

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NEW LIEUTENANT-COLONEL was in no hurry to join his regiment in the dust and heat of Cawnpore. He lingered in London for the greater part of the season, leaving in June to visit the Duke of Orleans at Compiègne, where the Duke held a review of 2,300 troops in his honour. Then, accompanied by his wife, he travelled by easy stages through Italy, Malta, and Egypt to Suez, where a vessel was hired to convey the pair to Bombay "in a more comfortable and agreeable manner than the ordinary steamer." Leaving Bombay in January, 1837, they made a leisurely progress in a series of hired vessels round the coast of India, breaking their journey at frequent intervals to see the country and be entertained at balls, dinners, and picnics by a series of high officials, including the Governor-General. It was not until October that they floated up the Ganges to Cawnpore, where Lord Brudenell took over the command of the 11th on October 24.

He was delighted to find that he had two other regiments, in addition to the 11th, under his command—it was almost as if he had obtained promotion. "I had attained my object," he writes,

“and had the command of a brigade in the field; the 11th and two other regiments.”

Cawnpore, however, soon palled on him. The new lieutenant-colonel was frequently absent, and in January, 1838, when the regiment began to make preparations to return to Europe, Lord Brudenell left Cawnpore for good. He stayed with the Commander-in-Chief, visited hill stations, shot tiger. While in camp near Meerut he received the news that his father had died in August, 1837; he was now seventh Earl of Cardigan, with an income of £40,000 a year.

Meanwhile the regiment had been brought down from Cawnpore and embarked in the *Repulse* for the long voyage home round the Cape. Their new lieutenant-colonel did not go with them. Hiring another vessel, the Earl and Countess of Cardigan sailed once more round the coast of India and up the Red Sea, stayed in Cairo, in Rome, in Paris, and reached England in June, 1838. Lord Cardigan had been away from England for two years, but he had spent only about four weeks with the 11th Light Dragoons.

To the 11th, wrote Capt. Harvey Tuckett of the regiment, those weeks seemed like years. It was obvious that deprivation of military authority had increased Lord Cardigan's appetite for command, and he fell on the 11th voraciously. When he received the regiment it was free from crime, but no sooner was he in command than the regimental prison cells were filled; “not one was left unoccupied, and most had two tenants. In less than a month his Lordship had eight courts martial and more than a hundred men on the defaulters list.” History repeated itself—nothing pleased the new lieutenant-colonel: his angry eye saw laxity, slackness, and bad discipline everywhere.

The courts-martial under his lordship's command were unsatisfactory to him. There was a moderation in the exercise of justice of which he did not approve. A private had been imprisoned for some offence and a court-martial was ordered to assemble. On the morning of the court-martial Lord Cardigan called his officers round him. He intimated to them that he did not consider his authority had received the support it ought to have done; and if the sentence of the court-martial about to be held was not satisfactory, he warned them that he should report them to Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief

in India, and to Lord Hill, the Commander-in-Chief in England. Under this intimidation the sentence was satisfactory, and that evening a soldier of twenty years service was flogged. Directly the punishment was over, the Adjutant was ordered to drill the regiment for an hour, on foot.

During the long voyage home, when the lieutenant-colonel was absent, only one court martial was held, and fewer than twenty men were on the defaulters list.

It was with grave forebodings, then, that the officers and men of the 11th Light Dragoons, now stationed at Canterbury, prepared to receive their commanding officer on his return to England.

It happened that the 11th contained an unusually intelligent young officer, Lt. William Charles Forrest, who rose to be General Forrest, C.B., and colonel of the 11th. He had a strong sense of humour and a high degree of self-control, and, however provocative Lord Cardigan became, he usually contrived to keep his temper. Many of his letters have been preserved, a startling record of the extreme difficulty of being commanded by the seventh Earl of Cardigan.

Before the new lieutenant-colonel had been in England with the regiment a week, the officers of the 11th made a painful discovery—he had an obsession. He could not endure “Indian” officers, that is, British officers who had served in India, and the 11th had been in India for seventeen years. Admittedly the type of officer Lord Cardigan desired for the 11th, the wealthy, fashionable man-about-town, was not, except on the rarest occasions, to be found serving in India. Since it was not in the lieutenant-colonel’s nature to conceal his feelings, the situation of the “Indian” officers of the 11th quickly became intolerable. He sneered at them on the parade ground and in stables, growled at them in the mess. He supposed, he said loudly, that the officers of the 11th had no conception of the proper performance of their regimental duties. Where, indeed, could they have learned them—in India? How could they have any comprehension of the way a smart regiment should be disciplined and turned out—he did not imagine they had gained much experience in Cawnpore. Nothing about the regiment satisfied his lordship, from the colour of the sheepskins which covered the saddles, which were not white enough, to the state of the uniforms, which

were not new enough, and the regiment's performance on the parade ground, which was not fast enough. He announced his determination to have a galloping field day within six months of his arrival. Discipline was tightened, parades and inspections were doubled, and his displeasure fell constantly and heavily on officer and man. In the first six months of his command he held fifty-four courts martial, desertions were numerous, and Canterbury gaol became so filled with soldiers of the 11th that it was said to have become their regimental barracks.

