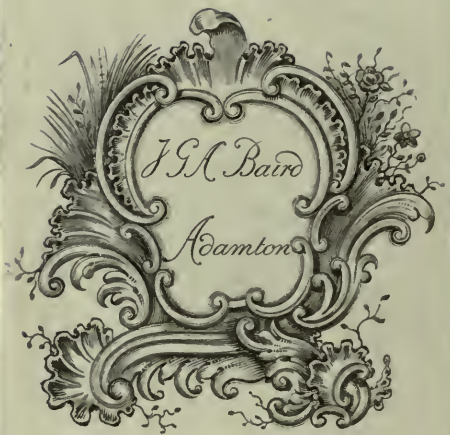
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SUVÓROFF

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL SPALDING.

LONDON—CHAPMAN AND HALL.
LIMITED.
1890.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED,
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL ROAD.

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SUVÓROFF.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.

ALEXANDER SUVÓROFF was born in Moscow on the 24th November, 1729, in the same year as his great benefactress the Empress Catherine. His family was of Swedish extraction. In 1622 one Suvor crossed the Baltic and, settling in Northern Russia, left descendants who became faithful subjects of the Czars. Basil Suvóroff, his father, likewise a soldier, attained the grade of general and the dignity of senator. He was, it appears, well-educated for those times, having actually translated Vauban's works into Russian. He lived during Suvóroff's childhood in retirement, either at Moscow or at the family estate at Rojdestveno in its vicinity. It was the reign of the Empress Anne, whose minister and favourite, the notorious Biron, gradually drove all Russians from office in favour of his German countrymen. Fortunate were they who, forgotten in the obscurity of exile, escaped persecution. Basil Suvóroff was among the number, and employed his leisure on the education of his son. On the accession of

Elizabeth, however, he was restored to active employment, and occupied important posts during the Seven Years' War. Young Sasha (or Sandy) being a sickly child and of small stature, was destined for a civil career. In those days it was customary to enroll children of noble parents in regiments as privates—generally in the Guards—and frequently at their very birth; thus when they were old enough to join they had become officers. This was not done in Sasha's case for the above reason; so he had to join as private and work through all the military grades. This placed him at a disadvantage, in one respect, but the completeness of his professional knowledge was due to the circumstance.

Notwithstanding physical frailty, Sasha burned with martial ardour. Bodily defects he tried to remedy by continual exercise and exposure to hardship. The tedious leisure hours of country life were devoted to military history and the memoirs of great commanders. Plutarch, Quintus Curtius, Cornelius Nepos, and Cæsar were his favourite authors. His model hero, however, was Charles XII., to whose character his own bore some resemblance; though the prudence which tempered his valour might seem foreshadowed by his partiality for the campaigns of Montecuccoli. Nor was his attention monopolized by military subjects, for he is said to have perused the philosophical writings of the day. He was a good linguist, or he could not, in that age, have been an extensive reader; for the day of Russian literature, had not yet dawned. He read French, German, Polish, and Italian in youth, acquired other tongues subsequently, and—still more remarkable accomplishment in

those days—he spoke and wrote his native Russian with elegance and propriety. But the father grew discontented with his studious son, being of opinion that he spent too much time in his chamber, poring over books and maps, for he rarely appeared in the family circle.

Sasha was now twelve years old and the question had to be decided: Was he to be a soldier? The father adhered to his own views; but the son was obstinately bent on a military career. And thus the point was decided. An old comrade of the father's, a General "Hannibal," resided in the neighbourhood. He was a negro; had been carried off from the shores of Africa in childhood and purchased in the slave-market in Constantinople by the Russian ambassador, who sent him as a present to Peter the Great. The Czar caused him to be baptized "Hannibal," educated in France, and placed in the Russian army, in which he attained the rank of general, dying at the ripe old age of ninety-two. One day this dusky warrior, calling on the elder Suvóroff, heard him complain about Sasha's unsociable behaviour. "Where is he?" asked Hannibal, "I will go speak to him." "Up in his bedroom as usual," replied the father. Hannibal soon discovered the culprit amid maps, classical authors, histories, and biographies; but was so charmed with the evidence of precocious talent which was thus afforded, that he interceded with Suvóroff, and finally persuaded him to allow Sasha to pursue the career of his choice.*

In 1741 then, at twelve years of age, young Sasha was

* Hannibal was a maternal ancestor of Pushkin's. The poet's features bear witness to his Moorish descent.

enrolled in the Simeónowsky regiment of Guards, and during the five ensuing years was instructed in the military profession under his father's roof and supervision. At the expiration of this term, that is, at the age of seventeen, he joined his regiment as a private, and, we are informed, performed the duties of that humble rank in an exemplary manner. Such was his zeal that he cleaned his arms and accoutrements with his own hands, instead of employing a batman, as custom permitted. True, he did not reside in barracks, but outside—that he might prosecute his studies undisturbed; yet he loved their precincts and mixed freely with the soldiery, among whom he speedily became a favourite. Passionately fond of drill, he would persuade his comrades to do a little privately "just to oblige him." The character of the man was foreshadowed in the conduct of the youth. He affected a laconic style in speech and correspondence; would reply to importunate interrogators, "*Ucheess*," or "Find out;" and here is a specimen of his correspondence with his father: "Hail, I am serving and studying. Alexander Suvóroff." His comrades looked upon him as a *chudák*, or "oddity;" and not unnaturally. For, when taunted with unsociability, he used to retort that he could not abandon old friends for new. His old friends were Quintus Curtius, Cæsar, and the rest. Persistent in study, he not only learnt the army regulations by heart, and hammered away at drill, but obtained moral influence over his fellows—mainspring of his power in after years. These early peculiarities deserve notice, as bearing on the question: To what extent were they adopted for a purpose, and how far the result of individual temperament?

A piece of luck soon befell this "oddity." When on sentry at Monplaisir, a kind of summer pavilion by the sea-shore at Peterhof, he attracted the notice of the Empress Elizabeth. Promenading in the gardens, she passed his post, when the young soldier saluted so smartly that the imperial lady, in spite of his low stature," was struck by his appearance and inquired his name, on learning which she exhorted him to become as good a soldier as his father before him, and presented him with a silver rouble. But the young sentry replied that it was against orders to accept money when on duty. Whereupon she, "patting him on the cheek," exclaimed : "Ah, my fine fellow you know your duty," placed the coin on the ground, and told him to pick it up when relieved. In this he did not fail, nor to preserve it with veneration to the end of his days. About this time he essayed composition, made verses, and contributed to the only periodical his country then boasted. His article was entitled "Conversations in the Realms of the Dead," and being signed with the initial S., was attributed to Sumarókoff, then considered a literary master, and it was in consequence extravagantly lauded. Alexander the Great is represented as exhorting Herostratus to observe the difference between true glory and an insane desire for notoriety. Montezuma inculcates on Herman Cortes that "mercy is indispensable to the character of a hero."

Not till 1754 was Suvóroff, being then twenty-five years of age, promoted lieutenant in a marching regiment. His advancement was thus slow at first in comparison with luckier contemporaries. Yet fortune not unfrequently redresses her wrongs with extreme rapidity,

and in 1757, three years after his first commission, we find him a lieutenant-colonel. It was the second of the Seven Years' War, and he was appointed commandant of Memel, an important post on the Russian line of communications. His uncommon educational attainments procured him the post, but, his duties being, chiefly connected with supply, his impatience whilst the echoes of the cannon of Gross Jägerndorf and Zorndorf were resounding through Europe may be conceived. In the end his reiterated prayer was granted, and in the summer of 1759 he joined Soltikoff's army on the eve of the battle of Kunersdorf. He was attached to the staff of General Fermor, commanding the right wing of the Russians, and greatly distinguished himself during the action. He was even charged with that offence to which staff officers are said to be prone—excess of zeal in leading the troops, and defrauding their regimental comrades of the laurels which are their due. The assertion may well be true, for the conflict was obstinate and tumultuous, while Suvóroff's nature was pushing and impetuous. But the Russian army has always been under-officered; there is room for all, and possibly no ill blood was stirred on the occasion. His conduct won him the admiration of Fermor, which was heightened by his abrupt exclamation when the Prussians broke and fled, "To Berlin! to Berlin! there is the kernel of the nut which has broken our teeth!" But this great victory was barren of result. The following year, however, he tasted the satisfaction which was then denied him by accompanying the force which occupied the Prussian capital.

In 1761 Suvóroff's abilities became conspicuous in what

are termed the minor operations of war. Near Reichenbach he defeated Frederic's advance-guard under General Knobloch, and since then was almost continuously employed at the outposts. The Russian General had found his man, and Suvóroff's rank was not yet so exalted as to expose him to jealousy; but his exploits were all confined to partisan warfare, and history as a rule is oblivious of such details, which live alone in the memories of friends and biographers. They escape the chronicler's eye and are quickly lost in the great current of events. Perhaps his most brilliant deed of arms was at Landsberg, on the Wartha. When Soltikoff's successor, Buturlin, abandoned his Austrian allies before Bunzelwitz and retired across the Oder, Frederic despatched 10,000 men under Platen to pass round the left of the Russians, destroy their magazines on the Polish frontier and proceed to the relief of Kolberg, which was besieged by a Russian army under Rumàntzoff.* Though Platen had the start by two days, Buturlin, informed of his movements, hurried off a force under General Berg to protect his communications. Suvóroff was placed in command of the advance-guard, and though the Prussians destroyed a reserve column of supplies, he cut them off from the great depôt of Posen, intercepting them by forced marches, and blocking their further advance. Platen then directed his march towards Pomerania by the left bank of the Wartha, followed by the Russians on the right. Suvóroff, aware that the enemy must cross the river by the bridge of Landsberg, decided on opposing his passage with a hundred

* Commonly misspelt "Romanzoff."

Cossacks. He swam the Netze at Driesen and at dawn appeared before Landsberg, having marched thirty miles during the night. Having captured some Prussian hussars who were posted in the town, he demolished the bridge before the enemy appeared on the opposite bank. Platen had to effect the passage in boats and the delay thus occasioned enabled the Russians to overtake him. The importance of this movement becomes apparent when we consider that the Russians, marching by the right bank of the Wartha, described an arc, while their opponents traversed its chord. Near Arnswald, during a tempest, Suvóroff lost his way at night in a wood, having no escort but two Cossacks. Wandering at haphazard, he stumbled on the pickets of a Prussian foraging party under Colonel De la Motte Courbière. Without losing his presence of mind he marked the spot, reconnoitered its approaches and turning his horse's head in the opposite direction, soon found himself in the midst of his troops, whom, without a moment's loss of time, he led forth in quest of the enemy. His Cossacks were routed by the Prussian hussars, but rallying them he not only put to flight the enemy's horse, but charging their infantry, broke their squares and compelled them to lay down their arms. At the conclusion of the campaign General Berg thus recorded his opinion: "Suvóroff is rapid and daring in reconnaissance, bold in action, and he never loses his presence of mind."

"Gentlemen, remember that success of war depends on three things: *a correct eye, rapidity, and dash.*" Such was the maxim which Suvóroff habitually impressed on the minds of his subordinates. Steadfastly adhering thereto through a career which was never tarnished by

defeat, though in the face of greatly superior numbers, the uninterrupted success which he enjoyed begets a curiosity regarding those moral qualities which render their possessor capable of deeds beyond the reach of ordinary men. Suvóroff executed no elaborate manœuvres. Reaching the scene of action, he detected the enemy's weak point instantaneously, and directed the attack without a moment's vacillation. Such prompt decision has the air of inspiration, engenders equal confidence in others and prepares the victory. Hence the braggart spirit he displays, which as we proceed grows in intensity. He boasts he knows not the meaning of "retreat, fatigue, hunger, cold,"—himself being physically so feeble as to bend under the weight of his own sabre. But, seeing how carefully he studied the Russian soldiers, and the unbounded influence he possessed over them, we may safely assume that this style of address was calculated to arouse the dormant heroism of their breasts. It was, in fact a stratagem of war.

His activity was now brought to a temporary standstill. On the 5th of January, 1762, the Empress Elizabeth expired, and was succeeded by Peter III., her nephew. Notorious is the partiality which this prince entertained for the Great Frederic, with the consequent court intrigues which, combined with the ill-health of the late Empress, had trammelled the action of the Russian armies during the war. Peter not only made peace but common cause with the Prussian sovereign, and his troops were actually seen ranged under the banners which shortly before had been the foe's. But the interlude was brief. In July of the same year he perished, and was succeeded by his consort, the able Catherine, who

forthwith ordered her troops' return home. Russia withdrew from further participation in the war, and Suvóroff, was fortunate enough to be selected to carry to the Empress the despatches which acknowledged the receipt of her orders. He was graciously received by Catherine, who possessed that rare endowment so indispensable for a ruler of mankind, the faculty of selecting talent from the mass of mediocrity. Promoted Colonel, he received command of the Astrakhan Grenadiers, but was soon after transferred to the Soozdal Regiment then quartered at Ládoga.

Six uneventful years of peace and the dull round of regimental duty ensued, their monotony relieved only by an occasional field-day at Tsarskoe Selo. Here, on one occasion, the Empress, then in her prime, appeared at the head of 30,000 men, attired in the uniform of the Preobrajénsky Guards, and to Suvóroff and his regiment was entrusted the guard of her person. This tranquil interval was, we are assured, turned to excellent account, for rarely did Suvóroff, though in the field, pass a day without devoting a portion of it to reading. Now and then he enlivened the monotony of existence by freaks such as the following:—On the march to Petersburg with his regiment he passed by a monastery—a building which, in Russia, closely resembles a fortress—when suddenly, and as by inspiration, forming columns of attack, he advanced at the double, and storming the walls, his men swarmed in, to the horror and confusion of its peaceful inmates. The superior laid his complaints at the feet of the Empress, who merely remarked with a smile: "Never mind Suvóroff. I understand him." Such proceedings, it is true, familiarized his men with

the possibilities of war; but his object lay deeper. Aware that talents, however great, may languish for ever in obscurity unless brought into prominence by adventitious means, he resolved at all hazards to mark himself off from the common herd. To rivet the attention of mankind and the Empress, from whom proceeded all good things, he had neither riches, good looks, nor exalted birth. He assumed the part of a buffoon to captivate the public gaze. It was consistently played out and by force of habit became a second nature to him.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST POLISH WAR.

In the year 1768 troubles in Poland interrupted the dull monotony of Suvóroff's garrison life. Before following his career in that country a brief summary of the events which led to its First Partition seems needful.

The fall of Poland may be traced to the fact that while the various States of Europe were gradually emerging from mediæval anarchy through the consolidation of the royal power, that kingdom was undergoing a contrary process—the nobility were constantly encroaching on the rights of the Crown. Scotland and Sweden endured the miseries of feudal tyranny till late in the sixteenth century, but Poland had not freed herself from them late in the eighteenth. Commerce being carried on by the Jews, she possessed no middle class to whom the Crown might look for support against the aristocracy; and thus she became in the end a pure oligarchy, in which king and people were alike powerless. In the days when she was great her monarchs enjoyed absolute authority; but the dynasty of the half-mythical Piasts became extinct A.D. 1370, in the person of Casimir the Great, who was succeeded by their representative in the female line, Lewis I., King of Hungary, a descendant of Charles of Anjou, the conqueror of Naples. The nobility

seized the occasion to extort the *pacta conventa* from the Crown, the provisions of which still further reduced its prerogatives; while, to purchase the succession of his daughter to the throne, the newly-elected king added still more ample concessions. The hereditary principle was rudely shaken by these transactions, nor was the monarchy long in becoming purely elective. Lewis was, according to his wish, succeeded in this Polish throne by Hedwig, his daughter, who was wedded to Jagailo, or Jagellon, Grand Prince of Lithuania, the founder of the dynasty which in history commemorates his name. When Russia lay prostrate beneath the Tartar yoke, Lithuania, under the conqueror Gedimin, had made extensive acquisitions at the expense of her neighbour, and these provinces, united to Poland personally under Jagellon, but subsequently by a legal compact (1569), became in course of time the subject of renewed contention. For Russia, waxing powerful under the steady and uniform despotism of her Tsars, longed to recover the territory which had been snatched from her in the day of adversity; whilst the increasing weakness and anarchy of Poland formed a standing temptation for her to gratify these desires. Sigismund of Sweden, grandson of the famous Gustavus Vasa, followed, after the brief but glorious interlude of Stephen Bathori's reign,* the last of the Jagellons upon the throne; but, in 1668, his son, John Casimir, abdicated it in despair, after foretelling the ruin which intestine commotion would bring upon his country. Each demise of the Crown was

* That of Henry of Valois can hardly be reckoned as such.

made the pretext for renewed encroachment on its authority; till, at last, the highest bidder among the neighbouring potentates secured the coveted prize by corrupting the most influential among the nobility; for its possession by a foreign ruler enabled him to intrigue for the ruin of the country. The glorious annals of the reign of John Sobieski formed a brilliant episode amid the ever-thickening gloom which gathered round the destinies of Poland, but the Saxon dynasty which followed him laid her bound hand and foot at the feet of Russia, who henceforward nominated her candidates for, and carried through their election to, the regal dignity. In 1764 Catherine II. caused her favourite, Stanislas Poniatowski, to be chosen king. Yet the epoch of Russian interference had but commenced. The Empress, possessing a pliant tool in her nominee king, soon discovered a plausible pretext for intervention in the question of religious freedom. The doctrines of the Reformation had found a ready and wide acceptance among the Polish nobility, though the wealth and influence of the Church remained in the hands of the priesthood of the ancient faith, a circumstance which soon led to repudiation of the tolerance which had been guaranteed to the Dissidents on the accession of Henry of Valois in 1573. The Jesuits, who infested the land, used this advantage so skilfully, that in brief space they managed to effect the exclusion of Dissidents from all public employ. Crying grievances such as these Catherine resolved to turn to account. She instructed her envoy at the Court of Stanislas to demand the repeal of the obnoxious edict of exclusion, but, though supported in this step by the Protestant Powers, Repnin, as

Catherine from the first anticipated, met with a decided refusal from the Diet, who were instigated thereto by the clergy. Armed confederacies—the constitution sanctioned these as lawful means of expressing discontent with the executive—assembled to enforce the rights of the Dissidents All of them—there were about two hundred—coalesced at Radom under the leadership of the notorious Prince Charles Radzivill, a Lithuanian magnate of immense wealth and a personal enemy of the King's. But Repnin having in the meantime bullied the Diet into acquiescence with his demands, a new confederacy forthwith assembled at Bar, in Podolia, which pronounced the deposition of Stanislas for conceding those very liberties on which they themselves had not long ago so loudly insisted. Unable to suppress with his own unaided forces so formidable an insurrection, the King appealed to Catherine for assistance, and, as may be conceived, his request met with joyful compliance. The Confederates of Bar were declared rebels by royal proclamation, while the Empress quietly prepared to set her forces in motion. In the winter of 1768 a division was concentrated at Smolensk, then close to the frontier of Poland, and placed under the orders of General Nummers, in readiness to take the field with the advent of spring. The Soozdal regiment under Suvóroff was among those which were ordered to that town, where its chief was placed in command of a brigade with the corresponding rank. Having performed the march from Ládoga to Smolensk, a distance of 500 miles in thirty days, he arrived at the rendezvous a whole month earlier than expected. Nevertheless, during the interval he found time to instruct his men in

the various duties connected with actual warfare, even target practice, although he constantly exhorted them to trust to the bayonet. "The bullet is a hag, the bayonet a hero," was his favourite saying. On the march he was ever beside the column cracking jokes with the men, and diverting them by curious antics. His system would have struck the strick martinet with dismay. There were no halts made to allow the rear of the column to "close up." "The head must not wait for the tail," was a maxim which he constantly followed during the irregular warfare which engaged him for many years to come. "Stragglers," he averred, "were good riddance; the best men kept up; time was worth more than numbers." Yet he could adapt his methods to circumstances. At this period the forces he directed were numerically weak and the inconveniences of such a system were not much felt. Essen, the Saxon envoy at Warsaw, estimated the Russian troops then in Poland at 15,000, but added that they gave themselves out as double that strength to conceal their weakness. Leaving Suvóroff at Smolensk diligently employing the winter months in the instruction of his brigade, let us glance at the theatre of war in which he is about to act. Poland (the name probably derived from the Slavonic *polïe*, a plain or field) consists of one vast plain which extends from the shores of the Baltic to the base of the Carpathian mountains. Lying but little below the level of the sea, it must have been submerged beneath it at no remote period, since fragments of boats have been found imbedded in the earth very far inland. Consequently, marshes abound; the rivers and streams are broad, sluggish, and deep; while extensive woods of

fir occupy the intervals between these liquid obstacles to locomotion. The roads, to describe the country as it existed at that time, were very bad, or to speak more correctly, if we except the highways which united the principal towns, they had no existence. The wayfarer either found himself ankle-deep in sand, or engaged in the passage of a morass on a causeway of branches and trunks of trees. The villages were sparse and wretched, and consisted but of a few poor huts; while the towns might have perhaps equalled in size, but certainly not convenience, a modern village. The castles of the nobility and the monasteries were in point of fact so many fortresses in which their proprietors sought protection from the inroads of the Tartars and Cossacks who infested south-eastern Europe. Supplies both for man and beast, always inadequate, were exhausted after the first month of hostilities, when the face of the country assumed the aspect of an inhospitable wilderness. The difficulties to be overcome by bodies of regular troops, however small, operating in such a country may be conceived; while, as to large masses, it was totally impossible to feed them. On the other hand the facilities for waging guerilla warfare were proportionally great. We shall observe how Suvóroff, by the rapid movement of small bodies of troops, overcame the difficulties incident to the situation.

Russia, for the time being, was in no position to maintain large bodies of troops in Poland. The Porte, instigated by the French minister Choiseul, who secretly assisted the Polish confederations to embarrass Russia, was threatening war and at last seized on the pretext of a slight violation of her territory to declare it. It was

late in 1768, and no hostilities took place till the following year, though Russia was compelled to concentrate her forces to provide for the safety of her borders. Troops which might have been poured into Poland were stationed on the banks of the Dniester, which then formed the boundary between the two empires. In this neighbourhood the destinies of Poland were really to be decided. The confederate cause languished and again revived according to the vicissitudes of the strife which raged in Bessarabia. In the spring of 1769 the Moslem armies, advancing to the Dniester, were confronted on the opposite bank by the Russians under Prince Galitzin. That conflict of the "one-eyed with the blind," over which Frederic the Great made merry, was then witnessed. Incapacity of the grossest kind on either hand terminated with the retirement of the Ottoman forces south of the Danube.

As long as the chances of victory hung evenly in the balance the Polish confederates, inspirited by the Porte's intervention in their favour, saw in imagination the intruding Muscovite defeated and driven back to his own borders. The invaders of Poland were at this time commanded by General Weimarn who, fixing his headquarters at Warsaw, awaited with much apprehension a popular insurrection such as that which in 1830 delivered the capital into the power of the national forces. Solicitous for the support of Nummers' division, he directed that officer to expedite his movements, in consequence of which, on reaching Minsk, then a border-town, Suvóroff was sent ahead of the main body with his own regiment and a couple of squadrons of dragoons. To save time the infantry proceeded in country carts with

fixed bayonets in momentary expectation of attack, and in two echelons, though this division of force was fraught with danger, for the confederates infested the neighbourhood. At Brest (in Polish Brzesc-Litewski) he surprised and captured without bloodshed two Polish regiments which had embraced the confederate cause. He reached Praga, the suburb of Warsaw lying on the right bank of the Vistula, a distance of 400 miles, in twelve days; in fact, before the despatch which announced his departure had reached its destination. He found the capital in a state of ferment. It was rumoured that Marshal Kotlubowski* was approaching with a force of 8000 men, and that the populace but awaited his arrival to rise in open revolt. Suvóroff at once started with a detachment 200 strong to reconnoitre the enemy, and, after ascending the left bank of the Vistula for about five miles, he descried their vedettes on the opposite side of the stream. Having discovered a ford and crossed with fifty Cossacks and a squadron of dragoons, he attacked and routed the enemy; but subsequently ascertained from prisoners that a force of no more than 400 mounted volunteers, which rumour had magnified into a strong division, had been opposed to him.

It is difficult to over-estimate the invigorating and tranquillizing influence of a resolute, fearless spirit like Suvóroff's in moments of panic, terror, and confusion. No sooner had the scare occasioned by Kotlubowski been dispelled than news arrived that the brothers Frank and Casimir Pulawski were marching on Brest-

* This title indicated no military rank. It denoted the president of a confederacy.

Litovski at the head of 2000 horse. Suvóroff, ever on the alert, started with 1200 men and eight guns for that town—an important strategic point commanding the passage of the Bug—and reached it before the enemy could do so. Leaving one half his force in garrison, he pressed forward with the rest to seek the foe, and it is a significant fact that, whilst he was thus risking all with a handful of 600 men, two other Russian generals each at the head of 1500 men were timidly observing events from a distance. So little indeed did Suvóroff appear to value his antagonist that he requested no help from them before beginning the attack, though it is possible that he shunned his colleagues to avoid being superseded in the command. Taking with him a patrol of 60 dragoons, under Count Castelli, whom he came across by chance, he made straight for the enemy, who were posted at a village named Orechowo. "I learnt," he wrote, "that they were carelessly posted in a bad position, crowded in an open space in the wood not far from the village." The front was protected by a marsh, across which a causeway led to a bridge which was swept by two pieces of cannon. Suvóroff, having stormed the bridge, passed his men rapidly across to the opposite side, where he posted them with their backs to a wood, into which in case of defeat they might retire unmolested by the enemy's cavalry. Hardly had they assumed this position when the avalanche of horsemen swept down upon them. A fierce struggle ensued; but the Russian squares were steady as rocks and their assailants at length withdrew to reform their shattered ranks at a distance. Suvóroff profited by the momentary calm to shell the village which lay behind them.

When he saw the flames ascending, a general advance was ordered, and the Polish horse, alarmed by a conflagration which threatened to bar their retreat, decamped with precipitation. Their flight was gallantly covered by a squadron under Frank Pulawski who, while in single combat with Castelli, was stretched lifeless by a shot from the pistol of his opponent. An episode highly illustrative of Suvóroff's character occurred during the earlier moments of the combat. When the sea of horsemen came surging round the Russian squares an officer exclaimed, "We are cut off!" when Suvóroff at once placed him in arrest, in order to check the spread of panic in the ranks. This victory quelled the spirit of revolt in the surrounding district.

Suvóroff now fixed his head-quarters at Lublin, where he was joined by the remainder of his brigade from Warsaw—a central point in the Poland of those days. This town lies midway between the Vistula and Bug, and forms a knot where the principal roads unite. Its walls, though dilapidated, were strengthened by a castle or citadel, while the suburbs were made defensible by Suvóroff himself, who constituted the town his pivot of operations and depôt of supplies. From this point he dominated the surrounding country by means of small movable columns, which darted out and crushed parties of the enemy collected within striking distance, and, having accomplished this, returned to their post of observation. So efficacious was this system that soon no hostile force was able to keep the open country. The confederates sought refuge in the fastnesses of the Carpathians, a base of operations all the more promising, that Austria, jealous of Russian successes on the Danube, was afford-

ing secret aid to their cause. So complete was the subjugation of the plains that during the year 1770 they were the theatre of nothing more stirring than insignificant skirmishes. This collapse, it is true, was in part due to the great victories obtained in the same year by the Russians both by sea and land. In Bessarabia the battles of Larga and Kahul sent the Turks in panic rout across the Danube ; while the Ottoman fleet was destroyed at Chesmeh Bay, near Smyrna, by the Russian squadron under Count Alexis Orlóff, assisted by several British officers. The *prestige* of these events paralysed for a while the confederate cause in Poland, but, on the other hand, conjured up a peril for Russia to which she had not hitherto been exposed. The Great Powers took alarm at her successes, dreaded that the dissolution of the Ottoman empire was already at hand, and saw in their apprehensions the Muscovite armies advancing to universal domination. Austria was most of all perturbed. She concluded an alliance with the Porte, in addition to affording aid to the confederates of Poland. France likewise improved the occasion ; Choiseul, desirous (as Dumouriez in his memoirs frankly avows) of kindling a general war with a view to invading England, liberally subsidized the confederates, and sent the above-mentioned officer to the seat of war as their military adviser.

Dumouriez, on arrival at Eperies, in Hungary, where the confederates had fixed their head-quarters, found affairs in a chaotic state ; the Polish magnates, lukewarm in the cause they had espoused, were engrossed in the pursuit of pleasures upon which both private resources and the public revenues were recklessly squan-

dered. According to him they were desirous of laying the French King's subsidy likewise under contribution for similar purposes ; but he maintained a strict watch over the expenditure, and informed them that their mode of life indicated opulence rather than indigence—words which so exasperated them that they sought revenge by throwing every conceivable obstacle in the way of the fulfilment of his mission. Nevertheless he set to work to remedy, so far as lay in his power, the confusion which reigned around. There was no artillery, no infantry in the confederate army ; nothing but a mass of irregular cavalry who scorned the restraints of discipline. Each magnate desired a separate command and ridiculed the idea of subordination to a superior. The first care of Dumouriez was to create a respectable force of infantry, and to this end he was constrained to employ agents who enlisted Austrian and Prussian deserters on the frontiers ; for the Polish nobles declined to place arms in the hands of their serfs. In this way, by the end of 1770, he had organized 1800 infantry and 8000 cavalry, which were in readiness to take the field. To establish some degree of unanimity among the magnates he had recourse to the mediation of the Countess Mnishek, an influential Polish lady who arranged that, pending the selection of a general-in-chief (who was to be a foreigner, for the magnates would not submit to one of their own number), the campaign should be directed by a council in which Dumouriez was to sit in the capacity of military adviser.

His plan of operations aimed at menacing simultaneously the city of Warsaw and the Russian magazines in Podolia : if Weimarn hastened to defend the latter, to march in force on the capital and there establish the

seat of insurrectionary government; if, on the other hand, the Russians concentrated for the protection of Warsaw, to direct the mass of his forces on Podolia. The plan was well conceived, but required a disciplined army for its successful execution. The first step was to burst through the cordon of Russian troops which blockaded every avenue from the Carpathians into the plains, extending in front of Cracow from the Upper Vistula to the banks of the Donajec. This part of the enterprise was carried out on the night of the 29th April, when, as the French General learnt from his Jewish spies, a ball was to be given in Cracow, at which the majority of the Russian officers would be present. But the enemy once driven across the Vistula all semblance of discipline disappeared from among the victors. Each magnate acted according to his own inspiration, and Dumouriez found it impossible to unite them for further effort. May and the early part of June had been spent in wretched squabbles, when suddenly news arrived that Suvóroff had forced the passage of the Donajec, and was striding forward to the attack.

That commander (now a Major-General) had been disabled for some time through a mishap which befell him in crossing the Vistula. He fell from a pontoon bridge into the stream, but was rescued from death by a Grenadier, who, in hoisting him from the water, could not prevent his receiving injury by coming into contact with the woodwork of the bridge. He was bled profusely, according to the fashion of the age, and, as a natural result, lay for three months in a comatose state; but the early spring of 1771 found him sufficiently recovered to take the field. In March he defeated the Cossack leader Sava at

Krasnik in the Lublin district. The latter escaped from the field severely wounded, but was captured at Szrensk, on the Prussian frontier. Though well cared for by the Prussians—Weimarn sent him his own surgeon—he soon after died of his wounds. Rulhière,* a well-known but untrustworthy writer, intimates that the Cossack chief was murdered by Suvóroff's orders; but at the time of Sava's death Suvóroff was at the other end of Poland, in Volhynia, where he was employed in dispersing a confederate force under the command of Novicki. Ferrand,† in his continuation of Rulhière's work, admits that there is not a tittle of evidence to support this accusation.

Suvóroff was returning from Volhynia when he heard of the confederate advance and the consequent retreat of his countrymen beyond the Vistula. On the 15th June he started for the scene of action with about 1600 men and eight guns. On the 19th he forced the Donajec, when Pulawski, who defended the passage with 2000 men, fled into the mountains, abandoning the main body of the confederates. On the advance of the Russians becoming known, Dumouriez indicated Skawina, a village near Cracow, as the point of concentration for his forces, and entreated Pulawski to proceed thither, but, according to the Frenchman's account, the Polish leader replied by an insulting message expressive of his determination to act independently. It must be admitted that the spot chosen was too far in advance for secure concentration in the face of an active general like

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* *Anarchies de Pologne*, iv. 221. Duboscage, his countryman, styles this work a "defamatory libel."

† *Histoire des trois Démembremens de Pologne. Suite de l'Histoire de Rulhière.*

Suvóroff, who had already reached Cracow and set free its garrison, 2000 strong. Repulsed in an attempt on the strong convent of Tyniec, near Cracow, he turned upon Dumouriez's detachment, which was now in full retreat towards the mountains. On the 22nd he overtook them, 3000 strong, posted on the heights of Landskron. Their position was a spur of the Carpathians; their left covered by the castle of Landskron, their right by a wood and ravine, and front by a slope covered with brushwood. Some distance in advance, beyond an intermediate ravine, lay another eminence. French tirailleurs occupied the wood on the right and the brushwood in front. No sooner had Suvóroff arrived with his advance-guard than he seized, without a moment's delay, the eminence in front of the enemy's position, and without hesitation sent his Cossacks, supported by a squadron of regular cavalry, dashing across the ravine against the wooded slope. Having cut down the sharp-shooters which guarded the wood, these horsemen galloped on precipitately and in apparent disorder against the main position; when Dumouriez, having marked their irregular, onset, endeavoured to lead his squadrons to the charge. In this, however, he did not succeed, for the greater part, after discharging their carbines, galloped from the field. A small band under Mionczinski endeavoured to retrieve the fortunes of the day, but the leader was taken prisoner and his followers perished or shared his fate; while Prince Sapieha, in attempting to rally the fugitives, received death at their hands. The left wing, alone protected by the guns of the castle, effected an orderly retreat. The action lasted but half an hour. Dumouriez escaped at the head of a few French horsemen, and soon re-

turned in disgust to France. The Duke de Choiseul had been dismissed from office and was succeeded by the Duke d'Aiguillon, who looked coldly on the enterprise of his predecessor in Poland.

Pulawski had profited by Suvóroff's absence to seize Zamosc, a town which the latter must pass in returning to Lublin, and when, after the action at Landskron the Russian leader approached, he issued forth to the encounter. The Poles were defeated after a gallant resistance, and their commander retreated to the mountains with such skill, that Suvóroff next day sent him a porcelain snuff-box in token of his admiration. For these services the Empress bestowed on her general the Order of St. George, which he solemnly pinned on his breast in presence of his troops assembled on parade. He caused divine service to be performed; he expressed his gratitude to his "mother," the empress; thanked his men for their bravery and conduct, nor forgot to improve the occasion with the artless joke: "Remember, boys, St. George the Victorious fights with us now." But his utterances, grotesque as they may seem, were suited to the mental calibre of his audience. "Bravo, heroes!" he would shout to his men after each success. "Listen and remember: Obedience—Discipline—Instruction—Order—Cleanliness—Health—Drill—Courage—Victory—Glory, Glory!" These simple devices, we are assured, brought tears in the eyes of the uncouth soldiers; and when desperate deeds were to be done, the whisper would pass through their ranks: "To conquer or die; Father Suvóroff hath said it."

Prince Oginski, Grand Hetman, or Commander-in-Chief of the Polish regulars, was stationed with several

regiments in Lithuania. Having agreed to embrace the confederate cause, he had delayed action till too late, but was dragged into the movement through the influence of a mind more powerful than his own—by Kossakowski, the colonel of the Black Hussars. Early in September (1771) the Prince attacked a Russian battalion, and compelled it to surrender at discretion, a misfortune which once more revived in Warsaw terrors which had but recently subsided. Suvóroff at once applied for instructions to General Weimarn, who rejoined by commanding him to remain where he was. But this manœuvre, so easy of execution, was not to the general's taste. Overcome with indignation and disgust, Suvóroff acted for himself, and committed an act of insubordination which was of course judged by its results. We are assured that he returned the insolent reply, "The match to the gun, Suvóroff to the field!" and at once set out for Lithuania with such troops as he had at his disposal. They were about 500 in number, but at Biala he received from Brest reinforcements which doubled his strength. Having reached the town of Slonim, in the province of Grodno, distant 120 miles, in four days, he learnt that Oginski lay with from 3000 to 4000 men at Stolovitshi, a village some thirty miles in advance. He had lost, as usual, about 150 stragglers, but was indifferent to this, exclaiming, "So much the worse for them; they will not share in the victory!" When the position of the enemy was ascertained, he decided to advance, after a halt of two hours, to the attack. The night was dark and tempestuous on the 22nd September, when, at 10 p.m., Suvóroff reached the town of Stolovitshi. The unsuspecting confederates lay wrapt in slumber as,

guided by a lamp which gleamed from a convent tower, he made the circuit of its walls without arousing the vigilance of the sentinels. He disposed his troops thus:— Four companies of infantry in first line; behind these, two guns, escorted by a company of foot; three squadrons of cavalry in second line, and a reserve which consisted of one company of infantry and the Cossacks. During the advance four lancers belonging to the enemy were surprised and captured without raising an alarm, but an unforeseen obstacle was soon encountered in the shape of a marsh, which was traversed by a single causeway some 200 yards in length. The infantry, followed by the horse, slowly defiled across this passage, but the officer in charge of the guns in an attempt to drag them through the bog itself left them imbedded in the mire. When the Russians at length began to reform on the opposite side, a musket discharged from the walls of the town gave the alarm. The Poles sprang to their posts, but were not able to form their ranks in time to receive the attack; the cavalry had not time to mount, but abandoned their horses; the town was evacuated in haste and confusion. The soldiers of Albutieff's battalion, who had been taken prisoners by Oginski, having been discovered in their places of confinement, were released, and equipped with the enemy's arms. Oginski himself narrowly escaped capture. When morning broke, the Poles offered battle outside the town, and Suvóroff accepted the challenge. Being outnumbered, he moved obliquely to his left, and attacked their right wing, a manœuvre he may have witnessed during the Seven Years' War. When he thought victory assured, a thousand Polish lancers

galloped on to the field and renewed the conflict. Nevertheless the confederates, after brave resistance, at length gave way, and taking the direction of Slonim abandoned their military chest, containing 50,000 ducats (or £24,000), to the victors. After an hour's repose, the Russians followed, and their column, trailing out to the extent of two miles, owing to the quantity of booty and prisoners taken, might have been attacked with advantage by the Poles, had they possessed sufficient enterprise. Suvóroff, leaving sick, wounded, and prisoners at Slonim, returned to Lublin by Pinsk. "Well-conducted surprises," he wrote, "are generally successful. The soldier, startled from his sleep, seldom offers a stout resistance. The more sudden the danger, the greater it appears; and his first thought when surprised is not of resistance, but escape and flight." On arrival at Lublin the insubordinate victor was placed in arrest by Weimarn's command. His disobedience of orders had, it is true, been flagrant, though justified by success; yet it would have been prudent on the part of Weimarn to have simulated for the occasion a short memory. On the contrary, he applied to Petersburg for a court-martial on the delinquent, of course without success, and he might have foreseen that his own motives were certain to be called in question. The upshot of the affair was Weimarn's supercession in the command by Bibikoff, a general officer who enjoyed the advantage of personal friendship with Suvóroff. A *generalissimo* was required who could consent to work in unison with an eccentric but indispensable subordinate. A letter addressed by Suvóroff to this officer while in confinement pending reference of his case to the Empress, is subjoined as a

specimen of his epistolary style. The fact of its being originally written in French is an additional reason for its selection, as no translation from the Russian would convey an adequate idea of the quaintness of the original :—

"KREUZBURG, 25*th November*, 1771.

