





Engraved by D. Fould, from a daguerreotype.

Victoria

Portrait of Her Majesty in Paris China by A. Dodgson
Exhibited at the Great Exhibition by the French Government.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
the late

DUKE OF WELLINGTON;

BY

LIEUT. COL. WILLIAMS.

COMPRISING



(WALMER CASTLE.)

THE CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLE-FIELDS OF WELLINGTON AND HIS COMRADES,

THE POLITICAL LIFE

OF
The Duke and his Contemporaries,

AND A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF

ENGLAND'S BATTLES BY SEA AND LAND:

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME,

INTERSPERSED WITH

ANECDOTES, PERSONAL INCIDENTS, ADVENTURES, &c.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY.

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF THE LATE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON:

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAMS.

Comprising the Campaigns and Battle-Fields

OF

WELLINGTON AND HIS COMRADES

INTERSPERSED WITH

ANECDOTES, PERSONAL INCIDENTS, ADVENTURES, Etc., Etc.

VOL. II.

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Painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.

Engraved by W. Holt.

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY, GEORGE WILLIAM-FREDERICK, THE THIRD.

George III

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY



Engraved by E. Scriver from the original Plate by W. Haden after Sir Thomas Lawrence, by permission of Messrs. Moon, Bayne & Graves.

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY, GEORGE-AUGUSTUS-FREDERICK, THE FOURTH.

George

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY

THE LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS
OF
WELLINGTON.

PREPARATIONS FOR OPENING THE SPANISH CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

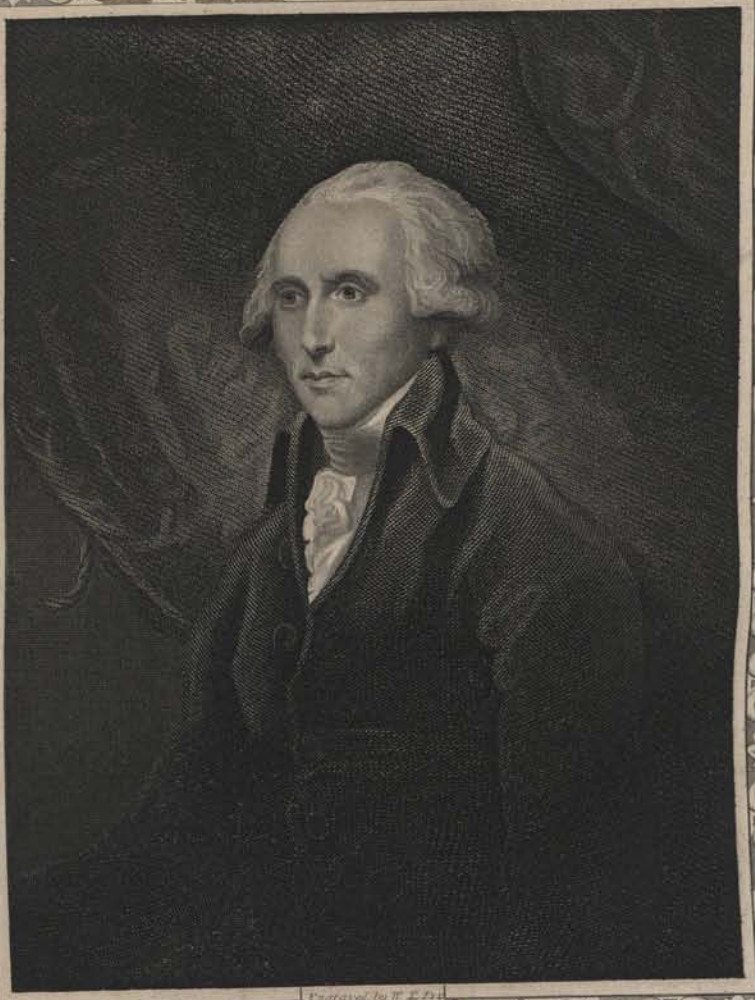
THE entire destruction of the "grand army" in Russia, and the great confederation of the German people, had an immediate effect on the affairs of the Peninsula. Instead of complaints being made by the whig party in the British parliament of the folly of endeavouring to uphold a falling cause by a useless expenditure of men and money in Spain, the government was urged to proceed energetically in rendering assistance to the army of lord Wellington; and to their remissness in the sending of necessary supplies was attributed the loss of that success which ought to have followed the victory of Salamanca. All parties agreed that the most strenuous efforts should be made to carry on the war with vigour—the Tories supported it because it was in accordance with the policy which they had always advocated—the Whigs, that from active hostilities being now carried on, they saw the best prospect of a speedy termination to the war. On the part of the opposition, it was contended by marquis Wellesley and earl Grey,—

"What secret cause amidst the splendid scene which has been exhibited in the Peninsula, what malign cause amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of triumph, has counteracted the brilliant successes of our arms, and has converted the glad feelings of a just exultation into the bitterness of regret and disappointment? With an army in discipline and spirit superior to any that had ever before been assembled; uniting in itself qualities so various as to have never entered into the assemblage of any other species of force; with a general pronounced by the whole world to be unsurpassed in ancient or modern times—the pride of his country, the hope and refuge of Europe; with a

cause in which justice vied with policy, combining all that was ardent in the one motive, with all that was sober in the other; with the admiration of the world excited by our achievements—how is it that they have terminated only in disappointment; that a system of advance has suddenly and inevitably been converted into a system of retreat; and that the great conqueror who chased the French armies from the plains of Salamanca has been pursued in his turn over those very plains, the scene of his triumph and his glory, to take refuge in the very positions which he held before the campaign commenced? The advantages of our situation in the Peninsula, during the last campaign, were very great, and totally different from what they had been at any previous period. The reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz weakened, in a great degree, the enemy's frontier lines; and this advantage was accompanied by a most extraordinary and unlooked-for failure in the means, and relaxation of the exertions, of the French in the Peninsula. The efforts of the French army were deprived of the unity of counsel, of design, and of action; distraction reigned among the generals; the exertions of their armies were wholly different from those which we have witnessed when the soul which inspired them was present, infusing its own vigour into every operation. The central government in Madrid was miserable beyond description; without power to enforce obedience, without talents to create respect, or authority to secure compliance, it was at the mercy of rival and independent generals; each solicitous only for his own fame or aggrandizement, and little disposed to

second each other in any operations for the public good. Here, then, was a most astonishing combination of favourable circumstances, and yet we have derived no greater benefit from them than we did from previous campaigns when everything was of the most adverse character. To take advantage of these favourable contingencies we should clearly have augmented our force in Spain to such an amount as would have enabled its general at once to have in the field a force adequate to check the main body of the French army, and another to carry on active operations. Unless you did so, you necessarily exposed your cause to disaster, because the enemy, by relinquishing minor objects, and concentrating his forces against your one considerable army, could easily, being superior on the whole, be enabled in the end to overwhelm and crush it. Hill never had a force of more than 5,000 British, and 12,000 Portuguese and Spaniards; yet, with this handful of men, he kept in check all the disposable forces of Soult in Estremadura, a clear proof of the vast benefit which would have arisen to the allied cause if an adequate force of perhaps double or triple the amount had been similarly employed. Now, what period could have been desired so suitable for making such an effort, as that when the central government at Madrid was imbecile and nugatory, the French armies separated and disunited, Napoleon thoroughly engrossed with his all-absorbing expedition to Russia, and the British army in possession of a central position on the flank of the theatre of war, which at once menaced hostility and defied attack? The successes which have been gained throughout the whole campaign, and they have been not only brilliant, but in some degree lasting—were entirely owing to the skill of the general and the valour of his troops, and in no degree to the arrangement or combination at home on the part of those who had the direction of military affairs. Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz were both carried with means scandalously inadequate, by intrepid daring on the part of the general, and the shedding of torrents of English blood. After the reduction of the last of these fortresses, what was the policy which obviously was suggested to the British general? Evidently to have pursued his advantages in the south, attacked Soult in Andalusia, destroyed his great military establishments in that province, and again brought Spain into active hostility, by rescuing from

the grasp of the enemy its richest and most important provinces. He was prevented from doing this, to which interest and inclination equally pointed, by the necessity of returning to the north to check the incursion of Marmont into Beira, and by the notoriously unprovided state of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz to withstand a siege. With whom did the blame of not providing adequate means for the protection of the north, when the career of victory was pursued in the south, rest? Evidently with the government at home, which both neglected to send out the requisite supplies, and never maintained the British force in the field at more than half the amount which their ample resources, both military and pecuniary, would have afforded. When the invasion of Leon was commenced in July, and the whole disposable British force was perilled on a single throw, the defects in the combinations, and languor in the support of government, were still more conspicuous. That irruption, attempted by 45,000 men into a country occupied by 250,000, could be based only on the prospect of powerful co-operations in other quarters. Was any such afforded? Murray's descent on the eastern coast, with the Anglo-Sicilian expedition, was mainly relied on; but did not arrive in time to take any part of the pressure off Wellington; so far from it, though the whole arrangements for the sailing of the expedition were concluded as early as March, yet on the 15th July he had heard nothing of its movements, and he was compelled to begin a systematic retreat: in the course of which he gained, indeed by his own skill, a most splendid victory; but which, leading as it did, to a concentration of the enemy's troops from all parts of the Peninsula, involved him in fresh difficulties, where the incapacity of ministers was, if possible, still more conspicuous. No sufficient efforts were made to provide the general with specie, and all his operations were cramped by the want of that necessary sinew of war. No adequate train of artillery was provided for the siege of Burgos; no means of resisting the concentration of troops from all parts of the Peninsula were afforded to him; and he was ultimately compelled, after the most glorious efforts, to relinquish all his conquests except the two fortresses first gained, and again to take refuge within the Portuguese frontier. So nicely balanced were the forces of the contending parties



Engraved by W. L. F. G.

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} WILLIAM WINDHAM.

*From the Original Picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds in
The National Gallery.*

1812.

during this memorable campaign, that there is no stage of it in which 12,000 additional infantry, and 3,000 cavalry would not have insured decisive success. Now, was such a force at the disposal of government in addition to those which were actually on service in the Peninsula? The details of the war-office leave no room for doubt on this head. During the whole of last year there were, exclusive of veteran and garrison corps, 45 battalions of regular infantry, and 16 regiments of cavalry, presenting a total of 53,000 men; besides 77,000 regular militia, 200,000 local militia, and 68,000 yeomanry cavalry. Can any one doubt that out of this immense force lying dormant, as it were, in the British islands, at least 25,000 might have been forwarded to the Peninsula? And yet the whole number sent was only 21,000, of whom more than one-half were drafts and recruits, leaving only 10,545 actually sent out of fresh regiments. Why was not this number doubled?—why was it not trebled? Were we looking for a more favourable opportunity than when Napoleon was absent with half his military force in Russia? Did we wait for more glorious co-operations than were afforded us during the Moscow campaign? And what would have been the effect in France if, when the shattered remains of the grand army were arriving on the Elbe, Wellington, with 100,000 men, flushed with victory, had been thundering across the Pyrenees?"

To these able arguments urged by the opposition, it was replied, by lord Bathurst, lord Castlereagh, and lord Liverpool:—"The confident tone assumed by the noble marquis might induce the suspicion that his brother, the illustrious Wellington, shares his opinions, and is dissatisfied with the support which he received from government during the campaign. But the fact is otherwise; and he has voluntarily written to them, expressing his entire satisfaction with their conduct in this particular. The objections made are mainly founded upon this: that we have not, in the Peninsular contest, employed our whole disposable force; that it might have been materially augmented without detriment to the home service: but it was not the policy of this country—it was not in itself expedient to employ its whole force upon any one foreign affair, how important soever; but rather to retain a considerable reserve, at all times ready in the citadel of our strength, to send to any quarter where it may appear capable of being

directed to the greatest advantage. No one will dispute the importance of the Peninsular contest; but can it be seriously maintained that it is in that quarter alone that the dawning of European freedom is to be looked for? Is Russia nothing? Is Prussia nothing? And, with the profound hatred which French domination has excited in the north of Germany, is it expedient to put ourselves in a situation to be unable to render any assistance to insurrectionary movements in Hanover, Holland, or the north of Germany—countries still nearer the heart of the enemy's power, and abounding with a more efficient warlike population than either Spain or Portugal? When it is stated, too, that the campaign terminated with the British armies in the same quarters which they held at its commencement; this, though geographically true, is, in a military and political point, utterly erroneous. Was the reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, the capture of the whole heavy artillery of the armies of Portugal and of the centre, at the former of these fortresses and the Retiro, nothing? Is it no small matter to have shaken loose the spoiler's grasp over the whole of Spain?—to have compelled the evacuation of Andalusia and Granada, taken 20,000 prisoners, and destroyed the great warlike establishments at Seville and before Cadiz, stored, as they were, with above 1,000 pieces of cannon? If the expedition of Soult to the south of the Sierra Morena, contrary as it was to all military principle, while the English power in Portugal remained unsubdued, was suggested entirely by the desire to open up new and hitherto untouched fields of plunder; the loss of these provinces, the throwing back the enemy for his whole support on the central provinces of Spain, the wasted scene of his former devastation, was a proportional disadvantage to his cause, a proportional benefit to the allied operations. How many campaigns in English history will bear a comparison, not merely in brilliant actions, but in solid and durable results, with that of Salamanca? And it is, perhaps, not the least proof of its vast moral influence, that it has wrought an entire change in the views of the gentlemen opposite; and, for the first time in the history of the war, made the burden of their complaint, not, as heretofore, that too much, but that too little has been done by British co-operation for the deliverance of Europe. The expected co-operation of lord William Ben-

tinck from Sicily, certainly did not arrive at the time that was calculated upon; but the fault there lay not with government, but in circumstances which prevented that officer from exercising in due time the discretion with which he was timeously invested, as to appearing with a powerful British force on the east of Spain in the beginning of July. The failure of the attack on Burgos, however much to be regretted, was neither to be ascribed to negligence on the part of government in forwarding the necessary stores, nor to want of foresight on the part of Lord Wellington in the preparations for its reduction, but to the accidental circumstance of its having been unknown to the English general, strengthened to such a degree as to render it impregnable with the means which he deemed amply sufficient for its capture. He never asked for a battering train, because he never thought it would be required; if he had done so, he could at once have got any amount of heavy guns he required from the ships of war at Santander. Even as it was, the fort would have been taken but for the accidental death of the officer who headed the assault on the 22nd September, and the still more unfortunate circumstance of his having had upon his person a plan of the siege, so that the whole designs of the British engineers became known to the enemy. The complaints made of the want of specie at Lord Wellington's head-quarters are sufficiently answered by the fact, that such was the state of the exchanges from the extraordinary demand for specie on the continent, that we lost twenty-four per cent. upon all remittances to the Peninsula, which, upon the £15,000,000 which the campaign actually cost, occasioned a further loss of £3,000,000. But the effect of the last campaign is yet to be judged of; it is not in a single season that the French power in the Peninsula, the growth of five years' conquest, is to be uprooted. The blow delivered at Salamanca loosened their power over the whole realm: one is, perhaps, not far distant which may totally overthrow it."