The authorities began to be uneasy. It seemed as if the lesson impressed on the lieutenant-colonel two years ago by Lord Hill had failed in its effect. Was it possible that from his experiences with the 15th Hussars Lord Cardigan had learnt nothing? Sir Charles Dalbiac, the Inspector-General of Cavalry, sent the lieutenant-colonel a letter of reproof. After careful study of the minutes and evidence of the courts martial, it was Sir Charles Dalbiac's opinion that the manner in which Lord Cardigan carried on the discipline of the regiment was unnecessarily severe. Lord Cardigan paid no attention and continued to scold and discipline the 11th as furiously as before; and several "Indian" officers, seeing no future under his command, left the regiment. They were replaced by rich young men ready to spend lavishly on their mounts and themselves; and the 11th began to get a reputation for glitter and dash.

Among the "Indian" officers was Capt. Harvey Tuckett; this officer had considerable wit and a ready pen, had contributed to newspapers, and had written a number of regimental skits.

Meanwhile on August 5 six young officers of the 11th, amusing themselves with a cross-country gallop, rode across crops belonging to Mr. Brent, a prosperous miller and alderman of the city of Canterbury. Mr. Brent intercepted them and attempted to remonstrate. The officers rode their horses at him, forcing him against a wall, but Mr. Brent, with considerable courage, seized one of the horses by the bridle and demanded the young men's names. With a loud guffaw someone shouted "Snooks!" and the party galloped away. Mr. Brent pursued them to the barracks, and had the gate slammed in his face. Thoroughly enraged, he wrote first to Lord Cardigan, who did not answer; next to Lord Hill, who replied after several weeks that Mr. Brent's recollection of the affair differed from that

of the other parties concerned; and finally to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

With gleeful alacrity the *Morning Chronicle* published Mr. Brent's account of the affair and disclosed that "the Earl of Cardigan is none other than Lord Brudenell, whose reappointment after being dismissed so much surprised every right-thinking person"; he "seems to have very little idea of what is due from one gentleman to another." Lord Cardigan flew to his pistols and challenged Mr. Brent (a generous offer, he asserted, "since Mr. Brent, though a magistrate, was no gentleman"); he challenged the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, and he threatened to call and horse-whip the newspaper's leader-writer. With even greater glee the *Morning Chronicle* published his letters and assured the noble Earl that if he attempted to force his way into the office he would be handed over to a police officer. Angry letters came in from readers protesting against the conduct of the Earl of Cardigan, the scandal of the 15th Hussars was revived, and the authorities found that they had another attack on aristocratic favouritism in the Army on their hands. It was a warning of what lay ahead as a consequence of having reinstated the Earl of Cardigan. But ill-advised as his conduct in 1839 might seem, it was the merest shadow of what was to follow in 1840.

That year opened in triumph. Incessant drilling, constant field days, lavish expenditure on uniform and equipment had had their effect, and the 11th was a very fine regiment indeed. In October, 1839, the Duke of Wellington, as the guest of Lord Cardigan, had seen the 11th exercise in the field, and he wrote that he had never seen a regiment in higher order or one the appearance of which did the commanding officer and the officers more credit. Lord Cardigan unquestionably possessed certain qualities of efficiency; indeed, his contemporaries agreed he would have made an excellent sergeant-major.

In February, 1840, the 11th was the regiment chosen to meet Prince Albert at Dover and escort him to London for his marriage to Queen Victoria. The Prince became Colonel-in-Chief, the name of the regiment was changed from the 11th Light Dragoons to the 11th, Prince Albert's Own, Hussars, and new uniforms were designed. Hussars are the most brilliant of cavalry, and the 11th Hus-

sars were superb. They wore overalls (trousers) of cherry colour, jackets of royal blue edged with gold, furred pelisses, short coats, worn as capes, glittering with bullion braid and gold lace, high fur hats adorned with brilliant plumes. "The brevity of their jackets, the irrationality of their headgear, the incredible tightness of their cherry coloured pants, altogether defy description; they must be seen to be appreciated," wrote *The Times*. This gorgeousness was largely achieved at Lord Cardigan's personal expense, and he also added £10 out of his own pocket to the price allowed by the Government for each horse in the regiment. It was estimated he spent £10,000 a year on the 11th out of his private income.

He was now in his glory. When he went to London, it was his practice to give a number of his smartest men a day's leave and five shillings, and each posted himself at some point which he intended to pass. People ran to stare as Lord Cardigan sauntered down St. James's Street, saluted at every few yards by his Hussars, brilliant as parakeets.

But if only he could have got rid of the "Indian" officers—it was incredible to him, he used to remark to his friends, that any of them could be so thick-skinned as to stay. No "Indian" officer ever received an invitation to his own house, and when cards of invitation for dinners and balls were sent to the mess by gentlemen living in the neighbourhood, he had made it a rule that they were not to be given to those officers whom, he said, he had "found sticking to the regiment in the East Indies." Yet "Indian" officers obstinately remained, a perpetual hindrance to his work of bringing the regiment to perfection.