"Un animal, dis-je, de notre espèce, accoutumé aux soucis, malgré les inconvéniens inévitables, se croit un bête quand il en manquerait, et les trop longs délassements casuels l'assoupissent. Que ces fatigues passées me sont douces ! Je ne visais qu'au bien patriotique enclavé dans mon devoir au service de mon auguste Impératrice, sans faire tort particulier à la nation où je me trouvais, et les revers mêmes occasionnés par quiconque ne faisaient que m'encourager. La réputation est le partage de tout homme de bien, mais je fondais cette réputation dans la gloire de ma patrie, dont les succès n'étaient que pour sa prospérité. Jamais un amour propre, occasionné le plus souvent par un instinct passager, n'était maître de mes actions, et je m'oubliais s'il y allait du patriotisme. Une éducation farouche dans le commerce du monde, mais les mœurs innocentes de ma nature et une générosité de coutume m'aplanissaient les travaux. Mes sentimens étaient libres et je ne succombais pas. Dieu ! me trouverais-je bientôt dans des cas pareils ! A présent je languis dans une vie oisive propre à ces âmes basses qui ne vivent que pour elles, qui cherchent le souverain bien dans cette lassitude, et de voluptés à voluptés courent dans les amertumes. Une misantropie couvre déjà mon front, et je crois prévoir dans la suite une plus grande détresse ; une âme labo-

rieuse doit être toujours nourrie dans son métier, et les fréquentes exercisses lui sont aussi sains comme les exercisses ordinaires du corps."

This may not be, as an admirer has declared, the literary style of the age of Lewis XIV.; yet it presents to the mind a more solid attraction by reflecting the thoughts of a unique and original character. The genuineness of its sentiment can hardly be called in question; for the writer was among those who, when they err in their utterances, do so by excess of candour. His epistles to Bibikoff were sometimes marked "*à l'Anglaise*," which seems to have indicated that more than usual candour was about to be used. To return to the facts of his career: he was not arraigned before a court-martial, but received the order of St. Alexander Nevsky with the thanks of his sovereign for his brilliant feat in arms.

In the beginning of the year 1772 General Viomesnil assumed the post which had been vacated by Dumouriez. Though ill-supported by the French Ministry he set vigorously to work at repairing the disasters which had befallen the confederate arms. To reanimate the courage of his crest-fallen allies he planned the surprise of the castle at Cracow, an edifice which, perched on a cliff overlooking the Vistula, was at that period encircled by walls of masonry thirty feet high and seven in thickness. The garrison of the city consisted of a detachment from the Soozdal regiment, now commanded by a Colonel Stackelberg, though the castle was guarded by no more than thirty men. Stackelberg was, unfortunately for himself, enamoured of a Polish lady in secret communication with the enemy, who succeeded in persuading him to remove the sentries from a certain

portion of the ramparts where, she averred, their cries and challenges interfered with her slumbers. This turned out to be no other than the locality near which the main drain issued from the Castle, and by this sordid avenue did the French propose to effect an entrance. On the other side, the Russians having been recently strengthened by fresh arrivals from their country, it was resolved to deal the insurgents a crushing blow in the very heart of their mountain fastnesses. Suvóroff himself was about to start from Lublin on a distant raid, when information reached him of the danger by which the ancient capital of Poland was threatened. But, deeming its source suspicious, he neglected to act thereon and departed in prosecution of the business in hand.

On the night of the 2nd February a band of volunteers, under Captain Viomesnil, nephew to the general, proceeded to the execution of their adventurous design. With white shirts drawn over their uniforms, for snow lay on the ground, they crawled through the narrow aperture of the drain, surprising the feeble garrison of the castle, whom they instantly put to the sword. Their next act was to throw open the gates to Brigadier Choisy who, with a body of 500 picked horsemen, was awaiting the event outside. Stackelberg was at a ball, waltzing with his fair, when news of misfortune first assailed him, and he threw himself with such troops as he could collect in the direction of the castle. But his attempt failed, and the French remained masters of the place, in which were found ample stores excepting meat only. Two days later Suvóroff, having learnt what had passed, hurried to the spot with 800 infantry, five regiments of royalist Polish lancers and a few guns. Having dragged

the latter to the roofs of houses in the vicinity of the castle, he opened fire and on the 29th risked an assault, which the French repulsed, inflicting on the assailants a loss of 150 men. After this rebuff the siege was converted into a blockade.

The intrepid Kossakowski now approached Cracow with his Black Hussars, when Suvóroff, sallying forth at the head of his cavalry, engaged him and drove him from the neighbourhood, but nearly lost his life in the fray. An officer of lancers, Reich by name, having sworn to take his life, rode fiercely at the object of his aversion, and, after discharging his pistols without effect, attacked him with the sabre. Suvóroff, crossing swords with alacrity, returned blow for blow and thrust for thrust; but must have succumbed in the end to his youthful and vigorous assailant, had not a Russian cuirassier galloped up in the nick of time and shot the lancer dead.

Late in April provisions ran short in the castle, and Galibert, Viomesnil's second in command, appeared at Suvóroff's quarters with proposals for surrender. Extolling the military exploits of the Russian chief, he wisely endeavoured to mitigate the terms by skilful adulation; but was shown a chair and asked to commence business. The conditions offered were moderate; but next day the envoy, returning in hopes of further concessions, had their stringency increased; they were of course accepted, and the castle surrendered. The French officers retained their swords, Suvóroff merely remarking to them as he invited them to dinner: "That his Empress was not at war with their King; consequently they were not prisoners, but his guests."

Nevertheless, in spite of amenities, he marched them under proper escort into Russia, and when D'Alembert interceded with Catherine for their liberation, she replied, as Guizot laments, with "pleasantries" of the *ne sutor* kind. Suvóroff next laid siege to the strong convent of Tyniec, which had previously baffled his assaults, but was shortly afterwards relieved by an Austrian force. They entered Galicia in pursuance of the treaty of partition, upon which the three Powers implicated were now agreed, since Russia had been induced to relinquish her conquests on the Danube in exchange for a portion of the Polish spoil—the transaction being confirmed by the Diet, coerced, it is true, by Russian troops. The confederates, outlawed and overwhelmed by numbers, thought further resistance useless ; Casimir Pulawski, having emigrated to America, was killed fighting under the banner of Washington. Those who remained behind perished or submitted to their fate. "Quiet reigned in Warsaw," as was declared on a subsequent occasion.*

In September Suvóroff joined Elmpt's corps, which was slowly progressing through Lithuania on the way to Finland in view of a possible rupture with Sweden, whose young king, Gustavus III., had recently by a *coup d'état* annihilated the preponderance of the aristocracy and possessed himself of almost absolute power. As a consequence the faction devoted to France gained the upper hand and war with Russia seemed imminent. But this anticipation was not realised and Suvóroff's activity on the Finnish border was limited to the in-

* By General Sebastiani in 1831.

spection of fortresses, and ascertaining the opinions of the inhabitants regarding the late revolution in Stockholm. Such being the case, early in 1773 his fondest wishes were gratified, and he proceeded to the Danube to take part in that hereditary strife with the infidel which so powerfully appeals to Russian sympathies. He felt a deep antipathy for the Polish war, and ardently longed for a more congenial sphere of action.

These three years of warfare in Poland, though everything was on a small scale, are worthy of close attention, if skilful adaptation of means to ends be the test of military capacity. In this art Suvóroff was a master, as we shall see. He fought Turks and Tartars, Poles and Frenchmen, each in a different way. In the present instance, having thoroughly comprehended the nature of the ground and the character of the struggle, he adhered to one simple plan, which alone in the long run could guarantee success. It would have been absurd to attempt to guard the whole extent of such an immense theatre of war, thus imitating the disjointed proceedings of the enemy. From his pivot at Lublin, whence the highways radiated, he darted like a spider in its web on the foe, and crushed him before he became formidable. At the same time he maintained a chain of posts which connected him with Warsaw and Cracow, the chief cities of the kingdom; likewise at points commanding passages over rivers, such as Pulawa and Sandomierz on the Vistula, Brest and Sokol on the Bug. The reason for his turning a deaf ear to warnings concerning Cracow may be found in the fact that men of his stamp abhor change of enterprise once commenced. If he suffered repulses from fortified towns, it must be re-

membered that engineering science and its appliances were in that day extremely defective, a truth the British in Spain were soon to realise. Yet it may be at once admitted that his storming the Castle of Cracow, when a blockade would have answered every purpose, involved useless bloodshed. He excelled in rapidity of movement, but used to say when extolled in this respect: "It is nothing. The Romans marched faster. Read Cæsar." If this be true, his sincerity may be called in question; for he was fond of comparing his exploits with those of Cæsar and Hannibal, not always to the advantage of those heroes, and justified his arrogance by asserting that the Romans boasted in public in order to excite an emulation in glory. He was honourably distinguished in Poland from some by the humanity of his conduct. The subjoined extract from a letter to his friend Bibikoff, written by him on quitting Poland, may throw light on his disposition at this period. "I follow my destiny. I approach home and quit a land where I have wished to do good, following the dictates of my heart where duty did not stand in the way. I am glad that the people recognize this. I love them and leave them with regret; for I did my duty like an honest man."

CHAPTER III.

FIRST TURKISH WAR.

THE progress of the war with the Turks, and the effect of the Moscovite triumphs in 1770 on the diplomacy of the European Powers having been already briefly narrated, it remains to sketch the course of events during the two years which immediately preceded the advent of Suvóroff to the seat of war. During 1771 nothing decisive occurred. The Russians, indeed, overran the Crimea, but lay inactive on the banks of the Danube. The splendid hopes to which their recent victories had given birth were doomed to partial disappointment; for the Turk made no overture for peace. Austria and Prussia, however, alarmed at the progress of the Russian arms, interposed, offering their "good offices"—the Empress would not hear of "intervention"—for paving the way to negotiations. After it had been agreed between the three northern Powers to sacrifice Poland in the interests of the European equilibrium, a congress assembled in 1772 at Fokshani in Wallachia, and again at Bucharest, but in both cases without results; the demand made by Russia for the liberation of the Crim Tartars from the suzerainty of the Porte proving an insuperable obstacle to successful negotiation. These nomads were wont to employ their leisure in harrying the southern provinces of Russia, carrying off immense numbers of slaves with rich booty, and occasionally

reducing Moscow itself to ashes. Their subjugation was, therefore, a constant object of the policy of the Czars. Marshal Münnich overran their peninsula in 1763 without durable effect; and even after the crushing victories of 1770, two more ruinous campaigns were required to force the Sultan to abandon his rights over the Crimea.

In the beginning of 1773 Suvóroff, having joined headquarters at Jassy, was appointed to a command in the division of Soltikoff. The Russian army, though barely 34,000 strong, nevertheless occupied the whole of Wallachia, and was extended in a thin cordon from Widdin to the Black Sea. It was thus distributed: Tekely's division, 3000 strong, at Kraiova, in Little Wallachia; Soltikoff's 12,000, between the Aluta and the Jalomnitza; Potemkin with 3500 was at Brailoff; Weissmann occupied Ismail with a like number; while the Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal Rumántsoff, lay at Jassy with a reserve of 12,000 men. It is clear from the above enumeration that, making suitable deduction for masking the strong places on the Danube and guarding the communications with Russia, no force could be assembled adequate for offensive operations beyond that river. Yet the Empress Catherine, whose usually sober judgment was perhaps warped on this occasion by recent stupendous successes, was continually urging her general to decisive action which should conquer a peace. She forgot that the army was now far distant from its base; that it had plunged into a difficult and inhospitable country already ravaged by the enemy; and that the line of the Danube, studded with its fortresses, presented an insuperable barrier to any but an army of great numerical strength.

But peace was an absolute necessity; the plague was ravaging Moscow and the southern provinces of the empire; the Polish difficulty had not yet been solved; the attitude of Sweden was ambiguous; the Cossacks revolted in the region of the Caspian, murdered their officers, and raised a commotion which, though suppressed for the moment, was soon, owing to want of troops to break forth with renewed violence. Surrounded by such calamities as she was, we cannot wonder if the Empress demanded impossibilities from her generals. She wrote to Rumántsoff, in the classical slang of the day, "The Romans used to ask *where* was the enemy, not *how strong* he was," and at last so badgered him that he complied with her wishes against his better judgment.

There is no reason for believing that the talents of this commander were much above the common level. As Mr. Carlyle truly observes in *Frederick the Great*, "he saw considerably better than Galitzin," and, according to the Prussian monarch and strategist, "among the blind the one-eyed man is king." The victories of Larga and Kahul were apparently due to sheer courage and a happy tactical discovery. He found out how to beat Turks by attacking them in square without awaiting the tremendous charges of their janissaries and horsemen. The Osmanli, it was now perceived, were only formidable in a wild onslaught; their disorderly masses were destitute of manœuvring power. Impressed with this conviction, Rumántsoff cast away the *chevaux de frise*, which had hitherto protected the Russian squares, and marched his masses boldly in the open against the enemy. Success attended the novelty, but when it came to the scientific planning of a campaign the marshal showed himself to

be weak in conception, even vacillating in execution, if we are to judge him by a modern standard. To preserve intact the laurels he had already gathered ever seemed the thought uppermost in his mind. The difficulties with which he had to contend were great ; he was ill-supported by his subordinates ; yet he cannot be absolved from the charge of mediocrity. He was not the great commander Catherine conceived him to be. He acted on the faulty system of the age ; scattered his troops over vast tracts of country, and, endeavouring to do everything, effected nothing. At the opening of the campaign of 1773, directing Weissmann's division to move along the right bank of the Danube while his own corps ascended the left, in order to distract the enemy he directed isolated attacks to be made along the whole line of the river from Turnu to Silistria. Major-General Potemkin (in after times the celebrated favourite of Catherine), seized Hirsova, a post favourably situated for covering the passage of the Danube, whilst Suvóroff was commissioned to effect a descent on the fortified town of Turtukay which, lying on the right bank of the stream, was garrisoned by about 4000 choice Ottoman troops.

With a view to carrying out these instructions Suvóroff took post at Nigoyeshti, an ill-fortified convent on the banks of the Arjish, a stream which discharges into the Danube opposite Turtukay. The structure lay fourteen miles distant from the great river, and midway between them is the better known village of Oltenitza. The Danube at Turtukay flows in a channel some 600 yards in breadth between banks both high and steep. The detachment at Nigoyeshti under Suvóroff's command was over 2000 strong, of whom 600 were

cavalry, with seven guns. He chose for embarkation purposes a point on the Danube somewhat lower down than the mouth of the Arjish, and his boats, which lay off Nigoyeshti, were to have been floated thither *viâ* the mouth of the smaller stream. But the Turks having moored an armed vessel so as to command its mouth, no course remained open but to transport the boats across country in ox-waggons. The vehicles and cattle requisite having been collected, Suvóroff was preceding them at the head of his troops, on the 20th May, by Oltenitza toward the place of embarkation, when he was suddenly assailed by 900 Turkish Spahis, whose landing had been unperceived. Instantly directing his reserve column to make a circuit to the left under cover of a wood, in order to take the enemy in flank and rear, he charged when he deemed this movement effected, chasing the astonished Spahis in confusion to the water's edge. By nightfall it was observed that the armed vessel had been withdrawn from the mouth of the Arjish (possibly employed in rescuing the drowning Spahis), and the Russian boats were in consequence transported to their destination by water without molestation.

Five hundred picked infantry, and 200 horse were employed in the nocturnal descent which followed. Suvóroff, on reaching the enemy's bank, formed his infantry in three squares, one of which with the whole cavalry he held in reserve. Preceded by a line of skirmishers, they charged the batteries in their front and in the confusion of a night attack carried them with but trifling loss. The town itself was next assaulted, captured and committed to the flames. At four in the morning, Suvóroff could write on a scrap of paper (which

has since been discovered) to Soltikoff: "*Your Excellency, we have conquered. Glory to God! Glory to you! Alexander Suvóroff.*" Six hundred and eighty-three Greek and Armenian Christians were collected for removal to the opposite bank for fear of Moslem vengeance. The Turkish flotilla, consisting of 51 craft of various kinds, was burnt, and at seven in the morning the victors with loud songs of triumph re-embarked and gained the Wallachian shore. The *coup-de-main* had been arranged with extreme care by Suvóroff; his preliminary instructions embracing the minutest details. One paragraph must be quoted as an illustration of his mode of warfare which has been so much misrepresented from a humane point of view:—

"Be careful not to injure women, children, and the inhabitants, even if Turks, provided they do not carry arms; likewise spare the mosques and the clergy, that our own holy places may be spared in turn."

Considered tactically, the occasion was important. It is said to be the first on which columns of attack, backed by a proper reserve of one-third the total strength, and covered by a line of skirmishers, were employed—a system of tactics commonly attributed to a somewhat later period. Hence arises the interesting inquiry: To what extent did Suvóroff anticipate the revolutions in military art initiated by the first of modern captains? It is certainly remarkable that the Poles criticised his manœuvres in terms similar to those in which the Austrians censured Bonaparte during his Italian campaigns. "Suvóroff," they complained, "is only fit to fight bears. If you expect him in front he attacks you in flank or rear. We fled more from surprise and alarm than

because we were beaten." Again, Dumouriez, in his *Memoirs*, labours hard to prove that, according to all the rules of the military art, Suvóroff ought to have been beaten at Landskron.

Turning once more to the main Russian army, Weissmann on the 3rd June crossed the Danube at Ismail and on the 7th defeated 12,000 Turks at Karassu (Bulgarian, Chernavoda, *i.e.* Blackwater). On the 23rd he protected the passage of Rumántsoff's corps a little below Silistria, whither Osman Pasha had retreated with 30,000 men, intrenching himself in advance of the city, with his right resting on the hills and his left on the stream. The slopes of these eminences being thickly covered with vines and other obstacles, formed in conjunction with the Danube a defile extremely formidable for an assailant. On the 29th Rumántsoff delivered the assault; the Turkish right was broken by the intrepid Weissmann, the favourite hero of the army; but the left, supported by a vigorous sortie from the town, gained a decided advantage over the Russians, who were constrained to retire. In the heat of the engagement a mass of Turkish cavalry, coming from the direction of Shumla, burst into the Russian camp, and threw everything into the direst confusion, till Potemkin, arriving with the reserve, repelled them. They were the advanced guard of Nuuman Pasha, who, at the head of 20,000 men was hastening from Shumla with the intention of cutting the Russians off from the Danube. Rumántsoff upon this (1st July) abandoning the offensive, decamped from before Silistria despairing of success; but the course he should have adopted was plainly indicated by a subordinate's success. For the better protection of his flank

he had detached Weissmann with 4000 men against Nuuman, who had by this time reached the village of Kutchuk Kainardji, near Silistria, with his army. On the 3rd July that Pasha was attacked and totally defeated by the heroic Weissmann, who however purchased victory with the loss of his valuable life. After this victory Rumántsoff might have securely resumed his attack on Silistria, but, continuing his retreat beyond the Danube, he alleged, as an excuse for his lack of enterprise, the scarcity of forage and the consequent exhaustion of the horses of his cavalry. Thus ended a campaign which earned for the general in command the high-sounding title of Zadunaiski (Trans-Danubian).

While these operations were in progress a second descent on Turtukay had been effected by Suvóroff. Soltikoff had been directed to transport his corps across the Danube, in order to create a diversion in favour of Rumántsoff's operations near Silistria, but that commander, either grossly incapable or grossly insubordinate, failed to comply with the instructions of his chief. He preferred to hurl Suvóroff once more with his detachment against Turtukay.*

On this occasion, 28th June, he disposed of 2500 men of all arms. Of these 1700 were regular infantry, 320 dragoons, or dismounted cavalry trained to the use of the musket, 180 regular cavalry, and 360 Cossacks and Arnauts. The expedition crossed in three detachments, the brunt of the fighting falling upon the first.

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* Suvóroff once said: "Kámenski knows war; war knows me; but neither does Soltikoff know war, nor war him.

It consisted of picked troops formed into three columns, one of which, under Major Rehbock, at once stormed the great redoubt which formed the key of the Turkish position. The struggle was protracted, murderous and long doubtful, because of the inaction of the remaining columns which, instead of supporting the troops engaged halted on an eminence in expectation of the second detachment from the opposite bank—conduct which was near ruining the enterprise. Suvóroff was still on the left bank, so ill and feeble from recent attacks of fever that he had to be supported on either side by a soldier while an aide-de-camp repeated in a loud tone of voice the whispered orders of his chief. Observing that the supports failed to reinforce the attacking column, he threw himself hastily into a boat and crossed in company with the second detachment. But fortunately by the time he arrived on the scene of combat Rehbock had succeeded in capturing the formidable redoubt. Thereupon Suvóroff, conducting his forces over its parapets, posted them beyond, in a line of columns facing the Turkish camp. The Osmanli, headed by Sary Mehemed Pasha, a man conspicuous by his size, beauty and valour, dashed out with tremendous yells to the attack, but disheartened by the fall of their leader who was pierced by a Cossack lance, they finally turned and fled, with a loss in men and material amounting to not less than 1000 men and 15 guns. When the Russians returned to their own side of the river, they carried with them the corpse of the slain Pasha, which was indeed interred with due military pomp; but the Turks deem it disgraceful to abandon the body of a chief to the enemy. Suvóroff reported his victory to Soltikoff in

these words: "Dear Sir, Count John, son of Peter, we realised yesterday the *Veni, vidi, vici*, and for me it was a fine experience. I am your Excellency's humble servant. I am a straightforward man, but get me as soon as you can the Second Class" (St. George). Suvóroff's almost childish fondness for badges and external symbols of distinction was a foible which, had it not been accompanied by the love of real greatness, would have appeared mean and despicable. In later days he used to carry his innumerable decorations with him into the field; would cause them to be laid out before him during leisure moments, and would gaze on them with concentrated rapture. He wrote again to Soltikoff on the same subject: "At any rate, shall I obtain the coveted reward? Do not forget me, dear Sir. The race for laurels is uncertain. Sometimes one breaks one's neck, like Weissmann. But even that is good, if with honour and usefulness. But what is not so may be such as I; and what is good, that may I not be"—the last phrase being worthy of himself, an enigma like him who penned it. He obtained the object of his desires.

About this time he was severely injured by a fall down the steps of the Convent of Nigoyeshti, an accident which laid him up at Bucharest for the space of two months. On recovery he was transferred from Soltikoff's division to the command of the important fortified post of Hirsova, on the right bank of the Danube, where, on the 4th September, he was assailed by a body of Turks 11,000 strong. The garrison consisted of four regiments of foot, about 2000 men; three squadrons of Hussars, and a troop of Cossacks, in all about 500 horses. He posted the two strongest of his infantry battalions with

the whole of the cavalry in ambush on an islet of the Danube ; they were concealed from the enemy, by the rising ground, on which lay the Russian camp, and the islet itself was connected with the mainland by a pontoon bridge. The Turks appeared next morning and, under the supervision of the French officers, formed a regular order of battle in three lines instead of rushing pellmell to the attack as formerly. Suvóroff was much amused. "See," he exclaimed, with a burst of laughter, "the barbarians are going to fight us in rank and file! So much the worse for them!" Then throwing forward his Cossacks he endeavoured to draw the enemy on to an assault. The artifice succeeded, though the engineer was nearly hoist with his own petard. Their cavalry charged with such uncommon speed that they almost captured Suvóroff himself. There was just time left for him to spring over the *chevaux de frise* by which the camp was protected. The foot, closely following the horse, were on the point of gaining its interior, when they were assaulted in flank and rear by the troops in ambuscade on the islet and put to flight with heavy loss. This action was the only instance in which Suvóroff fought on the defensive—but it was a judicious defensive which relied on the counter-stroke for victory.

Suvóroff, suffering much from repeated attacks of fever, was now compelled to seek rest and relaxation in Russia. He passed the winter at Kieff, while Rumántsoff in obedience to the remonstrances of the Empress once more assumed the offensive. When early winter had dispersed the Turks to their homes, he organized a a second invasion of Bulgaria, but its conception and execution was so feeble as to inspire doubt whether any-

thing more was intended than ostensible compliance with the Imperial will. While Potemkin and Soltikoff threatened Silistria and Rustchuk, Ungern, the successor of Weissmann, was pushed forward with 3000 men from Babadagh ; Dolgoruki was thrown across the Danube at Hirsova with 5000, while both were directed to move on Shumla, where the Grand Visir was posted with that portion of the Turkish army which still remained present with the colours. Their junction was effected at Karamurad on the 27th October, when 10,000 Turks who had taken post at Chernavoda retired hastily to Bazardjik at their approach. On the 30th the Russian corps reached the latter town, but divided counsels and the insurbordinate spirit which was rife among the Russians produced their usual results. Unable to agree upon a plan of common action, the two leaders separated, thus subdividing a force which, even when united, was unequal to the task assigned to it—Dolgoruki marched on Shumla, Ungern on Varna. Reaching Varna on the 4th November, Ungern attempted to carry it by storm, but discovered, though not till the troops were on the edge of the counterscarp, that they were unprovided with ladders and fascines. After keeping them in this position under a destructive fire for a considerable time with stupid obstinacy, he at length withdrew, and, disgusted with failure, abandoned Dolgoruki to his fate, returning to Ismail by the shores of the Black Sea. The other, left thus isolated in the midst of Bulgaria, loudly complaining of the treachery of Ungern, sought refuge behind the Danube in his turn.

The campaign of 1774 began with loftier hopes. Partly owing to the more promising aspect of affairs in

Poland, and partly through the pressure brought by Frederic of Prussia to bear on his aspiring nephew, Gustavus of Sweden, Catherine was able to raise her Danubian army to the strength of 50,000 men. Peace was now more than ever an object of solicitude for the Czarina, since the Cossacks had risen again under the notorious Pugatchoff who, giving himself out for the late Czar Peter III., aimed at nothing less than the subversion of the Imperial government. Owing to the interior of the empire being denuded of troops, the disturbance rapidly extended in area, with its accompaniments of blood, murder, and rapine, and seemed steadily approaching the capital itself. Peace extorted at the point of the bayonet was once more demanded of Rumántsoff, who consequently planned a series of operations beyond the Danube which, if not more skilfully conceived than their predecessors, were at least crowned with success. Once again the bulk of his army was disseminated along the northern bank of that river, while not more than 14,000 were concentrated for the decisive blow against Shumla. Kámenski, who commanded them, crossed the Danube on the 1st June at the head of 8000 men, and moved on Bazardjik, there to await Suvóroff, who, having crossed the Danube at Hirsova with 6000 men, lay encamped at no great distance from Silistria. But, though instructed to join his senior by the shortest road and with the least of possible delay, our hero manifested no eagerness to obey. On the contrary, jealousy, personal antipathy, perhaps mere "cantankerousness," combined to arrest his march till a peremptory order from head-quarters aroused him from apathy and conducted him to Bazard-

jik, where he arrived on the 19th of the month. Three days later the united Russian forces moved on Shumla and, plunging into the great forest of Deli Orman by the mere bridle-path which at that period traversed its depths, had proceeded no great distance when their advance-guard came in contact with the enemy, who, breaking up from Shumla on the same day that their opponents quitted Bazardjik, were marching swiftly on Hirsova, A "chance-encounter" was the result—the battle of Kosludji, which decided the fate of the campaign.

The Russian advance composed of cavalry, was already driven from the wood by the excellent Albanian infantry which headed the Turkish columns, when Suvóroff, flying to the rescue with two battalions of infantry, forced the victors once more to seek its shelter. Then, dashing along the narrow track, where four horsemen at most could move abreast, he fought his way steadily through the forest, his infantry being formed in a close column with a front of six men. Two thousand Arnauts in the pay of Russia threw themselves as skirmishers to his right and left, but he would not permit the regulars to engage in the wood, where disciplined valour would not have told with due effect. The advance was slow, being much obstructed by the waggons which, the enemy having killed the oxen, obstructed the path; but, after plodding five miles the Russians at length emerged into the open and descried the Ottoman army drawn up on an eminence in their front. The heat was stifling. Many Russian soldiers dropped dead in their ranks; though a smart shower of rain which fell refreshed and invigorated them, while it incommoded the Osmanlis in

their flimsy apparel, and wetted their ammunition, which was carried in cloth bags instead of leathern pouches.

Suvóroff issued from the forest at the head of his column, and without stopping to consult Kámenski, who indeed was far away to the rear, at once prepared for action. He had with him about 10,000 of the 14,000 men who marched under Kámenski's orders. The strength of the Turks has been variously estimated.* Forming his infantry in a line of contiguous squares with the cavalry on either flank, he advanced rapidly on the enemy's position, and a struggle, deadly and protracted, commenced. The Janissaries repeatedly burst sabre in hand into the interior of the Russian squares, but were immediately bayonetted by the reserves stationed inside. The line of squares steadily though slowly advanced ; the furious energy of the Osmanli by degrees abated ; disciplined valour prevailed and the position was won. On reaching the summit of the captured heights, the Russian chief, looking down their reverse slopes, beheld the small town of Kosludji at his feet, and hard by the immense mass of tents and baggage, the vast concourse of animals and hangers-on which constituted a Turkish camp. Panic and confusion there held undisputed sway, as Suvóroff, posting a battery of ten guns at a convenient spot, turned their fire on the struggling mass below. A terrible commotion and headlong rush to the rear followed upon the whizz of the first cannon-shot. Casting away their weapons, the Moslems scattered to all points of the compass,

* Von Hammer (*Gesch. des Osman-Reichs*) reckons their numbers at 25,000, other authorities as high as 40,000. All estimates of Turkish armies are, however, little more than guess-work.

threatening destruction to all who attempted to rally them. The foot shot the cavalry to get possession of their horses, and the whole army melted into a cloud of fugitives, which vanished from sight as if scattered by a whirlwind. Camp and baggage with thirty guns and eighty standards were the spoil of the victors, while 3000 Turkish dead lay on the blood-stained field.

So rapid had been Suvóroff's movements that Kámenski's division did not arrive on the field of battle till the ensuing day, when a warm altercation arose between the two generals. Suvóroff had again won a great victory without orders, while Kámenski, in his official report, magnanimously abstained from details, and was congratulated in consequence by the Commander-in-Chief for the ability he had displayed and the triumph he had obtained. Rumántsoff however could not have acted otherwise without a breach of both etiquette and discipline. If an officer act without orders, or in contravention of them, he should be prepared for professional ruin in case of disaster, in that of success to see his laurels appropriated by his military superior. Suvóroff's philosophy was not equal to the strain thus put upon it. Wounded vanity, personal antipathy and exorbitant ambition combined to goad him into an act which in a military sense was crime. Deserting his post he appeared at Bucharest in the presence of the amazed and indignant Rumántsoff, who had already received Kámenski's report. A severe reprimand was the result, and few would have escaped thus lightly. But Suvóroff was already firmly established in the imperial favour, and extreme measures were unadvisable. Granted leave of absence on account of sickness, he returned

to Russia, where he found his services already in request.

Kámenski, on the other hand, sitting down with his small army before Shumla, cut off the garrison from all communication with the Balkans. Want was in consequence soon experienced within its lines which, not being completely invested, the garrison deserted in great numbers. Reduced to extremity, the Grand Visir sued for peace, and on the 21st July 1774 the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji was signed near the spot where a few months before Weissmann had expired in the arms of victory. The Porte recognized the independence of the Crim and Kuban Tartars, and ceded Kinburn, Azoff, Kertch and Yenikale to Russia, who likewise acquired the right of navigating the Black Sea together with a species of protectorate over the Christians of the Balkan Peninsula.

CHAPTER IV.

STEPPE WARFARE.

THE Cossack Pugatchoff,* like Suvóroff himself and the Empress Cathrine, was born in the year 1729. Having served with credit in Prussia and Poland, he had risen to the rank of captain. Restless and turbulent by disposition, he was perpetually inciting the Cossacks to mischief, and was in consequence deported to Siberia whence he effected his escape. He is said really to have resembled the Czar Peter III. in person, though more probably his military experience had rendered him acceptable to the Cossacks as their leader. In 1773, at the head of 300 followers, he proclaimed himself Czar, and ascended the Ural river with a band which at length reached the formidable total of 30,000 men. Storming the military posts which obstructed his path, he hung the officers but enrolled the men of the different garrisons in his service. Nothing availed to arrest his progress till he reached Orenburg, to which he was obliged to lay formal siege. The nomad population of the Steppe—among them many of the sect called "Old Believers," who feared that Government were about to deprive them of their beards—joined the standard of revolt. Incapable generals were sent with inadequate forces to sup-

* Pushkin, *History of Pugatchoff's Rebellion.*

press the movement till, after several disasters, Catherine, at length aroused to the gravity of the crisis, despatched Bibikoff to the seat of the disturbance. That general, recently arrived from Poland, having fixed his head-quarters at Kazan, adopted measures which would have put a speedy termination to the rebellion had fate so willed it. The towns of Orenburg and Ufa were relieved ; Pugatchoff was beaten and chased beyond the Steppe as far as the Tobol river. Bibikoff however died at this crisis and was succeeded by an officer of inferior capacity. Pugatchoff, pursued by a weak detachment, made his way to the foundries of the Ural mountains, where, seizing the treasure of Government, he caused ordnance to be cast for his own use. Thence marching on Kazan, he spread devastation and ruin around his path, putting to death all who refused to join his standard. Paul Potemkin, cousin of the celebrated favourite, commanded in that city, and retired into the Kremlin (or citadel) on his approach, leaving the surrounding habitations to be sacked and burnt. The rebel next moved with his murderous hordes on Moscow. During the march the mansions of the nobles were demolished, their owners hanged and the serfs set at liberty. Though the Empress exchanged jests with Voltaire on the subject, dismay dwelt in her heart. The foundations of social order and the fabric of her government seemed about to disappear in the vortex of successful revolt. A dreadful reckoning might seem at hand for her complicity in the crime which had seated her on a throne. Michelson however succeeded in checking the rebel's advance at Arzamass, and eventually drove him in confusion beyond the Volga. His hordes retreated, laying in ashes

the flourishing cities of Penza and Sarátoff as they went, but, closely followed by their indefatigable pursuer, they were finally routed at Tzaritzin and thrust across the Volga deep into the Ural Steppe.

Catherine, when the rebels were approaching her capital, had announced the resolution of placing herself in person at the head of her forces.* Dissuaded from this step by the Minister Panin, she appointed to the command his younger brother Peter, who asked and obtained the services of Suvóroff as his coadjutor. The latter, summoned to Moscow post haste, proceeded forthwith to Saràtoff on the Volga, where he arrived on the 24th August, 1774. During the sack of that town by Pugatchoff every serviceable horse had been swept off by the rebels, and Suvóroff had consequently to embark his escort on the Volga, while with his staff he followed the course of the river mounted on the few animals they possessed. In this way they reached Tsaritzin, the scene of the encounter in which Pugatchoff had just been worsted. The malefactor had plunged into the Ural Steppe, and Suvóroff, desirous of making a name by capturing so capital a rogue, collected a flying squadron and started in pursuit. It consisted of some 700 horse, among whom were 300 mounted infantry; for Suvóroff's mind being of a practical turn he was in the habit of making horse and foot interchangeable. The Ural Steppe, part of the ancient bed of the Caspian, being a wide expanse of shell-covered sand, broken here and there by marshes and

* A spirit of mutiny was manifest even among the regular troops. An officer once addressed Michelson as follows: "The soldiers will not march against their Emperor" (Pugatchoff). Equal to the emergency, the general seized a pistol and shot the offender dead.

stagnant lakes of salt water, all supplies necessarily accompanied the expedition, which, under Suvóroff's guidance, moved with inconceivable rapidity. After crossing the barren Steppe, a wooded district presented itself, the valley of the Great and Little Usen rivers, where he learnt that a few days previously Pugatchoff had been seized by his own Cossacks, and dragged in chains to Uralsk where he was surrendered to the Russian commandant. Suvóroff, on reaching that post, took charge of the prisoner together with his son, a savage lad of fourteen, lodging them both in a strong iron cage which he had had constructed for the purpose. In spite of their insults and annoyances, Suvóroff persisted in spending his nights in proximity to the cage, being resolved not to be cheated of his prize. At Simbirsk the arch-rebel was handed over to Peter Panin and, in 1775, hanged at Moscow. One hundred thousand individuals lost their lives during the progress of this rebellion.

Suvóroff spent the winter of 1774 at Moscow, where he married Barbara, the daughter of Prince Prozorovski. The union was an unhappy one and soon followed by a permanent separation. Already forty-five years of age and with a mind wholly absorbed by ambitious schemes, he was totally unfitted for entering on a domestic life, and probably did so merely in deference to the wish of his aged father. Yet, if an unsympathetic and careless husband, he was a fond and judicious parent. Two children resulted from the union: a son Arcadius, and a daughter Nathalia, with whom in after life he maintained an affectionate correspondence. With this brief notice his domestic life may be dismissed from

consideration. After spending the year 1776 in his wife's society at Moscow, he thus expressed his views on matrimony: "The duties of the imperial service are so engrossing that they swallow up private affections. Having spent a twelvemonth in retirement, I am conscious of an increased longing for service and active employment in the career to which I have devoted myself," and soon afterwards he actually relinquished domestic life for ever. An instance of paternal love, which in Suvóroff's case of course found an eccentric mode of manifestation, may be mentioned before quitting this subject. When journeying on a certain occasion from one extremity of the empire to another, he went a round-about way in order to visit Moscow and obtain a glimpse of his children. Alighting at his residence in the dead of night, he noiselessly made his way to their chamber, and drew aside the bed-curtains, silently gazing at them for some instants; then, bestowing on them a curt benediction, he departed and, mounting his sledge, continued his journey.

Mention has already been made of the designs entertained by Russia against the Crimea; also of the Treaty of Kainardji as having greatly facilitated them by detaching that peninsula from the Ottoman Empire. For the space of nine years after its conclusion a secret conflict was waged between the two rival States for supremacy in that quarter, a conflict which was brought to a termination by the Convention of January 1784, which aimed at establishing a *modus vivendi*. In the history of these fraudulent transactions Suvóroff played the part of a soldier who executes the behests of the civil power, while Potemkin was the crafty wire-puller of diplomatic

intrigue. That celebrated character, a singular compound of mental grandeur and meanness, was gifted with a powerful imagination, whose fondest dream was the deliverance of Russia from the last vestige of alien supremacy, and the infliction on the followers of the Prophet of woes under which they had long made Christendom groan. The Tartar Khans, the descendants of Gengis, still possessed the Crimea ; their expulsion would be the first step towards the realization of these designs. But beyond gleamed in airy magnificence the grandiose scheme known as the "Greek Project," the overthrow of the Turkish rule in Europe and the revival of the Byzantine Empire under a Russian prince. Potemkin's early religious training concurred with patriotism to direct his thoughts into this channel. In youth his choice had long vacillated between the clerical and military professions, while to the end of his days he is said to have discussed theological subjects with eager delight, more especially disputes between the Eastern Church and that of Rome.