Although, upon a division, the motion for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the war was negatived by a majority of 76—the numbers being 115 to 39—still, great good resulted from the able exposition made by the marquis Wellesley, as through it the government were induced to put the army at home in the most efficient condition, and

to increase the reinforcements to Wellington in the Peninsula. The efforts made by the British nation at this period, to put an end to the domination of Napoleon, and to preserve the freedom of Europe, were immense. The military force maintained during this year by Great Britain, independent of the force in India, was very large; and, coupled with the vast navy which it was necessary to keep for the maritime war, in which America had now appeared as a principal enemy, presented perhaps the greatest aggregate of warlike strength ever put forth by any single nation since the beginning of the world. Alison, in his *History of Europe*, says—"The land forces presented a total of 228,000 regular troops, having increased 12,000 even after all the losses of the year 1812, besides 28,000 British soldiers in India, and 93,000 militia in the British islands, in no respect inferior to the army of the line, and 32,000 foreign corps in the British service. The sepoy force in India numbered no less than 200,000 men, presenting a total of 582,000 soldiers in arms, all raised by voluntary enlistment, and exclusively devoted to that as a profession. In addition to this, the local militia, similar to the Prussian landwehr, in the British islands, amounted to no less than 300,000; and the yeomanry cavalry, or landwehr horse, were 68,000! exhibiting a total of 949,000 men in arms, of which 749,000 were drawn from the population of the British islands. Immense as these forces are, the marvel that they should have reached such an amount is much increased, when the magnitude of the naval establishment kept up in the same year is considered, and the limited physical resources of the country which, at the close of a twenty years' war, made such prodigious efforts. The British navy, at the commencement of 1813—and it was kept up at the same level during the whole year—amounted to 244 ships of the line, of which 102 were in commission, and 219 frigates, besides smaller vessels: making in all, 1,009 ships in the service of England, of which 613 were in commission, and bore the royal flag! This immense force was manned by 140,000 seamen, and 18,000 marines; making a total, with the land forces, of ELEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVEN THOUSAND MEN IN ARMS, all raised by voluntary enrolment, of whom above 900,000 were drawn from the population of the British islands! When it is recollected that this immense force was

raised in an empire in Europe, not at that period numbering above 18,000,000 of souls over its whole extent,—that is, considerably under half the population of the French empire, which had a population of 42,000,000 to work upon for its army of 900,000 men, and hardly any naval force afloat to support; it must be admitted, that history has not preserved so memorable an instance of patriotic exertion. But these efforts drew after them a proportional expenditure; and never at any former period had the annual charges of government in the British empire been so considerable. The army alone cost £19,000,000; its extraordinaries, £9,000,000 more: the navy, £20,000,000; the ordnance, £3,000,000; and so lavish had the expenditure become, under the excitement and necessities of the war, that the unprovided expenditure of the year preceding, amounted to no less than £4,662,000. But these charges, great and unprecedented as they were, constituted but a part of the expenses of Great Britain during this memorable year. The war in Germany at the same time was sustained by her liberality; and the vast hosts which stemmed the torrent of conquest on the Elbe, and rolled it back at Leipsic, were armed, clothed, and arrayed by the munificence of the British government, and the resources of the British people. Portugal received a loan of £2,000,000 sterling; Sicily, £400,000; Spain, in money and stores, £2,000,000; Sweden, £1,000,000; Russia and Prussia, £3,000,000; Austria, £1,000,000; besides warlike stores sent to Germany, to the amount of £2,000,000 more. The war on the continent, during this year, cost in all, in subsidies or furnishings to foreign powers, £10,400,000, of which Germany alone received above £6,000,000; and yet so little was Great Britain exhausted by these immense exertions, that she was able at the same time to advance a loan of £2,000,000 sterling to the East India Company. The total expenditure of the year, including Ireland, and reckoning the current vote of credit, reached the amazing and unprecedented amount of ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN MILLIONS."

At this time, lord Wellington was exerting himself, in the most earnest manner, to put the Spanish and Portuguese armies in a state of efficiency. Yet, notwithstanding the great exertions which he made, and the unwearied assiduity with which he applied himself to the discharge of the onerous

duties which he had undertaken, the most virulent attacks continued to be made upon him both in Spain and England. In his correspondence about this period, his lordship mentions an Irish newspaper which had reported a supposed conversation between him and Castanos, in which his lordship consented to change his religion, that he might become king of Spain; and Castanos, in consideration of this apostacy, was made to promise that the Spanish grandees should favour his elevation. He came to the conclusion, that in regard to such calumnies, he could only with propriety pass them by with contempt; but he spoke with bitter disdain of the duke of Ossuna, the duke of Frias, and viscomte de Gante, who had been so foolish as to give importance to the silly invention, by gravely protesting that they were not among the traitors who wished to place his lordship on the throne.

In his efforts to reform the Spanish army, he found himself opposed by the most petty jealousies, the most annoying interference, and the non-fulfilment of promises by the Spanish government. His own correspondence, at this time, gives the best idea of what he must have suffered from these causes, and which, had he not been actuated by a high sense of duty, would have made him throw up the command of the Spanish army in disgust. In a letter to Senor Don Andres Angel de la Vega, a member of the Cortes, and dated the 3rd of April in this year, he says—

"Before I accepted the command of the Spanish armies and went to Cadiz, I wrote a letter to the late regency, on the 4th December, in which I apprised them of my opinion of the state of the armies, of the difficulty which I should find in exercising the command, and of the powers with which it was necessary that the government should intrust me; and after I went to Cadiz I wrote them a second letter on the subject, on the 25th December, in which I explained, and again urged them to agree to what I had proposed in my first letter of the 4th December; and after repeated discussions they did fully agree to these proposals of mine, in a letter from the minister of war, of the 1st January. My object in proposing these measures, was to place the armies of Spain on the same footing of subordination and discipline with the other armies of Europe; and to preclude all chance of the continuance of those intrigues, by applications to the government which had brought

the army to the state in which I found it. I could have no object, or wish of ambition, personal to myself. There are not ten officers in the army whom I know even by sight. I can have no feeling for any but the public interest, connected as it is with the discipline of the army. Another proof that I can have no object of that description, is to be found in my letter to the government, of the 27th of December, in which I proposed that the captains general of the different armies, and not myself, should be the captains general of the provinces allotted for their support; and that in their hands should be vested all the power which the military were to have in the country. I am sorry to have to inform you, that whatever my views may have been, they have been entirely frustrated by the departure of the government from every article of their engagements with me, as sanctioned by their letter of the 1st January. First; They have removed officers from their stations, and have placed them in others, without any recommendation from me, or any other superior officer; and without even acquainting me, or the superiors of those officers, that they have made such arrangements. Secondly; They have appointed officers to stations without my recommendation, or that of any other superior officer; and have given them assurances that they should remain in those stations, contrary to their engagements with me; and to the royal *ordenanzas*, by which the powers and responsibility of the captains general of the provinces are regulated. Thirdly; They have, without my recommendation, or sending through me their orders, and even without acquainting me with their intentions, moved corps of cavalry and infantry from the army to which they belonged, to other stations; and this without any reason, that I am acquainted with, of a public nature. By this last measure the greatest inconvenience and confusion have been produced. I had proposed, and the government had consented to, a reform of the cavalry; and they had ordered that it should be carried into execution. I sent orders in consequence, and I might have hoped that the armies would have had a tolerably well organised cavalry by the commencement of the campaign. Instead of that, I find that the government have likewise sent orders to the same corps, different from those which I had sent; and I am informed, but not by the minister at war, that the cavalry which I had

destined to form part of the army of Galicia, at the opening of the campaign in May, had been ordered, some of it on the 6th February, and others on the 6th March, without my knowledge, to the Isla de Leon, there to join a cavalry depôt, which has been formed at that station, likewise without my knowledge. Another corps of cavalry, ordered by me to Alicante, to receive its clothing and horse appointments at Alicante, has been ordered by the minister at war into the province of Seville. I have frequently remonstrated upon these breaches of agreement with me, and on the evils likely to result from them; but I have hitherto been unable to obtain from the government any satisfactory reply, whether they intended to conform to their agreement with me or not. To this statement add, that owing to the delays of the government in issuing the orders to the financial department in the provinces, to carry into execution the measures decreed by the cortes, and arranged with me to provide for the support of the armies, that branch of the service is in the same confusion as it was in the end of last year. All the armies are in the greatest distress, for want of pay and provisions; nothing can be realised, even from those provinces which have been longest freed from the enemy; and the expectations of the country, and of the allies, that we should have a good Spanish army in this campaign, will certainly be disappointed. I am fully alive to the importance which has been attached throughout Spain, as well as in England and in other parts of Europe, to the circumstance of my having been intrusted with the command of the Spanish armies; and the officers of the Spanish staff who are here with me will, I am convinced, do justice to the interest, the devotion, and diligence with which I have laboured to place the military affairs of the country in the state in which they ought to be. But I have a character to lose; and in proportion as expectation has been raised by my appointment, will be the extent of the disappointment and regret at finding that things are no better than they were before. I confess that I do not feel inclined to become the object of these disagreeable sensations, either in Spain, in England, or throughout Europe; and unless some measures can be adopted to prevail upon the government to force the minister at war to perform the engagements of the government with me, I must, however unwillingly, resign a situation and trust which I should not

have accepted if these engagements had not been entered into, and I had not believed that they would have been adhered to. I have written you this long story, because I believe you were principally instrumental in producing the unanimous votes of the cortes, that the command of the army should be conferred upon me; and I wish you to communicate this letter to Señor Argüelles and the Conde de Toreno; and to Señor Ciscar, who, I believe, was the person who first moved the subject in the cortes. I wish them to call for all my letters to the minister at war and his answers, from the 1st December last to the present day; and they will learn from them the exact state of the case; and will be able to judge whether any, and what measures ought to be adopted. But I must tell you that, whatever may be their opinion regarding the measures to be adopted by the cortes on this subject, I must reserve to myself the power of acting according to my own judgment; and if the agreement made with me, or something substantially the same, is not adhered to by the regency, I must resign my situation. I have now to tell you, that I propose to take the field at the head of the allied British and Portuguese army, as soon as the rain shall have fallen, and the appearance of the green forage will enable me to support the cavalry of the army; but I am sorry to tell you, that, owing to the measures which are the subject of this letter, I do not believe that a single Spanish soldier will be able to take the field till after the harvest."

The Portuguese government at this time was characterised by the same spirit of arrogance and imbecility which had distinguished it throughout the war; and it was only by the incessant efforts of Wellington, aided by sir Charles Stuart, the English minister at Lisbon, that the resources of the country could be extricated from private pillage, and made available for the exigencies of the public service. During lord Wellington's absence in Spain, all the old abuses had been reviving, the fruit of centuries of corruption and mismanagement. The army in the field received hardly any succour; the field artillery had entirely disappeared, the cavalry was in miserable condition; the infantry reduced in numbers; desertion frequent; pay above six months in arrears, and despondency general: in fact, the entire *morale* of the army destroyed. The civil administration of the country was on a par with the condition of the military ser-

vice. The taxes and regulations for the drawing forth the resources of the country for the military service, were evaded by the rich and powerful inhabitants, especially in the great cities, while every species of exaction and oppression were exercised towards the defenceless husbandmen and poorer classes of the people, as well by the collectors of the revenue, as by the numerous military detachments and convoys which traversed the country. This naturally produced much irritation in the minds of the great body of the people; and this dissatisfaction was eagerly caught hold of by the malcontent democratic party, to inflame the public mind against the English administration. This party even went so far as to accuse Wellington of having designs on the Spanish crown, and aiming at the subjugation of the Peninsula, for the purposes of his criminal ambition. Such was the reward obtained by the English general, for the care and anxiety he was bestowing on their affairs, from a disappointed and thankless faction. But Wellington, conscious of the rectitude of his motives, simply observed, "that every leading man was sure to be accused of criminal personal ambition; and if he was conscious of the charge being false, the accusation did no harm." Disregarding, therefore, altogether these malignant accusations, he strained every nerve to correct the abuses in the civil administration of the country, and to provide funds for, and recruit the army. Aably seconded, as he was, by marshal Beresford in the military, and sir Charles Stuart in the civil service, in a short time he had the gratification to perceive a marked improvement in the affairs of Portugal. Holders of bills on the military chest at Lisbon not having been able to get paid, they in consequence became clamorous for their money, and the bills fell to a discount of fifteen per cent. Sir Charles checked the panic by guaranteeing payment of the bills, and granting interest till the payment was made. Beresford, at the same time, took vigorous measures to check desertion, and restore the efficiency of the army; the militiamen fit for service were drafted into the line; all the artillerymen in the fortresses were forwarded to the army, and their places supplied by ordnance gunners; and the worst cavalry regiments were reduced, and their men incorporated with those in a more efficient state. By these means a large addition was obtained to the military force, which after-

wards proved of essential service in the field ; but the disorders of the civil administration were too deep-seated to be so easily rectified, and Wellington, in April, addressed the annexed memorial on the subject to the prince regent of Portugal, then in Brazil, which remains an enduring memorial of the almost incredible difficulties with which he had to contend, in preparing the means of carrying on his campaigns against the French armies in the Peninsula.