Take their drinking habits. In India it had been the custom for officers to drink porter—it was healthier and cheaper. To this the lieutenant-colonel furiously objected. Porter was the drink of factory hands and labourers, and he wished to make the 11th famous for its splendid hospitality, for he loved the pomp and ceremony of "great" dinners. He forbade bottled porter to appear on the mess table.

On May 18, 1840, Major-General Sleigh, the Inspector-General of Cavalry, and his staff were to dine in the mess of the 11th after an inspection. Arrangements were made on a magnificent scale, and the lieutenant-colonel gave orders that nothing but

champagne was to be served at dinner. The result of the inspection was most gratifying: Lord Cardigan was highly complimented on the brilliant appearance, the magnificent mounts, and the fine performance of the 11th, and as he entered the mess with General Sleigh he was seen to be in high good humour.

At dinner one of General Sleigh's aides was sitting next to a certain Capt. John Reynolds, an "Indian" officer and the son of a distinguished "Indian" officer. General Sleigh's aide asked if he might have Moselle instead of champagne, and John Reynolds gave the order to a mess waiter, who, anxious to supply the wine at once, did not stop to decant it, but placed it on the table in its bottle. At this moment Lord Cardigan looked down the table, and there, among the silver, the glass, the piles of hot-house fruit, he saw a black bottle—it must be porter! He was transported with rage. John Reynolds, an "Indian" officer, was drinking porter under his very nose, desecrating the splendour of his dinner table. When it was explained to him that the black bottle contained Moselle, he refused to be appeased; gentlemen, he said, decanted their wine. Next day he sent a message to John Reynolds through the president of the mess committee, a Captain Jones, who was one of his favourites. Captain Jones found him with two other officers, one of whom did not belong to the regiment. "The colonel has desired me to tell you," said Captain Jones, "that you were wrong in having a black bottle placed on the table at a great dinner like last night. The mess should be conducted like a gentleman's table and not like a pot-house." John Reynolds was "utterly astonished," especially as the message was delivered before an audience, but, controlling himself, he told the other "in a quiet manner, that he had no right to bring him an offensive message, and as a brother captain it would have been better taste if he had declined to deliver it." Almost at once he was summoned to the orderly room, where, before Captain Jones and the adjutant, Lord Cardigan attacked him in furious rage. "If you cannot behave quietly, sir, why don't you leave the regiment? That is just the way with you Indian officers; you think you know everything, but I tell you, sir, you neither know your duty nor discipline. . . . Oh yes! I believe you do know your duty, but you have no idea whatever of discipline. I put you under arrest."

John Reynolds remained silent. Captain Jones then offered his hand, but Reynolds refused to shake it. "I have no quarrel with you," he said, "and nothing has passed that makes shaking hands necessary."

Lord Cardigan burst out in a loud voice, "You have insulted Captain Jones." John Reynolds quietly repeated, "I have not, my lord." Lord Cardigan shouted, "I say you have. You are under arrest, and I shall report the matter to the Horse Guards." John Reynolds replied, "I am sorry for it," and retired.

He was then placed under close arrest, but brought up from time to time, to be examined by Lord Cardigan, who railed at him, taunted him with being an "Indian" officer, and ordered him to explain himself. These interviews lasted as long as two hours, and John Reynolds stated, "I never can describe the mental torture I underwent during the probing and cross-examination of my feelings, lest I should say something that might afterwards be used against me especially as Lieutenant-Colonel the Earl of Cardigan condescended to assure me that he waived the consideration of being my commanding officer, and afterwards resumed it, so that I had great difficulty in knowing when I was addressing his Lordship as a private gentleman and when in his capacity as Lieutenant-Colonel."

After three days he received a memorandum from Lord Hill, the Commander-in-Chief, recommending him to admit the impropriety of his conduct towards his commanding officer and to resume friendly relations with Captain Jones. He obeyed the first instruction, but refused to drink wine with Captain Jones or to shake hands with him, and remained under arrest. On June 9 Major-General Sleigh came once more to Canterbury, summoned the officers of the 11th to appear before him, and, without holding an investigation, read aloud a letter from headquarters, condemning John Reynolds in the strongest possible language and approving and supporting Lord Cardigan. Reynolds's behaviour was described as "pernicious and vindictive," and an enquiry was "absolutely refused" on the ground that "many things would come to light which are not for the good of the service." John Reynolds then asked that he might be court-martialled for the offences he was alleged to have committed, and at this General Sleigh flew into a

rage. There was to be no court martial, no enquiry, no further discussion of the affair; the Commander-in-Chief had made up his mind once and for all that the matter was to be considered as settled. And, turning angrily on John Reynolds, General Sleigh told him that he had "forfeited the sympathy of every officer of rank in the service."

General Sleigh and Lord Cardigan then left the room together, and Capt. John Reynolds resumed his regimental duties with the 11th. The following week the regiment left Canterbury for duty at Brighton Pavilion.

The Army authorities had found themselves in a dilemma; since Lord Cardigan had been reinstated, for better or worse he must be supported. It was too late to draw back, and the best policy seemed to be firmness: the officers of the 11th must be shown that it was useless to oppose Lord Cardigan.