The Khan of the Crimea who was thus released from the suzerainty of the Porte was Sahib Ghirai, an adherent of Russia, whom Dolgoruki had enthroned after the successful campaign of 1771. When, four years later, the Khan handed over to Russia the towns which had been ceded to her by the Treaty of Kainardji, his subjects rebelled, drove him from the country and elevated Dewlet Ghirai, the leader of the Turkish faction, in his stead. Sahib appealed to Russia, and Suvóroff, overrunning the Crimea with troops, dispersed the adherents of Dewlet, who fled for safety to Constantinople. In 1777 Potemkin, requiring an instrument more

pliant than Sahib, promoted the election of Shahin Ghirai, but his candidate was successfully opposed by Selim Ghirai, who was devoted to the Turkish interest. Russian troops under Prince Prozorowski, Suvóroff's father-in-law, once more passing the frontier, captured the towns of Kaffa and Bakchi Serai, the capital of the peninsula; when Selim in his turn fled to Constantinople and Russia remained mistress of his territory.

Suvóroff during this campaign was attacked by a fever caught in the malarious district of Perekop, in which he had been quartered. After a brief sojourn at Poltava he recovered and was ordered to the Kuban district, to hold in check the Tartars who, backed by their Circassian neighbours, were committing wholesale depredations on Russian territory. To this end he repaired an ancient line of forts, which extended from the mouth of the Kuban river as far as Stavropol, but had already fallen into decay. Situated at intervals of fifty miles apart, each was garrisoned by a company of infantry and a couple of guns. Suvóroff himself acted as military engineer and, having caused 3000 labourers to be brought from the Don, placed the works in a state of thorough repair in six weeks. Early in 1778 Prozorowski was summoned to St. Petersburg, when his son-in-law assumed temporary command in the south of Russia, administering the government of the Crimea from his head-quarters in the palace of the Khans at Bagchi Serai. A delicate task fell to his lot—that of preventing a Turkish landing without recourse to actual violence. For the Sultan, deeming his rights on the Crimea as valid as Russia's, had resolved to imitate her crafty policy and, having despatched a small squadron to

the bay which is now the harbour of Sevastopol, in order to secure a landing-place, he supported it with a great fleet under the orders of Hassan, the Capudan pasha. To alarm them inside the bay Suvóroff began to erect batteries on either side its entrance, so as to cut off their retreat, upon which the intruders weighed anchor and departed. Soon afterwards the larger armament hove in sight—a fleet of 160 sail—and openly prepared to disembark. But Suvóroff had located batteries at every point which favoured a landing, so that wheresoever the enemy appeared he found Russian troops drawn up on the shore to repel him. Hassan tried artifice, requested permission to land and replenish his water-supply, but was refused on the ground that the peninsula furnished no more water than was requisite for home consumption. Thus baffled, the Turkish admiral returned to Constantinople. Suvóroff next superintended the emigration of some 20,000 Greek and Armenian Christians, the invariable sufferers whichever Tartar faction held the reins of power. These departed to populate the new provinces of Russia in the south, where they founded the towns of Mariúpol and Nakhitchevan. In 1779 a convention was concluded, in virtue of which the Sultan recognized Shahin as Khan, while Russia in turn withdrew her troops from his dominions.

In 1780 Suvóroff assumed direction of the naval and military preparations which were being made at Astrakhan ; for the Empress and Potemkin appear at this time to have meditated designs on Persia. Nadir Shah, the conqueror, had just expired, leaving his dominions a prey to anarchy, and it is possible that the imperial conspirators hoped to seize a province in the

scramble which was likely to ensue. Georgia had long been the apple of contention between Russia, Turkey, and Persia; but in 1784 Potemkin persuaded its ruler, Heracles II., to acknowledge the supremacy of Catherine. Again, Russia entertained a vague project of diverting eastern trade from the ocean route to that of the Caspian, since at that period navigation was obstructed by the maritime warfare being waged between France and England. The development of trade with Central Asia was also aimed at, and to further these plans, Suvóroff was authorized to seize upon the town of Astrabad, situated on the Persian shore of the Caspian. He endeavoured to discourage Potemkin's visionary schemes, advising him that nothing useful could be effected at such a distance from the seat of empire till districts nearer home were better cared for, meaning the vast tracts extending between the Crimea and the Ural river which swarmed with predatory nomads ripe for mischief at every opportunity. At Astrakhan, to his disgust, he was compelled to remain till the close of 1781, when, transferred to the command of the Kazan division, he conducted his troops next year to the mouth of the Dnieper. The Crim Tartars had once more revolted and expelled their Khan Shahin, who, as before, fled to Russia for assistance and protection. If this revolution was not the direct result of Potemkin's intrigues, at any rate that minister was prompt in turning it to account. Six Russian corps being already cantoned along the Turkish frontier from Khotin on the Dneister to the mountains of the Caucasus, the Prince entered the Crimea in person at the head of one of them, the Turks having afforded a convenient pretext

for the step by forcibly occupying Taman, on the Straits of Kertch. Meantime Suvóroff reached Azoff with his division, being entrusted with the subjugation of the Tartars of the Kuban. Shahin ceded his territories in 1783 to Russia in consideration of a yearly pension ; the Empress in the same year annexed them to her Empire, the Kuban district included. Suvóroff now invited these Tartars to Yeisk, on the shores of the sea of Azoff, that they might take the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign. The solemnity, which took place on the anniversary of the accession of the Empress to the throne, was celebrated by a banqnet on a gigantic scale. The festivities were protracted for two entire days ; 100 oxen, 800 sheep, and 7500 gallons of brandy (the guests like good Moslems would not drink *wine*) were consumed during the orgy, which concluded with horse-racing and other national sports, and many a barbarian had drunk himself to death before these newly-fledged Russian subjects sought their homes delighted with their new rulers. But the ascendancy of the stomach was brief, and their loyalty evaporated with the fumes of the spirits which they had swallowed, Either through the caprice natural to savages, or on account of an attempt made to transplant some of them to the pastures of the Ural, the entire nation of the Nogai Tartars again flew to arms ; the emigrants, who had already reached the banks of the Don, broke away from their escort and returned to their homes ; and one of their sultans laid siege to Yeisk with a force of 10,000 men during Suvóroff's absence. On the return of the Russian general to the relief of that post, the enemy raised the siege and fled to their desert fastnesses ; but

Suvóroff resolved to strike a blow at them which should for the future hold them within the bounds of obedience. He collected at Kopyl, near the mouth of the Kuban, a force consisting of 2500 regulars with 2000 Cossacks, while a second force of the latter, equally numerous, was instructed to join him *en route.* He had been informed that the principal camp of the Nogais lay near the confluence of the Laba with the Kuban, and to that point, ascending the right bank of the latter river, he directed his march. Moving by night only, he concealed his forces by day in hollows, ravines, &c., from the observation of the numerous scouts of the enemy. The difficulties which beset his path were immense ; roads of course there were none, and the line of march was everywhere intersected by marshy streams tributary to the Kuban. The country was likewise destitute of supplies, except the provision afforded by the captured flocks and herds of the enemy. At length he reached the confluence of the Laba and Kuban, where he was joined by the Cossacks of Ilovaiski, who had marched thither from Cherkask on the Don. Mounting an eminence, he descried beyond the river the distant smoke of the Tartar camps, and issued orders for crossing it the same night. The Cossacks, probing the current with their long lances, discovered a ford at a point where the channel extending to a mile in breadth was of course shallow in proportion. The passage was facilitated by an islet in midstream, but the opposite bank was precipitous. The infantry stript before wading across, and held their muskets high above their heads ; for the water reached above their shoulders. The cavalry crossed higher up in order to break the force of the current before it reached

the infantry, and they carried the clothes of the latter. At dawn on the 12th of October 1783 the force, ascending the right bank of the Laba, surprised the principal camp of the Tartars, who were in complete ignorance of the proximity of danger. A terrible carnage ensued. Four thousand of these warriors were slain on the spot with many women and children who, according to the habits of their race, shared the danger of battle with their adult defenders. The Cossacks could not be restrained: an ancient blood feud existed between them and their victims. Neither side asked or granted quarter. The victory was complete and decisive. Suvóroff retraced his steps to Yeisk. The struggle was concluded by the definite cession of the Crimea and Kubań to Russia, in January 1784, by the Ottoman Porte. The wretched Khan Shahin Ghirai, who resided at Voronej as a pensioner of Russia, suddenly fled the country, owing, as it was alleged, to the non-payment of his salary by Potemkin. Seeking an asylum in the Turkish capital, he was coldly received, and migrated to Rhodes, where he was ultimately strangled by the Sultan's command.

Suvóroff, appointed to the command of the Vladimir military district, now took up his residence at Undol, an estate which he possessed in that neighbourhood. He prosecuted his studies in military history during this interval of comparative leisure; read the lessons in church; sang with the village choir; rang the church bells, &c. &c., occupations with which he was accustomed to beguile his rural leisure. He was to be seen trotting about the village in white linen garments gossiping with the peasants about their affairs, arranging their marriages, playing with their children, and throwing ginger-bread

or coppers among them. Yet he speedily tired of inaction and begged Potemkin, with whom he was as yet on good terms, to restore him to a more active existence. In 1785 accordingly we find him appointed to the command of the St. Petersburg military division; and in the following year, having attained the rank of full general, he was entrusted with a division of 10,000 men which had been collected at Kremenstchug on the Dnieper.

Just then Catherine was meditating that triumphal progress through her southern provinces which had such important political results. It was through no suggestion of Potemkin's that the project took shape: a faction hostile to him whispered to the Empress that the vast sums which she had lavished in colonizing Southern Russia were squandered by the favourite on unworthy or useless objects. Thus it was that she decided to satisfy herself by personal inspection. Potemkin was struck with dismay on learning her intentions, but soon recovered his composure and resolved to confound the machinations of his foes. Though a great genius, he was likewise an arrant impostor. There is reason for believing that he had acccomplished marvels in the new colonies and advanced their material prosperity. Yet, too suspicious to depend for justification on the solid basis of truth, he had recourse to a system of deception which was insulting to the intellect of the princess for whose eye it was devised. The imperial *cortége*, leaving Petersburg in January 1787, journeyed by sledge as far as Kieff, but only to spend the rest of the winter in that city. In the spring, embarking on the Dnieper in a fleet of magnificently decorated galleys, they followed

the course of the stream through the provinces subject to Potemkin's administration. To the astonishment of all on board, the banks presented a fertile and blooming aspect; for the despotic Minister had assembled crowds of peasantry from the neighbouring districts; wooden cabins had been constructed on the margin of the flood; groves of trees adorned its banks, on which flocks and herds driven there for the occasion browsed in the most picturesque situations, while the measureless expanse behind was stript bare as a deal board, It is not probable that these stage decorations deluded the acute understanding of the Empress, who without doubt saw through the deception practised, while she recognized the solid work which had actually been accomplished. Delighted to perceive that her favourite was not wholly guilty, she was also spared the necessity of publicly disgracing one who had gained a marked ascendancy over her. On the 3rd May she was met at Kaneff by King Stanislas of Poland, and on the 10th she reached Kremenstchug, where Suvóroff had drawn up his division to receive her. Two anecdotes, illustrative of Suvóroff's character have reached us from this period. At a ball given at Kieff, he met Count Alexander Lameth, then on a visit to the Russian Court. Stopping short in front of the stranger, he cried: "What are you? your rank, and name." Lameth replied: "Frenchman, Colonel, Alexander Lameth!" "Good!" returned Suvóroff. But the French Count, nettled at this abrupt address, demanded in turn: "What are you? your rank, and name." "Russian, General, Suvóroff," was the prompt rejoinder. "Good!" exclaimed the other; and Suvóroff, who was apt to form

a mean opinion of those who were abashed by his sudden queries, burst out laughing and shook him warmly by the hand. Again, at Kremenstchug, Catherine, having passed his division in review, was so pleased with the precision of its movements that, prior to leaving the ground, she distributed rewards to the officers broadcast. Suvóroff regarded in grim silence the obsequious crowd, and when at length the Empress, turning to him, inquired, "And you, General, do you require nothing?" "Well, mother," he replied, in the familiar style affected by him when addressing the Sovereign, "pay the hire of my lodgings." "Is it much then you are in debt?" inquired the Czarina. "Three and a half rubles," replied this "Alexander Diogenes," as he was nicknamed by the Prince de Ligne. After this adventure he was accustomed to boast that the Empress had "paid his debts." He felt a natural disgust for the obsequiousness and rapacity which was too common amongst his contemporaries.

At Kaidak, Joseph II. having joined the Imperial party, all journeyed in company first to Kherson, which had recently been founded by Potemkin on the estuary of the Dnieper, and thence into the Crimea. At Sevastopol, which had been selected by that minister as a maritime post, they beheld from the heights of Inkerman the Black Sea fleet, his latest creation, riding at anchor below. They next visited Bagchi Serai, the romantic capital of the old Khans, taking up their abode in the palace but lately inhabited by the descendants of Gengis Khan. Thence retracing their steps to the banks of the Dnieper, the Imperial pair separated and sought their respective capitals. At Poltava, the fatal battle which

sealed the fate of Charles XII. was rehearsed by the troops under Suvóroff's command, when the Empress, scanning the field from the lofty tumulus which is called the "Grave of the Swedes," involuntarily exclaimed, "One moment decides the fate of nations," an appropriate but rather common-place sentiment.

Suvóroff, bidding adieu to the Empress at Poltava, hastily returned in company with Potemkin to Kremenstchug; for the Porte, justly irritated by the provocations offered by the two Monarchs, had declared war against Russia (16th August, 1787). Since the Crimea seemed likely to bear the first brunt of attack, Suvóroff transferred his head-quarters to the fortress of Kinburn, which covers the approaches to that peninsula. The second Turkish war, in which he was to acquire imperishable glory, had broken out. A glance at his person at this period may not be out of place. It is thus described in Polevoi's biography: "Suvóroff was in 1787 fifty-eight years of age. Already in the decline of life, with thin grey hair, wrinkled face, stooping attitude and low stature, his appearance was well-nigh decrepit; yet he was strong and healthy, active and enduring, and an excellent horseman. He could endure fatigue, hunger, thirst and want of sleep. His blue eyes sparkled with intelligence. His eccentricities astonished no one, for he had long since lost the power of dissembling them. His invincibility had become an article of faith in the army and among the people, who, in narrating, exaggerated his eccentricities; how he ran, leaped and crowed like a cock; spoke the truth to every one; went without furs in the depth of winter, and rode in front of his troops in an old threadbare cloak." In explanation of the above,

Suvóroff, a very early riser, on issuing forth before dawn was accustomed to salute the first comer with a ringing cock-a-doodle-doo, sung out at the top of his voice. Duboscage states that this piece of buffoonery meant in words: *Honour to the active and vigilant soldier!* But it is needless to analyze the motives of such remarkable proceedings. This was the man who was about to make Europe ring with the fame of his exploits.

CHAPTER V.

SECOND TURKISH WAR.

THE *liman* or estuary formed by the rivers Bug and Dneiper, witnessed the outbreak of hostilities. The entrance to that broad sheet of water was commanded on the north by the Turkish fortress Otchakoff, on the south by Kinburn, which had been ceded to Russia by the Treaty of Kainardji. The latter, built on a sandy spit which projects into the Euxine, covered the approaches to the Crimea, while Otchakoff, on the opposite shore, obstructed an advance on the Danube. Near Kherson, at the head of the *liman*, was Glubokoi, at that time Russia's principal naval station, where a flotilla suitable for navigating its shallow waters had been assembled. Such was the situation of affairs when Suvóroff established his head-quarters at Kinburn.

In the autumn of 1787 the Russian armies were split into two principal masses: that of the Ukraine, 37,000 strong, which was stationed in Podolia under Rumantsoff, and the main body of 80,000 men under Potemkin's immediate command on the Dneiper. The duty assigned to the former was to observe Poland and cover the army of Potemkin, which was about to undertake the siege of the border fortresses. Of these, Otchakoff was in a neglected condition, destitute of supplies, fortifications

out of repair ; and had Potemkin acted with due vigour, its fall could not have been long delayed. But, war once declared, an unaccountable lethargy seems to have descended upon the prince, and it soon became manifest that, whatever the scope of his genius, a talent for war was not comprised in its endowments.

Afflicted with a mania for vast conceptions in the abstract, he appeared paralysed when the moment came for action. A twelvemonth was spent by him before Olviópol in dilatory preparations for the siege of Otchakoff, whilst he indited plaintive letters to the Empress descriptive of the embarrassments incident to his situation. But the Turks were of a more practical turn. The Pasha of Otchakoff, first informing Suvóroff that war was declared, added with commendable frankness that he intended to commence hostilities forthwith, and attack certain Russian vessels which lay at anchor off Kinburn. Accordingly, on the 30th August, he fulfilled his word, though the ships after a smart action escaped to Glubokoi. A descent on Kinburn now appearing imminent, Suvóroff prepared for the contingency. His forces consisted of seven battalions, twelve squadrons of regular cavalry, and three regiments of Cossacks, in all about 5000 men. Posting his infantry inside Kinburn, his cavalry were distributed in a cordon along the shore as far as Kherson, so that timely notice might be given of approaching danger ; and he began to throw up batteries for the protection of Glubokoi, one masked and intended for 27 guns at the extremity of the sandy spit on which Kinburn stands.

On the 12th October the Turkish fleet approached, and, under cover of a heavy fire, commenced disembark-

ing troops at the point where the masked battery was in course of construction. Having thrown ashore 5000 picked Janissaries, the Turkish vessels ran out to sea, leaving the troops no hope of safety but in fight. Having hastily entrenched themselves on the shore, they began throwing up approaches to the fortress ; but the sandy nature of the soil, and the presence of water at a little distance below the surface, soon necessitated a recourse to sandbags. Suvóroff, strange to say, did not interrupt the landing, nor did he allow a single shot to be fired till the enemy had carried his approaches to within 200 yards of the glacis. Whether he hoped to destroy the whole of them, or was merely desirous of gaining time for the arrival of his cavalry is uncertain, but the prudent course would have been to sally forth and drive them into the sea, when but half their force was ashore. Still, when fighting with Asiatics, more venturesome tactics are permissible than in operating against a scientific foe, as our Indian annals proclaim ; and this, no doubt, would have been Suvóroff's answer to critics. When the Turks had arrived within the above range he caused a general volley to be poured into them from the ramparts, and charged forth at the head of his infantry, having first despatched the few horse he possessed to make the circuit of the fortification and fall upon their right flank. These stumbling across the ladder party of the enemy cut them to pieces with ease ; but the Russian infantry, who on this occasion fought in line, their flanks being protected by the sea, and the enemy having no cavalry in the field, met with a more formidable resistance. The Janissaries opposed to them were picked warriors headed by

fifty dervishes, who advanced waving their Korans above their heads. They repulsed the Russians, but Suvóroff brought up his reserves, and restored the fight. A cannon-shot killed his horse; he was precipitated to earth and speedily surrounded by the enemy. He thereupon summoned a mounted Turk to surrender his horse, (mistaking him, no doubt for a Cossack, since the Turks brought no horses, and this one must have been captured), but the stranger rushed at him, and was about to deal a fatal blow, when a fusilier named Novikoff slew him with a bayonet-thrust. The cry was raised, "Our general is in danger," and a universal rush was made to rescue him. But he was already mounted on a fresh animal and superintending the action, which, renewed with obstinacy, lasted till evening. The Russians were already wavering and seemed about to turn, when, suddenly to their joy the ten squadrons which had been employed on outpost duty made their appearance and charged with decisive effect. In the thickest of the fray Suvóroff received a bullet in the arm; but retiring to the sea-shore with his suite, he bathed it in sea-water, bound it with a portion of his shirt, and returned to the conflict. The fortune of the day was already decided, for the Turks, driven to the extremity of the sandy spit, were perishing by the point of the bayonet or drowning in the waves of the sea. Only 700 out of a total of 5000 survived; the dervishes being slain to a man. A Frenchman named Lafitte, who had been repairing the works of Otchakoff, led the expedition and was fortunate enough to escape. Thus went Kinburn fight, which concluded hostilities for the year. The Turks made no further attempts on that fortress, whose de-

fences Suvóroff improved during the winter, when the frost was so severe as to cover the *liman* with ice, which he caused to be broken up near the shore to prevent a surprise.

About this time he writes to his daughter Natalia: "Although I am still weak from the effects of my wound, my zeal is as constant as ever; and I am gradually recovering without in the least neglecting my duties."

Thus passed the winter of 1787. In February, the following year, the Emperor Joseph united his arms to Russia according to treaty, though reluctantly, being probably aware of the antagonism which must ever reign between Russian interests in the Balkan peninsula and those of Austria; distrusting also the uncertain and capricious temper of Potemkin. "What am I going to fight for?" he is said to have exclaimed: "Potemkin begins things without finishing them. He wants the St. George of the first class; when he gets it he will make peace." Yet, faithful to engagements, he assembled an army of 200,000 men, which he placed under the command of Lascy, a leader almost as incapable as Potemkin himself. Both Emperor and general were imbued with the preposterous theory of the age, viz. the cordon system which disseminated troops in so vast a line as to cover every point but protect none. This great army, distributed into six corps, which occupied the vast tract included between the Adriatic and Euxine Seas, awaited motionless the attack of the enemy, who, entering Wallachia, inflicted crushing defeats on the imperial forces at Slatina and Lugos, and carried desolation into the heart of Hungary. The Austrian armies were in consequence consigned to inactivity for the remainder of that year.

In May 1788 the Ottoman fleet reached Otchakoff and several naval contests took place for the possession of the *liman*. The Russians were usually victorious, in part through a more accurate knowledge of the navigation, for the coast is beset with shoals, on which the vessels of the enemy frequently stranded. On the 28th June, Hassan, the Turkish admiral (the same who was defeated by Alexis Orloff at Chesmeh Bay in 1770), made a general attack, but had to retire to Otchakoff with the loss of many vessels which had run ashore or been taken, and next night he attempted to regain the open sea. With the leading vessels of the squadron he successfully weathered the spit of Kinburn under cover of night, but the remainder were discovered and overwhelmed by a tempest of red-hot shot from the masked battery which Suvóroff had now completed. The Turkish vessels, getting into dreadful confusion, began to catch fire ; they blew up and ran ashore in every direction. Ignorant of the very existence of the battery which was raking them, their commander judged that they had strayed beneath the guns of Kinburn, and knew not whither to steer. A dreadful spectacle met the eye, vessels floating aimlessly to and fro amid smoke, flame, and uproar, till they fell victims to the certain destruction which awaited them. At daylight the Prince of Nassau's flotilla co-operated, and with his assistance the work of destruction was made complete.

At length, on the 9th July, Potemkin broke up from Olviópol and, with an army which numbered 40,000 men, sat down before Otchakoff ; but it was soon perceived that the season was too far advanced to admit of a

formal siege being undertaken. The principal generals therefore entreated him to risk an assault, which would put an end to the intolerable sufferings of the troops from want and exposure. Among the most importunate of these advisers was Suvóroff, now in command of the left wing of the besieging forces. But Potemkin pertinaciously refused compliance, alleging aversion to bloodshed as an excuse, though lives were daily being sacrificed through disease which would soon exceed in the aggregate the deaths consequent on an assault—obstinacy which gave occasion for the display of the fiery impatience and insurbordinate temper of Suvóroff; for, on the 7th August, seizing the occasion of a sortie from the town, he pursued the routed enemy to within the circle of its defences, hoping thus to force Potemkin's hand, and compel him to support an engagement which was already in progress. Nevertheless, the Prince, when informed of the occurrence, declined to interfere, and sent peremptory orders to bring the troops out of action. Meantime, Suvóroff, wounded by a bullet which lodged in his neck, had been constrained to quit the field and return to camp, while the officer who succeeded him in command executed the retreat so ill, that a loss of 400 men was incurred through his awkwardness. The wounded chief was conveyed to Kinburn in great pain, and there he stayed till convalescence.

At this point of time the difficulties of Russia were augmented by the policy of Gustavus III. of Sweden, who, conceiving the moment opportune for the recovery of the Baltic provinces which had been wrested from his country by Peter the Great, declared war upon the Empress. But he was in too great a hurry; for a fleet

which she had caused to assemble at Cronstadt for operations in the Mediterranean was detained on news of the rupture reaching St. Petersburg. Several naval actions* ensued, which ended in the Swedish ships taking refuge under the guns of Sveaborg, were they remained until the conclusion of hostilities, while on land the progress of the King was arrested by a mutiny among his nobles, who denied the right of the Crown to wage offensive war without the consent of the Council. But the action of Sweden, in combination with the threats of England, Prussia, and Poland, all interested in the maintenance of the Ottoman Power in Europe, made it desirable that a blow should be struck for the restoration of the prestige of Russia, which had suffered through her recent inaction. This consideration weighed with Catherine and her minister and decided the fate of beleaguered Otchakoff. The winter—an intensely cold one—was long remembered in Russia as the "Otchakoff winter." From thirty to forty soldiers were daily frozen to death in the trenches, and Potemkin, moved alike by humanity, the remonstrances of his generals, and the open murmurs of his troops, at length gave orders for the assault of the city. It took place on the 17th of December 1788. The garrison numbered 20,000, the assailants no more than 14,000; who, formed into six columns of attack, two of which were held in reserve, steadily moved to their sanguinary task. The assault of the fortress itself lasted but one hour and a quarter, after which the butchery which is characteristic of Eastern warfare com-

* The sound of the cannon was heard in the palace at Petersburg, eliciting from the Empress the cry: "Truly Czar Peter placed the capital too near the frontier!"

menced. The Moslems fought desperately from house to house ; neither age nor sex were spared ; 10,000 were slain and 4000 taken prisoners, while the loss inflicted on their assailants amounted in killed and wounded to no less than 4000. The hard frost which prevailed had a ghastly effect on the appearance of the dead, who lay rigidly fixed in the posture assumed at the moment of death. During this awful scene Potemkin was stationed in a battery which commanded a view of the city, giving no orders, but imploring celestial aid. Catherine was ill when the welcome intelligence arrived, but at a banquet held to celebrate the event she exclaimed : " I was sick, but joy has cured me." Otchakoff, rased to the ground after capture, has never recovered the blow.

Suvóroff lay wounded and in disgrace. He had incurred the displeasure of a domineering upstart, whose vanity could neither forget nor forgive the slight on his courage and capacity which an audacious surbordinate had inflicted at the siege of Otchakoff, and who, concealing his rancour beneath the cloak of humanity, had written as follows to the object of it : " My soldiers are such a treasure that they must not be uselessly sacrificed. Without rhyme or reason more lives have been lost than the whole town of Otchakoff is worth. It is strange indeed that my subordinates should order the movement of troops without my sanction." The influence of Potemkin was at its zenith, and the Empress, notwithstanding her partiality for Suvóroff, seemed unable or unwilling to screen him from her favourite's animosity. His luck was indeed at a low ebb ; for, when lying wounded at Kinburn, a powder-magazine blew up, and a live shell, bursting into his apartment, severely injured

him, while it shattered into fragments the bedstead on which he was stretched. It is surprising that a man of his years should have survived the physical trials to which he was subjected. He recovered, however, and in the course of. the ensuing winter visited St Petersburg, where the Empress bestowed on him a diamond aigrette in memory of the victory at Kinburn. Potemkin likewise repaired to the capital, where he was greeted with plaudits and ovations such as might have accompanied the triumphal entry of a Cæsar or a Hannibal. But, though on the summit of human greatness, his credit with the Empress was on the decline. He possessed a formidable rival in the person of Prince Zuboff, whose brother was married to Natalia Suvóroff, and it was probably owing to this circumstance that her father was restored to active employ, and appointed to command a division of the army of the Danube, where Potemkin now reigned supreme; for through the Prince's intrigues, Rumantsoff had been removed from the command. That army was divided into two principal masses: one under Prince Repnin (of Warsaw celebrity) was destined for offensive operations, while the second, led by the Commander-in-Chief in person, laid siege to various fortresses under cover of the first. Repnin's head-quarters were at Jassy; his left communicated with Potemkin at Kherson by a division posted at Bender; his right, with the Austrains of Prince Coburg, 18,000 strong, who lay between the Sereth and the Transylvanian mountains; while his front was covered at Berlat—a central point in Moldavia, whence the courses of the Sereth, Danube, and Pruth could be conviently watched—by a division under Suvóroff.

Arriving at Berlat in May 1789, that officer learnt

from Derfelden, whom he replaced in the command, that the enemy, having invaded Moldavia in the preceding March, had been defeated and pursued as far as Galatz by his own division; that he had attacked the Ottoman forces in that town, but, deeming its position too much in advance of the Russian main body, he had burnt and abandoned it, returning afterwards to Berlat. All these proceedings Suvóroff approved with the exception of the burning of Galatz, and the devastation of the enemy's country; "for," he justly observed, "by so doing we have chiefly injured ourselves." May and June passed idly by; but shortly afterwards the Sultan Abdul Hamid, who had just mounted the throne, all at once became vigorous and active. Having crippled the Austrians in the preceding campaign, the Osmanli now determined to rid themselves of their Russian foes. In July their advance, 40,000 strong, crossing the Danube at Braila, moved on Fokshani with the intention of crushing the Austrian corps of Coburg, which lay at Adjud, near the junction of the Trotush with the Sereth. Repnin upon this ordered Suvóroff to march to the rescue, who, informing his ally of the intended movement by the laconic epistle, "I come," quitted Berlat at the head of 5000 men, while 2000 remained to guard the camp, and reached Adjud at 11 p.m. on the 28th July, having travelled forty-eight miles in thirty-six hours. Early next morning the Prince of Coburg sought an interview, which was declined by his eccentric ally on various comical pretexts. First he was informed that the general was asleep; next that he was at prayers; till, abandoning his design, the Austrian departed in great perplexity. In the course of the day, how-

ever, a note from Suvóroff was placed in his hand to the effect "the troops having rested sufficiently will march at 2 a.m. in two columns, the Imperialists on the right, the Russians on the left. March straight for the enemy, without waiting to clear the ground on either flank, so as to reach the Putna in good time, cross and attack the enemy early. They say the infidels are 50,000 strong, with another 50,000 in their rear. A pity that they are not all in one body; then we could beat them all at once. But as this cannot be, let us begin with these and put the rest to rout afterwards." Coburg, a man of easy temper, and not improbably forewarned of the peculiarities of Suvóroff, yielded a full compliance with these dispositions.

At an early dawn on the 30th July 1789, the allies passed the Trotush on three pontoon bridges, and next day encountered the enemy's cavalry, which, after a lively skirmish, were defeated and driven beyond the Putna to the camp at Fokshani. While advancing Suvóroff was careful to hide from the enemy as far as possible the presence of his Russians. His advance guard was therefore composed exclusively of Austrians, while at every halt he caused his own men to bivouac in some spot screened from observation. On the morning of the 1st of August he moved towards the Putna, the Austrians, who were on the right, being distributed into nine squares placed chequer-wise (*en échiquier*); five being in 1st line and four in 2nd, covering the intervals between those in front of them; the guns were placed between the squares, the cavalry in reserve in rear of the whole. The Russians adopted the same formation, though their squares were no more than six in number.

Communication between the two wings was maintained by Karaczay's brigade, which had formed the advance-guard on the line of march. In this order the Allies approached the banks of the stream, which the infantry crossed by the pontoon bridge, the cavalry by a ford. Having corrected their formation on the opposite bank, the forces advanced, music playing and colours flying, towards the enemy's position at Fokshani, though Count Spleny with the two squares which composed the extreme right of the Austrian line, had not yet come up. Before long what seemed to be a vast sandstorm was descried rapidly sweeping towards them. A rumbling sound like that of thunder was heard, while flashes of steel glittered from the midst of the cloud. Fifteen thousand Asiatic horsemen were galloping in mass down upon them. After expending their fury upon the Austrian right, they were assailed in flank by the fire of Spleny's squares, which, arriving opportunely on the field, caused them to wheel to the right and charge the Russians. Unsupported however by infantry, these fanatical horsemen, after an obstinate struggle, abandoned the field, and the Allies, resuming their advance, encountered an impenetrable wood, which caused their wings to separate right and left. Reuniting at the opposite end, the camp of the enemy was descried—an intrenchment which, defended by 6000 Janissaries, covered the passage of the Milkoff close to the village of Fokshani. The intervening space was thickly interspersed with prickly bushes, which considerably impeded the advance, actually drawing blood from both men and horses as they picked their way through the obstacle.

In spite of this nuisance the original formation was

maintained till, the foot of the intrenchments reached, the charge was sounded, one volley delivered, and the post carried with a rush. The enemy fled panic-struck to Braila, but a handful of resolute Turks, shutting themselves up in the convent of St. Samuel, resisted to the last, when their place of refuge was carried at the point of the bayonet by an Austrian battalion, and all perished. It was near this spot that the two allied generals met for the first time. A carpet was spread upon the turf, and they breakfasted together with their staffs. Coburg asked his colleague's reasons for refusing to see him on the previous day, receiving this answer: "Interviews are useless. I was convinced that my friend Coburg would not consent to act according to my views; for my plan was contrary to the rules of tactics. We should have spent the whole day in deliberation. Meantime the enemy would have attacked and routed the tacticians." Suvóroff probably formed his opinion of the Austrians from his experience of the Seven Years War, and was not far wrong, as history proves. The enemy lost in this action 1500 men and 10 guns. Coburg remained at Fokshani while Suvóroff returned to Berlat.

The forces defeated at Fokshani were but the advance-guard of the Grand Visir's army, which lay 90,000 strong at Braila, in readiness to burst into Wallachia. On the 21st August the main army of Russia, having reached the banks of the Dneister, prepared to invest the fortresses of Bender and Akkerman, when the Grand Visir, crossing the Danube at Braila, advanced towards Coburg's camp at Fokshani, while another Turkish army, under Hassan Pasha, penetrated into Bessarabia by way of Ismail. Suvóroff, uncertain for a moment how to act,

took up a central position on the Sereth, which enabled him to strike, as opportunity offered, at either the Grand Visir or Hassan, while he posted a detachment on the Pruth to secure the passage of that river. Repnin meanwhile had passed into Bessarabia and forced the enemy back on Ismail; and Suvóroff, having received positive intelligence of the Grand Visir's arrival on the Rymnik, a small tributary of the Sereth, left Berlat on the 19th September, and, in spite of the horrible state of the roads caused by continuous rains, reached Tekutch, eighteen miles distant, by noon the same day. After a brief halt the march was resumed, when nine more miles brought his division to the Sereth, where it was hoped that a bridge had been laid for them by the Austrians. Owing, however, to some misunderstanding it had been constructed nine miles farther up the stream, and, amid a terrific storm, the troops continued their march to that point. But when half only had effected a passage, the bridge was swept away by the force of the current, which was in flood, and thus separated, the Russians spent the night without shelter from the tempest, except that afforded by a small plantation of fir-trees. Nevertheless, the bridge having been repaired during the night, and the next morning the storm and rain having somewhat abated, the march was resumed. On the 21st June Suvóroff, on approaching the Rymnik, curtly announced his arrival to Coburg by a message intimating that he intended to attack the Turks after an hour or two of repose. The Austrian chief having repaired to the tent of his colleague, found him stretched on a truss of hay, and occupied in consulting the map, when, taking a seat by his side, he was addressed by him

to the following effect: "We must attack without delay; for since the Grand Visir has halted on the Rymnik this must be in expectation of reinforcements. We must forestall him in this by attacking before their arrival and by a surprise neutralize his superior numbers." The other objected that "the disproportion of numbers was too great—almost four to one." "So much the better," retorted Suvóroff, "the greater will be their trouble and confusion," declaring at the same time his firm resolve to attack, even if assistance were denied him by his allies. The Prince, however, consented, and Suvóroff at once galloped off to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. On an adjacent hillock he dismounted and, with agility rare at his age, climbed into the boughs of a tree, from which elevated station he surveyed the country around at leisure. The enemy was posted between the Rymna and Rymnik, tributaries of the Sereth, his right resting on the latter at Martineshti, his left on the former at the fortified post of Tirgokukuli; the village of Boksa and the forest of Krungameilor, both on the same hill, formed his centre; his main body, under the Grand Visir in person, lay at Martineshti on either bank of the Rymnik.

It followed from the above dispositions of the enemy that, his right wing being thrown back, the passage of the Rymna in its front was undefended, and of this circumstance Suvóroff resolved to take advantage—the more willingly that the direct line of advance approached the stream where the opposite bank was lofty, steep, and swept by the fire of the enemy. Diverging to his left, he discovered a ford near the village of Choresti, and issued orders for crossing on the following day, the

22nd of September, the anniversary, it so chanced, of his victory over Oginski at Stolovitshi, eighteen years before. The Turkish army, with its vast *impedimenta*, had reached Martineshti on the 18th, *i.e.* a day before Suvóroff left Berlat, and so, with due diligence, might have crushed the Austrians before his arrival to assist them. On the 19th they had driven the Imperial troops across the Milkoff, but next day contented themselves with occupying the convent of Tirgokukuli with their right wing, and placing it in a state of defence. But on the 21st Suvóroff appeared, and—his right wing composed of Russians 7000 strong, his left of Austrians about 18,000—in the evening crossed the Milkoff. A march of eight miles beyond brought them to the Rymna. The night was dark; the stream about 150 yards in breadth, but shallow, the water not reaching higher than the knee. Squares arranged chequerwise in two lines were employed as at Fokshani; the cavalry was in reserve, the guns being in the intervals between the infantry. The Austrians, having to make a circuit down stream, did not come into action till later in the day; but the Russians on reaching the opposite bank wheeled to the right and advanced in battle array against the enemy's left at Tirgokukuli, a wide interval being thus left between the two wings, which were connected as at Fokshani by the advance-guard of Karacsay.

The defenders of Tirgokukuli, 12,000 strong, were completely surprised, but gained time to form their ranks owing to the fact that the Russians were obstructed in their advance by a defile which admitted no more than a single square at a time. There were six squares in all, three in first and three in second line. Numbering them

from right to left, so that No. 1 represents the square on the extreme right of the 1st line, and No. 6 the one on the extreme left of the 2nd, this is what took place: No. 1 square having threaded the defile, charged the battery opposed to them and routed its defenders. These, however rallied at some distance beyond, when 3000 Turkish horsemen, each carrying a Janissary *en croupe*, swiftly returned to the scene of conflict. The Janissaries leaping to earth, scimitar in hand, rushed impetuously on No. 1 square, which was compelled to retire on its supports; but at this moment Suvóroff came up with No. 2 square and, aided by a cavalry charge delivered on the right flank of the enemy, forced them in turn to abandon the field. In the meantime No. 6 square was violently assailed by 5000 Turkish cavalry, which had been detached from Boksa, and a long and dubious struggle ensued. But Suvóroff, whose watchful eye had marked the occurrence, caused squares Nos. 3 and 4 to take post on the flanks of No. 6, so as to subject the enemy to a cross fire of musketry. This manœuvre, assisted by a flank charge of a few squadrons, repelled the Turkish horsemen, who sought refuge behind their centre in the wood of Krungamelior, while the Russians remained masters of this portion of the field.