“ Freneda, 12th April, 1813.—I request permission to call the attention of your royal highness to the state of your troops, and of all your establishments, in consequence of the great arrear of pay which is due to them. According to the last statements which I have received, pay is due to the army of operations from the end of last September ; to the troops of the line in garrison, from the month of June ; and to the militia, from February. The transports of the army have never, I believe, received any regular payment, and none whatever since June, 1812. The honour of your royal highness’ arms may perhaps suffer greatly by these evils ; and I have repeatedly called, but in vain, the attention of the governors of the kingdom to this subject. I am now upon the point of opening a new campaign with your royal highness’ army, to which pay is due for a greater space of time than when the last campaign was concluded ; although the subsidy from Great Britain has been hitherto regularly paid, granted especially for the payment and maintainance of a certain body of troops ; and even although it has been proved within the last three months, that the revenue of the state has produced a sum nearer a third than a fourth larger than in any other three months during the whole time I have been *au fait* of this matter. The serious consequences which may probably result from the backwardness of these payments, affecting as much the honour of your royal highness’ arms, as the cause of the allies ; and the uniform refusal of the governors of the kingdom to attend to any one of the measures which I have recommended, either for temporary or permanent relief, have at last obliged me to go into your royal highness’ presence, for the purpose of stating the result of the measures which I have recommended to the governors of the kingdom for the reform of the custom-house, which measures have not been yet carried into full effect, in consequence of the opposition they en-

counter from the chief of the treasury ; although the governors ought to have been convinced there was room for the suggestion of improvements in the several branches of the public administration of the kingdom of Portugal. But I cannot prevail against the influence of the chief of the treasury ; this is what induces me to lay this *exposé* before your royal highness. In order to improve the resources and means of the kingdom, I have recommended the adoption of some method by which the taxes might be actually and really collected, and the merchants and capitalists really pay the tenth of their annual profits as an extraordinary contribution for the war ; the effects of this system being first tried in the great cities of Lisbon and Oporto. I can declare that no one knows better than I do, the sacrifices which have been made, and the sufferings which have been experienced by your royal highness’ faithful subjects during the war, for there is no one who has seen more of the country, or who, for the last four years, has lived so much amongst the people. It is a fact, sir, that the great cities, and even some of the smallest places of the kingdom, have gained by the war ; the mercantile class, generally, has enriched itself by the great disbursements which the army makes in money ; and there are individuals at Lisbon and Oporto who have amassed immense sums. The credit of your royal highness’ government is not in a state to be able to derive resources from these capitals, owing to remote, as also to present circumstances ; and it can obtain advantage only through the means of taxes. The fact is not denied, that the tributes regularly established at Lisbon and Oporto, as also the contribution of ten per cent. upon the profits of the mercantile class, are not really paid to the state ; nor is it denied that the measures which I have proposed would, if efficaciously carried into execution in the above-mentioned cities, furnish the government with great pecuniary resources. It remains for the government, therefore, to explain to your royal highness the reasons why it has not put them in practice, or some other expedient which might render the revenue of the state equal to its expenses.

“ All I have stated to your royal highness respecting the arrear of payment to the troops, is equally undeniable. The only motive to which I can attribute the government not having adopted the measures aforesaid, is the fear that they might not be

popular; but the knowledge I have of the good sense and loyalty of your royal highness' subjects, the reliance I place therein, and my zeal for the cause in which your royal highness is engaged with your allies, induce me to offer myself, not only as responsible for the happy issue of the measures which I have recommended, but to take upon myself all the odium which they might create. I have, nevertheless, not been able to overcome the influence of the treasury. Another measure which I recommended, was the entire abolition of the *Junta de Viveres*, to put an end to a monthly expense of nearly 50 *contos* of *reis*, caused by the junta, under the plea of paying their old debts. Never was any sovereign in the world so ill served as your royal highness has been by the *Junta Viveres*; and I do not think I have rendered a greater service to your royal highness than that which I did in soliciting that it might be abolished. However, after its abolition, under the specious pretext of paying its debts, it has received monthly from the treasury, a little more or less, 50 *contos* of *reis*. It cannot be doubted that the *Junta de Viveres* is very much in debt, and it is of great importance to your royal highness' government that some method of arranging and paying these debts should be adopted. But I request that your royal highness will order the governors of the kingdom to let your royal highness see in detail the manner in which the above-mentioned 50 *contos* of *reis*, granted monthly, have been applied. Have all the accounts of the *Junta de Viveres* been called in and liquidated? Who has performed this operation? To what sum does their debt amount? Has it been classified? Finally, have measures been adopted to know with certainty how much is really due to those to whom something has already been paid upon account of their debt? Is any part of the 50 *contos* of *reis*, which are issued for many months by the treasury, applied to the payment of the salaries of the members of the *Junta de Viveres*, abolished, I believe, by your royal highness' orders. I request that your royal highness will command that an answer be given to each of the questions aforesaid, which will enable your royal highness to see the state of these transactions. But admitting that it be convenient to pay at this time the debts of the *Junta de Viveres*, it would be almost superfluous to propose the question, whether it be more important to pay those debts, or to

pay the army which has to defend your royal highness' kingdom and government, and to protect the honour and property of your royal highness' subjects, and every thing most dear to them in life; without which nothing could escape destruction. This army will neither be able nor willing to fight, if it be not paid.

"Another measure which I have lately recommended, as a remedy capable of putting the government in a condition of paying the army of operations, for some time, in the same manner and to the same period to which their comrades in the British army are paid, is, that there be taken out of the hands of all the collectors of the revenue of the state the balances which they may owe to the royal treasury. My attention was called to this subject by a communication made to me by a military officer in the province of *Tras-os-Montes*, relating to a large sum of money in the hands of the collector of the revenue of *Braganza*, at the time when the enemy made movements towards the *Esla*; and having inquired into this matter, I found that, according to the manner in which the treasury manages its transactions, every one of the collectors of the revenue of the state has always in his possession the amount of the revenue he has received in the space of a month. I recommended that the collectors should be obliged to deliver in, every fifteen days, whatever they had received; but I have not been able to accomplish it. Your royal highness has frequently deigned to make known to the governors of the kingdom your royal desire that they should attend to my advice, and they have as frequently assured your royal highness that they give it every attention. I can assure your royal highness, that when I devote myself to the labour of taking into consideration the affairs of the state, and giving my opinion upon them to the governors of the kingdom, I have no object in doing so, excepting the interest I feel in the good of the nation, and the honour and prosperity of your royal highness; and I am not in any degree induced to do so from objects of personal interest, for none can I have relatively to Portugal; nor can I have any with regard to individuals, for not having any relations, and being almost unacquainted with those who direct or would wish to direct the affairs of your royal highness.

"Although the measures which I have hitherto recommended, and which have at

last been adopted, such as the payment of the interest upon the national debt in paper currency, the reform of the custom houses, the establishment of a military chest, and others which it is unnecessary to mention, have answered the ends of their adoption; and perhaps I might say, that other measures which I could propose, would have similar results; yet I am ready to allow that I may perhaps deceive myself. Nevertheless, I request with great earnestness that your royal highness will deign to be persuaded that the motives which induce me to recommend these measures, and to appeal against the chief of the treasury, are founded upon my wishes to promote and forward the benevolent intentions of your royal highness, as well as the best results to the cause in which your royal highness is engaged. I venture to express again, in the most decided manner, my very ardent wish that your royal highness will be pleased to return to your kingdom, to take charge of its government, which not only myself, but all your royal highness' faithful subjects desire with the greatest anxiety.—May God preserve your highness many years."

Such, then, was the condition of both Spain and Portugal. By indefatigable exertions, however, these evils, so far as the supplies and reinforcements of the army were concerned, were overcome; and Wellington, in the beginning of May, was prepared to take the field with a much larger and more efficient force than had ever been assembled round the British banner since the commencement of the war. Nearly 200,000 allied troops were in readiness in the whole Peninsula, and although not more than one-half of this great force were English, Germans, or Portuguese, upon whom reliance could really be placed; yet the remainder, being now under the direction of Wellington, and acting in concert with his army, proved of the most essential service, by taking upon them the duty of maintaining communications, guarding convoys, blockading fortresses, and cutting off light and foraging parties of the enemy; thereby leaving the Anglo-Portuguese force in undiminished strength, to maintain the serious conflict in front of the advance. What was almost an equal advantage, this great force, which, in the course of the campaign, came to stretch across the whole Peninsula, from the sources of the Ebro in Biscay, to its junction with the ocean, was supported on either flank by a powerful

naval force, the true base of offensive operations for Great Britain, which at once secured supplies without any lengthened land carriage, and protected the extreme flanks of the line from hostile assault.

The approach of great events was now apparent; the chiefs on both sides repaired to their respective head-quarters, and the mutual concentration of troops bespoke the nearness of serious warfare. Joseph had quitted Madrid in the middle of March, and in accordance with the advice of Napoleon, had fixed his head-quarters at Valladolid, from whence he had detached the divisions of Foy, Taupin, Sarrut, and Barbot, to aid Clausel in the reduction of Biscay and Navarre.

Wellington was now engaged in concentrating his forces; the progress of spring having provided ample forage for his horses, he was prepared to march. "Never," says Alison, "had the army been so numerous or so healthy, never its spirits so high: 20,000 men had rejoined their ranks since the troops went into winter-quarters in December, and the meanest drummer was inspired with the belief that he was about to march from victory to victory, till the French eagles were chased across the Pyrenees." In the month of April, Wellington had completed his plan of operations, and on the 14th of that month, he wrote out instructions for sir John Murray to embark his troops, and landing in Catalonia to commence the siege of Tarragona, thus securing ample employment for Suchet's division of the French army. The following is the memorandum of instructions transmitted to sir John:—

"Freneda, 14th April, 1813—1. It is obvious that these operations cannot be commenced with advantage, till the allied British and Portuguese army shall take the field in Castille, which is intended in the first days of the month of May.

2. The troops applicable to these operations are the allied British and Sicilian corps, and the Spanish divisions under major-general Whittingham and major-general Roche, under the command of sir J. Murray; that part of the second army under general Elio, composed of regular troops; and the regular troops of the third army under the command of the duque del Parque.

3. The objects for the operations of the troops on the eastern coast of Spain are first to obtain possession of the open part of the kingdom of Valencia:—secondly, to obtain

an establishment on the sea coast north of the Ebro, so as to open a communication with the army of Catalonia; and eventually, thirdly, to oblige the enemy to retire from the Lower Ebro.

4. Although these objects are noticed in this order, circumstances may render expedient a departure from it, and that the one mentioned in the third instance should precede that mentioned in the second.

5. If sir J. Murray possesses the means of embarking 10,000 infantry and artillery, or more, the first and second objects may be combined with great advantage; that is to say, that the attempt to secure the second object by a brisk attack upon Tarragona with all the British and Sicilian corps, and such part of the division of general Whittingham or general Roche, as can be transported to Tarragona, will necessarily induce Suchet to weaken his force so considerably in Valencia, as to enable general Elio and the duke del Parque to take possession of a great part, if not of all the open country in that kingdom.

6. The first object will then be attained.

7. The second will be a question of time and means. If Suchet, notwithstanding the junction of the troops of the first army with those under sir J. Murray, should be so strong in Catalonia as to oblige that general to raise the siege, and to embark without accomplishing his object, the first object will at least have been gained without difficulty; and the return of sir J. Murray's corps into the kingdom of Valencia will secure it.

8. If sir J. Murray should succeed in taking Tarragona, the first and second objects will have been attained, and a foundation will have been laid for the attainment of the third object.

9. Orders have been sent for the duke del Parque to commence his movement from his position at Jaen, and to proceed to put himself in communication with the second army, either by posting himself at Almanza, or at Yecla.

10. As soon as the corps under the duke del Parque arrives in communication with general Elio, the allied British and Sicilian corps, and general Whittingham's division should embark, to the number of at least 10,000 men, or more if possible, and proceed immediately to the attack of Tarragona, in which they should be aided by the first army.

11. The troops remaining in the kingdom of Valencia, that is to say, those under the

duke del Parque and general Elio, and those of general Whittingham's and general Roche's divisions, and of the allied British and Sicilian corps which should not embark, should continue on the defensive, and retire, even upon the lines at Alicante, if it should be necessary.

12. But as soon as it shall be found that Suchet begins to weaken his force in the kingdom of Valencia, they are to follow him up, and take possession of as large a part of that kingdom as it may be in their power to do.

13. It must be understood, however, by the general officers at the head of these troops, that the success of all our endeavours in the ensuing campaign will depend upon none of the corps being beaten, of which the operating armies will be composed; and that they will be in sufficient numbers to turn the enemy, rather than attack him in a strong position; and that I shall forgive anything, excepting that one of the corps should be beaten or dispersed.

14. Sir J. Murray will take with him to the siege of Tarragona such of the allied British and Sicilian cavalry as he may have horse transports to convey; the remainder, with the cavalry belonging to general Whittingham's division, will remain with the troops under general Elio and the duke del Parque.

15. If general sir J. Murray should be obliged to raise the siege of Tarragona, and embark, or, at all events, when he returns to the kingdom of Valencia, he is to land as far to the north as may be in his power, in order to join immediately on the right of the troops under general Elio and the duke del Parque; and the mules and other equipments belonging to the allied British and Sicilian corps, which must necessarily be left behind at Alicante, are to join that corps at the place of disembarkation.

16. If Tarragona should be taken, it must be garrisoned by a part of the first army under general Copons.

17. In case sir J. Murray should not have the means of embarking 10,000 infantry, at least, the corps of troops to undertake a serious operation on the sea coast in the rear of the enemy's left, will not be sufficient, and the plan must be altered; and the following measures must be adopted to obtain a sufficient force in rear of his right.

18. First, The regiments, as stated in the margin, must be detached from the second and third armies, and must be embarked.

These, with about the same number recently ordered from Galicia, will augment the army of Catalonia sufficiently to enable them, according to the opinion of general Copons, to take the field against the enemy's troops now in Catalonia, and to force them to remain in garrisons.

19. As soon as he shall be joined with these reinforcements, general Copons should make himself master of the open country, particularly between Tarragona and Tortosa, and that place and Lerida.