Unfortunately the "black bottle" affair became a nine days' wonder, the phrase caught the public fancy, and "black bottle" became a catchword. Jokes about the 11th appeared in newspapers, and mock reports were circulated of "The Battle of the Moselle, in which His Royal Highness Prince Albert's Regiment has severely suffered, being so completely broken in pieces as to require '*re-forming*.'" A private of the 11th was arrested for assaulting a guardsman in the street; when reprimanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Cardigan, the man stammered out, "But, my Lord, he called me a black bottle." Meanwhile Capt. John Reynolds's guardian (his father had died in India) pestered Lord Hill for an explanation of General Sleigh's reprimand, for production of the correspondence, and for a court martial. When he got no satisfaction, he sent an account of the affair and copies of his letters to Lord Hill to every leading newspaper in London, and in almost every instance they were printed in full.

To Lord Cardigan, however, "black bottle" brought unmixed satisfaction. Once more he had been supported, once more he had been proved right. He assumed an air of importance even greater than before, his temper became even less controlled, his bearing haughtier.

Brighton was a station after the lieutenant-colonel's own heart. As the 11th paraded through the streets they attracted

crowds by the brilliance of their uniforms and the rich dresses and splendid mounts of their officers. He took a house in Brunswick Square and entertained lavishly, bringing his fashionable friends down from London for dinners, balls, gambling, and racing.

Yet the ointment contained a fly—there were still “Indian” officers in the regiment. John Reynolds had been put in his place, but there was another “Indian” officer named Reynolds, no relation, they said, but equally obnoxious. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Cardigan was beginning to find Richard Reynolds, senior captain of the regiment, impossible to tolerate.

Richard Reynolds had been in the service for fourteen years, of which thirteen had been spent with the 11th in India, a service which, he said, “Lord Cardigan was in the habit of treating with contempt and reproach.” The treatment to which he was now subjected followed a familiar pattern. He was called out in front of the regiment and publicly reprimanded; at the mess table he was told to hold his tongue; when he asked for leave he was invariably refused. During his service in India both his father and mother had died, leaving him in charge of ten younger brothers and sisters, but Lord Cardigan had given “positive orders that Capt. Richard Reynolds was not to be granted even a day’s leave of absence on any pretext whatsoever.”

On August 26, 1840, Lord Cardigan gave a large evening party at his house in Brunswick Square to which the military and social world of Brighton was invited, but not John or Richard Reynolds. During the evening a young lady asked Lord Cardigan why the two Captain Reynoldses were absent, and in the presence of a number of people, and “with strong excitement,” Lord Cardigan replied, “As long as I live they shall never enter my house.” The words were repeated, and next day Richard Reynolds wrote Lord Cardigan a letter of protest, ending, “I cannot but consider this report highly objectionable, as it is calculated to convey an impression prejudicial to my character, and I therefore must insist that your Lordship will be good enough to authorise me to contradict it.”

On August 28, on parade, Lord Cardigan called Richard Reynolds out before the regiment and furiously reprimanded him, shouting at him, describing his letter as “disrespectful, insubordinate,

and insulting," and finishing with the taunt that he supposed such conduct was only to be expected from "Indian" officers.

On September 1 *The Times* printed an angry letter demanding that all officers who had seen Indian service should convene a public meeting and insist that the Commander-in-Chief India exact an apology from the Earl of Cardigan. A stream of indignant protests followed: the head of the Indian service officers of the British Army was the Duke of Wellington himself, and the tactics which defeated the generals of Napoleon in the Peninsula had been learned on the plains of India. The Earl of Cardigan should be compelled to apologise to the Duke.

Meanwhile Richard Reynolds had lost his temper, and on the evening of September 1 he wrote Lord Cardigan a fatal letter. Number 60 in the Articles of War laid down that "Any . . . officer who shall give, send, convey, or promote a challenge to any other officer to fight a Duel—or shall upbraid another for refusing a challenge . . . shall on conviction of any of the aforesaid offences be liable to be cashiered." In his letter Richard Reynolds accused Lord Cardigan of taking advantage of article number 60 to avoid a duel. "Your Lordship's reputation as a professed duellist . . . does not admit of your privately offering insult to me, and then screening yourself under the cloak of commanding officer."

The accusation was unjust. Lord Cardigan's physical courage was beyond question. True, the article in question had often been ignored, and Lord Cardigan would not ignore it, but the explanation was not cowardice, but his meticulous respect for the letter of the law. An immense effort was needed before the lieutenant-colonel could take in an idea, but, once admitted, it was swallowed whole; it could never be modified or relinquished.

His reply to the letter was to put Richard Reynolds under arrest and to apply for and be granted a court martial.

On September 4 a letter appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* attacking Lord Cardigan with intimate knowledge and extraordinary virulence. Headed, "To the Officers of the British Army," the letter said that Lord Cardigan on many occasions had grossly and wantonly insulted officers at the mess table, and when called to account had pleaded his privilege as commanding officer to avoid a duel. Repeated applications for an enquiry into Lord Cardigan's

conduct had been made to the Horse Guards, to the Prime Minister, and to Prince Albert—all in vain.