In the opposite quarter, though somewhat later, the Austrians moved against the centre of the enemy at Boksa, but were immediately assailed by a vast multitude of cavalry numbering 15,000 sabres. The conflict raged for two hours, when the Osmanli, being as usual unsupported by infantry, were thrust back behind their intrenchments, which it was now seen, had been thrown up by the enemy in front of their centre. Suvóroff, mean-

while, reforming his line and leaving a single battalion at Tirgokukuli to protect his rear, wheeled the whole mass to the left and advanced, a manœuvre which soon brought him into touch with the Austrian right, when the allies formed a continuous line which confronted the Turkish intrenchments near Boksa. The first act of the sanguinary drama had closed. It was midday, and the allies halted for a brief interval of repose. The cavalry watered their horses, while the soldiers consumed their meagre fare. At one in the afternoon however the whole line, starting up, fell into their ranks and advanced in perfect order to the strains of military music against the intrenchments and wood in their front, whose defenders had meanwhile been strengthened by nearly 4000 men from Martineshti under the Grand Visir in person. The village of Boksa, being situated to the left and a little in front of the intrenchments, so as to afford a flanking fire in their defence, the Russians under Suvóroff moved obliquely to the right, in order to turn a great battery there which enfiladed the Austrian line. The movement at once reopened the gap between the right and left wings of the allies, and this tempting opportunity was seized upon by the Grand Visir, who hurled his cavalry in mass upon the front, flanks, and rear of the Austrians. Coburg sent urgent entreaties for assistance to Suvóroff, who, having in the meantime carried by storm the village of Boksa, and silenced its batteries, had halted to reform his line, and now, wheeling to his left, moved perpendicularly on to the left flank of the Turkish troops as they fought with the Austrians. The manœuvre brought the Russians into a position at right angles to the Aus-

trians while the gap between them constantly diminished as the advance continued. At length both joined hands at the foot of the intrenchments, which they enfolded, and Suvóroff, moving up the cavalry into the intervals between the infantry squares, ordered a general advance. When at the distance of 800 yards from the enemy's works, this mass of horse charged at speed over and into them, inflicting terrible losses on the confused mass inside, while Suvóroff, placing himself at the head of the infantry, advanced swiftly to their support. The Osmanli fled in panic rout. In vain the Grand Visir, Koran in hand, endeavoured to arrest their flight; entreaty and menace were alike thrown away. The desperate expedient of firing on the fugitives was employed, but to no purpose. By four in the afternoon the field of battle and the camps of the Turks were in undisputed possession of their foes, whose exertions were rewarded with an immense booty, one hundred standards, and eighty cannon. In despair the Grand Visir accompanied the flight of his troops as far as Braila, while the bridge over the Buzeo was blown up to retard pursuit, and taking himself to Shumla, he shortly afterwards died of a broken heart.

The victory at Rymnik did not produce results commensurate with its magnitude, partly owing to Potemkin's irresolution, partly to diplomatic considerations which rendered an invasion unadvisable. Nevertheless it afforded opportunity for Suvóroff to display a tactical ability which entitled him to take rank as a first-rate military commander. He took full advantage of the dissemination of the enemy's forces in several camps, surprising and attacking them in detail before they could

arrange for mutual defence. The decisive cavalry charge, closely supported as it was by the infantry squares, stands out in marked contrast to the isolated and spasmodic attacks of the Turkish horse, executed with furious *élan* but unsupported, and therefore void of permanent results. The cordial relations which existed between the two allied commanders contributed to success. Coburg, with rare good temper and judgment, gave way to the eccentric genius with whom his lot was cast, and Suvóroff, on his part, was wont to compare their friendship to that which united Marlborough and the Prince Eugene. For the exploit the Emperor created him count of the Roman Empire, while he obtained the same rank in Russia with the additional title of Rymnikski. Other marks of Catherine's favour were not wanting, among others a sword set with brilliants, valued at £6000. Every Russian soldier engaged in the battle received a silver medal—perhaps the first instance on record of the decoration of privates for service in the field. In the hour of triumph Suvóroff wrote to Natalia: "Tell the sisters" (of the convent where she dwelt) "that I have brain fever. Hast heard, my darling? More from my generous 'mother.' A rescript filling half a sheet, as if addressed to Alexander the Great: the insignia of St. Andrew, and above all the first class of the St. George. Dost see what manner of man thy father is?" At this epoch an Austrian officer thus draws his character: "This Suvóroff is a remarkable man. He is so old and so crippled by wounds that he is unable to carry his sabre. A Cossack riding behind him carries it, and hands it to him when in action. At other times he bears a riding-whip, which serves him for truncheon. He rides

any sorry jade he comes across, having no equipage. His mode of life is very peculiar. As a rule he appears in his shirt, on which are pinned his orders, but which bears no other distinction of rank, while, if he wears uniform it is always private's. He is on the alert all night, visiting the sentries and piquets in person. At 8 a.m. he eats his dinner, which is very simple, sitting on the ground. He is a great oddity yet nevertheless an amiable, well-educated man, who is adored by his own men and much esteemed by ours. Twice already has he assisted us in gaining glorious victories, acting on his own responsibility without waiting for the orders of Potemkin, who might have disapproved."

Shortly after the battle of the Rymnik (called Martineshti by the Austrians), Bender and Akkerman surrendered to Potemkin ; Belgrade and Semendria to Loudon, who had at last been placed in command of the Austrians. Suvóroff wintered with his division at Berlat.

In the beginning of 1790 the European situation underwent a change unfavourable to the interests of Russia. Prussia concluded a peace with the Porte which guaranteed the integrity of that empire, and contracted an alliance with Poland ; both with a view to resisting aggression from the north. In February the Emperor Joseph died ; Catherine had to mourn the loss of a faithful ally, and it seemed as if England and Holland also were about to swell the coalition in course of formation for the protection of Turkey. The new Emperor, Leopold II., being anxious for peace, on the 26th June the Congress of Reichenbach assembled, which Russia declined to attend and, menaced in every quarter, withdrew her troops from the Turkish frontier to strengthen

her forces elsewhere. Her generals on the Danube lay inactive, while the enemy collected an army of 200,000 men in Bulgaria for offensive operations. Coburg, who occupied Wallachia with 45,000 men, in the month of June laid siege to Giurgevo; but the defenders, sallying forth, captured his siege artillery and compelled him to retire to Bucharest. In the same month 12,000 Turks crossed the Danube at Widdin, but were repulsed by the Austrian general Clairfait. Informed of these events, and likewise of the Grand Visir's advance on Rustchuk. Suvóroff left Berlat, crossed the Sereth, and took post on the Buzeo to be within reach of Coburg in case of need. Further news that 70,000 Turks had entered Wallachia induced him to seek an interview with that general at Bucharest, where they arranged a combined attack on the enemy. At this juncture however a courier brought news that a convention had been signed at Reichenbach, whereby Turkey and Austria agreed to a suspension of hostilities. Suvóroff therefore returned to Berlat, Wallachia having been neutralized by the terms of the armistice; while Coburg remained at Sistova during the negotiations for peace which, though commenced on the 19th September 1790, were not concluded till the 4th August in the following year.

Through the peace of Verelä, which had been concluded with Sweden on the 14th August, 1790, Russia was enabled to put forth more energy than hitherto upon the Danube; but, owing to the neutralization of Wallachia by the terms of the armistice, her efforts were necessarily confined to the space between the Sereth and the Black Sea, inclusive of the delta formed by the Danube—a marshy tract, uninhabited, and used in the summer

only for grazing purposes—and of Ismail, Kilia, Tulcha, and Isakchi. Potemkin, after demolishing Bender, took counsel with Suvóroff as to the further prosecution of the war, when the latter replied: "The flotilla should seize the mouths of the Danube, capture Tultcha and Isakchi, combine with the land forces, storm Ismail and Braila, and make Sistova tremble." Potemkin acceded, and as the possession of Kilia and Tultcha, which command the navigable branches of the Danube, was requisite before investing Ismail, the Russian flotilla, under Ribas, entered the Kilia and Sulina mouths, while Gudovitch laid siege to Kilia itself by land. On the 28th October that fortress surrendered; Ribas captured a Turkish flotilla in the Sulina branch, while in the ensuing month the fortresses Tultcha and Isakchi fell. Having thus gained command of the Danube, the Russians proceeded to invest the great fortress of Ismail, which, situated on the northern bank of the Kilia branch, was protected by earthen ramparts from thirteen to twenty-four feet in height and by a ditch thirty-six feet wide and twenty-four deep, but possessing no outworks of any description. In two places only were masonry defences to be found—on the northern front and also the western, where the rampart ended with the Danube, The river front was badly protected, for the flotilla was thought sufficient for its protection; though after the commencement of the siege it was provided with additional earthworks. The fortress mounted 250 guns of various calibre; and the garrison, commanded by the intrepid Aidos Mehemet Pasha, consisted of 35,000 choice Turkish troops with ample supplies of provisions and other necessaries of war. The siege was commenced

in November by General Gudovitch; but want and disease decimated the Russian battalions, and further operations were postponed till spring. The troops had set out for their winter quarters; the siege train was packed in Kilia; the storm which menaced the beleaguered garrison seemed about to disperse. Suddenly Potemkin, changing his intentions, addressed to Suvóroff the curt message: "*You will take Ismail at any cost.*"

It found him at Galatz. Issuing urgent orders for the recall of the troops which had departed, he selected a detachment from his own division to take part in the operation, and caused large quantities of facines, gabions, and escalading-ladders to be forwarded to Ismail, whither he betook himself in person, escorted by a guard of forty Cossacks.

On the 13th December two horsemen mounted on sorry Cossack ponies were observed approaching the Russian camp before Ismail. It was Suvóroff, who, in his eagerness, had outstript his escort, and was riding attended by a single guide, who bore his more than scanty field equipment. Potemkin's command that "General Suvóroff will undertake the capture of Ismail" was published, and in a moment gloom and despondency yielded to hope and confidence; faces brightened up; hunger, cold, and misery were forgotten in the assured prospect of victory. "Do you see that fortress?" asked Suvóroff of the soldiers who flocked around him; "the walls are high, the ditches are deep, yet it must be taken; the Empress, our mother, has ordered it, and she must be obeyed. With your assistance this will be accomplished."

The besiegers numbered 31,000, but half of these were

Cossacks, armed with no more formidable weapons than their lances. The siege guns had not returned, but with his field artillery Suvóroff armed several batteries which he caused to be thrown up at about 400 yards from the city. His flotilla anchored in two detachments above and below it, and batteries were erected in the island of Tchatal on the opposite side of the river. These preparations made, he summoned the Seraskier, who in reply exhorted him for his own sake to abandon his rash design: "the season," he argued, "is advanced; the besiegers were in want of everything, the garrison of nothing." To a second message the Turk replied with bombast which rivalled the usual style of his foe: "Sooner shall the Danube cease its flow, sooner shall heaven fall to earth than the city of Ismail surrender." Yet a third time, Suvóroff wrote: "If the white flag be not hoisted this very day, the city will be stormed and no quarter granted." Upon this, such was the terror inspired by Suvóroff's name, that several pashas are said to have advised a parley; but Aidos Mehemet deigned no further answer.

Suvóroff held a council of war, not that his resolution wavered, but in desperate enterprises it is prudent to obtain thus the hearty concurrence of subordinates. He relied on his moral influence to electrify those whom he consulted and hoped to inspire them with a heroism equal to his own. In his speech he set forth how "a retreat would destroy the *moral* of the army, be trumpeted throughout Europe and thus increase the arrogance of the Turks and their allies," and ended by expressing his firm resolve "to plant the Russian flag upon the walls of Ismail, or perish in the attempt." Brigadier

Platóff (afterwards renowned in the Napoleonic wars), voted first as junior member, and of course in favour of the undisguised wishes of his chief; the rest followed suit; and Suvóroff in a transport of joy embraced Plotóff, crying: "*To-day for prayer, to-morrow for drill, the next day victory or a glorious death.*" "Victory or a glorious death," repeated in a loud tone the assembled chiefs.

But Potemkin soon began to hesitate, his firmness to give way. He wrote to Suvóroff, commanding him that "unless he were *certain of success*," he should abandon the enterprise, which drew forth the reply that "a retreat would now be disgraceful. No man could make certain of success; he could merely answer for himself and the troops committed to his charge. Nothing that prudence could do would be neglected; the rest must depend on God." He was resolved on executing his design at all hazards, and, we may be sure, equally so not to survive defeat. On the 19th and 20th details of the plan of attack were carefully rehearsed under his personal supervision. The army was divided into three attacks; two by land, the third by water, each attack being executed in three columns. Paul Potemkin commanded on the right; Samoiloff the left, while Ribas led the flotilla. The cavalry, 2500 strong, was held in reserve under Suvóroff's personal command. Each column of the land attack contained five battalions, and was thus arranged tactically:—

A company of skirmishers.
Fifty pioneers with axes, spades, picks.
Three battalions with ladders (main body).
Two battalions reserve.

Two of the columns thus led by Orlóff and Platóff,

were composed of the dismounted Cossacks who, as before observed, were armed with lances only, but 50 sharp-shooters preceded them and they were supported by two regular battalions. The river attack included eleven regular battalions with 4000 marine Cossacks; the vessels were formed into two lines, the heaviest and best-armed in rear to cover the disembarkation with their fire. General instructions were to this effect: "The columns to be conducted, under cover of darkness, to within 600 yards of the place, there to await the signal of attack. No descent to be made from the ramparts into the town till the gates are thrown open and the reserves introduced. Guards to be placed over the enemy's mines and magazines. Nothing to be set on fire. The unarmed population, women, children, and Christians not to be molested." On the 21st a heavy cannonade was opened on the fortress, whose defenders made aware by deserters of the impending attack, replied with vigour, and exploded with red-hot shot a Russian brigantine on the river. Night descended, a night of anxious suspense, a sleepless night, passed round the bivouac fires in the bitter December cold. Suvóroff approached in turn each martial group, speaking to the soldiers with that easy familiarity which great men alone can safely assume in their intercourse with inferiors. "What regiment?" he would ask; and on receiving the reply, "Gallant fellows! excellent soldiers! you did wonders in the past; now you are going to outdo yourselves!"

At 3 a.m. a rocket ascended, illuminating the darkness which hung over the Russian camp. It was the preparatory signal. At 4, a second discharge warned the various

columns to fall in, and all moved noiselessly to their respective posts. A third exploding at 5, they glided through the misty night towards an invisible goal. The enemy received them with a burst of musketry which in an instant converted the ramparts into a semicircle of fire. The edge of the ditch was reached, the fascines pitched into it, and the skirmishers, halting on the brink, protected by their irregular fire the storming parties, who, leaping boldly from the counterscarp, planted their ladders against the ramparts. These in many instances proving too short, the assailants were obliged to climb the upper portion of the parapet, scrambling up by aid of musket and bayonet as best they could. Lascy who led the second column from the right, was the first to reach the top. Not having marked the ascent of the third rocket, owing to the density of the fog, he had timed his movements by the watch, and thus chanced to anticipate the other columns by some instants. The first column passed round and over the palisades abutting on the Danube, and, though repulsed from the masonry bastion at that point, succeeded in communicating with the column of Lascy to their left. The third column met with a more obstinate resistance. Their ladders were too short by eleven or twelve feet and, although by planting one above the other the summit was attained, yet the accident entailed heavy losses, which included General Meknob,* the commander of the column, who fell mortally wounded. Meantime, the poor half-armed Cossacks had been severely handled. Their loose garments, wetted in crossing the ditch, disabled them from

* Perhaps originally Macnab.

climbing the ramparts. They were repulsed, and the Turks, seizing the opportune moment, issued sword in hand from the Bender gate, and falling upon their right flank made great havoc among them. The lances of the unfortunate Cossacks were easily severed by the highly-tempered blades of their adversaries, and left them defenceless. But Suvóroff noted their mishap, and sent five squadrons to their assistance; while at the same moment the reserve of two battalions arriving on the spot, the Turks in their turn were obliged to retire although numbers, by the premature closing of the gates, were excluded from the town and cut to pieces by the pursuing cavalry. The Cossacks, again conducted to the assault, gained a footing on the parapet and communicated with the troops on the right and left. Many women, it is stated, took part in this sortie, taking their station poniard in hand beside their male relatives.

Kutuzoff's column, on the extreme left, had experienced in the meantime a serious reverse. Though headed by their chief in person, who was the first to scale a ladder, all were hurled back into the ditch by the defenders of the rampart. Suvóroff remarking this, sent word to Kutuzoff that "he had already appointed him commandant of Ismail, and informed the Empress that the city was taken." Thus encouraged, Kutuzoff, by aid of his reserve, recommenced the attack, cleared the walls of defenders, and drove them into the city; and Suvóroff, now master of the fortified enceinte, made preparation for the more obstinate and sanguinary conflict which he knew was impending inside. The gates having been thrown open by the stormers, the guns

and cavalry were admitted, and the ramparts and magazines secured, while the columns of infantry fought their way step by step through the streets to the centre of the town. Its numerous khanas, or inns—stone buildings of great size and strength—formed so many citadels, wherein the several pashas sought refuge with their retainers and fought to the death. One near the Bender gate, occupied by the Pasha of Kilia with 2000 Janissaries, was peculiarly formidable, but was ultimately stormed at the point of the bayonet, its garrison with the exception of 300 men being put to the sword. Another, near the Khotim gate, sheltered Adios Mehemet himself, but, after a gallant defence lasting two hours, its gates were blown open and the seraskier surrendered. Unfortunately, as the captives were departing, a Russian soldier snatched from the Pasha's girdle a richly-jewelled poniard; when a Janissary, drawing his scimitar in defence of his chief, accidentally wounded a Russian officer who stood by. A scuffle, which became a massacre, ensued. It cost the lives of the unfortunate prisoners and their chiefs.

Suvóroff, having brought twenty field-pieces into the town for the purpose of clearing the streets, strongly reinforced the guards which secured the powder-magazines, the enemy having made repeated attempts to blow them up. Morning broke, yet still the conflict raged with unabated violence. Women, even children, took part in it, till a fair fight degenerated into ruthless slaughter. No quarter was asked or accepted—neither age nor sex were spared. An exception to the charge of savagery must be claimed in favour of the assailants of the Armenian con-

vent, whose defenders obtained their lives. "Kill the little infidels," cried the Muscovite soldiery, drunk with blood, "that they may not grow up into enemies!" The Duke de Richelieu (Byron has utilised the incident in *Don Juan*) with the utmost difficulty and personal risk saved a girl of twelve from the sabres of two ruffians who were in pursuit. Resistance, gradually dwindling away, was at last extinguished. Kaplan Ghirai, a descendant of the Crimean Khans, offered a desperate resistance to the Cossacks, but fell pierced by countless wounds, preceded in death by five sons, who had fought around him. Then succeeded the awful three days of plunder which Suvóroff was wont to grant his troops after a successful assault. Seated on the blackened ruins of the city he had destroyed, and encircled by heaps of the slain, he informed Potemkin in these brief words of his victory: "The Russian standard floats above the walls of Ismail;" while the report which he addressed to the Empress was this: "Proud Ismail lies at your Majesty's feet."

The Turks lost 26,000 men in killed, and 9000 taken prisoners, among the former being five pashas and six Tartar sultans. The victors captured 10,000 horses, 245 cannon, provisions for a whole month, and innumerable standards, which now hang in the church of the Petropavlovski citadel of St. Petersburg, still bearing the impress of the bloody hands which once grasped them. Booty estimated at half a million sterling rewarded their exertions, all property for miles around having been deposited within the fortress for security. The Russians lost 10,000 in killed and wounded, and of 650 officers who took part in the assault 400 fell *hors de combat*, in

most cases shockingly hacked and hewn by the razor-like gashes of the scimitar. Suvóroff refused all participation in the spoil; nor would he accept of so much as an Arab horse which one of the generals eagerly pressed upon him. "A pony of the Don," he replied, "brought me here, and a pony of the Don shall take me away." "But," objected the other, "he will now be unequal to bearing the weight of your laurels;" the rejoinder was, "A Don pony has always carried me and my fortunes," and the fortunate chief took the road to Galatz in the same simple guise in which he came a few days previously.

Thus happened the storming of Ismail, a feat regarding which Diebitch, the hero of the Balkans in 1829, thus expressed himself: "I consider the capture of Ismail the most daring exploit recorded in the annals of warfare. For myself, I could never have made up my mind to undertake it." It affords a striking illustration of the value of promptitude in war, in which the golden opportunity, once let slip, rarely or never returns. A single day's delay in this instance would have defeated the enterprise; for a dense fog set in, which, lasting all through the winter, rendered all objects around invisible, while the soil became so soft and clammy as to render movement difficult, an escalade impracticable.

"How can I recompense you, Alexander, son of Basil?" exclaimed Potemkin, when Suvóroff appeared in his presence at Jassy. "No one can reward me," was the startling reply, "except God and the Empress; I have not come to haggle about a recompense,"—an imprudent outburst of suppressed envy and spite, the more unexpected that he had lately been obsequious in his

conduct to the powerful favourite. It rekindled in the breast of Potemkin that jealous wrath which had in a measure been assuaged, and doubtless the consequences would have been disagreeable to Suvóroff. But in 1791 Potemkin enjoyed his last triumph. At St. Petersburg he endeavoured to appropriate the glory of Ismail's capture, and at a banquet, given in celebration of the event, Suvóroff was conspicuous by his absence. The Empress, apparently powerless to protect him from the hate of the omnipotent minister, hurried him from the capital on a mission to Finland. The favourite's career on earth however was rapidly drawing to a close. During his absence in the capital Repnin crossed the Danube and, on the 7th of August, defeated the Turks at Matchin, a victory which was immediately followed by the Treaty of Jassy, which advanced the Russian frontier, to the Dniester, ratified her sovereignty over the Crimea, and confirmed the provisions of the Treaty of Kainardji. Potemkin, aghast at the conclusion of peace without his participation, returned to Jassy in hot haste, oppressed, it is said, with dismal forebodings of approaching dissolution. Seized by a mortal distemper, he was being removed at his own request to Nikolaieff, in order to expire in the city which he had founded, when death surprised him on a barren heath some twenty-five miles from Jassy, where, laid upon the turf, he expired beneath the open vault of heaven, on the 16th of October, 1791, at the comparatively early age of fifty-five.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND POLISH WAR.

SUVÓROFF spent the next eighteen months, which he used to call his "eclipse," in Finland. The post he occupied meant honourable exile; its duties were the supervision of the defences of the frontier against Sweden.* After Ismail it seems as if he actually regarded himself as Potemkin's equal in authority, but was miserably deceived, as the "eclipse" unmistakably proved. Nor did the death of the omnipotent favourite in the first instance ameliorate his lot, for he had raised against himself a cloud of enemies. Apart from those which success inevitably engenders, he had made others unnecessarily by the indiscriminate exercise of his powers of ridicule. Hating and despising courtiers as he did, his pleasantries at their expense were probably, like those of the jester in Verdi's opera, saturated with the gall of truth. Besides, he had not as yet reached the point of prosperity where calumny tends to subside and rivals grow obsequious. He was still a personage whom his enemies thought it possible to suppress by their united efforts, and thus the "eclipse" continued after the dis-

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* It will be remembered that Sweden retained almost all Finland till 1809.

appearance of his arch-persecutor from the scene. Unfortunately Suvóroff failed to support this trial with due equanimity. He was a philosopher, but only in theory—as the reader has doubtless by this time discovered for himself. Ambition and pent-up energy agitated his breast as before, while a consciousness of neglected merit exasperated his temper. Disappointment rendered him envious, discontented, and intractable, but happily the "eclipse" was of brief duration, and he was soon restored to the active life for which nature had so well equipped him.

In 1792 he was appointed to the command of a district in the south of Russia, which comprised, in addition to the Crimea, the newly colonized provinces of Ekaterinoslaff and Kherson. His head-quarters were the city of Kherson ; and the army under his orders numbered 100,000 men. But a brief narrative of political events in Poland seems requisite before passing to the consideration of the campaign which sealed the fate of that monarchy.

The professed object of Prussian diplomacy at this epoch was the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, its real design to extort from Poland the cession of the province of West Prussia with its prosperous and celebrated cities of Dantzic and Thorn. Poland, relying on the encouragement afforded by this neighbour, had recently torn in pieces the treaty concluded in 1775 with Catherine, which guaranteed the continuance of the elective monarchy, of the *liberum veto*, and other evils in its constitution which crippled the power of reform. On the 3rd May 1791, King and Diet published a constitution which suppressed the most crying abuses and

made the crown hereditary in the electoral house of Saxony. These innovations, following closely on the revolutionary excesses of which Paris was the scene, were extremely distasteful to most of the Polish nobility, to the neighbouring monarchs, and lastly to Russia, as destructive of the schemes of aggrandizement which she founded on the anarchical condition of her neighbour. A confederacy of nobles assembled at Targowice appealed to the Czarina for aid, who at once replied by summoning the Polish sovereign to restore the status guaranteed by the treaty of 1775. On the rejection of this demand, and while the attention of Europe was riveted on French affairs, she poured her troops into Poland, and after a brief struggle became mistress of Warsaw. The first partition of that country had rendered a second act of spoliation necessary; for had Poland been permitted by reform to acquire stability of government, she would have become a source of danger to Russia or, at all events, to the ambitious projects of the Tsars. The Empress herself became seriously alarmed at the progress of revolutionary doctrines which she had in a *dilettante* manner once fostered. When the confederates of Targowice implored her intervention, having first won Prussia over by exciting the jealousy it entertained of Saxony, that ancient rival in Germany to whom the throne of Poland seemed about to pass, she carried into effect the second partition. The time-honoured anarchy was re-established, the army restricted to 15,000 men, and the protectorate of Russia definitely acknowledged. But these humiliating terms, though ratified by the Diet, incited the nation to hazard one more blow for independence.

The first move was made by Madalinski, who, when ordered to disband his regiment early in the year 1794, marched on the city of Cracow, and erected the standard of national revolt. Joined by the famous Kosciuszko, he marched northwards at the head of a force composed of regular troops and peasantry armed with scythes, and in the month of April defeated a Russian detachment at Raslawice. On receipt of this news the citizens of Warsaw, rising in revolt, drove the Russian garrison from the city; but the King of Prussia, Frederic William II., having entered Poland at the head of an army, defeated the insurgents and laid siege to the capital in concert with the Russians of Fersen. But the insurrection breaking out in his rear, that monarch raised the siege and returned to his own borders, while the Russians retired, ascending the left bank of the Vistula. Such was the unpropitious aspect of the affairs when Suvóroff became *de facto* commander of the Russian forces in Poland, the appointment of Rumantzoff being merely nominal. He had already disarmed, without effusion of blood, the Polish regiments in Podolia who had accepted the Russian uniform after the second partition. Those who desired to remain with the colours were distributed among other regiments; those who objected to this were provided with passes to their homes.

Suvóroff left Nemirow in Podolia on the 25th August at the head of 8000 men. He reached Warkowice, distant 220 miles, in seven days, though the further march to Kovel, only eighty-four, owing to continuous rains which broke up the roads, occupied as many as six. Raised by reinforcements which joined on the march to the strength of 12,000, and informed that Sirakowski

was with 20,000 Polish troops at Kobrin, he resolved to surprise that chief in his quarters. The Polish armies were thus distributed :—Kosciuszko was at Warsaw with 10,000 men ; Makranowski, at Grodno with 20,000, confronting Repnin's corps at Wilna ; Sirakowski lay between Brest and Kobrin ; while Poninski, with 5000 on the right bank of the Vistula, was opposed to the Russians of Fersen on the Pilica. Warsaw thus formed a centre from which the Polish commander could strengthen any given point of his front with greater ease than the enemy ; or, technically speaking, he occupied interior lines of operation. Suvóroff, in the brief space of two months, was able to annul and even reverse these conditions.

On the 16th September he reached Kobrin, to the inexpressible bewilderment of the Poles, whose advance-guard was posted there. As usual, he employed no scouts, contending that they merely served to warn the foe of impending danger. We must, however, bear in mind that the Poles were exceedingly negligent in the performance of outpost duty, so that by approaching them stealthily at dead of night, it was possible to surprise them in the early morning—in fact, before they were awake. In such cases Suvóroff used to send forward his cavalry in order to hold the enemy fast till the arrival of the guns and infantry. Resuming his march at midnight, he found Sirakowski, when morning broke, strongly posted near the convent of Krupczice, his flanks resting on forests, his front covered by a morass. Though his strength exceeded that of the Russians, a portion were mere peasantry armed with scythes. Suvóroff carried the position by a frontal attack of infantry

combined with a flank movement of cavalry, and when Sirakowski attempted to change front—always a critical movement under fire—his troops fell into disorder. Forming them into three dense columns, and protecting their retreat with cavalry, he crossed the river Bug and pitched camp close to the town of Brest-Litovski. Suvóroff bivouacked on the field of battle, having ordered up his provision-train from Kobrin when he perceived the tide of conflict to be setting in his favour, and, on the 18th, encamped on a concealed spot near the Bug. On the 19th, having crossed by a ford, he drew his troops up at right angles to the right wing of the enemy, who, again attempting a corresponding change of front, once more, as at Krupczice, fell into disorder. Upon this Suvóroff launched the whole of his cavalry on the exposed flank (the right) of the Polish line, at the same time throwing forward a body of light infantry to menace the enemy's retreat on Warsaw. Sirakowski, despairing of victory, formed his infantry into close columns of great size and compactness, and, protecting them with cavalry, began to evacuate the field. This proved however to be a difficult task, for a marshy stream obstructed the movement; while the Russian cavalry at last broke into the Polish squares and sabred all who opposed them. But little quarter can have been granted, not more than 500 prisoners being made, and an inconsiderable remnant of the Polish army escaping from the field. It was exclusively a cavalry action, so far as the assailants were concerned, since the mass of their infantry and the whole of their artillery did not arrive in time to take part in it. The exasperation on either side was intense ; for the Russians were infuriated

by the massacre of their comrades at Warsaw—the Poles violently incensed at the wanton devastation of their country by the invaders. The battle of Brest-Litovski* was most important in its strategic results, apart from its tactical consequences : the enemy's line of defence was broken through, and his unity of action destroyed. Derfelden, who had arrived with a division at Slonim, was directed to expel Makranowski from Grodno ; Fersen to remain stationary on the Pilica in observation of Poninski. On the other side, Kosciuszko, who had assembled 10,000 men at Lukow for the protection of Warsaw, instructed Makranowski to break up from Grodno and fall perpendicularly on Suvóroff's right flank; but he was too hard pressed by Derfelden to execute the task; abandoning Grodno, he retreated on Warsaw in three columns, that on the left being of course most exposed to the enemy. Suvóroff, after the battle, remained awhile at Brest, feeling himself too weak to advance further without support. Holding fast by the abundant stores with which the town was provided, he threw out Cossacks in every direction for the purpose of collecting information regarding the enemy. Fersen, however, crossed the Pilica and moved to Kosiennice, thus commencing an operation which proved decisive of the fate of the campaign; for, early in October, having misled Poninski by a feigned march on Pulawa, he threw a bridge across the Vistula lower down the stream, and crossed to the eastern bank with his entire division, when Kosciuszko,deceived by Poninski's report that the enemy

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* The Russian spelling is adopted ; the Polish version is *Brzesc Litewski.*

were crossing at Pulawa, hastened from Lukow to Okrzeja in support of his lieutenant. There he unexpectedly found himself in presence of Fersen's entire division drawn up at Maciejowice to receive him. Deeming a battle less hazardous than a retreat with raw troops in the presence of a veteran foe, the Polish general intrenched himself and calmly awaited the attack. This took place on the 11th October, the Polish army being destroyed, and their leader taken prisoner, narrowly escaping with his life. Poninski, owing to non-receipt of orders, had remained immovable at Pulawa during the progress of the battle.

Suvóroff, when informed of the victory, ordered the Russian division—his own, Derfelden's, and Fersen's—to concentrate in front of Praga, the eastern suburb of Warsaw, from which it is separated by the Vistula. At the same time he struck swiftly at the left-hand column of Makranowski, as it was moving from Grodno on Warsaw, in the hope of intercepting its retreat. Marching in person on Janow and Wengrow, he directed Fersen on Stanislawow, while Derfelden pressed the enemy closely in rear. On the 25th October, having effected a junction with Fersen, the united Russians amounted to 17,000 men ; but at midnight they separated, the latter moving on Okoniew, Suvóroff himself on Kobelka, a village not far from Praga, where he surprised the column he sought for as it was rapidly making its way to the capital. Halting before daybreak, he sent his cavalry in advance according to custom. The Polish forces were drawn up in two lines on a plain, a forest in their rear, flanks protected by cavalry, their front by a line of skirmishers. The engagement closely resembled the

actions near Krupczice and Bret, the Russian cavalry deciding the victory without assistance from the infantry. The Poles attempted a retreat on Warsaw in heavy columns, which were successively attacked and broken by the pursuing horse. Makranowski with the other two columns, 15,000 strong, reached Warsaw by moving behind the rivers Bug and Vistula, and this accession of strength emboldened the citizens to resistance. Suvóroff, having pitched his camp on the field which he had won, returned their swords to the captive Polish officers, and, with his habitual courtesy, invited them to share a frugal repast. He remained a week on the spot, and was joined by Derfelden, whose arrival raised the Russian forces to 22,000 men.

Zayonchek, having assumed command in Warsaw, sent a letter to Suvóroff which proposed certain bases for negotiation. Its style, however, was somewhat haughty, and this aroused the ire of the Russian chief, whose answer was not more urbane: "You frantic rebels," he dictated, "desire to measure swords with Russia. Zayonchek, false to his sovereign, imagines himself a revolutionary general on a small scale, and dares to address Suvóroff. Let this Jacobin's letter be returned unanswered. None of your equality here, and no mercy for mad rebels. Submission alone can purchase oblivion of the past. No other trumpet will be received unless to express repentance for the past." After despatching the above missive, he remained three more days at Kobelka, probably in expectation of further proposals; but on the fourth he rode to Praga with his staff, and, while his cavalry escort skirmished with the enemy's outposts, carefully reconnoitred the locality.

On the 2nd November he left Kobelka, marching in three columns, colours flying and drums beating, and pitched camp in front of the suburb selected for attack. Around its antique walls the Poles had constructed a vast intrenched camp, within whose circuit they had concentrated an army which, including volunteers from Warsaw, was 30,000 strong. Its approaches were defended by six lines of *trous-de-loup*, while 204 pieces of artillery peered from the parapets. Suvóroff, in spite of the strength of the works and of the superior numbers of the enemy, decided to attack them openly, for the flower of the Polish army had perished at Maciejowice, and his veterans, though inferior in number, were infinitely more formidable than the hasty levies and volunteers who lined the opposing trenches. Besides, he possessed no siege-train, and the season being far advanced, the choice lay between retreat and assault, and he knew by experience that an attack by storm was less destructive of human life than the prolonged miseries of a formal siege. There was also a political consideration: the Prussians were advancing, and it was desirable to forestall them in the occupation of Warsaw. Anxious to conceal his intentions, during the night following his arrival he set immense working parties to construct batteries armed with eighty pieces of field-artillery. At dawn the garrison were saluted with a tremendous salvo, whose roar seemed to announce that a formal siege was contemplated.

The cannonade was kept up all day long, but with nightfall preparations were made for the intended assault. The army was distributed into seven columns, each being preceded by a company of sharpshooters and a party

carrying ladders, fascines, and hurdles to lay across the *trous-de-loup;* then followed the stormers, and, 150 paces behind these, the main body and guns. The cavalry formed a cordon outside the whole to prevent the escape of the garrison. The columns on the extreme right and left were instructed to press towards the bridge which spanned the Vistula, and thus cut off the enemy's retreat. It was well arranged that the four columns on the right should attack half an hour before those on the left; the supposition being that the raw levies who composed the greater part of the garrison would hurry in mass to the point first assailed, thus leaving their posts denuded of troops. Written instructions were issued by the Russian chief, one clause of which is here quoted as throwing light upon a page of history which requires elucidation: "*The troops will devote their attention to the armed Poles: those without arms, and those who ask quarter will be spared.*" The reserves were instructed to cut passages for the cavalry through the ramparts, while the artillery after the capture of the intrenchments, were to drag their pieces to the top of them, and thus co-operate in the attack of Praga itself.

Before dawn on the 4th November, Suvóroff, taking post at the village of Bielolenka, awaited the preconcerted signal of assault. At 5 a.m. a rocket flew into the air, and the four columns on the right noiselessly advancing, crossed the ditch and scaled the opposing rampart. The clamorous struggle which ensued, as had been anticipated, engrossed the attention of the besieged, who flocked from every quarter to what appeared to be the point of danger; so that when, half an hour later

the three columns on the assailants' left were set in motion, they encountered but feeble resistance, and bursting into the camp, drove the defenders clean out of it into the suburb. Masters of the outer circle, the Russians prepared for the attack of the inner defences, whilst cavalry, guns and reserves were poured into the intervening space. Praga fell amid a scene of slaughter which the mutual hatred and exasperation of the combatants made inevitable. The two flank columns of the victors, having gained the bridge, cut the fugitives off from Warsaw. Though naturally kindly and docile, the Russian soldier maddens at the sight of blood, and often turns a deaf ear to the voice of his officers. In spite of Suvóroff's injunctions, quarter was refused, and the helpless crowd at the bridge were ruthlessly massacred in full view of their despairing relatives who thronged the opposite bank. To rescue Warsaw from pillage, Suvóroff directed the fire of his guns against the bridge, which, being a wooden structure, was easily demolished, though a hot fire from beyond the Vistula proved more fatal to the Russians than had been the artillery of the intrenched camp. During the bombardment which followed, a shell, descending into the council-chamber of the revolutionary committee, killed the secretary as he sat at work. Suvóroff, on approaching the spot, stopped the bombardment of the city and endeavoured to assauge the fury of his troops. Nevertheless, the losses of the Poles on this fatal day amounted to no less than 13,000 killed in action, 2000 drowned, and 14,860 prisoners.* Among the former were 4000 citizens of Warsaw who

* Lieut.-Colonel Anting's *Campagnes de Suvoroff.*

had taken arms in its defence, a fact which doubtless gave rise to the malicious statement that the defenceless townsfolk were massacred in cold blood. Eight thousand prisoners were released on the spot, whilst the remainder obtained their liberty on the following day; but the officers were detained and hospitably treated by the victorious general. Suvóroff reported this achievement to the Empress in the laconic style which was habitual to him: "Most Gracious Lady, hurrah! Warsaw is ours." The reply, "Hurrah! *Field-Marshal* Suvóroff," curtly intimated his reward.

On the following day, when deputies arrived asking a week's armistice for the conclusion of peace, Suvóroff before receiving them dictated his terms: "No treaty is requisite. The enemy must submit unconditionally. The King's authority must be re-established The Russians will enter Warsaw forthwith. The lives and property of the inhabitants are guaranteed. An answer is required within twenty-four hours." When they were admitted into his presence, casting away his sword, he advanced to meet them, exclaiming in the Polish tongue, "Peace, Peace." On their return to Warsaw the deputies found the Polish army engaged in evacuating the city, carrying with them both the King and the Russian prisoners; but this attempt was frustrated by the vigilance of the townspeople. Suvóroff, suspecting an intention to gain time under cover of negotiation, threw Fersen's corps across the Vistula above Warsaw, thus menacing the rear of the insurgent forces, who, on the 8th of November, decamped, and the city opened its gates to the victors. Next day, that is the fifth after the capture of Praga, Suvóroff entered Warsaw at the

head of his troops, the municipality issuing forth in procession to meet him with the keys of the city. He received them with a display of some emotion, and expressed his joy that they had been obtained without more effusion of blood. The populace, exhausted by revolutionary violence, displayed no signs of hostility. On the following day he paid a formal visit to King Stanislas, who consented to surrender the arsenal and sanctioned the disarmament of his capital; while Suvóroff in return set at liberty several favourite officers of the King whom he had taken during the recent engagements. The insurgent forces, after marching in a southerly direction in the hope of gaining the mountains of Galicia, were surrounded on the road thither, and forced to capitulate.