20. Secondly, the third army of the duque del Parque should be employed to turn the right of the enemy's positions in Valencia, while the allied troops, under sir J. Murray and general Elio, will attack them in front. I imagine that it will be necessary for the duque del Parque to proceed, in this case, as far as Utiel and Requena, before he will be able to make any impression on the position of the Jucar.

21. In proportion as the allied troops shall gain ground, this operation will be repeated; the third army continuing to move upon the enemy's right till it shall come in communication with the first army on the left of the Ebro. With this object in view, general Copons and the duque del Parque should keep in constant communication.

Note.—It would be very desirable that, if practicable, general Copons should get possession of Mequinenza.

22. When the enemy shall have been forced across the Ebro, either by the maritime operations in rear of his left, or by those just described on his right, it will rest with general sir J. Murray to determine, in the first instance, on the line to be pursued, in view of the local situation of affairs, in respect of the ulterior objects of the operations; whether to establish the Spanish authority in the kingdom of Valencia; by obtaining possession of Murviedro, Peñíscola, or any other fortified posts there may be within that kingdom, or to attack Tortosa or Tarragona, supposing that that place should not have fallen by the maritime operations first proposed.

23. In my opinion, the decision on this point, as far as it depends upon the state of affairs on the eastern coast, will depend much upon the practicability and facility of communicating with the shipping on the coast, without having possession of the maritime posts in Valencia.

24. If that should be practicable, it would

be most desirable to attain the second and third objects of the operations, without waiting to obtain possession of the posts within the kingdom of Valencia; respecting which, it is hoped, there would be no doubt, when the operations of the first army should be connected with those of the second and third, and of the troops under sir J. Murray.

25. The divisions composed of irregular troops attached to the second army, and commanded by generals Duran and Villa Campa, should direct their attention to prevent all communication between the enemy's main army under the king in person, and that under Suchet.

26. The operations of these divisions should be carried on on the left of, and in communication with the duque del Parque; and, in proportion as the third army should move towards the Ebro, the operations of these divisions should be pushed forwards likewise.

27. The division of don Juan Martin must be kept in reserve, nearly in its present situation, and directions shall be sent to don Juan Martin.

28. General Sir J. Murray, having under his command the largest and most efficient body of troops, upon whose movements those of the others will depend essentially, will direct the operations of all the corps of troops referred to in this memorandum, when their operations shall be connected immediately with those of the corps of troops under his command.

29. If general sir J. Murray's allied British and Sicilian corps, and the whole or part of general Whittingham's division should embark, general the duque del Parque will direct the operations ordered in this memorandum to be carried on in the kingdom of Valencia; but, in either case, the general officers commanding the first, second, and third armies, and general Whittingham, must command each their separate corps."

These instructions were accompanied by the following letter to sir John Murray:—

"Freneda, 16th April, 1813—I have received your letters of the 1st April, and I now transmit a memorandum on the operations which I wish should be carried on on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, translated copies of which are gone to the duque del Parque, general Elio, and general Copons. In forming a plan of operation for troops in the Peninsula, it is necessary always to bear in mind their inefficiency, notwithstanding

their good inclinations, their total want of everything which could keep them together as armies, and of the necessary equipments of cannon, &c., &c., and their repeated failures in the accomplishment even of the most trifling objects, notwithstanding the personal bravery of the individuals composing the armies. If I had had to form a plan for the operations of half the numbers, real soldiers, well equipped and prepared for the field, it would have been one of a very different description; but such a plan would not suit, and could not be executed by the instruments with which you have to work.

* * * I beg therefore that you will set to work as soon as you may think proper, as proposed in the enclosed memorandum. I have nothing to say to the equipments or establishments of your troops, or to anything relating to them, excepting their operations, and the occasion and period of quitting the Peninsula if there should be occasion. But if you will send me a regular report of the mules and horses you have purchased, stating the prices, and for what purpose, I will send you the regular authority for the purchase. I still object, however, to your feeding general Roche's, or general Whittingham's, or any other Spanish troops in Spain, as occasioning an useless expense to such an amount as that Great Britain cannot bear it, and as eventually likely to break down your own departments. I am likewise certain that, if those officers take pains, your

* The French forces in the Peninsula, though considerably reduced by the drafts which the necessities of Napoleon, after the disasters of Russia, compelled him to make from his veteran legions in that quarter, were still very formidable, and exhibited a sum total of combatants, both superior in number to, and incomparably more concentrated and better disciplined than the greater part of, the allied forces. The most powerful part of it consisted of the army commanded by Joseph in person, which, by drawing together the whole disposable military power of the French in the Peninsula, had compelled Wellington to evacuate the Spanish territory in the close of the last campaign. Their whole force, which, at the termination of the retreat into Portugal, was still 260,000 thousand strong, was now reduced by drafts into Germany, in March 1813, to 231,000, of whom 29,000 were horse. Of these, only 197,000 were present with the eagles; and 68,000 were under Suchet in Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia. Of the remainder, 10,000 were at Madrid; 8,000 were in Old Castile and Leon, to watch the motions of the Anglo-Portuguese army; and the rest, to the number of 40,000, preserved the communications in the northern provinces, and maintained a painful partisan warfare with the insurrection, which had now assumed a very serious character, in Biscay and Navarre. But although the French forces were thus superior in numerical amount, and

assistance, however loudly they may call for it, is not required. As long as I have served in Spain, I have never done such a thing, and never will. Of all your wants, that of artillery-men appears most extraordinary. Besides the artillery-men which came with the corps from Sicily, which, as the corps came to carry on a siege, I conclude, cannot be inconsiderable in number, you have two companies of British and two of Portuguese artillery belonging to this army; I believe the very same men, in the same numbers, that took Badajoz for us last spring. It would, however, be very desirable, now that the communication is quite secure, if you could send me a regular return of your force. I cannot let you have the artillery-men at Carthage, as I have nothing else to take care of our stores, &c., there. But, if four companies besides those belonging to Sicily are not enough, I will try to send more from this army."

Everything was now in readiness for the opening of the campaign; the army was in the highest state of discipline. Its *materiel* was magnificent, powerful reinforcements having arrived from England. The life and horse-guards had joined the cavalry, and that arm was increased to nineteen efficient regiments. The infantry had been recruited from the militia regiments at home, the artillery was complete in every requisite for the field; and the soldiers had the most entire confidence in their general.*

greatly stronger from their concentrated position, homogeneous character, and uniform discipline, than the multifarious host of the allies to which they were exposed, yet there were many causes which tended to depress their spirit, and brought them into the field with much less than their wonted vigour and animation. It was universally felt that they had been worsted in the last campaign; that they had lost half, and the richest half of Spain; and that their hold of the remainder had been every where loosened. The charm of their invincibility, the unbroken series of their triumphs, was at an end: the soldiers no longer approached the English but with secret feelings of self-distrust, the necessary consequence of repeated defeats; their chiefs, dreading to measure swords with Wellington, became nervous about their responsibility; and, anticipating defeat, were chiefly solicitous to discover some mode of averting the vials of the imperial wrath, which they were well aware would burst on their heads the moment intelligence of disaster reached Napoleon. Co-operation there was none between the leaders of their armies. Suchet was jealous of Soult, and yielded a tardy obedience to the commands of Joseph himself; Jourdan, who commanded the army of the centre, was a respectable veteran, but wholly unequal to the task of meeting the shock of Wellington at the head of 80,000 men; and Soult, though a most able man in strategy and the preparations for a campaign, had

FOURTH SPANISH CAMPAIGN.

ANNO 1813.

THE campaign of the year 1813 was opened under favourable circumstances for the allies. Andalusia, Estremadura, and the whole south of Spain, and Galicia and the Asturias on the north, were freed from the domination of the enemy.

The operations of the fourth Spanish campaign first commenced on the eastern coast of Spain. While Wellington was in winter quarters, the battle of Castalla had been fought. The course of the feeble operations that led to that event was as follows:—

Though much had been expected from the Anglo-Sicilian army collected on the eastern coast of Spain, as a powerful diversion, it had as yet performed but slight service. The command of it had been held by several officers in rapid succession. Major-general Clinton arrived at Alicante in November, 1812, to take the command from which ill-health had compelled general Maitland to retire. In December, a reinforcement of 4,000 men, British and foreign, arrived from Palermo under major-general James Campbell, who, by seniority, superseded Clinton in the command. Towards the end of February, 1813, lieutenant-general sir John Murray arrived at Alicante from England, and assumed the command soon after his arrival, receiving Wellington's orders to commence operations in conjunction with the Spaniards, on March 6th; he advanced with 18,000 men, consisting of Whittingham and Roche's divisions, about 8,000 men, the rest being British, Germans, Maltese, and Italians, towards the Xucar; along the banks of which river the French army under Suchet were posted, covered by a strongly entrenched camp at St. Felipe. After an unsuccessful attempt to surprise a detachment of the French in the village of Alcoy, he moved forwards, and took up a position near the town of Castalla. The shown himself at Albuera unequal to the crisis of a serious battle: he laboured, also, under heavy suspicions on the part of his royal master, and he had been called to Germany to assist in stemming the torrent of misfortune on the Elbe. The disasters of the Moscow campaign were known, the fatal 29th bulletin had been published, and its effects had become painfully visible in the march of a considerable part of the army across the Pyrenees, to be replaced only by raw battalions and conscripts, very different from the bronzed veterans who had departed. Thus

Murcian army, under Elio, consisting of 12,000 men, moved early in April, on the left, to Yecla and Villena, to co-operate with Murray.

Suchet observing that the posts of the allies were too far apart to support each other, despatched, on April the 10th, Harispe's division to attack the Spaniards at Yecla. At break of day of the following morning, Harispe surprised and destroyed nearly the whole of the Spanish corps posted there; 1,200 of them laying down their arms. Suchet then, with the main body of his force, moving upon Villena, which lay insulated by the movements of the French, the Spaniards withdrew from it, leaving a complete battalion in the castle, which surrendered to the enemy on the morning of the 12th. Sir John Murray immediately withdrew the Majorcan division from Alcoy, and concentrating his force, occupied Castalla; leaving the 2nd battalion, 27th foot, the 1st Italian regiment, and the Calabrian free corps, with a detachment of cavalry, under colonel Adam, to dispute the defile of Biar, by which the road from Villena approached the position of the allies at Castalla. This brigade being turned on both flanks, and attacked by an overwhelming force in front, was, after a resolute resistance for five hours, compelled to retire.

Murray's position was well chosen. His left, consisting of the Majorcan division, under Whittingham, was placed on the rocky and almost inaccessible hills south of Castalla. Adams' and M'Kenzie's brigades were drawn up in the centre, in front of the town and castle of Castalla. The right wing, consisting of Clinton's brigade and Roche's Spaniards, was covered by a deep ravine, which served at the same time as a reserve, and secured the line of retreat.

On the following morning, Suchet, with the army had lost both its consistency and its spirit; its generals were at variance with each other, and each solicitous only for the objects of his separate province; and its supreme direction, divided between the distant commands, often found wholly inapplicable on the spot, of Napoleon, and the weaker judgment of Joseph and Jourdan, was little calculated to stem the torrent of disasters accumulating round a sinking empire and a falling throne.—*Alison's History of Europe.*

three divisions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry, approached the allied position, and about one o'clock, P.M., pushing forward a cloud of skirmishers against the left and front of the position, commenced an attack on the left allied wing, but was repulsed at all points. On the Anglo-Italian position of the left part of the line, the attack was resolute; but when the attacking force came upon the 2nd battalion of the 27th, there was a terrible crash, "for the ground having an abrupt declination near the top, enabled the French to form line under cover close to the British, who were lying down, waiting for orders to charge; but while the enemy were unfolding their masses, a grenadier officer advancing alone, challenged the captain of the 27th grenadiers to single combat. Waldron, an agile vigorous Irishman, and of boiling courage, instantly sprang forward. The hostile lines looked on without firing a shot. The swords of the champions glittered in the sun, the Frenchman's head was cleft in twain, and the next instant the 27th jumping up with a deafening shout, fired a deadly volley, at half-pistol-shot distance, and then charged with such a shock, that, maugre their bravery and numbers, the enemy's soldiers were overthrown, and the side of the Sierra was covered with the killed and wounded." The enemy being now repulsed on all sides, fled with precipitation towards the defile of Biar. M'Kenzie's division, by the order of quarter-master-general Donkin, vigorously pursued the enemy's disordered columns, but at the moment that victory was within the grasp of the allies, was ordered by Murray, in despite of all remonstrance, to fall back on the main body. The consequence of this unaccountable determination was that Suchet regained his fortified camp, having lost about 1,200 men, in killed and wounded; while that of the allies was about 700. Though Elio was but a few miles distant from the field of battle, he made neither any movement to succour his allies, nor to gain the communications of the enemy. Offensive operations were not resumed in this quarter until after the battle of Vittoria.

During this period, the partidas, under Longa, Mina, El Pastor, Morina, El Medico, &c., had been actively and successfully employed. In the north, Longa had captured the garrisons of Bilboa, Pancorbo, and Salinas de Anana, and in the valley of Sedano had surprised a French detachment

* *History of the War in the Peninsula.*

returning from a marauding expedition, to Burgos, and slew or made prisoners 1,000 men: indeed, such was their success in this quarter, that all the littoral posts, except Santona and Gueteria, were in the possession of the Spaniards. In Aragon and Navarre, Mina occasioned equal concern to Clausel, who had succeeded to the command of the army of the north; though defeated (May 13th) in the valley of Roncal, with the loss of 1,000 men in killed and wounded, he, on the 22nd, destroyed two French regiments of cavalry near Lerina. In Valencia, Nebot (El Frayle, the friar,) kept the French in constant alarm, and had occasioned much loss to their detachments. In the mean time, Florian, the Spanish partisan in the French service, had defeated, in the neighbourhood of the Carrion and the Tormes, the bands of Mesquinez, the Medico, and other inferior chiefs. On May the 11th, Foy, after a siege of eighteen days, captured the sea-port of Castro de Urdiales, in Biscay, and not only surprised the defenders, but, in the true spirit of the Portuguese campaign, butchered the inhabitants, both men and women, because they had not informed him of the bridge which had been destroyed by the crews of the three English sloops and the schooner, under captain Blaye, who had assisted in the defence, and by which he expected to cross in his assault of the town.