Lord Cardigan has now insulted the senior captain of the regiment, has again pleaded his privilege as commanding officer and placed Captain X under arrest. Many a gallant officer has waived the privilege which nothing but wealth and an earldom obtained for Lord Cardigan. . . . I therefore sincerely trust, gentlemen, that you will aid me in calling for an enquiry, and it may no longer be imagined that a commanding officer may outrage every gentlemanly feeling of those under his command with impunity.

The authorship of the letter was an open secret: it had been written by Capt. Harvey Tuckett, the "Indian" officer celebrated for regimental skits, who had recently left the regiment. Lord Cardigan sent a friend, Captain Douglas, down to the Poultry, where Captain Tuckett carried on business as an East India agent, to demand an apology. But Captain Tuckett refused: every statement he had published was, he maintained, correct in every particular. As he had left the regiment, Lord Cardigan was not committing a breach of the Articles of War by fighting a duel with him, and a rendezvous was fixed at the Windmill, Wimbledon Common, at five in the afternoon of Saturday, September 12.

The Windmill was a well-known rendezvous. But the miller was a constable, and as soon as he saw two post-chaises approach, he and his wife ran up to the platform of the mill and saw five gentlemen with cases, which evidently contained pistols, alight. The miller ran down to fetch his staff of office. Meanwhile Lord Cardigan and Capt. Harvey Tuckett had been placed at twelve paces distance from each other. Shots were exchanged without effect, each was given another pistol, shots were exchanged again, and then Captain Tuckett fell to the ground, wounded in the back part of the lower ribs.

Upon this the miller went up to Lord Cardigan, who still held the smoking pistol in his hand, arrested him for a breach of the peace, and confiscated the pistols. The party then went into the mill, and since Captain Tuckett was unconscious and bleeding profusely, a well-known surgeon, Sir James Anderson, who accompanied the party, was allowed to take him to his own house, while

the miller took Lord Cardigan and Captain Douglas to the Wandsworth police station. There, so notorious had the affairs of Lord Cardigan become that the inspector recognised him and said he hoped he had not been fighting a duel with Capt. Richard Reynolds. Cardigan "stood up erect and with the utmost disdain said, 'Oh no; do you suppose I would condescend to fight with one of my own officers?'" Bail was granted over the week-end, and on Monday, September 14, Lord Cardigan and Captain Douglas appeared before the magistrates and were released upon entering into a recognisance to appear when called for.

Lord Cardigan then returned to Brighton in a state of extreme excitement.

It was now Lt. William Forrest's turn to fall foul of the lieutenant-colonel. William Forrest was posted for duty at the Pavilion for the short period of a week, and as there was almost no accommodation at the Pavilion beyond the guardroom, he did not give up his room in barracks, but merely turned the key. A certain Lieutenant Jenkinson, a young man of family and wealth, who succeeded later as Sir Charles Jenkinson of Hawksbury, one of Lord Cardigan's favourites, wished to use the room, found it locked, and reported William Forrest to the lieutenant-colonel. On September 18, at half-past five in the afternoon, Lord Cardigan driving his phaeton along the Steyne, saw William Forrest, instantly reined up, leapt out, and attacked the lieutenant at the top of his voice in violent language, to the surprise of bystanders. It was evident, wrote Forrest, that the lieutenant-colonel was much wrought up at the time. "Do you suppose, sir, that you can hold two rooms?" he shouted. "I have sent an order for the key to be given up, and given up it shall be. How dare you, sir, oppose your commanding officer?" William Forrest respectfully pointed out that he had nowhere else to keep his property and that the accommodation at the Pavilion was such that he had nowhere to dress; had he been asked for the loan of his room he would willingly have lent it, but for the short period of a week it was not reasonable to require him to relinquish his room, nor was it customary. He also ventured to say that he was not aware that he was infringing any standing order by retaining the key of his room. The lieutenant-colonel interrupted him in a paroxysm of rage. "You try to come the letter of the law over me,

do you, sir? I could understand your feeling inconvenience if you had been accustomed to two or three suites of apartments at St. James's—but, really, for you! Why, if I choose I can keep you here for a month, and you have no right to go into the barrack at all except for your breakfast and dinner. I order you to give up the key of your room to Lieutenant Jenkinson before night." Lieutenant Forrest saluted and withdrew.

At a quarter past six Lord Cardigan came to the Pavilion stables and enquired if the key had yet been handed over, and when William Forrest said that he had not yet had time to do so, he was placed under arrest. The next day the lieutenant-colonel forwarded a complaint of Lieutenant Forrest's conduct to the Commander-in-Chief. In a written explanation Lieutenant Forrest pointed out that it was the lieutenant-colonel's "offensive and irritating manner and language which were in a great degree the cause of the fault I committed in neglecting immediate compliance with the order; had I received the slightest courtesy I should not now find myself in the painful position of being reported to the Genl. Commanding-in-Chief."

Lieutenant Forrest being known to be exceptionally good-humoured and an outstanding officer, Lord Hill became uneasy. On September 29 he wrote—it was the first of many similar letters—asking Lord Cardigan for a "clear statement as to his reasons for putting Lieutenant Jenkinson in Lieutenant Forrest's room for one week during Lieutenant Forrest's turn of duty at the Brighton Pavilion." The lieutenant-colonel did not answer, and after an interval Lord Hill wrote Lieutenant Forrest a mild reprimand.