The foregoing campaign ranks among the most brilliant and decisive on record. Quitting Podolia on the 25th August, the Russian general first came into contact with the enemy at Kobrin on the 16th September, and the 9th November witnessed his triumphal entry into Warsaw. He found at the outset the Polish forces in a state of concentration, his own troops disseminated on a broad front encircling the enemy. By rapidity of movement, and bold enterprise combined with well-timed inactivity, he shattered the defensive line which Kosciuszko opposed to him, intercepting its outlying sections and inspiring that leader with apprehensions for the safety of Warsaw. A rash advance after the victory at Brest might have proved fatal; but after the rout of the Poles at Maciejovice, he furnished ample evidence of promptitude and resolution by the way he turned that triumph to account. The resolve to carry Praga by

storm was audacious, but the alternative was a disastrous and ignominious retreat which would have ruined the prestige of the Russian arms; for a protracted siege lasting through the winter months was not to be thought of in that rigorous climate. Delay might also have afforded opportunity for foreign powers to intervene in Polish affairs, a misfortune which it was of the highest importance from a Russian point of view to avert.

As Governor-General of Poland Suvóroff remained at Warsaw till November 1795, when he was summoned to St. Petersburg by Catherine, who at that time meditated intervention in the affairs of revolutionary France. She presented him with a diamond snuff-box on which was depicted the portrait of Alexander the Great with the inscription: "No other man has so well earned the likeness of your namesake. You are as great as he." An estate containing 7000 serfs formed a more solid recognition of imperial regard and gratitude. He was admitted to familiar intercourse with his Sovereign, who at court entertainments would draw him aside to some secret cabinet where, before outspread maps, these hoary schemers would discuss the problems and ambitions of the future.

Suvóroff shared to the full the hatred felt by his mistress for the Revolution, and the alarm she experienced at the progress of its doctrines. "Mother, mother, send me against the French," he was constantly reiterating, and his desire seemed at last attained when she resolved to join the Allies in 1796. Though Prussia had withdrawn from the contest, fresh treaties had leagued Austria, England, and Russia together against a foe who threatened to subvert the foundations of social

life. In May 1796 Suvóroff took command of 80,000 Russian troops who were concentrated in Podolia in readiness to take the field. But the triumphs of Bonaparte in Italy startled the Empress, and, though Suvóroff had already crossed the frontier, he was directed to retrace his steps. On the 17th November Catherine, struck down by apoplexy, breathed her last, being succeeded on the throne by her son Paul. "Mother Empress," cried Suvóroff, overwhelmed with grief, "without thee I should have seen neither Kinburn nor Rymnik, Ismail nor Warsaw!"

The new Emperor, eccentric and perhaps insane, introduced a variety of changes in the military service which shocked Suvóroff's ideas of propriety: pig-tails, hair-powder, and other vexatious minutiæ copied from the Prussians. The military milliner is apt to believe that his art can compensate for the lack of military genius. But Suvóroff knew that pipe-clay and pig-tails had no part in Frederic's victories, and openly derided these novel devices. An estrangement, which was carefully fomented by the new favourites at Court, arose between the Emperor and his general. A remonstrance was addressed to the field-marshal in respect of his eccentricities, which were said to be prejudicial to discipline. "Tell the Emperor," was the reply, "that his mother Catherine put up with them for thirty years. I played my pranks at Rymnik and Warsaw. I am too old for the new system." Matters soon came to a crisis. There arrived at head-quarters a packet of rods for measuring pig-tails, in order to ensure a uniform length. It was the last straw. Filled with contempt and indignation he blurted out a doggrel verse to this effect:—

Hair-powder is not gunpowder,
Curls are not cannon,
Pigtails are not bayonets.

The sally was duly reported where its sting would be sure to rankle. In February 1797 Suvóroff was dismissed from his command, and some weeks later a fresh indiscretion caused his removal from the active list. It must be admitted that his conduct had been improper. The temper of Paul, though hasty, violent, and eccentric, was in a certain distorted way chivalrous and noble; and a field-marshal should respect even the caprices of his Sovereign. A personal interview would doubtless have smoothed away difficulties, but Court intriguers were able to prevent this, whispering at the same time that Suvóroff's popularity with the army was dangerous to the security of the State. Before departure the field-marshal assembled the troops on parade, and, having deposited the insignia of his rank on a pyramid of drums, thus addressed them: "Farewell, comrades, I leave with you all I have earned by means of you. Children, heroes, pray to God. Prayer to God, and fidelity to the Tzar are not in vain. We shall meet once more. Once more we shall fight side by side. Suvóroff will reappear in your midst." Then, entering his chaise, he drove swiftly away amid general lamentations.

He took up his residence in Moscow, but was not permitted to stay there long. A police officer one day alighted at his house presenting an order for his removal into the country. "How much time to pack up?" he inquired. "Four hours," was the reply. "Time and to spare," he ejaculated, "I've packed up and beaten Turks

and Poles in less than that!" Finding a coach at the door, he refused to enter, demanding an ordinary post-cart. "What do I want with a coach?" exclaimed this cantankerous veteran: "I've driven to the palace in a post-cart ere this." Leaving Moscow—for ever—he travelled with his police attendant to the family estate of Kantchansk in the province of Novgorod, and there, amid forests, marshes, lakes and all the gloomy majesty of the north, he settled down in a small wooden house perched on the summit of a hill, which house exists to this day.

Here, during the day, he led the mode of life which was peculiar to him when rusticating, and which has been referred to before in these pages; while at eve he retired to a solitary cabin in his garden, and, like Marcus Aurelius, devoted his declining years to study, his lucubrations not unfrequently lasting till dawn. Still delighting in the perusal of those classical authors who had been the friends of his youth, he devoured with eagerness the story of the young chief who was now dreaming of universal dominion while plodding through the burning sands of Egypt. "Oh, 'tis time, 'tis time to stop him! The youngster's going too fast,' was the cry which often escaped his lips.

The career of Suvóroff has been compared to a drama of Shakspeare's which passes abruptly from the ludicrous to the sublime. Now we behold him, an eccentric buffoon in his rural solitude, engrossed in trivial occupations; now he mounts the world's stage and directs the fate of nations. Like many other powerful minds, his could stoop to the humblest details: the arrangement of a village wedding or a question of farmyard economy, and return with equal facility to public affairs of the highest moment.

The alliance concluded in December 1798 between England and Russia against France was about to draw him forth from his retreat. Since Great Britain partially defrayed the expenses of the Coalition she claimed a voice in the selection of the general who was to lead its armies, and, through the mediation of the Emperor Francis II., she proposed Suvóroff as commander of the Austro-Russian army which was about to act in Italy. Paul, flattered by this marked recognition of Russian merit, acceded, and acquainted Suvóroff with his good fortune in a letter written in a conciliatory spirit. The joy of the aged marshal knew no bounds. He kissed the scroll, and gave directions for instant departure. His written instructions for the journey are extant: "One hour for packing—then away. Three to accompany me. Get ready eighteen horses, and take 250 roubles for the road. Send Yuri over to the village bailiff, and ask him for the loan of that sum. I'm not joking. So, having sung bass as sacristan, I am now going to perform as Mars." At St. Petersburg he was received with acclamation. He was invested with the Grand Cross of the Maltese Order, of which the Tzar was Grand Master, and overwhelmed with his attentions. The courtiers followed suit, but had to submit to the lash of the inveterate cynic, who now gave vent to his long pent-up bitterness. When an upstart parasite of the Court bowed low to him one day, Suvóroff, instead of returning the salute, made a succession of deep reverences to a statue hard by. The error being pointed out by one who attributed it to defective vision, he made answer: "Never mind; no knowing what *this* may become in a few days." Meeting a *parvenu* covered with decorations, he stopped him, and taking them one by one in his fingers, inquired by what services they had

been earned. The poor victim, who durst not lie to Suvóroff, stammered in reply, "For usefulness," when Suvóroff, bursting into a loud laugh, strode away muttering contemptuously, "Usefulness! usefulness!" On the arrival of a certain distinguished guest to dinner, he ran to the entrance and escorted him back into the dining-room, crying, "Oh, where shall I seat so great a man? Proshka, a chair—another—a third!" and, having piled one on the top of the other, he resumed, "There, friend, get up; and if you fall off, mind, 'tis no fault of mine."

Suvóroff reached Vienna on the 26th March. Overtaking the Russian columns *en route* to the seat of war, he leaped from his conveyance and shouted, "So, my children, I am with you again!" and proceeded on his way. At the Austrian capital he alighted at the Russian embassy, in which abode of luxury he preferred to sleep, as usual, on a truss of hay. He was appointed an Austrian field-marshal, with a salary of £3200. When the Aulic Council of War inquired for his plan of campaign, he replied that he had none; while to the Emperor himself he was not more complaisant, saying that if he had one, he would not reveal it to his Majesty, because "the Aulic Council would know it to-morrow; the enemy a day after." In truth, his plans were traced mentally but only in outline, to be filled in according to the turn taken by events. Even a military genius like Suvóroff is the slave of circumstances, which he can influence but not compel. He used to boast, "I am like Cæsar. I make no detailed plans, but take a broad view of things. For the whirlwind of events destroys the best concerted plans." But the inert forces of routine were in the end to ruin his noblest combinations.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ADDA AND THE TREBBIA.

THE French Directory having treated the march of the Russian columns through Moravia, in December 1798, as a *casus belli*, on the 1st March following Jourdan crossed the Rhine at the head of 40,000 men, and entered the defiles of the Black Forest. To his left at Mannheim lay Bernadotte with 25,000, while Masséna occupied the eastern cantons of Switzerland with 30,000, intending to turn the sources of the Adige and so dislodge the Austrians from the quadrilateral—Verona, Peschiera, Mantua, Legnago. On the 4th the Archduke Charles passed the Lech with 70,000 men, and, operating in the defile formed by the Danube and the Lake of Constance, on the 25th defeated Jourdan at Stockach. On the 6th April the French general recrossed the Rhine, thus losing his communication with Masséna in Switzerland.

The latter on the 6th March, throwing himself into the valley of the Upper Rhine, had compelled the division of Auffenberg to capitulate near Coire, while his right, under Lecourbe and Dessoles, advancing by the Engadine and Valteline, dispersed the troops of Laudon at Martinsbruck. But this was the term of French success; for, repulsed in two consecutive attacks on Feldkirch—a post commanding the valleys of the Upper Rhine and the Ill—Masséna's progress was arrested;

while Bellegarde, advancing from the Tyrol, pushed Lecourbe and Dessoles back into the Grisons. Severe weather then set in and stopped active operations for a season. On the 30th April, however, Hotze, the Austrian commander in the Vorarlberg, assaulted the French position on the Rhine, but without success, and a fortnight of inaction followed, during which the energetic Lecourbe marched by the Via Mala and the St. Bernardin Pass on Bellinzona in order to occupy the St. Gothard Pass, and thus cover the extreme right of the French position. For six weeks after the battle of Stockach the Archduke remained in his Suabian cantonments, while in Italy the French arms were incurring disaster.

On the 26th of March, General Scherer—incapable and distrusted by his men, but possessing an able coadjutor in Moreau—attacked the Austrians near Verona with partial success; but on the 30th Serrurier, having crossed the Adige at Polo with inadequate forces, was overwhelmed by Kray—next to the Archduke the most talented of the Austrian leaders—who had sallied from Verona in superior strength. On the 1st April the French, having concentrated on the banks of the Tartaro, passed the Adige below Verona, but Kray, debouching from the fortress, marched on Peschiera, thus menacing their line of communications. Scherer, by Moreau's advice, instantly turned and attacked him; the battle of Magnano followed, wherein the French, defeated with great loss, were compelled to recross the Mincio, and continue their retreat beyond the Oglio and the Chiese. On the 14th April, Melas, having superseded Kray in the command, led his army across the Mincio, but on the 15th had in his turn to hand it over to Suvóroff, who reached Valeggio on that date.

Quitting Vienna on the 4th April the Field-Marshal had overtaken the Russian columns at Villach, and so accelerated their movements that the remainder of their journey was accomplished in one-third the time calculated by the Austrian War Office. At Vicenza he was met by the Austrian Marquis Chasteler, who had been assigned him as chief of the staff, and who, taking a seat beside his commander, endeavoured to elicit information from him touching future operations. But Suvóroff kept his own counsel, muttering "Bayonets, bayonets," in reply to all inquiries and representations. At the gates of Verona he was boisterously welcomed by the populace, who, removing the horses, dragged his vehicle to the Emilio Palace, which had been prepared for his accommodation. All looking-glasses and articles of luxury known to be hateful to him had been previously removed, and a simple truss of hay prepared for his couch. A levee of officers was at once held, at the conclusion of which he began to pace the floor absently, muttering with closed eyes his favourite military catch-words, as for instance: "Flop! like snow on the head! The head waits not for the tail. The bullet is a hag, the bayonet a hero," &c. He then said, "We've come to fight the frivolous, conceited, godless French. They fight in column and we must beat them in column." Then turning abruptly round on Rosenberg, who commanded the 1st Russian Army Corps, he exclaimed: "Your Excellency, oblige me with some infantry and Cossacks." Certainly," was the reply; "from which regiments does your Excellency desire them?" But the answer causing evident annoyance, Bagration, who knew his chief better, stepping forward, announced: "Your Excellency, the troops are in readiness." "God bless you, Prince Peter,"

was the reply. "Remember, the head waits not for the tail. Flop! like snow on the head!" Bagration's troops were soon defiling out of Verona amid the shouts of the people, the soldiers singing in chorus as if assured of victory, so great was the confidence they had in their chief.

At Valeggio he warmly congratulated Kray on his recent success, assuring him that he had paved the way to victory. Action was, however, delayed until the arrival of the Russian corps, whose advance-guard only, under Bagration, had reached head-quarters. The two divisions it contained were marching from Vienna in eight echelons, or detachments, with an interval of twelve marches from front to rear, and, though on paper they numbered 20,000 there were no more than 19,000 combatants in the ranks. On the 18th April the leading division, 11,000 strong, under Lieut.-General Pavalo-Shvekovski, reached Valeggio; the other, under Lieut.-General Förster, not till a subsequent period in the campaign. A halt of four days was employed by Suvóroff in drilling the Austrians to charge home with the bayonet, an implied ignorance which appears to have displeased their officers. Chasteler proposed a reconnaissance, but Suvóroff flatly refused in no very select language. "A reconnaissance! No! They are for poltroons who desire to give the enemy notice of their approach. One can always find the enemy if one wants to. Columns, bayonets, cold steel, attacks, charges, these are *my* reconnaissances!"

Though the French in Italy, together with the army of Naples, amounted to 117,000 men, no more than 46,000 could be assembled on the Mincio under Scherer

for field operations. Their losses around Verona from the 26th March to the 7th April amounting to 18,000 and reinforcements thrown into Mantua and Peschiera to 8000, their active strength was reduced to 25,000. This small army, lacking confidence in its leader, and dispirited by recent failure, was now confronted by one twice its strength, and inspired with boundless confidence in the invincibility of its chief. In spite of dilatory instructions from the Aulic Council of War, Suvóroff resolved to push rapidly forward along the roads which traverse the spurs of the Alps as they sink into the Lombard plain, and thus preserve his communications with Switzerland and the Tyrol, with a view to the invasion of France in conjunction with the Archduke Charles. He thus turned the excellent positions which the northern affluents of the Po offer to a retreating enemy. These follow a south-easterly course, and consequently an army advancing from the Mincio, by massing its strength to the right, turns position after position of an opponent who seeks to defend the line of these rivers. On the 19th April the Allies, crossing the Mincio in three columns, moved on the Chiese, while a fourth under Hohenzollern passed the Oglio at Marcaria, in order to cover their left. The 20th was a day of rest, and Suvóroff availed himself of the opportunity to distribute his Cossacks among both the Austrian and Russian columns, while eight Austrian regular squadrons were posted to the Russian infantry division. Meantime the French continued their retreat towards the Adda, their columns moving by the divergent routes of Lecco, Cassano, and Lodi; but they abandoned in their haste the richly stored arsenal of Cremona.

Wukassowich, who had been detached by Bellegarde from the Tyrol, in descending the valley of the Chiese had captured Rocca d'Anfo, a fort on the shores of Lake Idro, which barred his passage, and thence continued his march to join the main body of the Allies at Brescia. On the 21st that important city surrendered after a feeble resistance. Next day the centre of the Allies, under Melas, during their advance to the Mella lost the way and fell into confusion; a tempest was raging at the time, the roads soon became impassable and the water-courses flooded by the downpour. The Austrians, it is said, murmured at having to ford streams, a circumstance which drew from Suvóroff the following reproof: "I hear that the infantry complain of wet feet. The weather is to blame. The march was ordered in the Emperor's service. Only women, dandies, and sluggards wait for fair weather. The grumbling babbler will henceforth be treated as an egoist and deprived of his command. Operations when decided on should be executed without a moment's loss of time, that the enemy may have no opportunity of looking about him. Those who are out of health may stay behind. Italy must be delivered from the yoke of the French atheists, and every brave officer should be prepared to sacrifice his life to that end. Grumblers cannot be tolerated in an army. A correct eye, rapidity and dash. Enough for the present."

On the 24th the French rear-guard, drawing up at Palazzolo behind the Oglio, awaited the onslaught of the enemy; but the Russian General Shvekovski, instead of at once proceeding to the attack, waited for his column to "close up," incurring in consequence the

angry censure of the field-marshal. The head had waited for the tail, and the French gained time to defile through the town of Bergamo, which on the same evening was occupied by the pursuing Cossacks. On the 22nd the French stood fast behind the Adda, and three days later the Allies arrived. A swift, unfordable stream, the western bank of the Adda in most places commands the eastern; its channel is in many parts deeply imbedded, while bridges existed at Lecco, Cassano, Lodi, and Pizzighettone only. The French army, though reinforced from various quarters, did not exceed 28,000 men; for Montrichard's division had marched south of the Po in order to watch the issues of the Apennines. Extended along the right bank of the Adda from Lake Como to the Po, these weak divisions covered an extent of not less than seventy miles, and were posted as follows:—Serrurier at Lecco; Grenier at Cassano; Victor at Lodi; the brigade of Laboissière at Pizzighettone. The consequences of this dissemination soon became apparent. With the mass of his army, no less than 45,000 men, Suvóroff marched by his right on Lecco, and Cassano, while weaker corps, under Seckendorf and Hohenzollern, approached the French right at Lodi and Pizzighettone. On the 26th Bagration occupied Lecco, and the Adda only separated the combatants. On the same day Scherer, dismissed from his post by order of the Directory, was succeeded by Moreau in the command, who, reaching French headquarters at Inzago, at 6 p.m., made a vain attempt to rectify the faulty distribution of his troops. The right wing he ordered to close in on the centre; Victor from Lodi to Cassano; Laboissière from Pizzighettone to

Lodi. Serrurier was already marching in the required direction, and had reached Trezzo, when Moreau, hearing that Wukassowich was attempting a passage at Brivio, countermanded him to the menaced point. Thus at the decisive moment, the French general was engaged in repairing the errors of his predecessor.

Suvóroff's boastful confidence at this juncture would have been ridiculous had it not been deliberately assumed. Having learnt Moreau's accession to the command, he remarked: "Here also I see the finger of Providence. There would have been little credit in beating a charlatan like Scherer. The laurels of which we shall rob Moreau will be more fresh and green." During the night of the 20th he caused a pontoon bridge to be laid at Trezzo, a short distance above Cassano, and, having effected this without arousing the enemy's suspicions, at dawn he threw across the divisions of Ott and Zopf, in all 10,000 men. Preceded by Cossacks, these troops on reaching the opposite bank, wheeled to the left and marched direct on Cassano, whilst Melas assailed it in front and Wukassowich crossed the river at Brivio. Moreau, when informed of these disquieting events, instantly perceived that the attack on Trezzo was in force; that at Brivio merely a feint. He therefore directed Serrurier to suspend his march on the latter point and halt at Verderio, which lies about midway between the two—an injunction which he only too faithfully obeyed. He next stationed a brigade of Grenier's in strong position at right angles to the Adda, between the villages of Vaprio and Pozzo, and directed Victor to hasten his approach. But so rapid had been the advance of the enemy, that in galloping to the

menaced point the French commander narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Cossacks, who already inundated the plain. With Grenier's 2nd brigade he attacked with some success the right flank of the Allies in his immediate front, but the advantage was soon neutralized by the arrival of Denissoff's Cossacks, who, extending to the right, occupied the village of Gorgonzola, and thus cut off the French from the direct line of retreat on Milan. Moreau, menaced now both in flank and rear, was constrained to retreat before the arrival of Victor, while Melas, under a concentrated fire of thirty guns forced his way over the canal Ritorto, which barred approach to the river; carried the bridge-head of Cassano with a rush, and debouched in triumph behind the French left wing. Moreau, conducted the retreat with his usual prudence and firmness, and, closely pursued by the enemy, led Grenier's division by a circuitous route into Milan, having suffered a loss of 2000 men. Throwing a strong garrison into the citadel, he left the city, marching on the Ticino by Buffalora, while Victor's division retired by Melegnano on Pavia.

Serrurier, on the other hand, had remained all the day with half his division at Verderio, observing the letter, not the spirit of his instructions. His position, five miles above Trezzo, clearly afforded the opportunity to attack in rear the Austrian divisions which had crossed at that point and were engaged with Moreau at Vaprio. Like Grouchy's conduct at Waterloo, or, as just related in these pages, Poninski's at Maciejowice, Serrurier's inactivity at Verderio entailed disastrous consequences. The accepted rule in similar dilemmas is to march to the sound of the cannon. As things fell out, the Allies,

advancing next morning on Milan—the right by Monza, the centre by Gorgonzola—surrounded Verderio, and the French general was compelled to surrender with 3000 men, though the remainder of his division escaped from Lecco by Como and the shores of the Lago Maggiore. The French forces actually engaged in the conflict amounted to only 18,000, for Victor and Laboissière did not arrive in time to share in it, while their losses were 2500 *hors de combat* and 5000 prisoners. Taking into account the numerical weakness of his army and its faulty distribution, it is creditable to Moreau that a worse catastrophe was avoided.

On the 29th, Suvóroff approached the walls of Milan, where he was met outside the gates by the archbishop and a procession of clergy. Kneeling down, the devout Russian kissed the crucifix, and, pressing the prelate's hand to his lips, said: "I am sent to restore the ancient papal throne, and to lead back the people to their allegiance. Assist me in this holy cause." The Milanese are said to have been reassured by the civilized aspect of the northern "barbarian," who visited their city. He did not enter however at the head of his troops, but caused his secretary Fuchs to array himself in a gorgeous diplomatic uniform, and ride at the head of the *cortège*, while he himself followed simply attired as a member of the staff. Great, though hardly decent, was his merriment, when the proxy, gracefully bowing, acknowledged the deafening cheers of the populace.

Next day, the 30th April, solemn thanksgiving was offered in the cathedral, and the archbishop bestowed his benediction on the Russian chief. "Let us pray," replied Suvóroff in Italian, "that God may assist me to

rescue the altar and the throne." A gorgeous throne of crimson velvet had been prepared for his use, but he declined to occupy it. It was Easter, and Suvóroff insisted on the French "atheists," his prisoners and guests, replying to the Easter Sunday greeting, "Christ hath risen," by the proper formula, "In truth, He hath."

The Russian leader has been accused* of inactivity after the capture of Milan, and it has been hinted that he was dazzled by the splendour of his reception. The criticism accords neither with Suvóroff's character nor the testimony of the most reliable authorities. Jomini expressly states: "L'éclat de son entrée à Milan n'imposa pas à Suvóroff." His sojourn in the Lombard capital lasted but three days, while the advance of his troops was resumed on the day after the occupation, the 1st May, when the Allies approached the Po in pursuit of Victor, and the division of Wukassowich followed Moreau in his march on the Ticino. Having reorganized the civil government, left in confusion by the flight of the Cisalpine Republican officials, Suvóroff transferred his head-quarters from Milan to Pavia on the 3rd instant. He found the army under his immediate command reduced to 36,000 men, though Förster's Russian division, 7000 strong had recently joined him. The total allied strength in Italy was 97,000, but the policy imposed by the Aulic Council of War necessitated a dissemination of forces. Thugut, fixing a covetous eye on the rich plains of Lombardy, to secure their permanent possession insisted on besieging the fortresses in the rear of the army, and so crippled its activity for offensive

* Among others by Alison, in the *History of Modern Europe.*

purposes. Had Suvóroff literally complied with instructions, he would have done nothing of consequence; but he ignored them to a great extent, excusing this conduct as best he might.

The position of the army of Naples under Macdonald demands passing notice. That the destinies of peninsular Italy are ever decided on the plains of Lombardy is a strategic truth confirmed by long experience. It was thus a gross error on the part of the French Directory to shut up 34,000, men in the Neapolitan kingdom, where they remained destitute of influence at the decisive point, irretrievably cut off from their base in the event of disaster. And so it proved; for Macdonald, when constrained to evacuate the kingdom, did so too late to secure a victorious issue to the campaign. Suvóroff was, however, in complete ignorance of the progress made by the French chief in his passage northward, deeming his march much further advanced than was actually the case. He therefore threw the bulk of his army across the Po, between Pavia and Piacenza, in order to interpose between Macdonald and Moreau and prevent their junction. Shortly afterwards, altering his plan, he massed his forces north of that river to meet a different combination on the part of the enemy for, as a matter of fact, Macdonald had not yet quitted Neapolitan territory.

The French having destroyed the bridge of Piacenza, the Allies had to construct a new one, which was not completed till the 6th of May, when the divisions of Zopf and Fröhlich were pushed across, their outposts being advanced as far as Bobbio on the Upper Trebbia. Meantime Suvóroff, having thrown Rosenberg's corps across the Ticino, it advanced to Dorno, while Bagration,

crossing the Po at Cervesina, occupied Voghera, where Suvóroff on the 7th fixed his head-quarters. Thus the allied army was posted astride the Po, and to secure the communication of its parts, a bridge was constructed at Mezzana Corte, where the high road from Pavia to Casteggio cuts the river. By that date, consequently, the Allies had attained an important strategic advantage. With their left they separated Moreau from Macdonald, while their right threatened Turin and the passages of the Po at Casale and Valenza. The favourable opportunity of separating the diverging columns of Moreau and Victor by a swift march on the Ticino, at Vigevano, had been neglected, the assumption that Macdonald was close at hand having saved them. Moreau had adopted this double line of retreat in order at the same time to maintain his communications with Macdonald in the Genoese riviera, and provide for the security of the Piedmontese capital. But the inhabitants of the latter (among whom with misplaced confidence arms had been distributed by the French) rising in revolt, compelled him to depart, when, turning south, he joined Victor on the 7th May, taking post in the angle formed by the junction of the Tanaro and Po. This impregnable position is flanked on the right by the great fortress of Alessandria, and on the left by the fortified town of Valenza. Thus on the 7th of May the opposing armies of Moreau and Suvóroff were mustered in close proximity, their head-quarters being at Alessandria and Tortona respectively.

At this critical juncture Suvóroff once more received false intelligence which entailed a serious check. Ignorant as yet of Moreau's arrival at Alessandria, he was

informed that the enemy had executed a general retreat, and at once ordered Wukassowich from Novara to Casale ; Rosenberg from Dorno to Valenza, with a view to the passage of the Po. On the 9th Rosenberg's advance-guard seized Mugarone, an islet in the Po near Bassignano, below Valenza, and during the next two days made the needful preparations for forcing a passage. Next day Suvóroff, having discovered Moreau's presence at Alessandria, countermanded his previous order, and instructed Rosenberg to join him with all speed at Tortona, marching by Cambio. But that general, deceived by the withdrawal of great part of Victor's division to Alessandria, took the responsibility of disobeying the order, though more than once repeated. Deeming the détour by Cambio "unnecessary," he crossed the Po on the 12th, and, seizing the heights which dominate the village of Bassignano, dislodged with ease the feeble detachments left there to observe his movements. But no sooner was the sound of his cannon heard at Alessandria than Moreau, hastening with Victor's division to the spot, vigorously assailed the captured heights and hurled the Russians back into Bassignano. In this village their rear-guard took post, gallantly covering the retreat of the remainder under command of Miloradovitch, then a young major-general, but in after times so renowned in the Napoleonic wars. During the uproar and confusion of retreat, the Grand Duke Constantine's horse leaped into the stream, and was being rapidly swept away by the current, when a brave Cossack, Panteleyeff, a dexterous swimmer, casting himself into the stream, rescued the prince when nearly exhausted. In the thick of the fray

an aide-de-camp of Suvóroff's arrived, bringing a message threatening Rosenberg with trial by court-martial if he failed to comply with his instructions. But to withdraw troops in good order when once committed to action is more easily ordered than performed, and the combat cost the Russians 1200 men and two guns. The attack on Casale likewise miscarried through the rapidity of the current, though the repulse did not involve so serious a loss as that of Bassignano. Suvóroff advanced as far as Cambio to support Rosenberg's retreat, but returned to Tortona on the following day. He generously shielded Rosenberg from the consequences which his misconduct might have incurred, palliated his disobedience, and described the affair to the Tzar as follows: "News came that Valenza was evacuated. Rosenberg was ordered to occupy it. The news was false, and the order was countermanded. But he, consulting his valour alone, crossed the Po at Borgo Franco* on the 12th of May, and engaged the enemy at Bassignano."

Events in Switzerland contributed at this time to modify Suvóroff's plans. Lecourbe, having retired into the Grisons before Bellegarde and hastily crossed the Alps for the protection of the St. Gothard Pass, was at Bellinzona on the 11th of May, when he attacked and defeated the Allies under Prince Victor Rohan on the Monte Cenere. Their destruction would have been complete had not the Austrian general Strauch sent parties of infantry by unfrequented paths from Chiavenna over the intervening ridge into the Val Misocco, and by thus threatening Bellinzona arrested the

* On the opposite bank to Bassignano.

enemy's advance. Leaving Loison's brigade behind to make head against the Allies, Lecourbe retired, hastening to secure the all-important defile of the St. Gothard. These events, secondary as they now seem, convinced Suvóroff at the time that a powerful diversion was contemplated by the enemy from Switzerland. Converting therefore the siege of the Milan citadel into a blockade, he reinforced Rohan with the troops set at liberty, who, with forces thus augmented, attacked Loison on the 18th of May and drove him beyond Bellinzona. Hereupon the troops from Milan, returning to that city, resumed the siege of the citadel. Having meantime ascertained the actual position of Macdonald, and being convinced that Moreau at Alessandria was unassailable, the Russian chief resolved on approaching Turin by the left bank of the Po, thus to sever the French in Italy from their countrymen in Switzerland. On the 15th he issued orders directing the passage of the Po on the following day, the various columns to concentrate behind the lower Sesia, while a demonstration was to be made at the same time on the Tanaro in order to attract attention to Alessandria. But Moreau had already resolved on sallying from that fortress, hoping either to effect his retreat on Genoa by the Bochetta Pass, or at least to ascertain the strength and distribution of the enemy. The position around Alessandria had become untenable; supplies had run short, while retreat had become difficult owing to an insurrection of the peasantry. Having laid a bridge across the Bormida during the night, the French general crossed on the 16th May with Victor's division, when the outposts of the enemy were at once driven in on their main body. But the Allies had not yet crossed

the Po in execution of their new plan ; the troops facing Moreau were consequently reinforced, and Bagration's division suddenly appearing from Novi on his right at Marengo, the French General deemed it prudent to recross the Bormida. The movement was executed with admirable steadiness and precision, the infantry retiring by alternate brigades under the personal supervision of Moreau, who conducted them in safety beyond the Bormida, destroying the bridge behind them. Had he delayed the sortie a single day, success might have crowned his efforts, for the Allies would in that case have been already beyond the Po in obedience to Suvóroff's instructions.

After this failure Moreau marched with the division Grenier on Asti, Victor at the head of his own on Acqui. Suvóroff, for his part, reached the Sesia on the 20th May, where he halted two days while bridges were being constructed. On learning the retreat of the French, he occupied Casale and Valenza, and on the 23rd, crossing the Sesia, moved in two columns on Turin. On the 25th that city was invested, and on the refusal of its commandant, Fiorella, to surrender, cannonaded from the heights of Superga. But the citizens, according to previous agreement, threw open their gates to the Allies, when Fiorella, having retreated into the citadel with his garrison, bombarded the city as a punishment for the treachery of its inhabitants. Upon this Suvóroff, denouncing such conduct as contrary to the usages of war, threatened to expose his French prisoners on the esplanade of the citadel to the fire of their countrymen. The menace had the desired effect, the bombardment ceased, the citadel was invested, and columns were

pushed forward on the track of the enemy towards the passes which lead into France. But Moreau was in a critical condition. Though Victor, passing by Acqui, Dego, and Ceva, had surmounted the Apennines and reached the Mediterranean coast, he himself, after sending his heavy baggage by the Mont Genèvre Pass into France, was committed to the ardous task of forcing a way through a hostile population in order to join his lieutenant. But Ceva was already in the power of the Allies, and all attempts at its recapture were vain, while the defile over the Col di Tenda was choked by a landslip. From the *cul-de-sac* in which he was entrapped Moreau escaped through combined energy and presence of mind. One half of his force laboured hard to repair the mountain path which leads by Garessio and the valley of the Corsaglia to the sea, while the remainder, posted at Mondovi, protected their efforts. On the 6th June, having thrown reinforcments into Coni, he reached Loano on the Mediterranean coast.

Suvóroff remained at Turin while the French were effecting the passage of the Apennines without molestation. Hampered by the absurd orders of the Austrian Court, and disgusted with its intrigues, he was unusually apathetic at this crisis, though he had hitherto troubled himself but little about Thugut and his plans of campaign. That minister, we are told, having been a casual spectator of a skirmish with the Turks, considered himself ever afterwards a passed master in strategy, much as Frederic the Great was proud of his reputation as a poet. Having traced a plan of campaign which Suvóroff had rejected with contumely, Thugut was resolved to make him feel what manner of man he had offended. A

system of espionage was established at the general's head-quarters; supplies and transport were withheld at critical moments; intrigues were set on foot for the removal of the Russian troops from Italy. Austria, in fine, was exposed to the possibility of disaster that her first minister might gratify at the same time his military hobbies and his spleen. Political differences also wrought dissension among the Allies. The Emperor looked for compensation in Italy for the loss of Flanders, while the Tzar insisted on the restoration of the status which had been destroyed by the arms of revolutionary France. Suvóroff after the capture of Turin considered the restoration of the King of Sardinia as a matter of right; Thugut entrusted the government to Austrian officials. Suvóroff became obstinate; the Imperial Government grew anxious to be rid of him, and were eventually successful. Such was the tangled web of intrigue which impeded the movements of his victorious troops.

A glance at events in Switzerland now becomes necessary. Masséna, retiring before the Archduke Charles, halted at length in front of Zurich, where, on the 4th June, he was attacked with indecisive result; but two days later he withdrew to a stronger position on the Albis ridge in his rear. The retreat exposed Lecourbe in the St. Gothard Pass to considerable danger; for Bellegarde, ascending the sources of the Rhine, threatened his retreat on Altdorf. But one only of the Austrian's brigades pursued this direction, the mass of his corps having been ordered to Suvóroff's head-quarters in Italy. Nevertheless, in Lecourbe's absence, Loison, assailed both in front and rear, was compelled to abandon the Pass, retreating on Altdorf.

On the return of his chief, however, the offensive was resumed and the Austrians driven from the Devil's Bridge. But Lecourbe, now made acquainted with Masséna's retreat, returned to Altdorf, whence transporting his troops by water to Lucerne, he left the stupendous defile of the Reuss in the possession of the Allies.

His right flank guarded through the definite conquest of the St. Gothard, and Moreau reduced to impotence, Suvóroff was now in a position to devote his undivided attention to Macdonald, who was fast approaching the scene of action. The Army of Naples had, after numerous unforeseen delays, quitted Caserta on the 7th May, marching in two columns, whose total strength was 19,000. The one following the sea-shore, the other forcing a road through mountains which were infested by insurgent peasantry, both arrived at Rome ten days later, when their strength was augmented by the greater part of the division of Garnier. Florence was entered on the 25th, when the junction of Gauthier raised their numbers to 23,000 ; Lucca, on the 29th, where a halt of ten days was conceded for purposes of reorganization and repose—a delay which probably involved the loss of the campaign. But no communication had as yet been opened with Moreau, who, it will be recollected, did not reach Genoese territory until the 6th June.

A map of recent construction conveys the idea that the junction of the two French armies might have been best effected by the eastern riviera, while guarding the issues of the Apennines with suitable forces. But at that time no road practicable for artillery existed beyond Sarzana, while the shore was commanded by the guns of the British fleet. Moreau therefore, arriving at

Genoa on the 7th June, directed Macdonald to cross the Apennines and cut the enemy's communications on the Lower Po ; to raise the siege of Mantua and endeavour to destroy in detail his scattered forces. The Army of Naples lay extended along the southern declivities of the Apennines from the Florence-Bologna road on the right to Lucca on the left ; Dombrowski's Polish division was pushed in advance to Pontremoli ; while Victor, detached by Moreau, to the valley of the Taro, acted as a connecting link between the two armies. It was agreed that Moreau, advancing from Geneo on Tortona, should strike a blow at Suvóroff's rear while that chief was engaged with Macdonald. The Army of Naples, including Victor's and Montrichard's divisions, reached the total of 36,000 men, against whom the Allies, though over 100,000 strong could bring into the battle-field no more than 32,000. Haddik, with 16,000, watched the St. Gothard and the neighbouring Alpine passes ; Ott with 7400 confronted Montrichard at Bologna : the siege absorbed 20,000 ; the blockades of Alessandria and Tortona, 10,500 ; of Ferrara, 4500. Bellegarde, who as already stated was approaching with 8200 men, did not reach Como till the 28th May. The 28,000 under Suvóroff's immediate orders were encamped around Turin with divisions pushed in advance to Asti and Acqui. It was Moreau's part to distract attention from Macdonald's movement, and induce his opponent to concentrate in the opposite direction. Rumours were therefore disseminated that large bodies of French troops had been landed at Genoa, while the recent visit of Bruix's powerful fleet to that port lent colour to the assertion. These endeavours proved so far successful as

to cause Suvóroff to believe that offensive action from Genoa through the Bochetta Pass was in contemplation; yet, Macdonald's exact position being still uncertain, he adopted a resolution valid in most circumstances; that of concentrating his field army at a central point whence he might attack an enemy from whichever side he might approach. On the 10th June he marched with 20,000 men from Turin, leaving 8000 behind under Kaim to continue the siege of the citadel; reached Asti, distant thirty-five miles, at 8 a.m. on the following day and, resuming his march at 10 p.m., entered Alessandria at 2 p.m. on the 12th. Here, Bellegarde having arrived on the 8th June, the Russian chief found himself at the head of 34,000 men, including the troops blockading the citadel and that of Tortona. But difficulties arose regarding supplies, the Austrian Commissariat declaring their inability to support so great a mass of men concentrated at one spot. Suvóroff, therefore, was in the act of cantoning them over a wider area, when, on the 13th June, he received positive information that Macdonald, having crossed the Apennines, had inflicted a severe reverse on Hohenzollern at Modena.

