy, natural under such circumstances, was bound to exist between the English Regiments and the Royal Americans. Military opinion, expressing itself in official reports and in contemporary English literature, could hardly fail to have been tinged with this feeling.

In the United States it is far otherwise, and historians such as Parkman and writers of fiction such as Fenimore Cooper, Brereton and others, have made their readers familiar with the Indian warfare of that period, laying stress on the services of the British troops in general and of the Royal Americans in particular.

It is not too much to say that the military incidents of this period, picturesque and romantic as they are, have received closer study and more serious consideration from historians and writers in the United States than from those in the Mother Country. The military historian, the Honble. John Fortescue, in his recently published *History of the British Army*, has however in some measure rescued this period from its undeserved obscurity; but it is left to the able historian of the Regiment to treat more fully the conditions indicated in the foregoing biography, thus making atonement for the long-standing neglect of this eventful and glorious phase in the history of The King's Royal Rifle Corps.

October, 1910.