Meanwhile the court martial on Richard Reynolds had begun at Brighton on September 24. Public interest was intense; the Tuckett duel, and the arrest of Lieutenant Forrest, following swiftly on "Black Bottle" had earned Cardigan fresh notoriety. In a leading article *The Times* adjured him to "abrogate a little of that aristocratic hauteur which characterizes his demeanour"; other newspapers described the 11th as "lying helpless at the mercy of spies and tale-bearers . . . none but sycophants were said to be able to escape the wrath of the Lieutenant-Colonel." A current joke concerned the uniform of the 11th: "In the new uniform of

Lord Cardigan's regiment are there many frogs?" "I don't know, but there are plenty of toads (toadies) under the coats."

Lord Cardigan himself became an object of public execration. Tall, handsome, opulently dressed, carrying himself with a mixture of arrogance and self-importance said to make one lose one's temper just to look at him, he was greeted, as he whirled through Brighton in his phaeton, with hisses and groans.

Though the court martial on Richard Reynolds lasted a fortnight, the verdict was a foregone conclusion, and he himself admitted that the letter he had sent his lieutenant-colonel was a breach of the military code, which must prove fatal. The authorities were determined not to risk another Wathen court martial, there was to be no wave of sympathy for Richard Reynolds. He was not allowed to call evidence to prove the habitual insolence with which Lord Cardigan treated his officers, and when the lieutenant-colonel gave a version of the scene at the evening party, which differed materially from the earlier account, there were no questions from the Court. Lord Cardigan was much agitated and gave his evidence in a loud and rapid voice, but he did not grimace or become incoherent. No insecurity disturbed him; he knew victory was his.

Reynolds conducted his defence with dignity; he established the fact that he had evidence he was not allowed to call, and described with restraint the treatment to which he had been subjected by the lieutenant-colonel, the "long course of violence, insolence and vindictiveness," the shouts, the taunts, the sneers, the unreasonable refusal of leave, the public reprimands on parade "where the Lieutenant-Colonel was well aware it was impossible to answer."

On October 19 the verdict of the Court was announced: Capt. Richard Reynolds was cashiered. An eye-witness reported that when the verdict was read Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Cardigan, "made no attempt to disguise his overwhelming satisfaction and delight beyond measure." By being cashiered, Reynolds lost the value of his commission, but fortunately he possessed some private means.

The Army authorities were by no means easy in their minds, however, and the papers in the Reynolds court martial and the

disputes in the 11th had been sent to the Duke of Wellington for his advice. And the Duke was horrified. He tried (he wrote to Lord Hill on October 15) "to recollect any similar instance of which my experience in the Service, and in command, may have given me knowledge," and "could bring to mind only one." It was not the position of the officers of the 11th under the command of Lord Cardigan which horrified the Duke—he was concerned only with the threat to the discipline of the Army. To take a sentimental view of the state of the 11th, to be concerned with the feelings of the men involved, was foreign to the Duke; a commander must necessarily train himself to be indifferent to the fate of individuals. Here officers had "acted in a spirit of party against their commanding officer," there had been "want of subordination and respect," and finally one of the Articles of War had been violated. Should such conduct be repeated, the discipline, efficiency, and well-being of the British Army would be endangered. The fate of Richard Reynolds, the propriety or impropriety of Lord Cardigan's behaviour were matters of indifference to Wellington: the supreme, the over-riding necessity was to maintain discipline. In a memorandum to Lord Hill dated October 14 he wrote:

. . . there is no alternative left for the court martial excepting to pass the sentence upon an officer who provokes another to send a challenge; that he shall be cashiered. I commanded armies for many years of my life; and was entrusted by my superiors with the power of ordering General Courts Martial to assemble for the trial of officers and soldiers for breaches of discipline; I don't recollect an instance of an officer sending a challenge, or provoking another to send a challenge, who upon conviction was not cashiered. The perusal of Captain Richard Reynolds letter of the 28th August can leave no doubt that it was intended as a provocation to Lord Cardigan to take steps which would have terminated in a duel.

Lord Cardigan should be advised "to interfere as little as possible in personal matters, to conduct them through the official channels of the Regimental staff. . . . He will thus have time to consider every Act and every Expression. He will have Witnesses for the whole of his conduct and it will not be so easy for Parties to act against him."

In a covering letter the Duke wrote to Lord Hill with feeling. The disputes were "lamentable."

At a moment at which the Queen's Service may require the greatest professional effort on the part of every organised military body, it may be found that this fine corps, in the highest order and discipline, the conduct of its non-commissioned officers and men excellent, is unfit to perform the service required from it on account of these party disputes between the officers and the Commanding Officer upon petty trifles. . . . I think that when the sentence of the General Court Martial is confirmed it would be desirable that you should send down a general officer to the 11th Hussars to communicate to the officers your feelings and opinions on the state of the Regiment in consequence of their disputes.

On the 20th Lord Hill wrote to the Duke, "Nothing can be more important than the papers you have written. . . . I shall implicitly follow all your instructions."