In fact, on the 9th June Macdonald had commenced his advance at the head of 36,000 men. His right, composed of the divisions Rusca and Montrichard, followed the great highway which leads from Florence to Bologna; his centre, Olivier and Watrin, marched from Pistoja on Modena; his left, under Dombrowski, by Castel Nuovo on Reggio; Victor, by the Taro valley on Parma; while Lapoype, with 3000 Ligurian troops, descended on Bobbio by the valley of the Trebbia. On the 12th the French centre attacked Hohenzollern a

Modena, while their right wing, moving from Bologna, endeavoured to cut the enemy off from the Po. Driven through the town with severe loss, the Austrians would have been surrounded had not Klenau, abandoning the investment of Fort Urbano, taken post behind the Panaro, and covered their retreat before effecting his own on Ferrara. During this engagement Macdonald was himself severely wounded. A party of the French *émigrés* hussars of Bussy, finding themselves cut off, proceeded to hew their path through the ranks of the enemy, when the French commander-in-chief becoming entangled in the fray, received a sabre-stroke which disabled him from riding. Leaving the divisions Montrichard and Olivier at Modena for the purpose of observing Mantua, he continued his march on Reggio and Parma. On the 14th Victor joined the advance-guard under Dombrowski, and next day their united divisions reached Firenzuola. On the other side of the Arda, Ott, with 5300 men, observed their movements, and, on learning the defeat of Hohenzollern at Modena, retired to Piacenza, while his outposts remained on the Nura. On the 16th, assailed by the enemy in vastly superior numbers, he was driven beyond the Tidone, not however till he had demolished the bridge over the Po at Piacenza. On the following day the main body of the Allies came to his assistance.

Suvóroff, as soon as he had ascertained the exact position of Macdonald, resolved to crush him without giving Moreau the time to march to his support. The requisite orders were issued on the 13th, though by an unlucky accident the bridge over the Bormida was not completed till two days later. But at 10 p.m. on the 15th the Allies passed the river in two columns—the right Rus-

sians, the left Austrians—and pointed their march on Casteggio, leaving Bellegarde to maintain the blockade of the Alessandria and Tortona citadels, and to repel Moreau in case that leader should stir himself. Including Ott's division already engaged with the enemy, no more than 30,000 men remained at Suvóroff's disposal wherewith to oppose the 36,000 of his opponent. Kray, indeed, who with 20,000 men surrounded Mantua, had been enjoined to convert the siege into a blockade, and join head-quarters with the utmost speed; but secret orders from Vienna prevented him from complying. At 5 a.m. on the 16th the Allies reached the Scrivia, whence, after a rest of three hours they resumed their march on Casteggio, there halting for the night with their advance-guard at Stradella, having covered thirty miles in twenty-four hours.

At this juncture Suvóroff's superb confidence in himself did not blind him to the contingency of defeat. Writing to Kaim during the above march he thus expresses himself: "I am off to the Trebbia to beat Macdonald. Make haste with your siege of the Turin citadel, or I shall sing *Te Deum* before you." Addressing his troops, he does not admit the possibility of defeat. His general orders contain the following passage: "The kettles and light baggage to be at hand when approaching the enemy, so that, *after his defeat*, the dinners may be cooked. But *victors* should be content with the bread in their knapsacks and the water in their canteens." Yet his arrangements accurately provide against defeat. A bridge and *tête-de-pont* were constructed at Valenza to ensure Bellegarde's escape in the event of the main army being driven across the Po;

the fortresses were revictualled for a siege; the heavy baggage sent north of the river by the bridge of Mezzana Corte, which was fortified and garrisoned with a battalion and four guns; a second bridge was laid at Parpanese, opposite Stradella, as an alternative passage, in case Mezzana Corte fell into the hands of Moreau. Lastly, 700 men were pushed up the valley of the Trebbia to observe the movements of Lapoype.

At 8 a.m. on the 17th June, when the advance of the Allies, moving by the high road from Casteggio, had reached Stradella, Ott was assailed in his position behind the Tidone by the divisions Victor and Rusca, while Dombrowski menaced his right by a circuitous route among the mountains. Driven from his post with heavy loss, the Austrian took up another farther to the rear, where he endeavoured to maintain himself till succour should arrive. Suvóroff was now close at hand, and his troops, aware that Ott was being crushed by overwhelming numbers, were running in a long straggling column along the great highway. The pace increased by degrees; Suvóroff, in his bare shirt down to the waist and followed by a single Cossack orderly, continually galloped from front to rear, while he encouraged his men with jests, ejaculations, and proverbs. "Forward, forward," he kept hallooing, "The head doesn't stop for the tail." The column, indeed, was trailing out to a dangerous length, the weakly continually dropping out, unable to endure the tremendous pace. At times outriding the foremost troops, Suvóroff would conceal himself; then suddenly darting forward he would ride at full speed towards them. Enthusiastic shouts greeted him and the worn-out soldiers redoubled their exertions.

At 3 p.m. Ott, unable to maintain his latest position, was being hotly pursued along the high road by the French cavalry, when Suvóroff, accompanied by Bagration and four regiments of Cossacks, arrived on the field. After a brief pause the Russian chief divided the Cossacks, sending two regiments in support of each flank of hardly pressed Austrians. In an instant the pursuit relaxed, and Ott obtained breathing-time to reform his shattered ranks. Dombrowski, on the French left, being charged by the Cossacks with Austrian dragoons in support, was driven from the field in the greatest disorder. At 4 p.m. the heads of the foremost Russian infantry columns were seen pushing forward to support the cavalry; yet so great was the fatigue of the men and so thinned were their ranks by straggling that even the impetuous Bagration counselled delay, affirming that there were not forty men in each company. "Forward, forward!" yelled Suvóroff in reply, "attack in God's name. Macdonald has not twenty." The nature of the ground, intersected with hedges and ditches, obstructed the advance; yet before 9 p.m. the entire French line had been thrust back across the Tidone, with a loss of 1000 killed and wounded and 1400 prisoners; nor did they stand fast till they were behind the Trebbia. Their advance-guard being posted on its western bank, the Tidone separated their picquets from those of the Russians, whose main body bivouacked at San Giovanni at some distance from the stream.

It was not Macdonald's wish or intention to fight before the 19th, because his divisions left at Modena, 11,600 strong, were still a day's march in the rear, and besides, every hour's delay increased the chances of

Moreau's co-operation. But Suvóroff was not a likely man to wait the onset of the enemy. His strength, exclusive of Chubároff's detachment 1300 strong still in rear, was 27,000, while the French, in the absence of their rearmost divisions, could muster no more than 22,000 to oppose him Determined therefore to attack next day, he arranged his army in three columns and a reserve. The two on the right, chiefly Russians, were commanded by Rosenberg, the left-hand column and reserve being Austrians led by Melas. The French left was the decisive point both in a tactical and strategic sense; for, by forcing it back, communication with Moreau would be prevented, and their whole army, backed against the Po, might be compelled to surrender. Suvóroff accordingly, concentrating on his right, ordered the attack to be executed in direct echelon from that wing. It was his intention that the reserve also, consisting of Fröhlich's division, though using the high road for convenience of movement, should, as the day wore on, move obliquely to its right, throwing its weight in the same quarter. To maintain the bold assurance of victory which he was wont to assume, he indicated villages on the Nura, which flowed in rear of the enemy's position, as directing points for his columns; and when Melas, in confusion because no line of retreat had been indicated, ventured a question on the subject, he retorted "Retreat? retreat? across the Trebbia—to Piacenza!" The following were his final instructions: "If, *contrary to expectation*, the enemy wait for us, deploy into line at once without confusion, yet without pedantry and useless precision. If he retire, let the Cossacks and cavalry pursue without losing an instant, supported by

the infantry, which in this case will not form line but column. The cavalry will move by alternate squadrons chequerwise." They conclude with the characteristic injunction: "The word *halt* is not to be used. We are going to a fight, not a field-day! Cut, stab—hurrah! drums and music!" The divisions were formed in two lines, the second at a distance of 300 yards from the first; cavalry on the flanks. The 18th June being the 42nd anniversary of the battle of Kolin, the names Theresa and Kolin were given as parole and countersign for a day which was destined in after years to acquire a still greater celebrity. Owing to the fatigue of the troops consequent on marching and fighting in summer under a broiling Italian sun, Suvóroff did not give the signal for attack until ten o'clock; but at this hour his columns advanced, plunged into the Tidone, and reached the opposite bank without molestation from the enemy.

The bed of the Trebbia (scene of Hannibal's memorable exploit B.C. 218) is at this part of its course 1000 yards in breadth, sandy, and studded with numerous islets. In summer its channel is dry or extremely shallow; so that, oddly enough, owing to the enclosed nature of the surrounding district, it forms the most favourable space in the neighbourhood for the action of cavalry. Add to this that the battle-field itself is a defile between the mountains and the Po, and a fair idea may be formed of the contracted area which was to be the scene of conflict.

The divisions Victor and Dombrowski being already on the left bank of the Trebbia, the latter was first assailed by Bagration, who conducted the extreme right of the

Russian wing. Both sides fought with equal rage: for the memory of Warsaw was fresh and furious in their minds. At length, however, the Poles sought refuge behind the river, when Victor, seizing the opportunity, fell upon Bagration's left flank which had become exposed in pursuing the enemy, throwing his ranks into dangerous confusion, from which he was only extricated by the timely arrival of Schvekovski's division, the second rung of the echelon. The divisions Montrichard and Olivier having meantime reached the field from Modena, Macdonald found himself at the head of 33,000 men, *i.e.* 6000 more than the Allies. Montrichard crossed the Trebbia in support of Victor and Rusca while Olivier stayed in reserved behind it. Yet, notwithstanding this accession of strength, the French centre was gradually pushed, disputing the ground step by step, through the stream to the opposite bank. The decisive moment had arrived; the enemy's left and centre had been forced back; and Suvóroff gazed anxiously for the arrival of his reserve to complete the victory. But he gazed in vain. The attention of Melas had been fixed on Salm's brigade, which, crossing the Trebbia near its junction with the Po, seemed to threaten his left flank. Alarmed by its progress he retained the reserve of Fröhlich instead of despatching it to the right, its proper destination, and Salm, having paralysed by this diversion —for it was nothing more—one half the allied army, easily retreated beyond the Trebbia by taking advantage of the intersected ground, and the protection afforded by Olivier's division on the opposite bank. Without a reserve Suvóroff was unable to reap the fruits of victory. Night and the Trebbia separated the combatants after

a drawn battle of ten hours as bloody as any recorded in history. So completely had Suvóroff attained his object, that Rosenberg's troops had penetrated to the rear of the French left, where they remained all night, in square and under arms, ignorant of events and filled with disquietude till, with the first streak of dawn, abandoning their point of vantage, they joyfully retraced their steps to the main body. Thus, owing to the timidity and obstinacy of Melas, nothing resulted from all this bloodshed. The wearied soldiery sank to sleep, but were soon aroused by one of those unaccountable panics to which assembled multitudes are liable. Three battalions of the French left wing, suddenly and without apparent cause springing to arms, rushed into the bed of the Trebbia and assailed their nearest opponents. A promiscuous *mêlée* ensued; the artillery played indiscriminately on friend or foe; and, in the words of Jomini, the extraordinary spectacle was presented of cavalry fighting by moonlight in the channel of a river. The irrational conflict presented a grim picture of the horrors of war. Two hours elapsed before it was appeased by the united exertions of the generals on either side.

Next day, the 19th of June, both armies seemed by common consent to postpone the conflict till the late hour of ten o'clock in the morning, by reason of physical exhaustion. Suvóroff's dispositions were identical with those of the preceding day, *i.e.* he massed his forces on his right, while his left was refused, or thrown back, and withheld from action. The reserve marched on the highway as the day before, to keep it fresh for action, but Melas was peremptorily enjoined to conform to orders as to its eventual use. Macdonald, on the other hand, adopted

the extraordinary course of attacking simultaneously the centre and both flanks of his adversary—a grave error which no superiority of numbers in this case justified. Both sides simultaneously advancing, were astonished by the unforeseen collision. The French were in the act of crossing the Thebbia ; Watrin commanded their right, Olivier their centre, Victor their left ; while Dombrowski again made a circuit in the mountains to gain the right rear of the enemy. They moved in close columns covered by skirmishers, the intervals being filled by cavalry, while a few deployed battalions remained behind the Trebbia to protect a possible retreat. Again Dombrowski's Poles were attacked and overthrown, but Bagration by a flank movement to the right left a gap into which Victor promptly thrust his own and Rusca's divisions. Thus Shvekovski, who followed next in echelon, found himself surrounded by forces triple his strength, and here the most determined struggle of the day was fought to a conclusion. The regiment of which Rosenberg was titular colonel, not having time to form square, faced its third rank about, and in this formation repelled the enemy. The same commander, having ventured to pronounce the word retreat, was sternly reproved by Suvóroff, who had galloped to the spot. Relief was, however, at hand ; for Bagration, after driving Dombrowski across the Trebbia, had retraced his steps by Suvóroff's order, and, falling upon Victor's right flank, succeeded in dislodging his division and pushing it across the river. As to Melas on the allied left, Watrin had turned his position by filing along the right bank of the Po, and, in spite of positive orders, the Austrian again withheld the greater

portion of the reserve, while allowing the cavalry commanded by Prince Liechtenstein to proceed to its destination. This pig-headed obstinacy was rewarded with results not unfortunate, though the measure of success is unknown which might have followed a literal execution of orders. Liechtenstein's horsemen, moving at full speed to the right, fell haphazard and headlong on the right flank of Montrichard's division as it stood contending with the Russians of Förster, and drove it in confusion beyond the Trebbia; then, wheeling to the left, and flushed with success, these victorious squadrons fell upon Olivier's division and obtained a similar result; when Watrin, exposed to imminent peril by the defeat of the French left and centre, skilfully effected his retreat as Salm had done on the previous day, behind ditches, hedges, canals, and other impediments which divided him from the enemy. At nightfall the opposing armies resumed their former positions, and the chances of victory still seemed to hang in an even balance.

The losses on both sides had been almost equally severe, but those of the French included an extraordinary number of superior officers. The same night Macdonald, who had travelled in a litter since his wound, assembled a council of war, whereat it was resolved that, owing to the disorganization which had overtaken the army, and the fact that Kray with the army from Mantua had shown himself in their rear, a general retreat should forthwith be sounded. Montrichard's division set out at once; the artillery parks and baggage followed, and the main body at a considerable interval, while cavalry vedettes patrolled the banks to the Trebbia, feeding the blaze of the bivouac fires to conceal the movement from

the enemy. Suvóroff at dawn on the 20th was about to concert a new attack, when the joyful news came in of the disappearance of the enemy. The pursuit was organized ; Chubároff's men, who had joined on the previous evening, not having taken part in the battle, took the lead. Victor, facing about at San Giorgio on the Nura, offered a vigorous resistance, but was at length dislodged, on which occasion the celebrated demi-brigade D'Auvergne laid down their arms. Melas displayed little capacity at this juncture, and less promptitude. Throwing his strongest division (Fröhlich), which had not yet been in action, into Piacenza, he entrusted the pursuit to his weakest (Ott), which had been decimated in the previous engagements. Watrin checked the pursuit on the Nura, till Victor's defeat becoming known, he quitted that position and retired to the Arda. On the 21st Macdonald was at Reggio, where he halted to reorganize his army, having covered fifty-six miles in two days. On the 23rd he renewed his movement on Tuscany, crossing the Apennines by the same route he had used for his advance, and after undergoing the severest privations, arrived at Genoa on the 1st July, with an army in a state approaching dissolution. During this movement, Ott, approaching the Secchia in pursuit, passed a battalion across the river to block the road to the mountains, which, enveloped by the enemy's retreating columns, met the fate of Vandamme at Culm after the battle of Dresden.

On the 16th—the day of the action of the Tidone—Lapoype with his 3000 Ligurian troops was at Bobbio, high up in the Trebbia valley, a position which menaced the right flank of the allied army. Had he acted with

promptitude, and had reliable troops been at his command, he might have effected much. But, motionless until the 19th, he did not arrive in sight of San Giorgio till the defeat of Victor had been assured. Retracing his steps, he found Bobbio in possession of the Russians whom Suvóroff had detached to watch his movements. Repulsed in attacking them, his troops dispersed with alacrity to their homes in their mountainous districts, with which they were of course familiar. Suvóroff pursued Macdonald as far as Firenzuola, where, on the 23rd, hearing of Moreau's advance from Genoa, and his engagement with Bellegarde on the Bormida, he faced about, and, marching with the utmost despatch, fell in with the outposts of the enemy on the same day near Voghera. But their main body was already beyond his reach, securely lodged in the defiles of the Apennines above Genoa.

On the day of the action on the Tidone, Moreau had issued from the mountains in two columns, which directed their march on Tortona and Novi. Next day, having learnt Suvóroff's departure, he resolved on pursuit, but moved not with the requisite celebrity. On the 20th, having raised the blockade of the Tortona citadel, he pushed his outposts as far as Voghera, some thirty miles from the Trebbia. Had he used more despatch, it is doubtful whether he could have effected his purpose, for Bellegarde, crossing the Bormida, offered him battle at Marengo, convinced that a step thus bold was needed to ensure the safety of the allied army while engaged with Macdonald. The French leader could not safely pass round a body of troops established on his flank, and rear; he must dislodge them. Suspending there-

fore his advance on the 20th, he attacked with Grouchy's division and was in the first instance repulsed, but bringing successive reinforcements into line, he at length drove the Austrians across the Bormida with a loss of 2000 killed and wounded and five guns. Bellegarde however, though defeated in the field, had accomplished the strategic task allotted him. He had stopped Moreau by a bold offensive stroke, and the material lost thereby signified nothing in comparison with the respite obtained by his chief. Moreau was pursued to the foot of the mountains by Suvóroff, till, on the 26th, withdrawing his troops, the latter pitched camp in the neighbourhood of Alessandria, while Bagration took post in advance at Novi.

Thus, in the brief space of about two months had Suvóroff, driven the French out of Lombardy and Piedmont, cooped them up within the narrow limits of the Genoese riviera. Were it not that his forces were greatly superior to the enemy's, these achievements might seem to rival Bonaparte's youthful exploits in the same area of conflict. The Archduke Charles, in his criticisms on this campaign, seems to forget the existence of the Aulic Council of War at Vienna. That illustrious commander, when accusing Suvóroff of the absence of a fixed plan in his operations, must have been aware that in war a " whirlwind of events " arises to scatter the best concerted plans, and he should have remembered that many of the faults he criticizes really lay at the door of the House of Habsburg. It is easy to find fault after the event: a schoolboy may then expatiate on the errors of Napoleon. After the occupation of Milan, the Russian chief made straight for the point on the theatre

of war, which, *according to the information possessed by him at the time*, was the decisive one, the banks, of the Scrivia, near Tortona, a position which had placed him between the armies of Moreau on the one hand and Macdonald on the other. The moment the true situation of Macdonald had been ascertained, he modified his plans accordingly, throwing himself on the Piedmontese capital, to reappear on the banks of the Scrivia at the proper moment. His inactivity at Turin, trammelled though he was by the obstructiveness of the Austrian authorities, seems indeed to require some sort of explanation. Perhaps this may be found in advanced age, for we instinctively feel that Napoleon in his prime would have destroyed Moreau while crossing the Apennines, whatever the obstacles which lay in his path. The Russian chief however was already in his seventieth year.

The French leaders have likewise shared in the indiscriminate censure which defeat usually involves. Moreau doubtless fixed the date of his advance from Genoa too late, since on that day, the 17th, was fought the combat on the Tidone which practically decided the strategic issue. As for Macdonald, the ten days lost by him in Tuscany were probably fatal to his hopes, but as we have already seen, he could not act without instructions from Moreau, who did not arrive in Genoa till the 7th of June, and consequently was not in a position to furnish them earlier. His tactical dispositions on the field appear, nevertheless, open to objection. He attacked his opponent at every point of the line simultaneously, without possessing that great superiority in numbers which perhaps justifies the proceeding. Jomini aptly contrasts his conduct in this respect with that of the

French king Charles VIII. three centuries before, who, after evacuating Naples, found his homeward progress barred at Fornuvo, near Modena, by an Italian army quadruple his own ; when, forming his troops in a compact phalanx, he charged and broke the enemy's centre, and pursued his march without further molestation.

For the battle of the Trebbia Suvóroff was raised to the rank of Prince, with the cognomen of "Italiski," or the "Italic," added.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BATTLE OF NOVI.

THE battle of the Trebbia was followed by a period of inactivity due to the action of the Aulic Council of War. Suvóroff was forbidden to prosecute his victories till the imperial rule in Italy had been consolidated by the capture of Mantua, Alessandria, Tortona, and other strong places in Lombardy and Piedmont. He therefore remained in camp on the Bormida, covering the siege of the Alessandrian citadel which was in active progress. On the 22nd July it capitulated, and four days afterwards the allied head-quarters were transferred to Rivalta on the Scrivia, to protect operations against the Tortona citadel and watch the issues of the Apennines leading from Genoa.

The Aulic Council of War had, through the Emperor, insisted on Suvóroff presentiug his plans for their approval prior to carrying them into execution. He complied and they were rejected. The Emperor wrote enjoining him "to renounce distant and hazardous enterprises," reminding him of the promise he gave when at Vienna, to "report all his proposals beforehand;" and later, "at present you must direct your attention exclusively to the subjugation of Mantua; then by degrees to obtaining possession of Alessandria, Tortona, Coni, &c."

Suvóroff complained: "His Roman Majesty wants me to ask permission at Vienna before fighting a battle. In war, circumstances are momentarily changing; consequently there can be no precise plan of action. I never foresaw that I should follow in the footsteps of Hannibal to the Trebbia; nor that I should seize Turin, till the opportunity presented itself of mastering its resources; nor Milan, till Vaprio and Cassano opened its gates to me. Fortune's poll is bare behind, but flowing locks hang from her forehead. Her pace is swift as lightning. Seize her hair while you can, or she may never again confront you." At the same time the jealousy which rarely fails to spring up between allies in the field grew daily more intense; exasperated in this case by the conduct of the Austrian Court, who surrounded Suvóroff with spies and issued orders to the army without his knowledge. In addition, the Austrian officers are said to have murmured at the hardships and exertions which the Russian general imposed upon them, for his methods in war were not in accordance with their preconceived ideas. As usual in this envious world, his triumphs were ascribed to *luck*. The Emperor Francis, unwittingly perhaps, irritated him by adverting constantly to his *good fortune*. "Luck, indeed," ejaculated the Field-Marshal, "luck to-day; luck to-morrow; but next day brains will be wanted." There was a still more serious ground of complaint: the inefficiency of the imperial Commissariat and Transport services, the fatal consequences of which were soon to be made apparent. So great was Suvóroff's disgust with the proceedings of his allies that he contemplated resigning the command. "The timidity of the Court of Vienna," he wrote to the

Tzar, "their jealousy of me as a foreigner, the intrigues of certain hypocrites among their officers who are in daily communication with the Aulic Council of War, my inability to act without asking permission a thousand versts away—these things compel me to ask your Imperial Majesty to recall me should matters continue in their present state. I desire to lay my bones in my fatherland and pray God for my Emperor." In consequence, the Tzar adjured the Emperor Francis to forbid the Aulic Council of War to interfere in the details of the campaign, but to no purpose. Besides Thugut's meddlesomeness, conflicting interests were too abundant for mere verbal representation to be operative. The bonds of the alliance were strained by success ; disaster was to snap them asunder

Festivities, martial pageants, and manœuvres occupied the leisure of the troops encamped on the Bormida. At field-days the Russian chief was accustomed to push mimic warfare to the threshold of reality. Charges were always made *home ;* that is to say, there was actual contact between the opposing masses, the troops passing through each other's ranks. This was effected in the infantry by alternate files dropping to the rear ; in the cavalry, by opening out to extended order. For the mounted branch this practice must have proved especially beneficial, since without it horses are apt to contract the habit of stopping short just before the moment of collision. He even ordered nose-bags with oats to be in readiness behind the infantry attacked, in order to obtain the required momentum from the horses. Accidents were of course of frequent occurrence. A newly arrived colonel, anxious to distinguish himself, served

out grog to his regiment before their first field-day under the eyes of Suvóroff, and, in consequence, his troopers charged with extraordinary dash and vigour; sabre-cuts were liberally exchanged with their opponents, and serious wounds inflicted. Suvóroff did not notice the occurrence, or perhaps feigned ignorance thereof.

On the 8th July Rehbinder's corps, which had arrived lately from Russia, marched into camp, 8500 strong. Rosenberg, relieved by Derfelden of the command of the 1st corps, was placed at the head of the fresh arrival, which raised the Russian contingent in Italy to the strength of 27,000 men. But the Allies could assemble no more than 45,000 men around Tortona; 30,000 under Kray were besieging Mantua; Rosenberg's division was at Piacenza; Ott's and Klenau's in Tuscany; Kaim defended Piedmont against the army of Championnet, which was in course of formation behind the Savoyard Alps; and Haddick still guarded the passes which unite Switzerland with Lombardy and Piedmont. On the 30th July, however, Mantua capitulated, after a feeble defence of twenty-one days, and at last Suvóroff was in a position to assume the offensive. Of Kray's army, 5000 were left in garrison at Mantua, the same number reinforced Klenau at the eastern extremity of the Riviera di Levante, while the remainder, 20,000, joined Suvóroff at Tortona on the 11th August. The original plan of campaign submitted by the Russian chief for approval by the Aulic Council of War was as follows: to penetrate the Apennines in three columns of equal strength, by the Col di Tenda, the Bochetta, and Pontremoli, with a general reserve stationed near Alessandria. But on reconsideration the project was abandoned, and a single

line of operations substituted through the Col di Tenda, in order to menace the enemy's communications with France by Nice, while a containing force, under Kray, was to remain at Alessandria for the protection of flank and rear. The 15th August was the date fixed for the advance ; but the enemy anticipated the movement.

In consequence of changes in the composition of the French Directory (18 June), General Joubert received command of the army of Italy, while Moreau was transferred to the Rhine. The generous temper of the latter officer impelled him to offer his services for awhile to his youthful successor, a proposal which was frankly accepted, and this disinterested act, viewed by the light of after events, seems to have been the means of saving the French army from total destruction. Joubert was now thirty years of age. A lawyer originally, he had entered the ranks of the army as a volunteer, and attained the grade of general with remarkable rapidity. Born in 1769—that year so fertile in military genius, if indeed, it saw the birth of Napoleon as well as Wellington*—he served in the Italian campaign of 1796, and earned the following encomium from Bonaparte : "The intrepid Joubert is in valour a grenadier, but in knowledge and capacity an excellent commander." Having contracted marriage just before setting out for the seat of war, the parting words addressed by him to his bride were : *Tu me reverras mort ou victorieux.* The army of which he now assumed the direction, though 45,000

* Guizot affirms in his *History of France* that Napoleon, really born in 1768, postponed the date a twelvemonth in order to pass for a born Frenchman ; Corsica having been ceded to France in 1769 by the Genoese Republic.

strong, was mainly composed of conscripts; while want, exposure, and disease had played havoc in their inexperienced ranks. The resources of the Genoese territory were unequal to the maintenance of so large a mass of men. While the Allies occupied the passes of the Apennines, the British fleet blockaded the seaports, and Klenau, posted with his division at Sarzana, interrupted communication with the fertile south of Italy, the French, once more, as in 1796, were under the necessity of bursting their bonds in order to find the means of subsistence. On the 4th August Joubert arrived at Genoa, where, after consultation with St. Cyr, who, convinced of the great strength of the enemy, counselled delay, a general advance was resolved on. Joubert attached no credit to the rumour which announced the fall of Mantua, and the consequent augmentation of the enemy's forces; and to this fond hope he clung with fatal pertinacity.

He distributed his troops into five columns, which converged on the plain in front of Tortona. The three on the right, under St. Cyr, moved by parallel roads on Novi; two on the left under Joubert in person on Acqui. Deducting those left behind to guard the communications with Genoa, they did not exceed 40,000 in all. The 11th and 12th were the dates fixed for departure, and the left wing, having a greater distance to traverse, started a day in advance of the right. Suvóroff, on his side, having for some days remarked increased activity on the part of the enemy's outposts, drew in Rosenberg from Piacenza to Broni, and Bellegarde to head-quarters from beyond the Bormida. On the 4th August he invested the fort on the Monte Buffo, which overlooks

the town of Serravalle and blocks one of the chief roads to Genoa. Batteries were constructed during the night, fire opened at dawn, and on the 7th it surrendered. On the same day he transferred his head-quarters to Novi. Although the day fixed for his own advance was the 15th of the month, informed by the injudicious restlessness of the French that an attack was impending, he resolved to manœuvre so as to entice the enemy into the plain, where his great superiority in cavalry—9000 against 2000—would tell in his favour with decisive effect, His forces, in all 65,000 ,were distributed in the following manner: Kray, on the right, with 19,000 men confronted Joubert, who was advancing from Acqui with the French left. The main body, lying between the Orba and the Scrivia, consisted of the following divisions: Bellegarde, 6200, on the right; Bagration, 5700, in the centre; and Rosenberg 8300, on the left beyond the Scrivia. His general reserve, 20,000 strong, lay in the rear of all at Rivalta, while Alcaini, 5300, maintained the blockade of the Tortona citadel.

On the 12th August, the extreme right of St. Cyr, consisting of Watrin's division, driving in the Allied outposts on the Upper Scrivia, occupied the town of Serravalle—which led Suvóroff to believe that the enemy, descending that stream in force, aimed at the deliverance of Tortona. Since this movement endangered his communications with Milan, he posted Rosenberg's division so as to guard them, an arrangement which considerably influenced the fate of the pitched battle which was approaching. On the 13th, St. Cyr took possession of the heights above Novi; next day of the town itself; while Joubert, driving Bellegarde before him, reached

Pasturana, a village behind the left of the heights of Novi destined for disastrous notoriety in the forthcoming conflict. Having ascended in company with his principal generals the heights which overlook the Allied camps, the French leader discovered the unwelcome presence of Kray, whose corps, 19,000 strong, lay extended in a formidable mass at his feet. Then it was seen that Joubert, though skilful and resolute as a subordinate, was unfitted for supreme command. The painful surprise caused him to vacillate; he assembled a council of war, where, after a sad display of mental agitation, he finally resolved to return to the mountains, and dismissed the assembled generals with the assurance that the requisite orders would shortly be promulgated. But the conflict between disappointed aspirations and the dictates of prudence was protracted and no orders appeared. At day-break the French columns, instead of being far out of reach of the enemy, were discovered bivouacked on the spots occupied the previous evening. Nor had the position they were about to defend been as yet militarily occupied, though an attack might be looked for at any moment. Not a battery was in position.

Suvóroff's original design, as already stated, was to entice the enemy into the plain; but, perceiving Joubert's evident hesitation, he prepared for an immediate attack, fearing the intrenchment of Novi's already formidable heights. He therefore instructed Kray to assail the French left, for by forcing it in, their principal line of retreat by the Gavi road would be laid open. That evening, desirous of reconnoitring the enemy, he approached them under cover of a chain of skirmishers,

who were extended in some fields of standing corn, followed by a single Cossack orderly. The enemy, easily recognizing him by his fantastic costume—a white linen shirt and pantaloons—conceived the hope of making him prisoner. A body of horse, assembled under cover of a sharp musketry fire, dashed forward to seize him, but the enterprise was frustrated by the interposition of a handful of troopers under the Grand Duke Constantine. On the eve of so eventful a day he indulged with usual freedom his gasconading propensities ; composed some doggrel German verses,* which triumphing by anticipation, and complimentary to his Allies, showed a certain amount of sly tact on the part of the author.

General Miliutin† thus describes the position of Novi : " The heights on which the French army was drawn up, are formed by the last slopes of the Apennines which extend from the Scrivia to the Orba. A low but steep ridge runs from one river to the other, decreasing in altitude as it approaches the latter. Its declivities near the plain are entirely occupied by vineyards and gardens, dotted with detached houses, and intersected by walls and ditches. At the foot of the most salient portion of

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* Es lebe Säbel und Bayonett,
Keine garstige Retraite !
Erste Linie durchgestochen,
Andere umgeworfen.
Reserve nicht hält
Weil da Bellegarde und Kray der Held.
De Letzte hat Suworow
Den Weg zu dessen Siegen gebahnt.

† *History of the War between Russia and France in* 1799 : St. Petersburg, 1852.

the ridge lies the town of Novi. It was defended by a high crenelated masonry wall with towers, and surrounded by suburban residences with their gardens." But notwithstanding intrinsic strength, serious defects neutralized its advantages as a defensive position; the ground in its rear was cut up by deep ravines, formed by the Lemma and its tributary streams; it offered no facilities for retreat, the roads on either flank being commanded or menaced by the enemy, and that leading from the centre through Pasturana, being rendered extremely dangerous by a narrow defile in rear of the village. The French had 35,000 in the field, exclusive of Dombrowski's division left to watch Serravalle; the Allies 50,000, without Rosenberg's and Alcaini's troops at and around Tortona, who took no part in the battle; but 9000 men, under Melas, lay inactive almost all day.

At dawn on the 15th, Kray opened the conflict by assailing the French left in front, while one of his brigades under Seckendorf endeavoured to reach Pasturana in their rear. His corps, including Bellegarde, who had been placed under his orders, numbered 25,000. The enemy were completely surprised. The divisions Lemoinne and Grouchy were in the act of forming on the crest of the ridge when the storm burst upon them. Even then not a gun was to be seen on the heights. The cavalry of Richepanse, dashing to the front, gallantly endeavoured to cover the formation of their infantry, but failed to arrest the advance of the Austrians, who, uttering loud cries of victory, pushed up the vine-clad slopes and triumphantly crowned its summit. Had Suvóroff been in readiness to support the attack, the fate of the day was already decided. But it was far

otherwise. For Bagration, who stood in advance of the centre, when appealed to for aid, stated the positive orders of his chief to abstain from action till the signal was given. Joubert, in the meantime, aroused in his quarters by the continuous rattle of musketry, galloped to the scene of conflict, where, impelled by bravery or despair, having thrown himself among the foremost skirmishers, he was struck to the earth by a bullet, and shortly afterwards expired. This untoward accident, had there been no capable successor at hand, would have brought ruin on the French army; but Moreau, hurrying to the spot, rallied the broken troops, at the same time sending urgent messages to St. Cyr for assistance. Colli's brigade was detached by him for this purpose, and Perignon bringing up the reserve from Pasturana, Kray was in turn compelled to execute a retreat, which he succeeded in accomplishing without disorder.

During the progress of the above struggle, the behaviour of Suvóroff had given occasion for no little consternation. Though aware of the crisis, he lay asleep in his quarters, or feigning slumber, while it seemed as if none would venture to awake him. The danger to which Kray was exposed was not, however, overwhelming, for his corps numbered 25,000 combatants, while the entire French army was not more than 10,000 stronger. Still the Russian chief seems to have paraded on this occasion an ostentatious indifference which cost his soldiers dear. At 9 a.m., however, springing to his feet with the cry "it is time," he mounted his horse, and issued orders for attacking the French centre at Novi. The manœuvre was, however, an isolated one, for Kray

had just experienced a second rebuff; the Russian divisions of Derfelden and Förster were still on the march from Rivalta, while Melas was many miles from the scene of action. Bagration, in carrying into effect the order of his chief, was compelled to move in close columns, owing to the numerous obstacles which blocked his march, but soon found himself engaged in a hand-to-hand contest with Laboissière's division, which was posted between Lemoinne's men and the walls of Novi. It raged awhile with destructive violence, but was finally decided in favour of the French by a sortie which Gardanne executed from the town. His left flank thus assailed, the Russian general withdrew, though in good order, and under the protection of his cavalry; but on the arrival of Förster, the attack was renewed, on this occasion to the east of the town, when the perils of a disconnected movement were at once made manifest; for Watrin, who occupied the extreme right of the French line of battle, wheeled to the left, and fell upon the exposed flank of the Russians before Novi, Melas not having as yet taken up the place assigned him. Bagration was once more baffled in his attack, though Derfelden's division, appearing opportunely in the field, protected his retreat, and pushing forward, compelled Watrin to seek a refuge on the heights originally occupied by him. It was by this time one in the afternoon, and, oppressed by their prolonged exertions under a broiling Italian sun in summer, the contending hosts desisted as by common consent from the work of slaughter. The attempts of Kray on the French left had been uniformly and signally defeated, wherefore Suvóroff, abandoning all hopes of weakening that flank

of the enemy's line by exerting pressure on their centre, resolved to transfer his efforts to the other one. Neither side could as yet boast a decided advantage over the other, but the French reserves had been committed to action, while Suvóroff had 9000 fresh troops at his disposal, who were approaching the field of battle under Melas. That commander had been directed to ascend the course of the Scrivia, and, falling on the right flank of the French, to seize the high road to Gavi, their principal line of retreat. Melas, on arriving abreast of Novi, directed the brigade of Nobili to continue the march up the stream, while that of Lusignan, supported by Liechtenstein's cavalry, prolonged the left of the Russian line, and Mitrowski's with Loudon's marched straight on the Gavi road in rear of Novi. This manœuvre being sufficiently developed by 4 p.m., Suvóroff, for the fourth time on that day of carnage, gave the signal for a general advance.

St. Cyr, to confront this new danger, threw back Watrin's division *en potence* (i.e. at right angles to the rest of the line), and awaited the onset of Lusignan and Liechtenstein. But his troops, when they perceived that Mitrowski and Loudon had reached the Gavi road, broke into precipitate flight, and though St. Cyr, by a spirited charge at the head of a demi-brigade, arrested for a moment the pursuit, yet Suvóroff with the Allied centre had by this time carried the town of Novi, when the whole French army, facing about, rushed in panic haste towards the village of Pasturana and its narrow gorge, which was now the sole avenue of escape. This defile, formed by the Riasco stream, was quickly choked up with a vast concourse of men, horses, and

guns, and a scene of hideous confusion ensued. To add to its terrors, a Hungarian battalion, stealthily creeping round the village unnoticed by the enemy, and gaining an eminence in its rear which commanded the crowded pass, opened fire upon the fugitives. The officer commanding the French artillery, instead of accelerating his pace, dismounted the gunners and drivers for the purpose of replying to the enemy's fire. Several horses were soon disabled, and the line of retreat became irretrievably blocked. Panic spread with lightning rapidity through the French army. In a few seconds their battalions had broken their ranks, and the entire army dissolved and scattered in all directions like clouds whirled away by the tempest. Grouchy and Perignon, ensconcing themselves in Pasturana with a single battalion, endeavoured by prodigies of valour to lighten the pressure of the pursuit, but they fell disabled by sabre-cuts and became prisoners. Colli with his brigade was compelled to surrender in front of Pasturana. St. Cyr alone, with a portion of the right wing, effected an orderly retreat, and stationed himself in front of Gavi. Darkness alone rescued the French army from utter annihilation.