The positions of the hostile armies at the commencement of the campaign were: the main body of the British and Portuguese occupied cantonments along the northern frontier of Portugal to Lamego. The second division, under Hill, and a division of Spaniards, under Murillo, were in Upper Estremadura. The army of Galicia, under Giron, occupied the frontier of that province. The duke del Parque was with a corps of Spaniards in La Mancha; and Elio's corps observed the frontiers of Murcia and Valencia. The recent levies in Andalusia, under O'Donnel, were intended to act as an army of reserve. The French force in Spain was at this time 170,000 effective men; and of these, 70,000 constituted the armies of Portugal, the centre, and the south. The army of Portugal, under Reille, occupied the country between the rivers Esla and Carrion. That of the centre, under Drouet, took post in the second line, on Segovia and Valladolid; and the south, under Gazan, occupied Madrid, Salamanca, Toro, and Zamora. These three armies were nominally under the command of Joseph Buonaparte, assisted by marshal

Jourdan, as his major-general. Thus, by a glance at the map, it will be seen that the position of the allies formed an extensive semicircle around that of the enemy; but the French having, during the winter, fortified the naturally strong position on the northern bank of the Douro, at every assailable point, by works and entrenchments, they were under little apprehension that the allies could force that barrier, and hoped by the rapid movements of their own contracted forces, they would be enabled to baffle the manœuvres of an enemy acting on so extended a line as that of the allies. From the forward position of the right wing of the allies at Bejar, the French apprehended that Wellington would open the campaign by an attempt to march on Madrid, and had accordingly made their dispositions to counteract the movement. Wellington had entertained a more masterly conception; his plan was to move the left wing of the allied army across the Douro, within the Portuguese frontier, marching it up the right or northern bank of that river, and then crossing the Esla, to unite it to the Gallician forces under Giron, while the centre and right wing, advancing from the Aguada by Salamanca, forced the passage of the Tormes and drove the French from the line of the Douro towards the Carrion; thus taking in reverse all the strong defensive positions of the enemy on the northern bank of the Douro, and intercepting his whole line of communication.

To put this masterly movement into execution, he prepared at Lamego, Torremoncorvo, and San Jos de Pesquiera, means of transport. On May the 15th, he threw five divisions of infantry, and two brigades of cavalry, in all about 40,000 men, under Graham, across the Douro, with orders to march through the province of Tras-os-Montes on Zamora. When Graham was supposed sufficiently advanced, on May the 22nd the main body of the army, about 28,000 men, advanced in two lines towards the Tormes; the right, consisting of the 2nd division and Murillo's corps, under Hill, from Upper Estremadura on Alba de Tormes; and the left, consisting of two divisions of infantry, Amarante's Portuguese divisions of infantry, and five brigades of cavalry, (including the corps of Julian Sanchez,) by Matilla upon Salamanca, under the immediate command of Wellington. The whole army, with high spirits, moved forward to the scenes of their former exploits, the glories of twenty victories playing about

their bayonets. Their chief shared in the general exultation; and in the spirit of prophetic anticipation of the result of his plans, raising himself in his stirrups, and waving his hand, in a burst of feeling exclaimed—"Farewell Portugal."

While the allies were preparing to march, Joseph Buonaparte put the army of the centre in motion, and, followed by those of the south and Portugal, retired slowly on the Ebro. The appearance of the French army was more picturesque than military. It was crowded in its march, and too fanciful both in the character of its equipment and the variety of its costume. The line and light infantry excepted, few of the regiments were similarly dressed. The horse artillery wore uniforms of light blue, braided with black lace. The heavy cavalry were arrayed in green coats, with brass helmets. The chasseurs and hussars, mounted on slight and active horses, were showily and variously equipped. The "gendarmérie à cheval," a picked body, chosen from the cavalry at large, had long blue frocks, with cocked hats and buff belts; while the *élite* of the dragoons, selected for superior size and general appearance, were distinguished by bear-skin caps, and wore a look of martial determination that their past and future bearing in the battle-field did not belie. Each regiment of the line had its company of grenadiers and voltigeurs—even the light regiments having a company of the former. The appearance of the whole force was soldierly and imposing; the cavalry was, indeed, superb; and the artillery, as to guns, caissons, and appointments, most complete; and, better still, their horses were in excellent condition. Both armies were in the highest state of efficiency, for to both the undivided attention of their commanding officers had been directed; and yet, in their respective equipments, a practised eye would detect a marked dissimilarity. With the British every thing was simple, compact, and limited, as far as its being serviceable would admit; while the French were sadly encumbered with useless equipages and accumulated plunder. Those of the Spanish noblesse who had acknowledged the usurper now accompanied his retreat; state functionaries, in court dresses and rich embroidery, were mingled with the troops; calashes, carrying wives or mistresses, moved between brigades of guns; while nuns from Castile and ladies from Andalusia, attired *en militaire* and mounted on horseback, deserted castle and convent, to

follow the fortunes of some soldier or employé. Excepting that of his great brother, when retreating from Moscow, no army since the days of Xerxes was so overloaded with spoil and baggage as that of Joseph Buonaparte.*

The centre and right effected their junction on the 25th of May, at Alba de Tormes, and so rapid had been their march, that the French in Salamanca, consisting of 3,000 infantry and 400 cavalry, under the command of Villatte, were nearly surprised; and in their retreat by the defiles of Aldea Lengua, being overtaken by the British cavalry, under general Fane, they lost about 200 men in killed and wounded, as many taken prisoners, and seven guns, with their tumbrils. The right and centre then advanced, the first towards Zamora, where it was proposed to throw over the bridge; the right was pushed towards Toro, and covered the communication with Ciudad Rodrigo. The army being now halted between the Tormes and the Douro, and the command transferred, *ad interim*, to Lord Hill, Wellington, anxious about his combinations on the Esla, passed, May 30th, at Miranda de Douro—which here runs foaming between two rocks from 400 to 500 feet high—by means of a hammock or cradle slung by rings attached to a rope stretched across from precipice to precipice. On the following day he reached Carvajales, and assumed the direction of the left wing, which was then on the Esla, and in communication with the Gallician army. The difficulties that Graham had encountered on his rugged march through Tras-os-Montes, through bad and narrow roads, deep ravines, and over steep ascents, and rivers, had occasioned a delay which prevented the surprise and separation of the French armies, and the consequent destruction of their divisions; had these movements been effected, and then a rapid push made on Placentia and Valladolid, while Hill marched on Rueda, the French armies would have been caught—to adopt Buonaparte's own expression—“*flagrante delicto.*” During these movements of the main allied army, the Gallician army under Giron, advanced to Benevente, communicating by its right with Graham's corps; O'Donnel, with the army

* Maxwell.

† The abandonment of Madrid presented one of the remarkable scenes incident to war: the bustle attendant on the march of the troops being accompanied by the confused departure of that portion of its population, who had taken part with the

of reserve of Andalusia, was in movement towards Almaraz, to gain the pass of Baños, on the allied right; and the third Spanish corps, under the duke del Parque, was in motion on the great road from Cordoba to Madrid.

Preparations were now made for passing the Esla. As the opposite banks were watched by pickets of cavalry and infantry, at daybreak of the 31st the hussar brigade (having, as the river was chin-deep, a foot soldier of the 51st and the Brunswick Oels, holding to the stirrup of every horseman), effected the passage with a trifling loss, and captured one of the enemy's pickets. Immediately the pontoon bridge was laid down, and the allies crossed the river. Thus was the formidable line of the Douro turned, and the defensive works of the enemy rendered useless. They immediately destroyed the bridges of Zamora and Toro, and abandoned their posts in haste. The allies entered the first-mentioned town on June 1st, and the second on the following day. Threatened by the advance, the enemy retreated with precipitation; but their rear-guard of cavalry was overtaken by the British hussar brigade, under colonel Grant. The enemy's horse, retreating across the bridge, formed itself into two lines, and awaited the British charge; but the 10th and 18th regiments dashing forward, broke both lines, took above 200 prisoners, and pursued the fugitives until they took shelter under cover of their guns. This affair afforded a proof of the indifference with which a people, familiarized to danger, regard events which in civil life are looked upon with horror. The Spaniards were now so accustomed to sights of war, that though the fighting had been almost in the streets of Morales, within ten minutes after the firing had ceased, the women were spinning at their doors, and the little children at play. On the same evening Julian Sanchez captured a cavalry picket at Castronuño.

The rapid advance of the allies having now placed Joseph's army of the centre in a perilous situation; as if it remained where it was it would be cut off from the army of Portugal, and from its line of communication with France, the usurper hastily quitted Madrid,† and crossing the river at Puenete intruder. Persons of rank were intermixed with all orders of the community, and alike contemptuously treated by the French troops. Many were wretched in appearance, and some of them incapable of undergoing any great degree of bodily fatigue. Their lamentations or declarations were listened to with

de Douro, effected a junction with Reille. The concentrated forces seeming disposed to maintain their ground which they had taken up between Torreloboton and Tordeillas, Wellington halted his left wing on 3rd of June at Toro, to afford time to his rear to close up, and the right wing under Hill to cross the Douro. In the course of the afternoon of that day, the artillery and baggage passed by a ford, the infantry by the bridge of Toro; ladders, under the direction of lieutenant Pringle of the engineers, being dropped from each side of the broken arch, and planks being laid from one to the other immediately above the water-level.

On the 4th, the whole army moved forward in a compact form on Valladolid, which the enemy evacuated in the early part of that day, and retreating behind the Carrion, were in full march for Palencia. In Valladolid, Zamora, and Arevalo, they abandoned large magazines of corn and provisions.

On the 7th, the allies crossed the Carrion at Palencia; and still continuing to manœuvre to their left, and menacing the enemy's line of communication, forced them to retreat from their strong position behind the Pisuerga, on the Hormaza. On the 9th, Reille was posted behind that river, his right near Hormillas, his left on the Arlanzan, thus barring the way to Burgos; the armies of the centre and the south were behind Estepar, with the hope of arresting the allied army, until the expected reinforcements, under Foy and Clausel, should come up; but the right of the position being flanked by the light division and the hussar and Ponsonby's brigades; and sir Rowland Hill threatening the heights of Hermaza and Estepar; without waiting to be attacked, the enemy withdrew across the Arlanzan, losing a gun and some prisoners.

They were now covered by the Arlanzan and the Urbell; but not considering themselves secure, in the course of the night of the 14th they retreated to Burgos; and at an early hour of the following morning destroyed the interior of its castle, by exploding the defences. It was their malignant intention to have destroyed both town and castle, but either from hurry or negligence the mines exploded outwards. Many men perished in the town; and a column defiling

stoical indifference, and the bayonets of the French soldiery goaded them forward on their way.—Leith Hay's *Narrative of the Peninsular War*.

at the time under the castle, 300 men were crushed by the falling ruins.

Abandoning Burgos, the enemy retreated in the night by the road of Breviesca behind the Ebro. Having garrisoned the castle of Pancorbo, which stands at a short distance from the rivers, commands the pass of that name and the bridge of Miranda del Ebro, they took up a strong position; the army of the south at Miranda, that of the centre at Haxo, on the left, and that of Portugal on the right; and thus possessed of the rocks, the defile, and castle of Pancorbo, they imagined they might wait for the expected reinforcements from Biscay, Navarre, and Aragon. The army of Portugal was cantoned in divisions as far as Armiñon, for the purpose of observing the movements of the allies, Reille posting Mancune at Frias, Sarrut at Osuna, and himself at Espejo.

The English general, though he had crossed the Tormes, the Esla, the Douro, the Carrion, the Pisuerga, and the Arlanzan, and rocks, and mountains, and ravines, as if they had been dried and levelled lands, aware of the difficulty of the Pancorbo pass, and the strong positions on the Ebro, instead of forcing the passage of that river in face of an army, determined to effect the purpose by the same manœuvres he had put into practice at the Douro, of moving on the flank of the enemy and taking his defensive positions in reverse. For this purpose, he struck to his left, by the road to Santander, and conducting his army by one of the most difficult routes ever traversed by an army—(at one time the labour of a hundred soldiers being required to move forward a piece of artillery; at another the gun was obliged to be dismounted, and lowered down a precipice by ropes, or swayed up the rugged paths by the united efforts of men and horses)—to the bridges of San Martin, Rocamunde, and Puente de Arenas, near the sources of the Ebro, he passed the river on the 14th and 15th. Graham passed on the 14th by the two first-mentioned bridges; the centre followed the same course the next day; and at the same time the right wing crossed at Puente de Arenas. All those passages were much higher up the Ebro than Frias, the highest point the French had thought it necessary to guard. At the same time, the Biscayan guerillas occupied all the passes in the mountains of Reynosa, which lie between the Ebro and the coast. Thus the enemy was not only obliged to abandon all his

defensive positions on the Ebro, but the whole sea coast of Biscay. The allies also obtained a new base of operations close to the scene of action. All the military establishments were, in consequence, removed from Portugal, and the supplies of the army directed to this quarter.

On the 16th, the allies, passing through the rugged and defensible defiles, descended on the great road of Bilboa, and continued their march on Vittoria. Reille, who had been ordered to protect Bilboa, advanced with two divisions in the direction of Orduna, directing Mancune to march with his division from Frias to the same point; but, on reaching Osuna, he was confronted by Graham, with the first and fifth divisions, who was debouching from the mountain pass in his front, and already in possession of the Bilboa road. A sharp skirmish ensued, when the sound of battle coming upon them from beyond the mountains, Reille, suspecting mischief had befallen Mancune, fell back towards Espejo; and on reaching the spot where the mouths of the valley open on each other, masses of Mancune's division burst from the hills in all the confusion of defeat, pursued by the light division, which had been moving in a parallel line with Graham's march. Reille, continuing to be pressed by Graham, retired behind Salinas de Añara.

Mancune's division had sustained a severe defeat; having crossed the Aracena, and cleared its defiles, they had halted on the heights of San Millan, to wait for the remainder of the division which was marching with the baggage, when, most unexpectedly, the British light division presented itself on a ridge directly in front. The ground was unfavourable for an attack, the road being rugged, steep, and narrow, overhung with crags and copsewood, and some straggling cottages, affording cover to the enemy's voltigeurs. But undiscouraged by these disadvantages, the 95th rushed down the hill, supported by the 52nd, and after a sharp fusilade the enemy gave way, closely followed by their assailants; when, on a sudden, the other French brigade debouching from the defile, appeared on the flank of the assailants. Both sides rushed on to gain the crest of the hill, and both reached the summit together. The 52nd, bringing their flank forward in a run, faced sharply round, and charged with the bayonet. The conflict was but momentary; the enemy broke, threw away their knapsacks, and fled with speed towards Espejo, leaving their arms

and baggage in the hands of the victors, and having lost 400 men in killed and prisoners.