On Thursday, October 22, the officers of the 11th were ordered to be present in the mess. When they had assembled, a roll call was taken, the doors were locked, and Sir John Macdonald, the Adjutant-General, who had come down from London, read an "admonition" from Lord Hill, the Commander-in-Chief; and in spite of the precautions, the admonition was fully reported in *The Times* two days later. "It was perfectly useless," said the Adjutant-General, "for them to make any further complaints against the Earl of Cardigan, for that Lord Hill had determined to listen to nothing about that which had heretofore occurred—that on this point Lord Hill was peremptory; but that any future conduct of the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment should be promptly enquired into and redressed." Sir John then urged the development of friendly feeling, remarking that no regiment can acquit itself properly on active service where there is not co-operation between the commanding officer and his officers. Then, turning to the Earl of Cardigan, Sir John said, "with great distinctness" that Lord Hill "trusted that in the command of the regiment the noble Earl would in future exercise moderation and forbearance. It was Lord Hill's opinion that the numerous complaints which had been made to him as Commander-in-Chief would never have occurred if the Lieutenant-



THE THIRD EARL OF LUCAN AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-TWO
WEARING THE UNIFORM OF THE LIFE GUARDS



THE SEVENTH EARL OF CARDIGAN
AT THE TIME OF HIS SECOND MARRIAGE

Colonel of the 11th Hussars had evinced the proper degree of temper and discretion in the exercise of his command."

The reprimand was totally unexpected, and the effect on the lieutenant-colonel remarkable. His features became distorted, and he seemed to writhe. "When he found himself reproved and reprimanded before those officers whom he had so frequently treated with arrogance, oppression and insult, his countenance changed, and the agony of his soul was perceptible to all."

The sentence on Richard Reynolds was received by the public with furious indignation. Meetings were held in London and the country to petition the Queen to remove Lord Cardigan from the command of the 11th, a subscription was started to compensate Reynolds for the loss of his commission, and *The Times* inquired why Lord Cardigan should for "the second time in his life be white-washed from his offences, offences which would have cashiered any officer not protected and sheltered by overwhelming influence." Richard Reynolds behaved admirably. In a letter to that newspaper on November 3 he asked that demonstrations should cease. There was, he could not deny, an unanswerable case against him; the letter he had written to Lord Cardigan was, by the military code, unforgivable. "I cannot lay my hand on my heart and say that I have not offended grievously against the laws of the Army."

Meanwhile Lord Cardigan, seen at the Brighton station taking the train for London, was "assailed with loud boos" and had to be hurried into a carriage and protected by the railway staff. On October 30 he appeared in a box at the Brighton Theatre, to be greeted with a storm of hisses which continued for half an hour; it was impossible to begin the performance, and at the request of the management he left the box, "upon which three cheers for Capt. Richard Reynolds were called, amid loud acclamation and enthusiasm." A few days later, on November 2, a benefit performance at the theatre was announced, "under the patronage of the Right Honourable the Lieutenant-Colonel the Earl of Cardigan and the officers of the 11th Hussars." No sooner did the audience catch sight of Lord Cardigan than pandemonium broke loose. Hisses, yells, groans were succeeded by the chanting in unison of the names of Richard Reynolds and Black Bottle, and fists were shaken towards the lieutenant-colonel's box. *The Times* condemned Cardi-

gan for appearing at all. "Such effrontery, such a defiance of public opinion was not looked for even from the commander of the 11th Hussars."

The unpopularity and notoriety of Lord Cardigan were soon more than merely local—he became a figure of national detestation.

On December 22, for example, he attended a performance at Drury Lane Theatre. "The first audible indication of his presence was a cry of 'The Black Bottle,' followed by a general hiss. A crowd gathered under his box, shaking their fists and shouting, 'Turn him out!' 'Shame!'" Lord Cardigan sat in his box, ignoring the demonstration, until the uproar became so great that it was obvious no performance could take place. "His Lordship then, advancing very deliberately to the front of the box, put on his great coat, and making a bow, retired amid one universal shout of disapprobation."

A week later he was recognised at a Promenade Concert.

At the end of the first piece a few gentlemen began hissing. In about ten minutes there was a complete uproar; every eye in that vast circle fixed upon one spot; necks craning, bodies twisting round pillars; all to gaze on, or cast insult on, one small party. From nine o'clock until eleven there was one continued uproar, not a note of music could be heard.

Lord Cardigan sat it out with great coolness, determined not to be bullied, sitting in his box with his arms folded and a haughty expression on his face, but was finally forced to withdraw.

Demonstrations, unpopularity, had not the slightest effect on Lord Cardigan. His view was simple. Once again he had been proved right, once again there had been a conflict and he had won, and in his autobiographical sketch he wrote simply, "I placed an officer under arrest, he was court-martialled and cashiered." As for Lord Hill's admonition, he paid no more attention to it than to Lord Hill's warning on his reinstatement in 1836. Indeed, from the date of the admonition he began to disregard Lord Hill; when Lord Hill wrote to him, he did not answer, and there was, it appeared, nothing Lord Hill could do.