Such was the sanguinary battle of Novi, wherein, it must be confessed, Suvóroff displayed little of his wonted tactical ability. Over-acting his part on this occasion, he became involved in difficulties from which his indomitable tenacity of purpose rescued him indeed, but at the cost of an enormous expenditure of human life. Kray attacked three hours before the Allied centre entered into action, and eight hours before the left under Melas. The event strikingly illustrated

the dangers attendant on such a disjointed method of attack; the enemy was given the chance of concentrating his forces on each successive fraction of the assailants as it came into action. The attack, it must be remarked, was not in echelon, where each division arrives in its turn to support those which preceded it; but a piecemeal onslaught without unity or combination. But though the tactics employed by Suvóroff have been made the subject of just censure by competent military writers, all are willing to admit that most leaders would have abandoned the contest in despair after experiencing so many sanguinary repulses. The Russian chief has likewise been reproached with allowing a third of his effective strength to be absent from the decisive conflict, but he knew not on which side of the Scrivia the enemy would operate: they might have descended by the right bank, relieved Tortona, and cut him off from the Po. This is why he left Rosenberg's corps in front of that fortress—an arrangement not indicative of daring strategy, but prudent and safe, in fact that which would have recommended itself to the judgment of a commander of ordinary capacity. Napoleon, indeed, would probably have acted differently; for an enemy in a state of concentration must in practice be attacked, beaten, and dislodged from his position before daring to operate on his communications.

A similar case, it will be remembered, occurred at Waterloo, the British commander having posted a whole division at Hal, in order to secure his right from being turned by the road from Mons to Brussels. A victor wants no plea, but it is interesting to speculate on the original conception, whose incomplete or faulty execution

has given rise to adverse criticism. Confident in his prestige and superior numbers, contemning perhaps the youth and inexperience of the leader who was opposed to him, Suvóroff may have aimed at nothing less than the utter destruction of the French army, cutting them off from Genoa, their base, by means of Kray's corps; and therefore it may be, he purposely delayed the frontal attack till the enemy's line of retreat was seriously endangered. Kray, being 25,000 strong, incurred no real danger of being crushed, before the arrival of Suvóroff, by an army which counted only 10,000 more men than his own ; especially as the presence of Bagration at Novi held fast a portion of their forces. Kray, in reality, led a separate army, which acted on the enemy's flank and rear, like Ney's at Bautzen, Blucher's at Waterloo, and the 2nd Prussian army at Sadowa. There can be no doubt, however, that the Russian Chief deferred entering into action till too late in the day, and that terrible havoc in his ranks was the penalty he paid for an error which might well have cost him the victory.

The loss of the French, including prisoners and missing, amounted to 12,000 ; that of the Allies to 8000. Of the latter, 5000 belonged to Kray's divisions, 2000 were Russians, while 1000 only were of the corps of Melas. On receipt of the news, the Tzar published the following ukase :—"As a reward for the exploits of the Italic Prince, Count Suvóroff of the Rimnik, it is hereby ordained that the Guards and all other Russian troops, even in the Imperial presence, shall pay him the same honours as are due to his Majesty." The document was signed by that Count Rostopchin who was the favourite of Paul, but destined to win a nobler title to fame.

"To the protracted and sanguinary battle," writes Miliutin, "succeeded a cool and tranquil night. By degrees the sounds of conflict died away. The Allied troops, exhausted with fatigue, took up their position on the heights of Novi. Far away, in the distant gorges of the mountains, the dropping fire of the foremost troops was heard as they pursued the flying enemy. The atmosphere was saturated with the odour of gunpowder. The moon, emerging from behind the mountains, shed her rays upon a mournful scene. On the surrounding fields the dead lay piled up in heaps. At intervals the groans of the wounded were heard. To use the words of a spectator: round Novi the bayonetted French lay as thick as sheaves of corn upon the newly-harvested field. They were stretched beside each other, intermingled with the fallen Russian warriors."

The wearied soldiery had barely closed their eyes when violent alarms within the town aroused them from slumber. Some hundreds of French soldiers, who lay concealed in dwelling-houses, had, with the connivance of the citizens, it was asserted, congregated at dead of night, attacked and overpowered the main guard, and, rushing forth from the gates, endeavoured to effect their escape. After a furious struggle the attempt was defeated, and the Russians, who had suffered severe loss, proceeded to sack the town in revenge for the supposed bad faith of its inhabitants. By personal exertions, by entreaty, and lastly, by threats, Suvóroff at length re-established order. "You're doing wrong, boys," he cried; "you're doing wrong. Attack the enemy, but leave the citizens in peace."

On the 16th, Rosenberg's division, not having been engaged in the battle, was passed to the front, to head the pursuit. After a delay, which sorely irritated his troops, he attacked St. Cyr and dislodged him from his position in front of Gavi. Perignon, with the *débris* of the left wing, had, in the meantime, retired up the valleys of the Orba and Erro streams, while Dombrowski and Watrin cut their way through Nobili's brigade at Arquata. Moreau was preparing to evacuate Italy when the slackness of the pursuit advised him that he had little to fear from so unenterprising a foe. But, in reality, the Allies were unable to follow up their victory, owing to deficiency of transport and provisions, which the Austrian officials had neglected to accumulate in sufficient quantities. As a matter of fact, not more than supplies for two days were available in Suvóroff's camp, though the general movement had been fixed for the 15th, long in advance. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Aulic Council of War had issued instructions to the Austrian generals in direct contradiction to those of Suvóroff; since, about this time, they ordered Melas to occupy Tuscany and the Papal States without consulting or even without making known their intentions to the Russian chief. Intrigues like these, necessarily disconcerted Suvóroff's plans and frustrated his intentions; while the Emperor Francis soon expressly prohibited him from passing the Apennines, alleging the losses which his troops had already sustained as his motive, also that the French would be presently compelled to evacuate Italy owing to lack of supplies. The battle of Marengo in the following year scarcely responded to these anticipations.

Suvóroff, thus dominated by circumstances, pitched his camp at Asti, a position midway between the Alps and Apennines, where it was possible at the same time to cover the investment of the citadel of Tortona, and observe the army which, under the command of Championnet, was collecting in the neighbouring province of Dauphiné. But Switzerland soon attracted the attention of Suvóroff. The Archduke Charles, after occupying Zürich in the month of June, had remained for a long while inactive, and being apprehensive that a further advance on his part in the direction of Bern would expose his communications to attack, he had with his wonted caution determined to await the junction of the army of Korsakoff, which was on the march from Russia to join him, before once more undertaking offensive action. The hostile armies in Switzerland were at this juncture extended in a thin cordon from the Rhine, near Constance, along its course to the valley of the Upper Rhone. Thus the French position followed an arc which was interior to that occupied by their opponents, and Masséna availed himself of the situation to concentrate on his right with a view to assailing the St. Gothard Pass. Lecourbe, an officer well skilled in mountain warfare, was entrusted with the execution of this enterprise, for which the brigades of Thurreau, Gudin, Loison, and Molitor were placed at his disposal. In the middle of August, Thurreau, ascending the sources of the Rhone, dislodged Rohan from the Simplon, driving him as far as Domo d'Ossola, when the Austrian, Strauch, quitting the St. Gothard, descended the Furka Pass and menaced the rear of the French general. Upon this, Gudin, climbing the precipitous rocks of the Grimsel

with his brigade in the face of an Austrian battalion, forced his way into the Rhone valley, thus intercepting the retreat of Strauch, who, assailed and driven across the Gries Pass by Thurreau, reached Airolo with difficulty, then Bellinzona, where he paused to reorganize his shattered forces. Lecourbe then assailed the St. Gothard in person, while Gudin, marching by the Furka, menaced it in rear, so that the Austrian, Zimschen, abandoning its defence, retreated by the sources of the Rhine into the Grisons, whither he was pursued by the French as far as Ilantz. Thus did this important defile pass into their temporary possession. But while Masséna was thus actively engaged on his right, he necessarily exposed his left to the blows of the adversary ; and the Archduke, desirous of striking a blow, after the arrival of Korsakoff and prior to his own departure for Germany, whither he had been commanded to lead the army under his own personal command, seized this inviting opportunity. His design was to cross the Aar below the confluence of the Limmat, and, pushing along its upper course, to menace Bern and the communications of the enemy with France. Pontoons having been collected and troops assembled at a favourable spot, during the night of the 16th August the construction of two bridges was commenced. But the locality had not been well reconnoitred and the channel of the river was discovered to be too hard and rocky for the secure anchorage of pontoons. At daybreak the Austrian engineers were discovered and subjected to a murderous fire; Ney hastened to the spot with all available forces. The Archduke saw that his enterprise had miscarried. A parley ensued, and the assailants were permitted to

withdraw unmolested, on the understanding that the attempt should not be renewed that day. This disaster was the occasion of much bitterness and recrimination between the Austrian and Russian generals, their dissensions being aggravated by the haughty and arrogant bearing of Korsakoff, who, since the Italian triumphs of the Russian arms, had, in common with most of his countrymen, conceived the most exaggerated notions of the worth of the national troops and the comparative inferiority of the Allies. The Archduke departed, leaving Hotze with 22,000 men with the Russians till the arrival of Suvóroff, who was destined for the supreme command.

The Powers, members of the coalition against France, had agreed to his appointment, each actuated by diverse and personal motives. It was soothing to the vanity of Paul that a Russian should lead the army which was about to invade France with the object of re-establishing her legitimate monarch on the throne; while Austria longed for the removal of Suvóroff from Italy, where his presence thwarted her designs. England, her enemies affirmed, regarded with a jealous eye the appearance of the Russian standards on the Mediterranean shores. But the arrangement excited in the breast of Suvóroff nothing but unmitigated disgust and wrath. He complained to Rostopchin: "Having squeezed the juice out of me which was needed for Italy, they are going to pitch me over the Alps. I am sick of a fever brought on by the poison of Viennese diplomacy." Nevertheless, when informed of the departure of the Archduke from Switzerland, he instantly prepared to proceed to his destination, terribly solicitous lest the presumption and

arrogance of Korsakoff should involve him in disaster when confronted with so able an antagonist as Masséna. Yet loath to abandon Tortona, whose citadel had capitulated on condition of not being relieved before the 11th September, he delayed awhile, promising the Emperor and the Archduke Charles: "By the rapidity of my movements I will endeavour to make good the days I consume for the welfare of Italy." On the 8th, however, he commenced his march in two columns on Varese, the artillery and heavy baggage moving by Milan, whence they were to be sent, *viâ* the Tyrol, round the northern shore of Lake Constance to Schaffhausen. But the movement had no sooner begun than it was countermanded, and next day all returned to their respective posts near Tortona. Moreau was advancing on that fortress. It was a last throw of the dice, staked on the presumed negligence of his opponent; for after ascertaining that Suvóroff had faced about again, the French general once more sought the shelter of the mountains. On the 11th, as stipulated, Tortona surrendered, and the garrison, marching out with the honours of war, pursued their way to the French border. The same evening the Russians resumed their march to Switzerland.

While the Council of the Empire, after the manner of trained diplomatists, were ignoring their obligations, all Europe was resounding with Suvóroff's fame. Especially in this country were his services appreciated at their true value. "The recognition of your merits by the English nation," writes Rostopchin to him, "must be much more gratifying to you than all the lofty phrases of the Cabinet of Vienna, which talks so loudly but does so little." Suvóroff, however, was heartbroken at the

vain result of all his efforts and triumphs. He had dreamt of victory on the plains of France, and the re-establishment of the "throne and altar" on the ruins of the Republic. These fond aspirations were now, in his opinion, impossible of realization. Driven from the theatre of his exploits, the armies he led were exposed to destruction through the incapacity or faithlessness of the Austrian Court. It seemed a cruel destiny. Close on attaining his seventieth year, his professional career, which now covered half a century, had never been sullied by defeat. Yet he was now condemned to see his work undone. That no man can be esteemed fortunate before death is a maxim whose truth has been affirmed by the experience of ages, and Suvóroff's correspondence at this period seems to furnish one more proof of its universality, although the Tzar, instead of accepting his proffered resignation, loaded him with additional marks of his favour. Deeply affected by such tokens of sympathy in the hour of tribulation, the Field-marshal thus expressed his gratitude: "Graciously pardon me if, in the bitterness of my heart, I asked permission to return to my beloved country. Now, till it please God to terminate my life, I dedicate it to the glorious service of your Imperial Majesty. Highly sensible of your condescension, I shall lead your Majesty's gallant warriors wherever your commands direct—to Switzerland, where in fresh fields of battle I shall conquer or die gloriously, fighting for my country and my Emperor." It may be added, that he had recently been highly incensed by the advice said to have been tendered by Melas to certain French officers on their release from captivity; namely to steer clear of the Russian quarters if they desired to

escape violence and pillage—an insinuation which, even if unfounded, proves how prone mankind is to reproach the troops of other nations with excesses from which their own are not exempt. The circumstance was reported by Suvóroff to the Tzar, whose hasty temper took fire at the insult, and the incident doubtless had its share in determining his withdrawal from the coalition which happened shortly afterwards.

The claims of Austria for compensation in Italy were founded on that most unprincipled of transactions—the partition of the Polish monarchy. A secret article in the Treaty of 1795 provided that, in consideration of her share in the spoil being less than that of the other two Powers concerned, she was entitled to look for future indemnification in Bavaria or Italy. The Russian Emperor, on being reminded by Thugut of this stipulation, inquired the precise extent of the Austrian demands, "in order," he added with engaging frankness, "that I may judge whether I do well to make war on the French with a view to giving them another form of government, or whether I had not better direct my attention to protecting Europe from the boundless pretensions of the House of Hapsburg, and its ambition to aggrandize itself at the expense of those who are not in a position to offer resistance." Meanwhile, he hastened to instruct Suvóroff, that in case of difficulties with Austria, he should assemble his troops in Switzerland, and thenceforward act in concert with the British representatives at his head-quarters. The exasperation of the two Courts gradually grew in intensity till, informed of the withdrawal of the Austrians under the Archduke from Switzerland, and Korsakoff's consequent exposure to

all the weight of Masséna's blows, the Tzar determined formally to renounce alliance with Austria. This resolve was strengthened by the news of the battle of Zürich, which very shortly afterwards reached him.

CHAPTER IX.

SWITZERLAND.

SUVÓROFF, we have stated, resumed his march for Switzerland on the evening of the 11th September. The St. Gothard being in those days impassable for wheeled traffic, he had directed Melas to assemble 1500 mules at Taverna, the spot at the foot of the Monte Cenere where the highway for vehicles comes to an end. While Korsakoff held Masséna at bay before Zürich, he proposed, after carrying the St. Gothard by storm, to penetrate to the rear of the French, marching by Altdorf and Schwytz; and, at the same time, the Austrians, Hotze and Linken, approaching from the valley of the Linth, were to assail their position in flank. Thus Italy was to be abandoned as a base of operations, and, by forcing a way through the stupendous defiles of Switzerland, a new one was to be sought in south-western Germany. It followed that during this change, the Russian army had to be accompanied by all needful supplies, for the natural resources of Switzerland, always limited, were now thoroughly exhausted by the constant passage to and fro of the contending armies. Suvóroff reckoned that seven days would bring him to Schwytz, but from lack of experience in mountain warfare, he struck his estimate too low; for Schwytz was 100 miles distant from Bellinzona, an interval which no troops could possibly cover

in the specified time, through a district bristling with strong positions, if opposed by a vigorous and resolute enemy. The Russian chief appears in these calculations to have been misled by Colonel Weyrother, an Austrian staff officer who had been lent him for the purpose of supplying local information.

The strength of the forces in Switzerland (exclusive of Chabran's division at Basle) was at this time 70,000; that of the Allies (not reckoning Suvóroff) only 46,000. The republicans, moreover, occupied a position still more compact than before, their entire forces being massed in the space between Altdorf and Zürich, with the sole exception of Thurreau's division in the Valais. The Imperialists, on the other hand, were spread out in a wide semicircle which embraced the shores of the lakes of Zürich and Wallen, and extended as far as Coire and Dissentis near the sources of the Rhine. Suvóroff's army was 20,000 strong, inclusive of 4000 Cossacks. Thus 66,000 Allies divided into several great fractions, and with no means of intercommunication, were about to attack an enemy who was both superior in numbers and strongly posted in a central position, under the immediate command of one of the ablest captains of the day. There was besides an almost ludicrously fatal defect in Suvóroff's plan of campaign. The road selected, dwindling to a mere bridle-path at Taverna, came abruptly to an end at Altdorf, intercourse thence with Lucerne and Schwytz being carried on by water. Inconceivable as it may appear, Suvóroff was ignorant of this fact; nor was his attention directed thereto by the precious chief of the staff which the Austrians had provided.

The Russians arrived at Taverna on the 15th of

September, having traversed the hundred miles which separates it from Alessandria in the space of four days. It was then discovered that not a single mule of the 1500 ordered to be in readiness had arrived—a fatal delay sufficient in itself to ruin a combination whose success depended on nice calculations of time and distance and correspondence in the movements of widely separated columns.* Suvóroff, addressing the Emperor Francis, writes : "I arrived here on the 15th, and consequently have kept my word. In spite of difficulties, I have traversed a distance in six days for which eight are usually considered requisite ; but not a single mule have I found here, nor do I know when any are likely to reach me. Thus the rapidity of our advance has become void of result. The decisive advantages of speed and impetus in the attack are thrown away. With all my devotion to the common cause, the conviction that I have done all that in me lies to execute punctually your Majesty's commands brings me no comfort ;" and to his master, on the 20th : "The Austrian general, Döller, deceives us shamefully with his ambiguous promises. Already I have been five days at Taverna. This delay affords the enemy time to make dispositions which may seriously compromise my safety." When at length 650 mules arrived, laden with oats, it was found that they were *not hired beyond Bellinzona ;* and only with extreme difficulty were their owners persuaded to proceed

* The responsibility for this rare piece of negligence was, as the reader will easily conceive, ultimately laid on the shoulders of a subordinate—a commissariat officer who, as Melas declared, had detained the animals at Pavia. The scape-goat is a time-honoured military institution.

further. In this emergency the Grand Duke Constantine conceived the idea of dismounting the Cossacks and using their horses as pack animals; and sacks having been collected from the neighbouring villages, the plan was forthwith carried into execution.

The precise numbers of Derfelden's corps and Rosenberg's division, which together made up Suvóroff's forces, were 20,280. He redistributed them into divisions of the following strength :—

Advance guard—Prince Bagration .	2500
Division of Lt.-General Schvekovski .	4400
„ „ „ Förster . .	3100
„ „ „ Rosenberg .	6000

about forming a total of 16,000, the rest being Cossacks. Twenty-five of them mounted preceded each division on the line of march; but the greater part of these irregular horsemen escorted the baggage train on foot. Twenty pioneers accompanied the advanced Cossacks with a single mountain gun, twenty-five pieces having been drawn from the Turin arsenal. The remainder of the divisional artillery, with ten mules carrying a reserve of small-arm ammunition, followed in rear of each division. In case of resistance, the leading battalion was instructed to extend in skirmishing order and gain the heights on either flank, while the supports, forming close column, charged the enemy with the bayonet.

On the 19th of September Rosenberg's corps left Taverna, for the purpose of turning the St. Gothard Pass by the Val di Blegno, Dissentis, and the Oberalp lake; while Suvóroff followed two days later with the main body towards Bellinzona. On the same day Rosenberg

continuing the ascent, reached the Luckmanier Pass, and bivouacked for the night at Casaccia, destitute of firing or protection of any sort from the cold at a height of 8000 feet above the sea. On the 23rd, descending to Dissentis, where the Austrian brigade of Auffenberg joined him, he wheeled to his left, and, mounting the Tavetch valley, gained the Oberalp lake and the rear of the enemy's position in the St. Gothard Pass. On the 22nd Suvóroff also advanced from Bellinzona, and reaching Giornico, pushed the Austrian brigade of Strauch, which had joined him in the neighbourhood, 4500 strong, as far as Faido. During these marches the Russian chief rode, as usual, on a Cossack horse; but, the temperature being less genial than in the plains just quitted, he had drawn the cloth uniform coat of a private over the more flimsy garments which he usually wore. A shabby thread-bare cloak, nicknamed by the soldiers "the ancestral," was thrown over all, but gloves he never condescended to wear. Mounted on a mule, by his side might have been seen Antonio Gamba, an aged peasant with whom he had lodged at Taverna and, in his funny way, grown familiar. In spite of protests from his family, Gamba had consented to act as guide through Switzerland—an incapable one as it turned out, for he was as ignorant as Weyrother and the rest that the road came to an end at Altdorf. On the 23rd the Russian head-quarters advanced to Dazio, when the attack on Airolo and its overhanging heights was appointed for the ensuing morning.

In spite of arduous marches and natural obstacles, Rosenberg's progress through the Luckmanier Pass to the sources of the Rhine had been successfully accom-

plished. Turning movements such as this are commonly successful in mountain warfare if they are properly timed with the frontal attack to which they are subsidiary. But failing this, the troops performing them are liable to be crushed entirely before the main body can come to their assistance. Thus Suvóroff, having arranged with his subordinate that the combined attack should take place on the 24th, was solicitous to carry out his part of the programme with exact punctuality. On that date, therefore, he advanced on Airolo in three columns; the left, under the Austrian, Strauch, after observing the passes which lead into the valley of the Rhone, was to join in the principal attack; Suvóroff in person conducted the centre, which marched straight on Airolo; while Bagration, executing a turning movement to the right, was seen to scale with his troops the precipitous flanks of the mountains. A part of Gudin's brigade defended the pass, their advance being in Airolo, the main body posted on the steep ascent above it, while the remainder confronted Rosenberg at the Oberalp Pass. Loison's brigade occupied the valley of the Reuss with its lateral issues, whilst Lecourbe in person guarded the Furka.

The village of Airolo was soon carried by the Russian centre, when the French infantry, retiring in excellent order, showed front to the enemy on successive positions taken up on the declivity of the mountain. Their skirmishers from the cover it afforded poured a murderous fire into the dense ranks of their assailants who were, in contrast to the soldiers of the Republic, totally destitute of experience in mountain warfare. On reaching the summit of the pass and endeavouring to carry it by

storm they met with a bloody repulse which cost them 1200 men.* But about 4 p.m., when Bagration had attained to a commanding position on the slope of the mountain to the right, Suvóroff gave the signal for a second assault. Undismayed by recent carnage, his troops rushed forward carrying everything before them, when Gudin, retiring through Andermatt, and the tunnel called the Urner Loch, halted on the further side of the Devil's Bridge. Rosenberg meanwhile, after driving the enemy from the shores of the Oberalp lake, had crowned the heights above Andermatt, whence, after a moment's hesitation, his troops plunged into the fog which filled the valley beneath them, and, seizing possession of the village, cut off Lecourbe, who was hastening from the Furka Pass to Gudin's succour, from his line of retreat. Throwing his cannon into the current of the Reuss, that enterprising commander proceeded to scale the precipices of the Betzberg, which are 7800 feet above the level of the sea, when, under cover of night, he was so fortunate as to effect his escape into the Geschennen valley, and on the following day to rejoin the rest of his division behind the Devil's Bridge. Suvóroff had gained a victory, though at the cost of 2000 in killed and wounded—a loss which was due to his impatience ; for had he in the first instance awaited the development of Bagration's flank attack it could not have been so severe; but he was solicitous to ensure the safety of Rosenberg, and prevent his being overwhelmed.

The Urner Loch, however, and the Devil's Bridge

* The anecdote recorded by Alison (*Hist. Europe*, xxviii. 129), is declared by Milliutin to be unfounded. Many others about Suvóroff are equally so.

still lay in front of him, obstacles yet more formidable than those which had just been surmounted. The former, a passage cut in the solid rock overhanging the Reuss, lies about 400 yards south of the bridge, and was at that time just large enough to admit a single pedestrian carrying his load. The wayfarer, on emerging from its northern entrance, beholds the stream below him, on the left-hand side, rushing with impetuous violence along its rocky bed. The arch of the Devil's Bridge of those days spanned the abyss at a height of 75 feet from the surface of the water, though the modern structure stands 25 feet higher. Two men, at the utmost, could traverse the bridge abreast, while perpendicular cliffs of granite rose on either side of the defile. The path crosses the stream a second and a third time before reaching Geschennen, and the length of the pass is one mile and a half from end to end.

At dawn on the 25th, the attacking columns having assembled, parties were detached to climb the rugged mountains on either side, on the right to gain the rear of the Urner Loch, on the left to turn the Devil's Bridge. The frontal attack on this occasion also was delivered before the lateral movements were developed, and, as on the previous day, a promiscuous slaughter resulted. A French gun swept the tunnel from end to end with grape, and mowed down all who entered. The rearmost Russians pushed those in front of them towards the hole, till, its entrance becoming thronged and choked with human beings, many were pushed over the edge of the chasm and found death in the boiling waters beneath. This bootless waste of life continued till the appearance of the Russian flanking parties on the heights to their

left rear caused the defenders of the tunnel to retire across the Devil's Bridge, having first broken up the masonry platform by which it was approached. The Russians followed closely and the battle was renewed. Separated by the narrow chasm of the Reuss only, the combatants discharged their volleys into each other's ranks with murderous effect, till the French, perceiving that the enemy was working his way along the mountain above them to their right, showed signs of wavering, when their assailants streamed across the narrow arch as far as the rift in the masonry platform. A shed hard by was pulled to pieces ; its timbers, bound together by the officers' sashes, were laid across the chasm ; Prince Meshtchérsky dashed across, but instantly fell mortally wounded with the characteristic injunction on his lips "Do not forget me in the despatches." A Cossack followed him, but fell into the torrent. These acts of heroism found numerous imitators. The defence slackened, the platform was repaired, and the assailants, dashing forward in pursuit, before nightfall had reached Wasen, eight miles distant from the scene of action.

Lecourbe, as he hurriedly made his way towards Altdorf, was startled by a discharge of musketry which audibly proceeded from a point on his line of retreat : in fact, Auffenberg, having crossed the ridge from Dissentis, had descended the valley of Maderan, and was now attacking Amsteg, which was held by part of Loison's brigade. But the Austrians, on Lecourbe approaching their left flank, were themselves exposed to considerable danger, though the French were in reality too closely pursued to think of molesting them. Committing the bridge over the Kerstelen brook behind him

to the flames, the French commander defiled with all possible speed through Amsteg, reaching Altdorf on the 26th, when, abandoning the town, he stationed himself at Seedorf on the left bank of the Reuss, to await the progress of events.

Suvóroff, having quitted Wasen early on the 26th, and reached Amsteg before daylight, mistook Auffenberg's watchfires for the enemy's, an accident which caused some delay. When sunrise dispelled this error, resuming his march, he gained the town of Altdorf without encountering resistance on the part of the enemy. A magazine of provisions discovered there was a welcome addition to his resources, though the satisfaction he felt was diminished by rumours of Korsakoff's defeat which began to be bruited abroad. Then it was also that the alarming truth became known that the road or track which he had hitherto followed had come abruptly to a close. His provisions, likewise, were nearly exhausted, while his pack animals were struggling along the defile in his rear exposed to the depredations of the French troops stationed in the valley of the Rhone. At this point of time, had he been in possession of accurate information regarding the progress of events around Zürich, he might have reached the valley of the Linth by the Schächenthal, and there effected his junction with the troops of Linken. But as yet rumour but vaguely boded evil, and so he determined to force his way at any cost to Schwytz, his appointed destination—*i.e.* to march across the rugged ridge called the Rosstock, which divides the Schächenthal from the valley of the uotta. The Kinzig Pass, by which he proposed to move, though it can be traversed under favourable

atmospheric conditions by the robust pedestrian, is quite impracticable for a modern army with all its various appurtenances; nevertheless, and notwithstanding that the season was already far advanced, Suvóroff determined to make the attempt. Habitual success had made him unduly tenacious of his plans, which he now refused to modify in conformity with unlooked-for events, conduct which was wholly at variance with the principles he was wont to advocate. Heroism silenced the still small voice of prudence within him. But how rarely do we find in the same individual an equal balance between courage and prudence! At one extreme stands a Charles II., at the other an Archduke Charles, both falling short of the cautious daring which makes a military commander of the first rank.

On the 27th the ascent of the Kinzig Pass began. Bagration, as usual, led the advance; then came the corps of Derfelden and Auffenberg's brigade, while Rosenberg's division remained at Altdorf to protect the movement. Miliutin thus describes it: "The path became gradually steeper, and at times disappeared altogether. The troops had to ascend one by one, now on bare rocks, now on slippery clay. In other places they had to clamber up steps, as it were, with no hold for the sole of the foot; in others loose pebbles gave way beneath their feet, or they stuck fast in the snow which covered the tops of the mountain. It was not an easy matter for pedestrians to climb such a mountain; what then must have been the difficulty of conducting horses and mules laden with guns, ammunition, and cartridges! The poor animals could hardly budge a foot; in many cases they stumbled from the narrow

pathway headlong into the abyss, and were dashed to pieces on the rocks below. The horses often dragged the men with them in their fall; a false step was death. At times black clouds, descending the mountain sides, enveloped the column in dense vapour, and the troops were soaked to the skin as if by heavy rain. They groped their way through the raw fog, all round being invisible. The boots of both officers and men were for the most part worn out. Their biscuit-bags were empty. Nothing remained to sustain their strength. But in spite of extreme suffering, the half-shod, starving troops of Russia kept up their spirits. In the hour of trial, the presence of their Emperor's son, who shared their fatigues and dangers, encouraged them. During the entire march the Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovitch marched with Bagration's advance-guard." At about 5 p.m., after twelve hours' incessant marching, Bagration descending into the valley, approached the village of Muotta, where he captured a French outpost consisting of two companies of infantry. But the main body spent the night in the mountains, with scant provision of food, no firing, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather at that great altitude. Numbers perished from the effects of cold and deficient nourishment. Meantime the rear-guard was defending Altdorf against the assaults of Lecourbe. On reaching the Muotta valley, Suvóroff despatched a party of Cossacks over the Pragel Pass to his right, to communicate with Linken, whose column ought by this time to have reached Glarus; but they returned reporting that town in occupation of the French. Here he received positive information of Korsakoff's disastrous overthrow at Zürich; of Hotze's defeat and

death on the Linth; and of the consequent retreat of the Austrian columns of Linken and Jellachich who were to have supported his right. After having surmounted so many obstacles he found himself imprisoned in a Swiss valley, isolated from his allies. Masséna was approaching Schwytz to bar his exit in that quarter; Molitor guarded the opposite outlet by Glarus; while the presence of Lecourbe at Altdorf precluded all thought of returning by that route. He was caught in a trap. Ill-luck, bad strategy, and the incapacity of others, had ruined his combinations, while the obstinate resolve to keep his rendezvous at Schwytz at all costs had plunged him still deeper into disaster. But the same inflexibility of purpose was to prove his salvation.

After the departure of the Archduke Charles from Switzerland, the Russians of Korsakoff, 24,000 strong (exclusive of their cavalry, 3000, who were quartered beyond the Rhine as useless in a mountainous district), were distributed along the course of the Aar as follows: 10,000 under his personal command in advance of the city of Zürich; 7800 under Markoff and Durassoff, lining the Aar as far as the Rhine; while 5700 were kept in reserve till the eve of the battle of Zürich, when they were despatched in support of Hotze to the left. Of the Austrians who remained in Switzerland, Hotze with 11,000 men, lay in the space between the lakes of Wallen and Zürich; Jellachich, with 4500, at Sargans; whilst 3500, under Linken guarded, as we have said, the valley of the Rhine at Ilantz. Such being the position of the Allies, Masséna, resolute to profit by the dissemination of their forces, on the 25th September, having deceived the arrogant and presump-

tuous Korsakoff by a feigned attack on Zürich, threw the mass of his army across the Limmat at a point lower down the stream, and the Russian General, who was rejoicing in the prospect of an easy victory, was suddenly informed that the city was surrounded by the enemy, and his own line of retreat severed in consequence. Driven within its walls, he was that same night summoned by Masséna to lay down his arms; and no answer being vouchsafed to the demand, the French moved on the following morning to the assault. But Korsakoff, whose valour was equal to his sullenness and pride, suddenly issuing from the fortifications, cut a way through the surrounding columns of the enemy, and reaching the Rhine at Eglisau and Diessenhofen, crossed to the opposite bank, though with immense sacrifice of life and loss of the whole of his baggage. In the meantime the Russian right, under the orders of Durassoff, had remained inactive on the Aar, facing the division Menard, and cut off from Zürich by the victorious enemy. The situation bore a strong resemblance to Serrurier's on the Adda; but the conduct of Durassoff, though severely criticised at the time, and probably indefensible in theory, as a matter of fact saved Korsakoff from annihilation by covering his line of retreat.

Equally unpropitious for the Allied arms was the fortune of war in other parts of Switzerland. On the lower Linth, Soult, advancing simultaneously with his chief, attacked and defeated Hotze, who lost life as well as victory in the conflict, and two days later, the division which he had commanded hurriedly recrossed the Rhine at Rheineck. Jellachich, also on the 25th, having skirted

the shores of the Wallensee, attacked Molitor at Mollis and Näfels, but, having ascertained the result of the battle of Zürich and the fate of Hotze, returned to the Grisons on the following day. Molitor was thus free to deal with Linken, who, having reached Glarus on the 25th by the valley of the Linth, might, as related in the foregoing pages, have been joined by Suvóroff had the Russians marched from Altdorf by the Schächenthal and the Klausen Pass to their right. During the ensuing three days the Austrian confronted Molitor with his division, but, on the 29th, having heard nothing of Suvóroff, retraced his steps, and returned to the Grisons the same way he came. Molitor, taking post in the Klönthal, prepared to meet the Russians.

On the 29th Masséna was at Altdorf in consultation with Lecourbe; but leaving the same day for Schwytz, whither he directed the divisions Mortier and Humbert, he ordered up Gazan, who had succeeded to the command of Soult's division, in support of Molitor, under the impression that the Russians, blocked up in the Muotta valley and destitute of supplies, would be compelled to surrender at discretion. On that day Suvóroff summoned a council of war, at which Bagration, being the first to arrive, found his chief attired in full uniform, blazing with stars and decorations and pacing the floor of the apartment in a state of great mental agitation. Broken utterances escaped his lips: "Parades, inspections, self-esteem! all very good in their way, but something more is wanted—military knowledge, topography, calculation, judgment, tactics; easy to get beaten, thousands destroyed, and such ones in a single day," and so forth. Bagration, for once in his

life, beat a retreat, and left his chief alone with his indignation ; but when the council was assembled the members were thus addressed by him ; "Korsakoff is beaten and driven beyond the Rhine. Hotze is killed and his corps dispersed. Jellachich and Linken have retreated. Our whole plan of campaign is ruined." Then followed a furious invective against the Austrians which doubtless explains the absence of Auffenberg from the assembly. "Now," he continued, "we are surrounded in the midst of the mountains by an enemy superior in strength. What are we to do? To retreat were dishonour. I have never retreated. To advance on Schwytz is impossible. Masséna has 60,000 men : we have not 20,000. Besides, we are destitute of provisions, cartridges, and artillery. We can look for assistance to none. We are on the brink of ruin." It was finally determined to march on Glarus and force a passage past the Wallen lake, and the veteran added : "We can do nothing but trust in God Almighty and the courage and devotion of our troops. We are Russians. God is with us." A scene ensued, almost comical according to our ideas. The aged chief fell with emotion at the feet of the Grand Duke Constantine, who, raising him sympathetically, kissed his cheek. "Save the honour of Russia and her Tzar. Save the son of our Emperor," cried this strange being. "Yes, we are Russians. With God's help we will conquer," was the enthusiastic response of the generals.

The same day Auffenberg, seizing the Pragel Pass, drove the enemy's outposts back into the Klön valley ; but attacked himself next day by Molitor, fell back on Bagration's division, which advancing opportunely to

his aid, charged the enemy in flank and pushed him back to the narrow gorge between the mountains and Lake Klön, Thus strongly posted, the French defied the efforts of Bagration, who, expecting the arrival of Schvekovski's division, postponed the attack till the following morning. Meanwhile Rosenberg, who commanded the rear-guard, had been assailed in the Muotta valley by Masséna, who advanced from the neighbourhood of Schwytz with the division of Mortier. Steadfastly met by Rehbinder's brigade, whose battalions were deployed athwart the width of the valley, while dismounted Cossacks scaled the heights on either side to harass the flanks of the enemy, one resolute charge with the bayonet drove the French in confusion from one end of the defile to the other. At its gorge where a bridge (styled Suvóroff's to this day) spans the Muotta, great slaughter was inflicted on the fugitives, while many found death in the waters of the stream. The ensuing night was one of extreme misery for the Russians : cold, hunger, and the elements conspired to make them wretched ; the sleet fell without cessation, while a raw fog enveloped their bivouac. The Grand Duke and Suvóroff passed the night in a cow-shed while the rearmost troops and animals were pouring in by the Altdorf road.

At 11 a.m. on the 1st October, Rosenberg was assailed by Masséna, who at the head of 15,000 men moved in heavy columns up the valley, his front covered by a numerous artillery, his flanks by skirmishers, who swarmed along the adjacent heights. Rosenberg, having drawn his battalions up in two lines, which occupied the entire breadth of the valley, was riding along

their front exhorting the soldiers to use the bayonet in the *Suvóroff style*, when the French, having deployed under cover of a brisk cannonade, suddenly beat the charge and threw themselves impetuously on their adversaries. After delivering a staggering volley, the Russians in their turn charging bayonets, rushed to meet the foe halfway, when the French were thrown into disorder, broke, fled, and were pursued for two miles. Instructed by experience, they had erected a battery to protect the bridge near the gorge of the valley, and this arrested for a while the pursuit. But when captured, the guns found in the work were directed on the fugitives, who reached Schwytz with a loss of 2000 men, in addition to those who had disappeared in the waters of the Muotta—these figures representing their own estimate, Suvóroff's being very much higher indeed. Several hundred are said to have perished by falling down precipices as they skirmished on the rugged declivities of the mountains.

Whilst the above conflict was in progress, Molitor had been driven from the defile of the Klön lake by Bagration, who, turning their position by the mountains to his left, at the same time assailed the French directly in front. Retiring in excellent order to Nettstal, when that post became at last untenable, they receded still further to Näfels, and ultimately to Mollis, where they were fiercely assailed by the united forces of Bagration, Shvekovski, and Auffenberg, in all 8000 men, against whom Molitor nevertheless held his ground till the arrival of Gazan's division rendered it possible for him to assume the offensive. Bagration retraced his steps to Nettstal by order of Suvóroff, who had in the meantime occupied Glarus, where he made himself master of the

magazine of provisions, which for a while relieved his most pressing necessities.