Reille and Mancune having effected a junction the same evening, they proceeded in a night march to occupy Subijana de Morillos, on the river Bayas, and about six miles from the Puebla pass, in order to enable the armies of the south and the centre to move safely through the narrow gorge of the Puebla de Arganzan into the valley of the Zadorra, and thus keep open the high road to Bayonne; but while the armies of the centre and south were struggling through the defile, Reille's flank having been turned by the light division, and his front assailed by the fourth division, he was driven over the Zadorra on the armies of the south and centre. On the morning of the 19th, the enemy took post about two miles in front of Vittoria; the army of the centre occupying a range of heights in front of the village of Arinez, that of Portugal on the heights of Zuazo. On the 20th, the whole British army, except the 6th division (Pakenham's), which had been left at Medina del Pomar to cover the march of the magazines and stores, was concentrated on the right banks of the Bayas.

In speaking of the masterly manner in which the movements of the army had been performed in this march, the eloquent author of the *History of Europe* says—"With such accuracy were the marches of all the columns calculated, and with such precision were they carried into effect by the admirable troops, inured to war and all its fatigues, which Wellington commanded, that everything happened exactly as he had arranged before he set out from Portugal; and the troops all arrived at the stations assigned them, in the prophetic contemplation of their chief, in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, at the very time when the French army, heavy laden and dejected, had accumulated its immense files of chariots and baggage-waggons, under the charge of 70,000 men, in the plain in front of that town. No words can do justice to the exquisite beauty of the scenery through which the British troops, especially those on the left wing, passed during this memorable march. The romantic valleys of the mountain region whence the Ebro draws its waters, which at every season excite the admiration of the passing traveller, were at that time singularly enhanced by the exquisite verdure of the opening spring, and

the luxuriance of the foliage which in every sheltered nook clothed the mountain sides. War appeared in these sequestered and pastoral valleys, not in its rude and bloody garb, but in its most brilliant and attractive costume; the pomp of military music, as the troops wended their way through the valleys, blended with the shepherd's pipe on the hills above; while the numerous columns of horse, foot, and cannon, winding in every direction through the defiles, gave

an inexpressible variety and charm to the landscape. Even the common soldiers were not insensible to the beauty of the spectacle thus perpetually placed before their eyes. Often the men rested on their muskets with their arms crossed, gazing on the lovely scenes which lay spread far beneath their feet; and more than once the heads of the columns involuntarily halted to satiate their eyes with a spectacle of beauty, the like of which all felt they might never see again."

BATTLE OF VITTORIA.

VITTORIA, which is the capital city of the province of Alava, stands on the declivity and base of a hill at the end of the basin or valley of Vittoria, and is surrounded with double walls. The valley, which is bounded on the east by the Pyrenees, and on the west by a chain of rugged heights which separate it from Biscay, is about six miles broad by eight long, and is intersected by the Zadorra, an affluent of the Ebro; as also by two ridges of hills, which cross it from east to west. The river runs near the town, and is spanned by several bridges. In the vicinity of this city, namely, the heights on which the French army was posted, the battle of Najara was fought in the commencement of the 14th century, in which the English, under Edward the Black Prince, obtained a complete victory over the Franco-Spanish army of Henry the Bastard, commanded by Bertram du Guesclin, and which seated Pedro the Cruel, the rightful king, on the Spanish throne. Thus, while pursuing the enemy over these heights, which still bear the name of the English Hill (*Inglesmende*), the English soldiers unconsciously trod on the relics of the bones of their ancestors.

Vittoria, on the evening of the 19th, displayed an extraordinary spectacle. The city was brilliantly illuminated in honour of the intrusive king Joseph; its sparkling interior presenting a gay and animated sight. To these appearances of rejoicing, a striking contrast was formed by the symptoms of hurry and alarm which were visible everywhere. All the principal houses and public buildings were occupied by Joseph Buonaparte, his staff, and guards, and the entire

* General Murillo, with all his roughness and his ignorance, was an enthusiastic admirer of everything English. He had raised himself from the lowest ranks by his enterprising courage and cordial exertion in forwarding every scheme or measure calcu-

lated, as he conceived, to resist French domination. He had obtained considerable authority over the division of Spaniards under his immediate orders; his courage was undoubted; his devotion to lord Hill, with whom he had long served, unbounded.—*Leith Hay.*

of his court; here also was established the head-quarters of the army of the centre; while the streets were crowded with an immense collection of equipages, intermingled with cavalry, artillery, ambulances, etc. Soldiers and civilians were every moment arriving, vainly seeking for accommodation in a town unequal to afford shelter to half the number who required it.

The English general having, on the afternoon of the 20th, carefully and minutely surveyed the enemy's position, the dispositions for attack were made: the army was to move in four columns at daybreak of the 21st. Hill, with the right wing, consisting of the 2nd division (W. Stewart's), Amarante's Portuguese, Murillo's Spaniards,* and some cavalry, in all about 20,000, was to move on the heights of Puebla de Arganzan, and, advancing through the defile, expand his force as he arrived in the open plain, as soon as he had crossed the Zadorra. The right centre, under the command of Wellington in person, consisting of the light (Alten's) and 4th divisions (Cole's), the heavy cavalry, the hussar brigade, and d'Urban's Portuguese horse, were to proceed through the pass which leads to Subijana de Murillos, and move forward to their points of attack, namely, the bridges of Villodar, Tres Puentes, and Nanclarez. The left centre, under Dalhousie, comprising the 3rd (Picton's) and 7th (Dalhousie's) divisions, was to move direct upon the steeples of Vittoria, on the bridge of Mendoza. The right wing, consisting of the 1st (Howard's) and 5th (Oswald's) divisions, Longa's Spaniards, and Bock's and Anson's cavalry, in all 20,000 combatants,

under Graham, was directed to make a circuit from Murguia on the left, by the Bilbao road, gaining the bridge that crosses the Zadorra at Gamarra Mayor, and, turning the French right wing, intercept the enemy's retreat by the Bayonne road. The whole plain in which the impending battle was about to take place was covered with a rich harvest, already bending to the sickle, but now destined to be reaped by the gleaming sword and fiery breath of war.

The French armies occupied a line nearly eight miles in extent.* Their order of battle was thus:—Their extreme left, consisting of the army of the south, under Gazan, rested on the heights which terminate at Puebla de Arganzan, and on the steep and commanding ridges above the village of Subijana de Alava, having the reserve in the rear at Betoria. Their right, consisting of the army of Portugal, under Reille, was in advance of the Zadorra upon the heights in front of the river, above the villages of Abechuco and Gamarra Mayor. Their centre, consisting of the army of the centre, commanded by Joseph, assisted by Jourdan, covered a range of strong heights on the Zadorra, and a strong reserve was posted in its rear at the village of Gomechas, behind which the greater part of the cavalry was massed and defended by powerful batteries, commanding the bridges of Mendoza, Tres Puentes, Villodar, and Nanclarez. Thus posted, the enemy covered Vittoria, and held the three great roads, which, from Logrono, Madrid, and Bilbao, converge on that city, and thence pursue one line to Bayonne. They had compelled a multitude of Spanish peasants to labour in throwing up field defences to place the guns in battery.

The hostile armies were nearly equal in point of force, the trifling numerical differ-

ence of the allies being counterbalanced by the superior quality of the troops opposed to them, who were all veterans, whereas the Spaniards were mostly fresh levies. The allied force consisted of 35,000 English and Germans, 25,000 Portuguese, and about 18,000 Spaniards. The Spanish force consisted of the infantry of Murillo, Giron, Longa, and d'España; its cavalry of Penne Villemure and Julian Sanchez; but, by some unaccountable circumstance, Giron's Gallicians, 12,000, who were designed as a support to Graham, never acted. The French force, which consisted of the armies of the south and centre, four divisions, and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, part of the army of the north, the Franco-Spanish brigade, and Joseph's Spanish guards, amounted to above 70,000 combatants. A corps of 12,000 French was in the direction of Bilbao, under Foy; and Clausel, with a body of 15,000 men, was at Logrono.

The early part of the morning of the 21st was wet and misty, but as the fog cleared off the sun rose clear and cloudless. At daybreak the allied columns stood to their arms, and marched from their bivouacs on the Bayas towards the Zadorra. Hill, on reaching the Miranda road, detached the first brigade of Murillo's division to drive the enemy from the heights. Under cover of a wood, the Spaniards mounted the steep ascent; but making but slight impression on the position, Hill ordered the 71st and the light infantry of the 2nd division, under Colonel Cadogan, to advance to their support. The enemy, alarmed for the safety of his flank, reinforced this point strongly from the left centre of his line. A severe struggle ensued, in which Cadogan fell mortally wounded;† but the post was won and sustained by the assailants. Under cover of

me exceedingly." And this is not a solitary instance of the same susceptibility of affectionate attachment. His sorrow for the loss of his friends and fellow-soldiers was great. In his letter to general Charles Kent, after the battle of Waterloo, he says, "I am quite heart-broken by the terrible loss I have sustained of my old friends and companions, and my poor soldiers! How many of them have I to regret!" On retracing the field of battle, the thought of his brave companions and their chivalrous achievements, recalled the anguish of his bereavement; surrendering himself to the strong feelings by which the hero was subdued, he burst into a flood of tears. In his letter to the earl of Aberdeen, whose brother was among the slain, "I cannot," he says, "express to you the regret and sorrow with which I look around me, and contemplate the loss which I have sustained, particularly in your brother." His strong susceptibility of affectionate attachment to his associates, is

* The ground on which the battle of Vittoria was fought, formed part of the Spanish general Alava's property, who was aid-de-camp to Wellington, for the purpose of communicating with the Spanish armies. He was the second in command of the Spanish fleet at the battle of Trafalgar.

† This gallant officer, declining to be removed from the field, was carried to a height, and placed with his back leaning against a tree, that he might witness the discomfiture of the foe before his spirit had taken its flight. Lord Wellington deeply lamented his loss. In a letter, written soon after the battle, to sir Henry Wellesley, he says, "I shall ever regret him. His private character, and his worth as an individual, were not greater than his merits as an officer. The concern which I feel upon his loss has diminished exceedingly the satisfaction I should derive from our success." Again he writes, in the course of a few days, "The loss of poor Cadogan has distressed

these heights, Hill occupied the Zadorra at Puebla; and, passing the defile formed by the heights and the river, attacked, with O'Callaghan's brigade, consisting of the 28th, 34th, and 39th, the heights and village of Subijano. As this village covered the left of the line, the enemy made repeated and strenuous attempts to recover it; but all their efforts, though bravely and perseveringly made, were fruitless, Hill remaining in undisputed possession of it throughout the battle.

In the mean time, Wellington had brought up the light and 4th divisions, with the cavalry and the greater mass of the artillery, from the Bayas to the Zadorra; but, as the enemy's centre was strong, and defended by their enormous force of artillery, and that the 3rd and 7th divisions, under Picton and Dalhousie, had not come up, having been delayed by the ruggedness of the country and the difficulty of the communication, he halted the light division opposite the bridge of Villodar, and the 4th in front of that of Nanclarez, both being covered by rugged grounds and thickets, the cavalry being placed in reserve; and in this position they waited till the 3rd and 7th divisions should reach their point of attack. Orders were now sent to Hill to arrest the progress of the right till the centre could get into action. As yet the only sound of battle heard in this quarter was that of a smart fusilade between the skirmishers of the light division and the enemy's advanced posts, on the left bank of the Zadorra, about the Villodar bridge.

It was now noon, when Joseph, ascertaining that his left wing was giving way before Hill, and hearing the advancing sound of Graham's cannon in his rear, deeming the flanks of his centre in danger—Hill's success having deprived his left centre of its support, and fearing that Graham's advance would

also exhibited in his letter to the duke of Beaufort, dated the day after the battle, in which occurs the following passage, "The losses I have sustained have quite broken me down, and I have no feeling for the advantages we have acquired. Believe me, nothing, excepting a battle lost, can be half so melancholy as a battle won; the bravery of my troops has hitherto saved me from the greater evil, but to win such a battle as that of Waterloo, at the expense of so many gallant friends, could only be termed a heavy misfortune, but for the result to the public." As has been already stated, in his letter of condolence to sir Edward Paget, who had been captured by the enemy's cavalry during the retreat from Burgos to the frontiers of Portugal, "You cannot conceive," says his kind-hearted chief, "how much I regret your loss. This being the second time I have been deprived of your assistance, I am

intercept his communication with Bayonne, —fell back in successive masses; and thus, with astonishing improvidence, exposing the bridges of Villodar and Nanclarez to the allies, withdrew his advanced posts from Villodar, directing Gazan to fall back with the left centre.

At this moment, a Spanish peasant came up, and informed Wellington that the bridge of Tres-Puentes was negligently guarded. Immediately, Kempt's brigade of the light division was ordered to cross, led by the peasant, and to halt in a concealed situation. Kempt, at a run, effected the passage, and establishing himself in a deep ravine, in rear of the enemy's advanced posts, occupying Villodar, was quickly followed by the 15th hussars, who, coming up at a canter, dashed in single file over the bridge. No other attempt was made to dislodge them, except a few round shot thrown—(one of which carried off the peasant's head)—by some French cavalry who approached, but quickly retired. While this bold and rapid movement was in execution, the 3rd and 7th divisions approached the bridge of Mendoza, about half a mile higher up the river than that of Tres-Puentes, under a heavy fire of the French artillery, which was vigorously replied to by the British guns on the other side of the river. At the same moment, a body of the enemy's light troops and cavalry approached. Immediately, Colonel Barnard, with the riflemen of Kempt's brigade, advanced between the French cavalry and the river, and taking the light troops and artillery in flank, engaged them so closely that the English artillery-men, thinking, from their dark uniform, they were enemies, fired on them as well as their opponents. Under cover of Barnard's attack, Colville's brigade of Picton's* division passed the bridge of Mendoza; the other brigades forded the river

almost afraid to wish to have you again; but God knows with what pleasure I shall hear of your being liberated, and shall see you with us."