As month followed month, the affairs of the officers of the 11th continued to occupy the attention of the press, and almost daily some revelation appeared. Officers had been forced to sell out and

leave the Army because it was impossible to serve in the 11th under Lord Cardigan, and he would not sanction an exchange to another regiment; officers who at courts martial had given evidence not in favour of Lord Cardigan were relentlessly pursued by the lieutenant-colonel's vengeance. These letters and articles were cut out by Lord Cardigan and posted to Lord Hill with a demand that they should be contradicted instantly and officially. Lord Hill did not reply. On his side the Commander-in-Chief sent cautions and requests for explanations on various points to Lord Cardigan, and Lord Cardigan did not reply.

On Sunday, December 8, as the regiment was leaving church, Mr. Sandham, the junior surgeon, had difficulty with the fastening of his cap. He stayed behind to adjust it and caught up with the regiment by using a side door, instead of the main door, of the church. As soon as the regiment had reached barracks, Lord Cardigan sent for Mr. Sandham and, before he could say a word, "personally assailed him with violence, shouted at him, cancelled his leave, and ordered him to leave the room, refusing to allow him to make any explanation." Mr. Sandham lost his temper, told the lieutenant-colonel he was unjust, and was placed under arrest. Mr. Sandham then formally complained to Lord Hill. On December 17 Lord Hill wrote to Lord Cardigan with considerable sharpness.

The Commander-in-Chief "could not but express his regret that if your lordship thought it your duty to notice this apparent irregularity, a fault of an unimportant character of which Mr. Sandham was wholly unconscious, you did not at the same time take the necessary steps to enquire into the circumstances which gave rise to it . . . had this obvious course of action been adopted . . . the valuable time of Lord Hill would not again be occupied by regimental controversies of this painful nature between your lordship and an officer of the 11th Hussars."

Lord Hill went on to direct that Lord Cardigan should place this letter in Mr. Sandham's hands, and that Mr. Sandham should read it in his lordship's presence.

Lord Cardigan took no notice of Lord Hill's letter, and on December 27 Lord Hill wrote asking for an acknowledgment.

Lord Cardigan did not reply. On January 3 Lord Hill wrote a third time desiring to be informed if his instructions had been carried out, but still Lord Cardigan did not reply; and the Commander-in-Chief, apparently helpless, did not write again.

Another matter intervened. At the end of December Lord Hill was once again asking Lord Cardigan for an explanation about Capt. John Reynolds, "Black Bottle," who had applied for leave to sell out. Reynolds stated that it was being made impossible for him to remain in the regiment, so he had applied for leave to become a student in the Senior Department of the Royal Military College, the forerunner of the Staff College, but that Lord Cardigan had refused to grant leave, and he therefore had no choice but to sell out and leave the Army. His application was received with something verging on consternation at the Horse Guards, and Lord Hill wrote very sharply indeed. His Lordship the Lieutenant-Colonel was to report forthwith his reasons for refusing Capt. John Reynolds leave to become a student in the Senior Department; unless those reasons were borne out by the General Regulations and Orders of the Army, they could not be supported or approved. "In reporting your reasons for refusing, it is to be clearly understood that they are to have no reference to any differences which may have taken place between your Lordship and Captain Reynolds." Early in January John Reynolds was summoned to a private interview with Lord FitzRoy Somerset, Military Secretary to the Horse Guards, who later, as Lord Raglan, became Commander-in-Chief in the Crimea. Lord FitzRoy Somerset was noted for tact and charm, and he exerted all his persuasiveness to persuade the captain not to sell out. In his account of the interview John Reynolds says he refused, on the ground that he did not feel safe with the Earl of Cardigan—he knew the value of his commission was not secure for a day whilst he was under the Earl's command; the Earl's conduct to him was overbearing, his language abusive. Lord FitzRoy Somerset, a personal friend of the Earl of Cardigan, continued to press Reynolds: if he would withdraw his resignation, he should have what terms he liked. Finally he appealed, as one soldier to another: for the good of the service, John Reynolds ought to withdraw his resignation. Reynolds then consented on terms, "the first being that he should never again be required, even for a single

day, to serve under the Earl of Cardigan"; he was also to receive a recantation of the censure passed on him by General Sleigh in the "Black Bottle" affair, six months' leave to make up for the leave consistently refused him by the Earl of Cardigan, and permission to study for two years at the Senior Department.

The appointment was announced on January 18, 1841, and received by the newspapers with pæans of praise, *The Times* suggesting that Lord Hill might well be forced to resign, "it now being realised that he has personally interfered much on behalf of his friend Lord Cardigan"; and an early reconsideration of Capt. Richard Reynolds's case was predicted.

A lull now followed in the affairs of the officers of the 11th. On October 20, the day after the verdict of the court martial on Richard Reynolds was announced, the Earl of Cardigan and his second, Captain Douglas, had appeared at the Old Bailey, where a grand jury found a true bill against them on three counts: intent to murder, maim, and cause grievous bodily harm to Capt. Harvey Garnett Phipps Tuckett. By virtue of his rank the Earl of Cardigan was not to be tried in an ordinary criminal court, but by his peers, and he was summoned to appear before the House of Peers in full Parliament on February 16, 1841, there to be tried for felony; the maximum penalty was transportation for life. For the moment, therefore, Lieutenant-Colonel the Earl of Cardigan was occupied, and not much with his regiment.