Early on the 2nd October, Rosenberg had sent into Schwytz enjoining the municipal authorities to make immediate preparations for the provisioning of 12,000 men, a device which had the desired effect of detaining Masséna, with the troops under his immediate command, in the neighbourhood of the town for the whole of that day. But Rosenberg, striking camp during the hours of darkness, crossed the Pragel and rejoined Suvóroff in safety two days later, notwithstanding that his progress through the pass was impeded by a heavy fall of snow, during which his troops were obliged to bivouac on its summit without food or fire. Fortunately their wounded who had been abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, escaped exposure which would have been certain destruction. In the meantime Masséna, made aware of the disappearance of the enemy from the Muotta valley, had quitted Schwytz, and was circling round by Einsiedeln towards Glarus to support Gazan and Molitor. The plan of the Russian commander to hew a path for himself in this direction had so far failed, and no further attempt could be made owing to want of ammunition. Indeed, on the 2nd the Austrians departed, making their way back into the Grisons by the Sernfthal and the Panixer Pass, though Suvóroff was compelled to await the arrival of Rosenberg's division at Nettstal. This took place, as already observed, on the 4th, when a council of war was forthwith convened at the Russian head-quarters, which determined to follow in the steps of Auffenberg's brigade, while Linken was requested to amass at Coire the supplies requisite for the use of the

troops. This step has been adversely criticized by the Archduke Charles, but is approved by Jomini, and was, as we have seen, made unavoidable by the deficiency of ammunition in the Russian camp. Unluckily, a fall of snow subsequent to Auffenberg's passage had greatly obstructed the Panixer Pass. It covered the ground to the depth of two feet, and was the same storm which overtook and nearly overwhelmed the division of Rosenberg. On the 4th, however, Suvóroff set himself in motion. Miloradovitch led the advance; next came the pack animals, followed by the main body of the troops, and lastly Bagration (whose division had dwindled from 3000 to 1800 men) occupied his usual post of danger in the rear. At the village of Schwanden the prince, facing about, offered a gallant resistance which enabled his chief to ascend the Sernfthal as far as Elm, fourteen miles from Glarus, before dark; and again, at Engi, he contained the enemy for the space of two hours, retiring the same evening to Matt, whither they followed closely upon his heels. At 2 a.m. on the 6th the steep and arduous ascent from Eim began, and the French, when they issued with the first grey of dawn from Matt in order to harass the retiring columns, discerned no trace of the Russians, except here and there a solitary Cossack horseman. Abandoning the intention, they retraced the path to Glarus.

The Panixer Pass with others parallel to it, presents during the summer season no insuperable obstacle to the passage of infantry; but autumn having by this time set in, tempestuous weather rendered it a task of difficulty and danger. As the troops ascended the pass they found that the snow, drifting into heavy masses, had

obliterated the track; their guides decamped; dense fogs rolled down from the mountains and enveloped them in gloom, which was only relieved by vivid flashes of lightning, while the sound of thunder reverberating in the valleys *below* them, terrified the Russians, to whom this appeared a supernatural phenomenon. Rifts and chasms choked up with snow beset their path, and into one of these a mounted officer fell, disappearing altogether with the animal he bestrode. Three hundred mules perished and all the mountain guns had to be abandoned. The advance-guard reached Panix, situated on the reverse slope of the mountain, by nightfall, but darkness surprised the main body while yet on the summit of the dreary pass, where, without a stick of firewood, the troops feared to sleep lest owing to the cold they might never awake; for a frost of intense severity had rendered the snow as slippery as ice, and vastly increased the perils of the descent. At intervals huge fragments of rock thundered down the sides of the mountain with terrific violence. Many a soldier perished during that awful night through want and exposure; others fell headlong into fathomless abysses and disappeared for ever; but the survivors, pressing on with indomitable fortitude, reached Ilantz, the term of their sufferings, on the following day, when of 20,000 Russian soldiers who climbed the St. Gothard a fortnight earlier, but 15,000 answered to the roll-call on the banks of the Upper Rhine. On the 8th October, reaching Coire, a liberal distribution of rations partially obliterated the memory of past sufferings, and four days later, at Feldkirch, the Russian chief once more found his communications restored with Korsakoff, and

resigned into Austrian keeping 1400 wretched French prisoners, whom he had dragged after him in his terrible march.

The Swiss campaign may be characterized as a gigantic strategic blunder which was atoned for by superhuman energy and determination. In discussing it the Archduke Charles has enumerated eighteen pitched battles which, between the years 1794 and 1812, were lost through operating on a line exterior to the position of the enemy, or, in simpler language, endeavouring to envelope it. In addition to this original vice of conception, the execution was faulty. Admitting that the five days' delay at Taverna was the prime cause of its failure, it is difficult to frame an excuse for a leader who marched into the *cul de sac* of Altdorf, when he might, by the Splugen Pass and the Grisons, have reached his destination unmolested by the enemy. Even at Altdorf he might, as we have seen, have extricated himself and joined Linken by the Schächenthal, thus avoiding the ruinous and demoralizing passage of the Rosstock. But his obstinacy got the better of him: he *would* get to Schwytz, cost what it might; but that quality which involved him in calamity extricated him from it.

The conduct of Linken in withdrawing his forces before the position held by Suvóroff had been ascertained proclaimed a marked incapacity for independent command. The Archduke's criticism on this point must be regarded as conclusive. "Linken's task," he wrote, "was to co-operate in an offensive movement: he did not fulfil it owing to his disastrous inaction at Glarus. Although, after the retreat of Jellachich, he

had nothing to hope for in that direction, and although, on the other hand, he had heard nothing of Suvóroff, yet he was in no wise justified in departing from his instructions so widely as to relapse into complete inactivity beyond the Rhine, without having at first acquired the certitude that the Russian leader was still at a great distance."

The applause of mankind has been showered on the Russian chief for his heroic bearing in this trying and perilous episode of his career, where an iron will, dominating every obstacle, made amends for faulty strategy, and inspired his subordinates with enthusiasm and ardour equal to the occasion. The beautiful lines which even his satirist, Byron, consecrated to his memory—

> 'Tis thus the spirit of a single mind
> Makes those of multitudes take one direction,
> As roll the waters to the breathing wind,
> Or roams the herd beneath the bull's protection—

are literally applicable to the influence which he wielded. Incidents which illustrate the means he employed to acquire so marvellous an ascendency over the minds of men, thus possess a special significance. A familiarity with the soldiery, which few can venture to indulge, was common to him and the great Frederic. He was wont to visit the bivouac fires, when, perhaps, he would point to the snow-capped mountains—that universal source of inspiration—and speak of glory to the simple souls who sat around the blaze. "Heroes, sons of Paul," he would exclaim, "you will shed your blood for your country and your Tzar!" and the reply came in chorus, "Glad to do our best, father! Lead us on and we will follow!" Once, during a forced march of unusual

length, when all seemed dead beat, suddenly raising his voice, he sang out the refrain of a national ditty, which may be roughly translated thus :—

> And what became of the maiden,
> The pretty one, what befell her !

when a hoarse roar of laughter ran down the column, and fatigue and dejection seemed for the moment forgotten. On another occasion his attentive ear detected murmers of discontent which fell from the lips of the exhausted soldiery, "Our old man," they muttered, "has taken leave of his senses. God only knows where he's marching us to now;" when, turning to his staff, he remarked in a loud tone : "See how they praise me. Just as they used to do in Turkey and Poland"—an allusion to bygone victories which probably had the desired effect.

For the Swiss campaign the Tzar bestowed on him the unusual grade of Generalissimo of the Russian Army, at the same time writing to him in these terms : "While gratefully promoting you to the highest rank which can be earned by heroism and fortitude, I feel assured that I have elevated to this distinction the most renowned commander of this or any other age." The estimate was an extravagant one, yet a Russian Tzar might be excused for entertaining it. It is only after the lapse of years that men and events are seen in their true proportions.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

WHILE Suvóroff thus broke through the toils which entangled him, Korsakoff was attempting a diversion in his favour. Reinforced by the arrival of Condé's division, he crossed the Rhine at Constance and Schaffhausen, advancing as far as the Thur, but on the 4th October, attacked by Masséna, he was once more driven across the Rhine, and the city of Constance fell into the hands of the French. The Archduke Charles forthwith hastened to the Upper Rhine from Germany, and placed himself in communication with Suvóroff with a view to combined offensive operations. Such a design had already engaged the Russian chief's attention, for on the 11th he had sent the Archduke a memorandum which embodied a proposal for a combined advance upon the Thur from the Rhine above and below the lake of Constance. But the Austrian prince, instructed by recent experience, and mistrusting similar combinations, declined the proposition, suggesting, that Korsakoff should join his chief by making the circuit of the northern shores of the lake. Meantime Suvóroff had determined to reach Korsakoff by this route, and we may remark, in passing, that recent trials and disasters had rendered him peevish and unreasonable. His propositions of the 11th were not in the Archduke's hands till the 13th, yet

we find him on the 14th complaining to the Tzar: "We have halted here three days in expectation of an answer from the Archduke Charles. Meantime, we learn, from *various sources*, that, as usual, he will do nothing. In despair, we shall take the longer but safer route by Lake Constance, and lose no time in effecting a junction with Korsakoff." There is a suspicion of bad faith in this transaction. Having changed his mind he proceeded to act without allowing time for a reply to his original proposal, with the rejection of which he endeavoured to saddle the Archduke. It seems that almost immediately after penning the memorandum to him, he discovered that the Russian troops were not in a condition to take the field again that year, and relinquished the idea of doing so; for in the letter of the 14th, already cited, he proceeds to say: "Even if God permit our junction with Korsakoff, offensive operations are *not to be thought of*. The enemy is three times our strength, and can eat us up unless the Archduke supports us with all his forces, of which *there is not the slightest hope;*" and concludes by asserting the necessity of going into winter quarters till the ensuing spring. He was clearly determined to throw the blame on the Archduke in any case: if he acquiesced in his plans, for delay in doing so; in the event of their rejection, for general obstructive tendencies. So, on the next day, *i.e.* the 15th, he led his troops from Feldkirch to Lindau, on Lake Constance, where, as might have been anticipated, the reply of the Archduke met him. Accepting to all appearances that prince's alternative proposal, he began to retrace his steps to the Vorarlberg, whilst Korsakoff and Condé, relieved by an equal number of Austrians, set out to

join him. But, on the following day, once more changing his resolve, he informed the Archduke that the Russian troops stood in absolute need of repose, and that consequently he renounced further participation in that year's campaign. On the 18th he convened a council of war, which decided to abstain from co-operation with the Archduke, on the ground of want of confidence. The aged warrior was thoroughly soured by the failure of an enterprise which should have been the crown of his whole life.

If posterity looks upon the Swiss campaign as his noblest feat of arms, he was clearly not of that opinion himself. No display of skill, resolution, and valour on the part of a military commander can make defeat palatable in his estimation. Suvóroff viewed the proceedings of Austria, which were in reality questionable, through the distorted medium of wounded vanity, and declined an interview with her illustrious prince and general in these plain and unvarnished terms: "That young general, the Archduke Charles," he exclaimed, "wants to fascinate me with his *demosthenism*." His state of mind can only be described as "cantankerous." He rejected every proposal, detected insult in every phrase. Recrimination became the order of the day. The Archduke was informed that his premature departure from Switzerland was the prime cause of all recent disasters, and so forth. There was no end of debating over spilt milk. Suvóroff would adjure further dealings with a faithless ally, and retire to winter quarters in Bavaria. The Archduke then had recourse to a "solemn protest." He wrote, "If you persist in your intention, I solemnly protest, in the name of his Imperial Majesty,

and in those of the Allied Powers, and I lay on your shoulders the responsibility for all the disasters which may result from such a step on your part." But Suvóroff cared as little for protests as for responsibility. Turning a deaf ear alike to threats, entreaties, and expostulations, he declared that on the 30th he would retire into winter quarters, a threat which was punctually fulfilled. On the 6th November the Russian army was cantoned in the district between the Iller and the Leck, their commander fixing his head-quarters at Augsburg. His final letter to the Archduke is most characteristic: "During the whole of my life," he wrote, "I have never known the meaning of the words *retreat* and *defence*. At the commencement of the present campaign, the defence of the Tyrol cost above 10,000 men—more than the conquest of all Italy. I am now leading my troops to a place of repose, to prepare them for the service of the allied emperors, and to co-operate with your Highness in the subjugation of Switzerland; afterwards, with the aid of Providence, to relieve the kingdom of France from the cruel yoke which oppresses her."

It is plain from the above that he anticipated a renewal of hostilities in the following spring; but the Tzar had already withdrawn from the coalition. On the 17th October Paul demanded a precise statement of the claims of Austria and Italy, and at the same time instructed Suvóroff to abandon his Allies in case of an evasive or unsatisfactory answer. On being informed of the disaster of Zürich he formally renounced the Austrian alliance, and addressed the following undiplomatic letter to his brother sovereign:—"Your Majesty

has now learnt the consequences of the premature evacuation of Switzerland by the Archduke Charles, who, according to agreement, should have remained there until the junction of F.M. the Italic Prince with Lieutenant-General Korsakoff. Being made aware that my troops are being sacrificed by those Allies in whom I most confided, that the policy of the latter is diametrically opposed to my own, and that the security of Europe is being made subordinate to the aggrandizement of your monarchy; having in addition many causes for dissatisfaction with the hypocritical and crafty behaviour of your ministry—whose motives I refrain from discussing out of respect to the high dignity of your Imperial Majesty,—I now declare, with the same frankness I used when hastening to your assistance, that henceforth I cease to trouble myself about your affairs, and shall look in future to my own interests and those of my other Allies. I renounce acting in concert with your Majesty to avoid acting to the public detriment." Suvóroff was furnished with a copy of the above document, the candour of which would, if in general use, render ambassadors superfluous, together with the following rescript: "Prince Alexander, son of Basil, you were meant to rescue sovereigns; now save the Russian troops and the honour of your Emperor." During his stay at Augsburg the city was alive with festivities, at which, contrary to habit, Suvóroff was constantly to be seen, apparently in the best health and spirits. He was the popular hero of the day, and the fair sex laid at his feet the tribute of their admiration: "Les dames," we read, "se trouvaient heureuses de lui baiser les mains qu'il leur offrait sans se faire beaucoup

prier." Nor were tokens of imperial favour wanting: the Emperor Francis sent him the order of Maria Theresa. On the 25th November, however, the Russians commenced their homeward march through Bohemia and Moravia, and on the 3rd December their last echelons quitted Bavarian territory. Efforts were made to postpone their departure pending further reference to the Tzar—but in vain. Paul had enjoined Suvóroff to reply to every such application, "that while Thugut remained in power nothing could be believed, and consequently nothing done."

Suvóroff had already been appointed to a command which embraced the whole of Western Russia, not including Poland. The head-quarters of this vast military district were at Kobrin, the scene of his victory over Sirakowski in 1794. He did not proceed at once to his new destination, but passed the winter at Prague amid festivities which rivalled in brilliance those which had illustrated his sojourn at Augsburg. An idea prevails that the vexations and disappointment consequent on the Swiss campaign proved fatal to him. This, however, is by no means the truth. Both at Augsburg and Prague he was in the gayest of moods, a fact which was remarked by the numerous visitors who flocked to pay homage to his genius. He had not yet relinquished hope. About this time he addressed several letters to Nelson who was at Naples with the British fleet. These two celebrities—national and popular heroes in the truest sense—evidently felt some point of contact in their natures (perhaps hatred of the French); and Nelson, having been told that there was likewise a resemblance in their features, sent his own portrait with

a letter to the Russian, who rejoined: "I really see a likeness between us when I examine your portrait. This is flattering to me. But I rejoice yet more that our minds and motives of action are alike." Their intercourse, though intimate, was short-lived. Each appeared enamoured of the other's renown. There was in truth a resemblance both moral and physical between the two heroes. Each mighty soul was imprisoned in a fragile body; each carried daring and enterprise to the utmost extreme which was consistent with prudence.

Quitting Prague with the army on the 26th January, 1800, Suvóroff accompanied its march as far as Cracow, where, handing over the command to Rosenberg, he proceeded in advance towards St. Petersburg, bidding a long farewell to those whom he had so often led to victory. He was suffering from an eruptive disorder which gradually increased in virulence, till at Kobrin he found himself unable to proceed. Near this spot he possessed a large estate which had been conferred on him by the Empress Catherine for his services in Poland. Paul had prepared a triumphal entry on a magnificent scale to welcome his victorious general to the capital, and Bagration, who accompanied Suvóroff on his journey from Cracow, now went on in advance to St. Petersburg to acquaint the Tzar with the illness of his chief. Paul sent his own physician to tend him with the sympathetic message: "Prince Alexander, son of Basil, with the greatest regret I learn from your report of the 2nd March that your health remains bad. But I hope that your sobriety and endurance, together with my doctor, will soon restore it to its former condition, and afford me as soon as possible the pleasure of seeing you. Farewell till we meet. Trust, as I do, in God." At the

same time, Arcadius arrived and took his place by his father's bedside. The kindness of the Tzar appeared to revive the patient; he rose from bed; attended divine service; and, according to custom, sang with the choir and read the lessons to the congregation. It was Lent, and in spite of weakness he persisted in observing the fast. His aversion for medicine was as strong as ever. "All I require," he insisted, "is a cottage in the country; prayer, the bath, gruel, and *kwass*." He refused to wear a sufficiency of warm clothing. "I am a soldier," he replied to all remonstrances. "No! you are commander-in-chief," urged the physician. "True," was the rejoinder, "but the soldiers follow my example." At times hope resumed its ascendency; he would discuss the political questions of the day and the part he might have to play in them; but soon relapsing into despondency he would sigh out: "No! I am too old. I will go to St. Petersburg. I will behold the Tzar, and then die in the country."

When he was sufficiently strong to travel in a litter, the triumphal reception was once more organized at the capital in his honour. But a tremendous bolt was impending over him. It has been shown in the course of this narrative that its hero did not escape the common lot of mankind: he had numerous and inveterate enemies. As a matter of fact, he perhaps had more than the usual share of them—a circumstance which was partly due to his astonishingly successful career, and partly to the unbridled use of a remarkably caustic tongue. The unstable mind of Paul, governed by first impulse, and rapidly swinging from one extreme to another, was peculiarly susceptive of the subtle poison of calumny; so that when the Court foes of the successful commander

whispered that he had, when in Italy, disobeyed the army regulations by appointing a "general of the day"—a prerogative reserved for the Tzar alone—the imperial displeasure knew no bounds. Paul, regarding the circumstances as an intolerable breach of military etiquette, addressed to him the following abrupt demand for explanation: "Sir Generalissimo, the Italic Prince, Count Suvóroff of the Rimnik, it has come to my knowledge that, during the term of your command abroad, you were in the habit of appointing a general of the day, which is contrary to my regulations. Being much astonished, I command you to inform me of your reasons for so acting." The missive reached Suvóroff on the road near Wilna, and proved his death-warrant; for his malady immediately attacked him with redoubled violence. Stopping at a peasant's cottage, he was laid on a bench, where he remained several hours in the greatest agony of spirit, and groaning forth at intervals: "My God! why do I suffer thus? Why did I not die in Italy!" When he resumed his journey, the country people flocked round him uttering cries of rapturous welcome. At Riga he was sufficiently recovered to attend divine service on Easter Sunday, arrayed for the last time in the uniform of field-marshal and covered with orders and decorations which were at once the reward and chronicle of a life spent in the service of his country. But on reaching St. Petersburg, on the 1st May, 1800, he was greeted by no triumphal reception, all popular manifestations having been prohibited by the capricious despot who was his master. Alighting at the residence of his nephew, Count Khvostóff, in a very feeble state, he was visited by Bagration, who had been despatched by the Tzar to ascertain his condition. Presently Ros-

topchin brought him the order of St. Lazarus, which had been sent from Mittau by the exiled Lewis XVIII. "From Mittau," murmured the old warrior, now in an almost unconscious state, "from Mittau! The King of France should be at Paris, not Mittau!" He had already forgotten his Italian victories, but muttered at intervals of Otchakoff, Ismail, Praga, &c. At length, recovering his strength somewhat, he partook of the sacrament, bade farewell to all around, and relapsed into a swoon, during which he was heard to ejaculate various words of command. Life was found to be extinct at noon on the following day, the 18th May.

On the 21st his funeral *cortège* filed along the broad Nevski Prospekt toward the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski, where his bones still rest. The most illustrious of the land followed as mourners, while Paul himself was a spectator of the solemn scene from a building hard by. It is said that as the procession moved past him, the Tzar, raising his hat, exclaimed: "Farewell, farewell! peace be with the ashes of the great!" In compliance with his wish, expressed after perusing the grandiloquent Latin epitaph on Laudon's tomb, this simple sentence was inscribed above his remains:—

Here lies Suvóroff.

But the following, which is still extant, was afterwards substituted:—

Generalissimo,
The Italic Prince,
Count Alexander Vasilievitch Suvóroff of the Rimnik.
Born 13th November, 1729.*
Died 6th May, 1800.*
Name-Day, 23rd November,*

* Old Style.

Having thus traced the career of Suvóroff from first to last, how must the features of so strange and complex a character be summarized? What is to be the verdict passed upon his memory now that the softening influence of time has interposed to correct prejudices which have been the result of ignorance, calumny, and national antipathies? Assuredly posterity will not rest satisfied with the epithet of "barbarian," which has been so freely bestowed on him. But, ere attempting this difficult task, let the easier one of portraying his personal characteristics and habits of life be entered upon, so that, ascending from the physical to the mental and moral attributes of the individual, a view may be obtained of the personality of Suvóroff which shall leave some impression upon the mind. His height, then, was 5 feet 4 inches, and, as may be gathered from the perusal of the foregoing pages, his health and muscular development was but feeble and delicate, though a life of sobriety and exposure to hardship had fortified his frame. His features were plain, but expressive of intelligence and a certain good-natured cynicism. His eyes were blue, and alive with the fire of genius. His brow, as time wore on, became thickly furrowed with wrinkles, and these *worked* in a most peculiar way, corresponding to the emotions which he felt—a word or gesture which displeased him creating a commotion among them which only subsided with the sensation which had provoked it. His usual costume was a white uniform with green facings; like Charles XII., he lived in top-boots, while a small forage-cap with green trimmings completed his attire. Of his innumerable orders and decorations he generally wore but one—the 3rd Class of St. George of Russia. Rising

at two in the morning from his couch of hay or straw, he would cause buckets of ice-cold water to be dashed over his person. He then drank tea, said prayers, and repeated a short lesson in Turkish as an exercise for memory. His staff next approached him with the documents which required attention. At 6 a.m. he dressed in uniform, and attended parade or guard-mounting. At 9 a.m. dinner was served, after which he appears to have eaten very little during the day. It consisted of the most simple national dishes. Grace having been said by an aide-de-camp, glasses of brandy were sent round, according to the national custom, those who had not said "amen" being deprived of their *kuska*, or spirit ration. His servant had instructions to nudge him and mildly expostulate if he perceived that his master was exceeding the limits of moderation in meat, drink, or even conversation. When thus exhorted to abstinence, he would demand: "By whose orders?" and, on the set reply, "Suvóroff's" would ejaculate with a sigh, "Well, he must be obeyed." His staff interfered in the same manner when he sat too long at office-work. The company remained long after a meal was over, and at this convivial hour Suvóroff would converse freely, and indulge in the antics for which he was notorious: leaping over chairs and hopping about on one leg, crowing, &c. &c. After an hour or so spent in similar diversions, he would suddenly stop short, repeat a prayer, rush from the apartment, and passing to his chamber indulge in a siesta of several hours. His evenings were devoted to reading. Like so many other distinguished characters, he was fond of Ossian and Homer. "Where there is an Achilles," he was fond of observing, "there should be an Homer to inspire heroes with a love of glory."

Possessing the knack of versification, he would occasionally address poets such as Derjavin in rhyme, but, when complimented on his proficiency in the art, he had the sense to object: "No. I am no poet. I am a rhymester. A poet must have inspiration." His uncommon linguistic attainments stand unrivalled among military commanders, with perhaps the solitary exception of Gustavus Adolphus. Suvóroff spoke Polish, German, Italian, Greek, Turkish, and Tartar; French with great fluency and correctness, although, as connoisseurs affirmed, the *finesse* of the language seemed to escape him. The activity of his mind was by no means subdued by old age; for in 1798 we find him solacing his exile at Kantchansk, besides studying the campaigns of the youthful Bonaparte, by taking lessons in the Finnish tongue, which is in use among the peasantry of that region.

Like many other men of genius, he was not formed for domestic bliss: his married life was unhappy, though the reasons have never been divulged. He was the affectionate father of two children: Natalia, who married Count Nicholas Zuboff, and Arcadius, who, succeeding to the paternal honours, was by a strange caprice of fortune drowned in the flooded waters of the Rimnik. Where the father found name and fame the son met his death! Suvóroff was kind to both man and beast. After his decease it was discovered that he was the unknown who remitted a sum to Moscow every Easter Sunday for the redemption of imprisoned debtors. At a country seat belonging to him he was in the habit of fitting up a hall as a refuge for birds during winter: the floor was spread with sand, young trees planted therein, and

troughs of grain provided for sustenance. At Easter the captives were released. Thrifty and methodical by temperament, he administered his estates as an enlightened statesman manages the resources of an empire —as he himself would have ruled one had destiny placed him on a throne.

This phase of his existence has recently been brought to light through the publication of his correspondence with the stewards of his estates.* It has been said that, like Charles XII., he ignored domestic affairs and had even forgotten the value of money. Nothing could be farther from the truth. His instructions enter into the minutiæ of farm economy. "Bear in mind," he writes in 1784, "about the timber at Rojdestveno. Is it cut down and drying? Sell half in Moscow, and let half dry for next year." Again: "I presume that geese are kept at Rojdestveno; one or two pair, according to their rate of increase; one or two pairs of ducks with a drake; two or three turkeys with a male; ten pair of chickens; and two or three pigs with a boar. In winter keep a third of their increase in case of my unexpected arrival; but sell the remainder." Mátveitch, his agent, is upbraided with the bad quality of the snuff and tea purchased by him at Moscow. He is told "to look inside the box; not on the label, to see whether there is *a gilt ass's head upon it.*" Mothers are called to account for excessive infantine mortality. "The Undol peasantry do not love their offspring; there has lately been a terrible mortality among children. This is due to negligence

* Rybkin. *Generalissimo Suvóroff: his Life on his Estates and Domestic Affairs.* Moscow, 1874.

not the visitation of God—He has not inflicted the evil. Children with small-pox have not been protected from the cold ; doors and windows have been left open ; the little ones have not had sufficient nourishment. Should negligent fathers be severely flogged in public, they may settle the matter in private with their wives." A peculiar arrangement in respect of recruiting existed on Suvóroff's estates. That military service might not inspire disgust, he did not permit recruits to be taken by lot from among the peasantry, but directed substistutes to be purchased at the expense of the commune. We find him threatening a village elder with a flogging because a peasant cut off his finger to escape enrolment. But the Russian peasantry, who, like most agriculturalists, are conservative in sentiment, failed to appreciate this beneficent innovation, owing to the expense entailed thereby ; nor was their discontent allayed by their master promising to pay half out of his own pocket. They desired, as an alternative, to surrender to the recruiting sergeant a young *bobyl*, or vagrant, *i.e.* without settlement in the commune—probably an orphan but Suvóroff, indignant at the unworthy proposition, commanded the village elder, under pain of a whipping, to receive the youth into the commune, build him a cot, and provide him with a wife and the simplest household requisites.

In 1870 there still lived in extreme old age a peasant of Undol, who remembered Suvóroff in the year 1785. He called to mind gambolling with his playmates under the *barin's* (squire) balcony ; related how he was wont to put down drunkenness on his estate by causing the offender to be soused by ice-cold water ; how he was

astir before dawn, awakening the very labourers from their slumbers. When the swollen rivulet barred the way to church, he navigated it by means of a tub and a rope stretched tightly from bank to bank, compelling his visitors also to make use of this novel method of water transport. Hatred of publicity was a notable feature in his character. On his travels, when expected at the mansions of the great, he would descend from his vehicle at a distance, and, making a circuit, enter through a back door and surprise the family, who were assembled in front to receive him, with a polite invitation from a window behind them to re-enter their habitation.

Such was Suvóroff's private life as it stands revealed to modern inquiry. His character has been much traduced by the French, whose language, being generally understood, enjoys a wide publicity, while Russian sources of information, from which the truth can be gathered, are accessible to but few. The British nation would be loath indeed to accept as final a French version of Wellington's career; nor has their delineation of the great Russian commander been executed with greater fidelity. Here, in Great Britain, Byron perhaps has given the cue to popular opinion on the subject by means of a famous passage in *Don Juan*, where the poet avers that Ismail was beleaguered

> By Souvarof, or Anglicé Suwarrow,
> Who loved blood as an alderman does marrow.

The rhyme was certainly tempting, but the truth of the accusation is more than doubtful with regard to Suvóroff. The storm of Ismail was so costly in human life because Orientals, when defending their cities, neither ask nor give quarter, but fight from house to

house, resisting to the bitter end. Again, taking into consideration the backward state of the engineering and healing arts at that period of time, a short and deadly struggle was often less destructive than a formal siege: for example, the assault of Ismail than the siege of Otchakoff by Potemkin. Yet the capture of a city by storm strikes the imagination the most—for the deaths are there compressed into one sanguinary tableau of horrors; while those resulting from the disease, want and exposure of a protracted siege, being spread over many months, escape popular attention. Let Suvóroff speak in his own defence. Addressing the painter, Müller, whom the Saxon elector had commissioned to execute the hero's portrait, he said, and the words must be quoted in their original vigorous German: "Ihr Pinsel wird die Züge meines Gesichts darstellen. Diese sind sichtbar, allein meine innere Menschheit ist verborgen. Ich muss Ihren sagen dass ich Blut in Strömen vergossen habe. Ich erbebe—allein ich liebe meinen Nächsten. In meinem Leben habe ich keinen Unglücklichen gemacht; kein Insekt ist von meiner Hand gefallen. Ich war klein; ich war gross (here he leaped upon his chair). Bei der Fluth und der Ebbe des Glücks, auf Gott bauend, war ich unerschütterlich, wie auch jetzt."* The great poet just quoted has thus qualified the hero whom we seek to portray :—

Hero, buffoon, half-demon and half-dirt.

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* "Your pencil will delineate the features of my face. These are visible; but my inner man is hidden. I must tell you that I have shed rivers of blood. I tremble, but I love my neighbour. In my whole life I have made no one unhappy; not an insect hath perished by my hand. I was little; I was big. In fortune's ebb and flow, relying on God, I stood immovable—even as now."

Four epithets, the first pair of which impartial history must accept, while steadily rejecting the latter two. There was nothing of the demon in the character of the hero: the episode of the sheltered birds and the protected vagrant suffice to prove it; while as regards the minor charge, though dirt is oftentimes inseparable from campaigning, we may safely affirm that where the pure element was obtainable Suvóroff washed. In fact he was a devotee of the tub!

Grave prose has likewise traduced him. In one of the few biographical dictionaries of ours which deign to notice his name, we read that he first distinguished himself in the Turkish wars by killing several Janissaries with his own hand, when, having collected their heads in a sack, he emptied it at the feet of Rumantzoff, the Russian Commander-in-Chief. Now, it is not recorded that Suvóroff ever in his life slew a man with his own hand. He possessed neither physical strength nor dexterity in the use of weapons, and though his courage on more than one occasion involved him in a personal encounter, yet it was always the opportune arrival of some stalwart grenadier or cuirassier that saved him. Let the very worst of the accusations which his enemies have piled on him be examined—one which has been repeated by Alison, namely, that he caused the inhabitants of Warsaw to be massacred. The *Enclycopædia Britannica*, following the French, thus describes the occurrence: "The small number that escaped (*i.e.* from the battle of Maciejowice) fled to Warsaw and shut themselves up in the suburb of Praga, whither they were pursued by Suvóroff, who immediately laid siege and prepared to carry it by storm. On the 2nd November

he began the assault, and, having made himself master of the place, put to the sword both the soldiers and *the peaceful inhabitants without distinction of age or sex.* It is computed that 20,000 persons fell victims to the savage ferocity of the Russian general, and, covered with the blood of the slaughtered inhabitants, the *barbarian* entered Warsaw in triumph."* The real facts, vouched for by credible eye-witnesses of the assault on Praga, have been adduced in the foregoing pages, and one circumstance alone will suffice to determine the impartial mind in forming a judgment in this controversy : a bridge across the Vistula connected Warsaw with its suburb, and it is therefore quite incredible that non-combatants, women and children, actually stayed in Praga, exposed to the dangers attendant on an assault, when a safe asylum lay within reach on the opposite side of the river. The municipality presented Suvóroff with a gold snuff-box in token of their gratitude for his humanity in destroying this bridge with his cannon, and by this means saving Warsaw from pillage. Duboscage, who was present on the occasion, writes : "I have seen the snuff-box ; the Marshall showed it to me ; it is in bad enough taste and possesses no other merit than the noble action which it commemorates." In fact, the citizens of Warsaw had become disgusted with mob

* Art. "Russia" xix. 488. Edition 1859. The passage is copied from Castéra (*Vie de Catherine*), to whom we are likewise indebted for the pleasant fiction concerning the sack of heads. Since writing the above the last edition has appeared. In the article "Suvóroff," which has been inserted, the accusation has been toned down to the massacre of 15,000 Poles ; that is to say, the Russians gave no quarter. But the article "Russia" still affirms that "in 1794 Suwaroff stormed *Warsaw*, and the inhabitants were massacred." So much for compendious history !

rule, as is usually the case in the long run. This is Jomini's verdict on the point in question: "This memorable event, which impartial history will represent as a proof of the energy and military *coup d'œil* of Suvóroff, was sullied by many a barbarous deed; but so far from that great captain being to blame, it is well known that they were perpetrated by a soldiery maddened at the recital of the revolt on the 17th of April and the massacre of their comrades which followed."

We now approach the final question: What is Suvóroff's position in history as a military commander? In the first place it is indisputable that he possessed in a high degree the chief attribute which goes to make a leader of men: to wit, the faculty of inspiring those beneath him with boundless affection and confidence. It may well be doubted whether Napoleon himself was equally gifted in this respect: it lay not in his power to convert gloomy discontent into uproarious good-humour by an antic gesture or a rude witticism, as could Suvóroff. Second in importance among the qualities which constitute a great commander comes that for which an English equivalent scarcely exists—*coup d'œil*, which may be freely rendered as a "correct eye." He seemed instantaneously and instinctively to apprehend the weak point in an enemy's position, and, without a moment's hesitation, he launched his troops against it. This faculty, which was also well marked in the genius of Napoleon, seems, when a commander is notorious for displaying it, to have the effect of fascinating and paralyzing the adversary. To these brilliant natural endowments seem to have been added the requisite modicum of prudence and sagacity. "Bravery," writes General

Willisen, "is ever the best of qualities in the soldier—not always so in the commander. Machiavelli long ago preferred a fox to a lion for a leader"*—a figure of speech purposely exaggerated in order to convey with the requisite emphasis the oft-neglected truth that a just combination of prudence and daring characterizes the mind of the commander, and that it is this alone which enables him to effect great things in war. To convince ourselves that this just balance existed in the case of Suvóroff we have but to call to mind the long halt made by him at Brest after defeating Sirakowski in 1794, and his rapid dash on Warsaw when the victory of Maciejowice had inclined the scales in his favour. A less competent leader would have attempted more or less; the "dashing" officer would have pursued incautiously a first success; a sluggard would have let slip the moment propitious for action. The nice precautions adopted by him for securing his retreat across the Po before marching against Macdonald likewise deserve attention as a proof of his strategic ability, though the fatal plunge into Switzerland with but seven days' supplies, by an unknown route, must be pronounced rash and unjustifiable. But the greatest of strategists was detained, on at least one occasion, by the glittering bait of victory in an untenable position—that around Dresden, in 1813.

Let us, however, judge the Russian chief by the standard of his own pretensions, which no false shame impelled him to moderate. Writing to the Archduke Charles, he thus expressed them:—"The Archduke

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* *Feldzüge der Jühre* 1859 *und* 1866.

Charles, since he is no longer at Court, but in the field, is merely a general like Suvóroff, except that the latter is the elder in experience; and that it is he who has *overthrown the theory of the age,* principally by his recent campaigns in Poland and Italy. Thus the rules of the art belong to him." This claim, though it may appear somewhat arrogant at first sight, is really to a large extent founded on a basis of truth. The "theory of the age" to which he alludes, signifies the "cordon system," which was essentially defensive, and which by disseminating troops over a vast extent of frontier might cover every point, but really protected none. The modern system of strategy, on the other hand, which is usually dated from Bonaparte's Italian campaign of 1796, is principally based on offensive action, even for purposes of defence. This is the massing of superior forces on weak points of the hostile front, the breaking it asunder, and the piecemeal destruction of its parts; or the attack on one of its flanks with severance of the line of communications. Now, it would really seem that symptoms of this revolution in the art of war first became noticeable in the course of Suvóroff's campaigns. At Hirsova, the solitary instance in which he accepted battle in a defensive position, he delivered the counter-stroke at the proper instant, and in strict conformity with the canons of modern science, thereby winning the day. He was the first who threw lightning rapidity into his marches. Moving on Stolovitshi in 1771 he covered 120 miles in four days, falling like a thunderbolt out of a blue sky upon the enemy. In the department of tactics, again, it seems probable that he was the first to employ columns of attack covered by skirmishers and

supported by a reserve: to wit at the second attack on Turtukai. The formations he employed were always modified according to the enemy with whom he was engaged. Turks, Poles, and the French were each encountered in a different way: the Osmanli by heavy columns or squares, since nothing was dreaded but the furious onslaughts of their cavalry; while his campaigns against the French were never signalized by those headlong charges of horse to which most of his successes in Poland were due. On the contrary, the action of the three arms was duly combined and calculated for mutual support.

Comparing the progress of the Russian arms through North Italy in the year 1799 with Bonaparte's in 1796, we note that Suvóroff overran that region in a shorter space of time than his great predecessor. Doubtless he enjoyed the advantage of numerical superiority over his opponents, but this was wholly neutralized by the conduct of the Viennese cabinet, who insisted on the simultaneous investment of the numerous fortresses of Venetia, Lombardy, and Piedmont. He had also, it will be remembered, studied the military occurrences of 1796, and doubtless gathered many a useful idea therefrom. On the whole his inferiority to the French commander as a master of strategy is felt to be real: Napoleon would never have permitted Moreau to escape his clutches and cross the Apennines with his shattered forces to the Genoese Riviera; nor would he have sanctioned so manifest a blunder as the irruption into Switzerland. As in scientific discoveries there have been those who suspected the truth long before it was demonstrated, so in the military art the great Muscovite

may perhaps be looked upon as a herald and precursor of Napoleon.

Thus lived and died Suvóroff. Born in a comparatively humble sphere of life, he early became conscious of innate talents which were cultivated by him with an assiduity rare in boyhood. With the stock of knowledge thus amassed, he started on his career, but soon recognized that ability and industry are, as the world is constituted, insufficient to secure greatness. With no adventitious endowments to support his early efforts, he deliberately assumed the peculiar *role* which the world has seen him perform with equal skill, perseverance, and success. What marvellous insight into human nature and weaknesses does all this presuppose! The youth—while his comrades, better equipped with the gaudier ornaments of nature and fortune, were starting on their career, assured of success and with inflated notions of their own deserts—quickly became aware of the necessities of his case, and resolved to force his way into notoriety by exposing himself to ridicule. Again, his career instructs us once more what great things may be accomplished by singleness of purpose. A thirst for military renown was the one absorbing passion of Suvóroff's nature, in which every other natural affection was swamped and overpowered. He reached the pinnacle of his aspirations, but there experienced the mutability of earthly greatness, while his last hours were embittered by the ingratitude of the sovereign for whose glory he had laboured. When his remains approached the monastery where they still repose, the gateway seemed too low to admit the lofty hearse which transported them. The procession was brought to a standstill; but

a loud voice ascended from the ranks of the soldiery and cried : "*He'll go through. He went through everywhere.*" These words might have been Suvóroff's epitaph.

An Englishman once asked Suvóroff: "If you deceive your contemporaries thus, are you not afraid of deceiving posterity also? You may remain an enigma for ever!" He rejoined: "Do not puzzle your brains over it. I will explain myself. Monarchs praised me; soldiers loved me; friends admired and foes slandered me. It was natural then for courtiers to mock me. For my country's good I spoke the truth and crowed like a cock to awaken the drowsy."

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