* The author of the *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Picton* entertains his readers with the following amusing, but rather embellished story. While the 3rd division was waiting to cross the Zadorra, he says that Picton, becoming impatient to receive orders to advance, "inquired of several aides-de-camp who came near him from head-quarters, whether they had any orders for him. His soldiers were anxiously waiting to advance; he knew the spirit of his men, and had some difficulty in restraining it. As the day wore on, and the fight waxed warmer on the right, he became furious, and turning to one of his officers, said, 'D—n it, lord Wellington must have forgotten us.' It was near noon, and the men were getting discontented, for the centre had not yet been engaged.

about half a mile higher up, and were followed by the 7th division and Vandeleur's brigade of the light division. The fourth division immediately crossed at Nanclarez, followed by the heavy cavalry; and thus the whole of the British centre was established on the same side of the Zadorra as the enemy, and was immediately marshalled for the attack of the enemy's centre. The cavalry formed in line to support them.

The crash of battle was at hand. The British centre columns were now furiously engaged with the enemy's right centre; Hill was pressing Reille hard in his retreat from Subijana de Alava; and the rolling of Graham's artillery told that he was hotly engaged. So fierce was the encounter that one continued line of fire enveloped the banks of the Zadorra.

The advance of the British centre was made by echellons of regiments. The French retreated on their reserve, posted on the Arinez, on a second range of heights behind Gamecho, under cover of a cloud of tirailleurs, and the powerful batteries with which they had lined those heights. Colville's brigade of the "fighting third" led up the attack, and gallantly not only repulsed the force opposed to it, but encountered its two supporting lines at the bayonet's point, and captured their guns. At the same moment, Picton was ordered to attack the village of Arinez. Advancing at a running pace, with two brigades of his division, followed by Kempt's brigade, diagonally across the front of both armies, a fierce contest ensued, and the 88th were repulsed; but in a second assault by the 45th and 74th, the village was carried by the bayonet. During the contest the 52nd stormed Margarita, and the 87th carried Hermandad.

Defeated in front, and their left flank turned at Subijana de Alava, and over-

Picton's blood was boiling, and his stick was going with rapid strokes on the mane of his cob; he was riding backwards and forwards, looking in every direction for the arrival of an aid-de-camp, until at length one galloped up from lord Wellington. He was looking for the 7th division, under lord Dalhousie, which had not yet arrived at its post, having to move over some difficult ground. The aid-de-camp riding up at speed, suddenly checked his horse, and inquired of the general whether he had seen lord Dalhousie? Picton was disappointed: he expected now at least he might move; and in a voice that did not acquire softness from his feelings, he answered in a sharp tone, 'No, sir; I have not seen his lordship; but have you any orders for me, sir?' 'None,' replied the aid-de-camp. 'Then pray, sir,' continued the irritated general, 'what are the orders you do bring?' 'Why,' answered the officer, 'that as

powerfully pressed in front by Hill, the wreck of the armies of the centre and south retired, about six o'clock, P.M., maintaining for near six miles a running fight, facing about at every defensible position to retard the pursuit, to their last defensive height, between the villages of Ali and Armentia, about a mile in front of Vittoria. Here, reforming their columns, they made a desperate resistance, under cover of above 80 cannon. The cannonade and musketry discharges were so incessant and murderous, that the 3rd division, which was most in advance, could scarcely retain its ground; but the 4th division, rushing forward, and the 7th and light divisions charging them in flank, they were driven from their position, and hastily retreated to Metanco, on the Pamplona road. During the raging of the whole storm of the battle, "thousands of carriages and animals, and non-combatants—men, women, and children—were crowding together beyond Vittoria, in all the madness of terror; and as the English shot went booming over head, the vast crowd started and swerved with a convulsive movement, while a dull and horrid sound of distress arose; but there was no hope, no stay, for army or multitude." The non-combatants, consisting of the followers of the camp and the Spanish adherents to the usurper, were not less than 20,000. The animals consisted of droves of bullocks, intermingled with vast quantities of sheep, swine, cows, horses, and mules.

While the right and centre had been vigorously pursuing their success, Graham, who had not, on account of the difficulty and circuitous nature of his line of march, been able to reach his point of attack before eleven o'clock, having dislodged the enemy from the heights above the village of Abucheco, directed Oswald, with the 5th division, to soon as lord Dalhousie, with the 7th division, shall commence an attack upon that bridge (pointing to one on the left), the 4th and 6th [query, the light division, for the 6th was stationed at Medina del Pomar in observation] are to support him.' Picton could not understand the idea of any other division fighting in his front; and, drawing himself up to his full height, said to the astonished aid-de-camp, with some passion; 'You may tell lord Wellington from me, sir, that the 3rd division, under my command, shall in less than ten minutes attack the bridge, and carry it, and the 4th and 6th [query] may support if they choose.' Having thus expressed his intention, he turned from the aid-de-camp, put himself at the head of his men, who were quickly in motion towards the bridge, encouraging them with the bland language, 'Come on, ye rascals! come on, you fighting villains!'

assail Gamarra Mayor, while he attacked Abucheco, both these villages being occupied by the enemy as *têtes-du-pont* to protect the passages of the Zadorra. Gamarra Mayor was carried by Robinson's brigade, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry. The attack on Abucheco was no less successful. Under cover of two brigades of horse artillery, Halkett's brigade of the German legion drove the enemy from the village, and even carried the bridge, but were repulsed from it by the fire of the enemy's artillery; and a second attempt to possess the bridge was equally unsuccessful. The village of Gamarra Menor was also carried by the Spaniards, under Longa. As Gamarra Mayor commanded the road to Bayonne, the enemy endeavoured to recover its possession, but were driven back. The enemy being too strongly posted in the heights on the left of the Zadorra to render it possible as yet to pass the bridges, Graham awaited the moment until the success of the attacks on the left and centre should compel the withdrawal of the opposing force. No sooner had Wellington penetrated Vittoria in pursuit of the enemy's centre and left, than Graham, pushing across the river, took possession of the road to Bayonne. Reille, fearing to be cut off, hastily quitted his position; and, rallying his troops on his reserve at Betoria, fought his way to Metanco—thus covering the shattered armies of the south and centre in their headlong flight to Pamplona. Graham, availing himself of the withdrawal of the reserve which had prevented him from passing the bridges he had bravely won, immediately pushing across the Zadorra, took possession of the road to Bayonne. The line of retreat being thus intercepted, the only route by which Reille could retire was by the road to Pamplona, by which the armies of the south and centre were fleeing. On this he instantly fell back in haste and disorder. Thus the entire army of the enemy was driven back upon one line of retreat, in great hurry and confusion. The allies pressed forward; but their flight was so precipitate that the infantry could not overtake them; and from the nature of the ground, which was much intersected by ditches and enclosures, had but little opportunity of coming up with them. The chief loss they suffered was from the bullets and shells of a battery of horse artillery, which, from a commanding eminence, was poured upon them. So headlong was their flight,

that they abandoned all their artillery, ammunition, baggage, and the six years' plunder of the three armies. To escape with life was their only object. Gazan, the second in command, admitted that generals, officers, and soldiers, were alike reduced to the clothes on their backs. Very few of the infantry retained their arms, and many threw away even their accoutrements to expedite their flight. But precipitate as their flight was, they took great pains to bear off as many of their wounded as possible, and for this purpose dismounted a regiment of cavalry to carry them forward. They also carefully endeavoured to conceal their dead, stopping occasionally to collect them and throw them into ditches, where they covered them with bushes. Many such receptacles were found, containing from ten to twenty bodies. They had also set every village on the line of their flight on fire, and in many cases had massacred the inhabitants.

The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was, according to their own account, 8,000; that of the allies, 740 killed, 4,174 wounded. Of the killed, 501 were British, 150 Portuguese, and 89 Spaniards; of the wounded, 2,807 were British, 899 Portuguese, and 464 Spanish. The prisoners were 800. The intruder narrowly escaped. The 10th hussars entered Vittoria at the moment he was hastening out of it. Captain Wyndham, with one squadron, pursued and fired into the carriage; and Joseph had barely time to throw himself on his horse and gallop off under the protection of an escort of dragoons.

The spoils of the victors were great: 151 pieces of artillery, 450 caissons, the colours of the 4th battalion of the 106th regiment, an immense amount of military stores, the entire baggage and field equipage of the three armies, the military chest, containing five and a-half millions of dollars, and the enormous accumulated pillage of the three armies and Joseph during the period of six years. The field of battle, and the roads for some miles in the rear, were covered with broken-down waggons, cars, and coaches; some stocked with the choicest wares, others laden with eatables, dressed and undressed, sacks of flour, casks of brandy, barrels and boxes of dollars and doubloons; apparel, silks, laces, satins, plate, jewellery, paintings, and sculpture; books and thickly scattered papers, from the correspondence chests of the various military and civil offices. Whole droves of oxen were roaming the plain, in-



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BATTLE OF VICTORIA.

termingled with an endless number of sheep, goats, cows, horses, and mules. The intruder's sideboard of plate, his larder, cellar, wardrobe, and carriages, were among the waifs or derelicts; as were also countesses and concubines, nuns and actresses, parrots, poodles, and monkeys. The number of ladies of pleasure who were among the carriages in the train of the French officers was so great, that it was a common saying afterwards in their army, that it was no wonder they were beaten at Vittoria, for they sacrificed their guns to save their mistresses. Upon the field was found Marshal Jourdan's baton,* as also the sword of the intruder. Two immense convoys of plunder, containing, among other things, the present harvest, had been expedited to the French frontier on the 19th and early on the morning of the battle, escaped the victors.

The baggage was promptly rifled by the soldiers, camp-followers, and the peasantry and people of the town and country. Each seized what he could. Those who took possession of the army-chest loaded themselves with money; but the larger portion of this part of the spoil fell into the hands of the camp-followers, and the Spanish peasantry and population of the town. In a moment were to be seen raggamuffins dressed in state robes, embroidered uniforms, and court dresses, in masquerade triumph. The camp of every division was soon like a fair; benches were laid from waggon to waggon, and there the soldiers held an auction through the night, and disposed of such plunder as had fallen to their share to any who would purchase it. Even dollars became an article of sale, for they were too heavy to be carried in any great numbers: eight were offered for a guinea, being the current gold currency, in consequence of a decree of the regency.

Alison says, "This great battle at one blow destroyed the warlike efficiency of the French army, swept them like a whirlwind from the Spanish plains, and made Joseph's crown drop from his head. No estimate can be formed of the amount of private plunder which was taken on the field, but it exceeded anything witnessed in modern war; for it was not the produce of the sack of a city or the devastation of a province, but the accumulated plunder of a kingdom during five years, which was now at one fell swoop reft from the spoiler. Independent

of private booty, no less than five millions and a half of dollars in the military chest of the army were taken; and of private wealth, the amount was so prodigious, that for miles together the combatants may be almost said to have marched upon gold and silver without stooping to pick it up. But the regiments which followed, not equally warmed in the fight, were not so disinterested: enormous spoil fell into the hands of the private soldiers; and the cloud of camp-followers and sutlers who followed in their train swept the ground so completely, that only a hundred thousand dollars of the whole taken was brought into the military chest! But the effects of this prodigious booty speedily appeared in the dissolution of the bonds of discipline in a large part of the army: the frightful national vice of intemperance broke out in dreadful colours, from the unbounded means of indulging it which were thus speedily acquired; and we have the authority of Wellington for the assertion, that three weeks after the battle, above 12,000 soldiers had disappeared from their colours, though the total loss of the battle was only 5,180, of whom 3,308 were British; and these stragglers were only reclaimed by sedulous efforts and rigorous severity."

Speaking on this subject in a despatch to lord Bathurst, the duke thus expressed himself:—"We started with the army in the highest order, and up to the day of the battle nothing could get on better; but that event has, as usual, totally annihilated all order and discipline. The soldiers of the army have got among them about a million sterling in money, with the exception of about 100,000 dollars which were got in the military chest. The night of the battle, instead of being passed in getting rest and food, to prepare them for the pursuit of the following day, was passed by the soldiers in looking for plunder. The consequence was, that they were incapable of marching in pursuit of the enemy, and were totally knocked up. The rain came on, and increased our fatigues; and I am convinced that we have now out of our ranks double the amount of our loss in the battle, and have lost more men in the pursuit than the enemy have, though we have never in one day made more than an ordinary march. * * * By the State of yesterday we had

* This prize was found by a drummer of the 87th regiment, in Jourdan's carriage. So ignorant was the finder of its value, that he sold it to one of the Jew camp-followers for a bottle of brandy. Being

discovered by accident, it was brought to Wellington while in the act of closing his despatch to send to England. The gold with which it had been tipped had been taken off by the Jew.

12,500 men less under arms, than we had on the day before the battle. They are not in the hospital, nor are they killed, nor have they fallen into the hands of the enemy as prisoners: I have had officers in all directions after them, but have not heard of any of them. I believe they are concealed in the villages in the mountains."

On the arrival in London of the news of this glorious battle, the metropolis was illuminated for three successive nights. Both houses of parliament unanimously voted thanks to Wellington and his companions-in-arms. He was appointed field-marshal in the British army; by a decree of the Spanish cortes, he was created duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, with the annexation in perpetuity of the lordship of Soto de Romano, in Granada. The cortes further resolved, that "the general and extraordinary cortes, wishing to transmit to the most distant posterity the memory of the late glorious victory, which the allied army gained, under the command of the duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 21st of June, over the enemy commanded by the intrusive king, on the field of Vittoria, decree as follows:—1. When circumstances admit of it, there shall be erected in the situations best calculated for that purpose, and in the manner which government shall consider the most proper, a monument which shall record to the latest generations this memorable battle. 2. That the political chief and provincial deputation of Alava shall charge themselves with the execution of this monument."

The prince of Wales sent an autograph letter to his lordship:—

"Carlton House, 3rd July, 1813.

"My dear lord,—Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward. I know no language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say, but most devoutly to offer up my prayer of gratitude to Providence, that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me, among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French marshal, and I send you in return that of England. The British army will hail it with rapturous enthusiasm, while the whole universe will acknowledge those valourous exploits which have so imperiously called for it. That uninterrupted health and still increasing laurels may continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life, are the never-ceasing and

most ardent wishes of, my dear lord, your very sincere and faithful friend, G. P. R."

To this, lord Wellington returned the following reply:—

"Lesaca, 16th July, 1813.

"I trust your royal highness will receive graciously my humble acknowledgments for the honour which your royal highness has conferred upon me by your approbation, for the terms in which it is conveyed, and for the last distinguished mark of your royal highness' favour. Even if I had not been supported and encouraged as I have been by your royal highness' protection and favour, the interest which I feel for the cause which your royal highness so powerfully supports, would have induced me to make every exertion for its success. I can evince my gratitude for your royal highness' repeated favours only by devoting my life to your service."

In his despatches, dated "Carvajales, 31st May, 1813," "Ampudia, 6th June," "Villadiego, 13th June," "Subijana, 19th June," and "Salvatierra, 22nd June," the historian of his own campaigns presents a general detail of the operations in the memorable march from the Douro to the Zadorra, and then of the battle of Vittoria, addressed to the earl of Bathurst.

"Carvajales, 31st May, 1813.

"The troops arrived at Salamanca on the 26th instant, and we found the enemy still in the town, with one division of infantry, and three squadrons of cavalry, and some cannon of the army of the south, under the command of general Villatte.

"The enemy evacuated the town on our approach, but they waited longer than they ought on the high ground in the neighbourhood, and afforded an opportunity for the cavalry, under general Fane and general Victor Alten, the former of which crossed the Tormes, at Sta Martha, and the latter at the bridge, to do them a great deal of injury in their retreat. Many were killed and wounded, and we took about 200 prisoners, seven tumbrils of ammunition, some baggage, provisions, &c. The enemy retired by the road of Babilafuente, and near Huerta were joined by a body of infantry and cavalry on their march from Alba. I then ordered our troops to discontinue their pursuit, our infantry not being up. Major-general Long and major-general Morillo, in command of the Spanish division, attacked Alba, from which place the enemy retired.

"In the course of the 27th and 28th, I

established the troops which had marched from the Agueda and Upper Estremadura, between the Tormes and Douro, under the command of lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill, with the view to their early communication and junction with the main body of the army, on the right of the Douro, and in the mean time, to their retaining possession of the Tormes, and of the communication with Ciudad Rodrigo; and I set off myself on the 29th, to join the troops here, and arrived that day at Miranda de Douro; and here on the 30th I found the troops on the Esla, under the orders of sir Thomas Graham, as I had intended, with their left at Tabara, and in communication with the Gallician army, and their right at this place, and all the arrangements made for passing the Esla. The greater part passed that river this morning, the cavalry by fords, and the infantry by a bridge, which it was necessary to throw over the river, as it was so deep that some men, even of the cavalry, were lost in the passage. The English hussars, who crossed first, took an officer and thirty prisoners near Val de Perdiees.

"The enemy have evacuated Zamora, and our patrols have been in that town. The troops which were there have fallen back upon Toro, where I understand they have a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry. It appears that the enemy have joined at La Nava del Rey the troops which retired from Salamanca, Ávila, &c., with those which were at Arevalo and Medina del Campo."

"Zamora, 1st June, 1813.

"P.S. This despatch having been detained, I have to inform your lordship, that I moved the head-quarters here this day. The enemy have evacuated Toro, into which place our troops have entered."

"Ampudea, 6th June, 1813.

"The troops have continued to advance since I wrote to your lordship on the 31st of last month, and were on the 1st at Zamora, and on the 2nd they arrived at Toro. The English hussars, being on the advanced guard, fell in, between Toro and Morales, with a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry, which were immediately attacked by the 10th, supported by the 18th and 15th. The enemy were overthrown and pursued for many miles; and 210 prisoners, with many horses, and two officers, fell into our hands. I enclose colonel Grant's report of this gallant affair, which reflects great credit on major Roberts and the 10th hussars, and upon colonel

Grant, under whose directions they acted. In the evening Don Julian Sanchez surprised the enemy's post at Castro Nuño, and took two officers, and 30 cavalry prisoners; and he drove their post from the ford of Pollos.

"The enemy had destroyed the bridges of Zamora and Toro; and the difficulties in the passage of the Esla had retarded the movement of our rear, while the enemy had concentrated their force to a considerable amount between Torre-Lobaton and Tordesillas. I therefore halted on the 3rd at Toro, in order to bring the light division and the troops under the command of lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill, across the Douro by the bridge of that town, and to close up our rear, and to bring the Gallician army to join our left; and we moved again on the 4th.

"The enemy had commenced collecting their troops towards the Douro when they found we had passed Ciudad Rodrigo; and they crossed the Douro at Tordesillas on the 1st and 2nd. The troops at Madrid, and the detachments on the Tagus, broke up on the 27th, and crossed the Douro at the Ponte de Douro on the 3rd, and Valladolid was entirely evacuated on the 4th. The enemy left considerable magazines of grain at Arevalo, and some ammunition at Valladolid and Zamora. The enemy have passed the Carrion, and are apparently on their retreat towards Burgos."

"Villadiego, 13th June, 1813.

"The army passed the Carrion on the 7th, the enemy having retired across the Pisuerga, and on the 8th, 9th, and 10th, we brought forward our left, and passed that river. The celerity of our march up to this period, and the probable difficulties in, and the necessity of providing for the subsistence of the army in our further progress, induced me to make short movements on the 11th, and to halt the left on the 12th; but on the latter day I moved forward the right under lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill, consisting of the 2nd British, Morillo's Spanish, and Conde de Amarantes' Portuguese divisions of infantry, and the light division under major-general Baron Charles Alten, and major-general Fane's, major-general Long's, major-general Victor Alten's, brigadier-general Ponsonby's, and colonel Burg's (hussar) brigades of cavalry towards Burgos, with a view to reconnoitre the enemy's position and numbers near that town, and to force them to a decision whether to abandon the castle to its fate, or to protect it with all their force.

"I found the enemy posted with a considerable force, commanded, as I understood, by general Reille, on the heights on the left of the Hormaza, with their right above the village of Hormaza, and their left in front of Estepar. We turned their right with the hussars, and general Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry, and the light division from Isar, while general Victor Alten's brigade of cavalry, and colonel the honourable W. O'Callaghan's brigade of the 2nd division moved up the heights from Hormaza, and the remainder of the troops, under the command of lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill, threatened the heights of Estepar. These movements dislodged the enemy from their position immediately. The cavalry of our left and centre were entirely in the rear of the enemy, who were obliged to retire across the Arlanzan, by the high road towards Burgos.

"Although pressed by our cavalry, and suffering considerable loss by the fire of major Gardiner's troop of horse artillery, and obliged to make their movements at an accelerated pace, that they might not give time to our infantry to come up, they made it in admirable order; but they lost one gun and some prisoners, taken by a squadron of the 14th light dragoons, commanded by captain Milles, and a detachment of the 3rd dragoons, which charged their rear. The enemy took post on the left of the Arlanzan and Urbel rivers, which were much swollen with rain, and in the course of the night retired their whole army through Burgos, having abandoned and destroyed, as far as they were able, in the short space of time during which they were there, the works of the castle which they had constructed and improved at so large an expense, and they are now on their retreat towards the Ebro, by the high road of Briviesca and Miranda. In the mean time the whole of the army of the allies has made a movement to the left this day; and the Spanish corps of Galicia, under general Giron, and the left of the British and Portuguese army, under lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, will, I hope, pass the Ebro to-morrow at the bridges of Rocamunde and San Martin."

"Subijana, 19th June, 1813.

"The left of the army crossed the Ebro on the 14th, by the bridges of San Martin and Rocamunde, and the remainder on the 15th, by those bridges and that of Puente de Arenas. We continued our march on the

following day towards Vittoria. The enemy assembled on the 16th and 17th a considerable corps at Espejo, not far from the Puente Larra, composed of some of the troops which had been for some time in the Biscayan provinces in pursuit of Longa and Mina, and others, detached from the main body of the army, which were still at Pancorbo. They had likewise a division of infantry and some cavalry at Frias since the 16th, for the purpose of observing our movements on the left of the Ebro. Both these detachments marched yesterday morning; that from Frias, upon San Millan, where it was found by the light division of the allied army, under major-general Charles Alten; and that from Espejo, on Osmá, where it met the 5th and 6th divisions, under lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham. Major-general Charles Alten drove the enemy from San Millan, and afterwards cut off the rear brigade of the division, of which he took 300 prisoners; killed and wounded many, and the brigade was dispersed in the mountains.

"The corps from Espejo was considerably stronger than the allied corps under sir Thomas Graham, which had arrived nearly at the same time at Osmá. The enemy moved on to the attack, but were soon obliged to retire; and they were followed to Espejo, whence they retired through the hills to this place. It was late in the day before the other troops came up to the advanced position which those, under lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, had taken; and I halted the 4th division, which relieved the 5th, near Espejo. The army moved forward this day to this river. I found the enemy's rear-guard in a strong position, on the left of the river, having his right covered by Subijana, and his left by the heights in front of Pobes. We turned the enemy's left with the light division, while the 4th division, under lieutenant-general sir William Cole, attacked in front; and the rear-guard was driven back upon the main body of the army, which was in march from Pancorbo to Vittoria, having broken up from thence last night. I am informed that the enemy dismantled Pancorbo. Colonel Longa's division joined the army on the 16th, on its arrival at Medina de Pomar."

"Salvatierra, 22nd June, 1813.

"The enemy, commanded by king Joseph, having marshal Jourdan as the major-general of the army, took up a position, on the night of the 19th instant, in front of Vit-

toría, the left of which rested on the heights which end at La Puebla de Arganzon, and extended from thence across the valley of the Zadorra, in front of the village of Aríñez. They occupied with the right of the centre a height which commanded the valley of the Zadorra. The right of their army was detained near Vittoria, and was destined to defend the passages of the river Zadorra, in the neighbourhood of that city. They had a reserve in rear of their left, at the village of Gomecha. The nature of the country through which the army had passed since it had reached the Ebro, had necessarily extended our columns, and we halted on the 20th in order to close them up, and moved the left to Murguia, where it was most likely to be required. I reconnoitred the enemy's position on that day, with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should still remain in it. We accordingly attacked the enemy yesterday, and I am happy to inform your lordship, that the allied army under my command gained a complete victory, having driven them from all their positions; having taken from them 151 pieces of cannon, waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, cattle, treasure, &c., and a considerable number of prisoners.

"The operations of the day commenced by lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill, obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested, which heights they had not occupied in great strength. He detached for this service one brigade of the Spanish division, under general Morillo; the other brigade being employed in keeping the communication between his main body on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and the troops detached to the heights. The enemy, however, soon discovered the importance of these heights, and reinforced their troops there to such an extent, that lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill was obliged to detach, first, the 71st regiment and the light infantry battalion of general Walker's brigade, under the command of lieutenant-colonel the hon. H. Cadogan, and successively other troops to the same point; and the allies not only gained, but maintained possession of these important heights throughout their operations, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to regain them.

The contest here was, however, very severe, and the loss sustained considerable. General Morillo was wounded, but remained

in the field; and I am concerned to have to report, that lieutenant-colonel the hon. H. Cadogan has died of a wound which he received. In him his majesty has lost an officer of great merit and tried gallantry, who had already acquired the respect and regard of the whole profession; and of whom it might have been expected that, if he had lived, he would have rendered the most important services to his country.

"Under cover of the possession of these heights, sir Rowland Hill successively passed the Zadorra at Puebla, and the defile formed by the heights and the river Zadorra, and attacked and gained possession of the village of Subijana de Alava, in front of the enemy's line, which the enemy made repeated attempts to regain.

"The difficult nature of the country prevented the communication between our different columns moving to the attack from their stations on the river Bayas at as early an hour as I had expected; and it was late before I knew that the column, composed of the 3rd and 7th divisions, under the command of the earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at the station appointed for them. The 4th and light divisions, however, passed the Zadorra immediately after sir Rowland Hill had possession of Subijana de Alava, the former at the bridge of Nancarez, and the latter at the bridge of Tres-Puentes; and almost as soon as these had crossed, the column, under the earl of Dalhousie, arrived at Mendoza, and the 3rd division, under lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton, crossed at the bridge higher up, followed by the 7th division, under the earl of Dalhousie. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the height on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Subijana de Alava to attack the left. The enemy, however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment on the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he saw our disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria.

"Our troops continued to advance in admirable order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground. In the mean time, lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 7th divisions, and general Pack's and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and general Bock's and Anson's of cavalry, and who had been moved on the 20th to

Murguia, moved forward from thence on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilboa. He had, besides, with him the Spanish division, under colonel Longa; and general Giron, who had been detached to the left, under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards been recalled, and had arrived on the 20th at Orduña, marched that morning from thence, so as to be in the field in readiness to support lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, if his support had been required.

"The enemy had a division of infantry, with some cavalry, advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Mayor. Both Gamarra and Abechuco were strongly occupied as *têtes-du-pont*, and the bridges over the Zadorra at these places. Brigadier-general Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and colonel Longa, with his Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by major-general Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry, under the command of major-general Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these forces.

"Lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham reports, that in the execution of this service the Portuguese and Spanish troops behaved admirably. The 4th battalion of *caçadores*, and the 8th *caçadores*, particularly, distinguished themselves. Colonel Longa being on the left, took possession of Gamarra Menor.

"As soon as the heights were in our possession, the village of Gamarra Mayor was most gallantly stormed and carried by major-general Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of major Lawson's brigade of artillery. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon. The lieutenant-general then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco with the 1st division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of captain Dubourdieu's brigade and captain Ramsay's troop of horse artillery; and under cover of this fire, colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried; the light battalions having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge. This attack was supported by brigadier Bradford's brigade of Portuguese in-

fantry. During the operation of Abechuco, the enemy made the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Mayor, which were gallantly repulsed by the 5th division, under the command of major-general Oswald. The enemy had, however, on the heights on the left of the Zadorra, two divisions of infantry in reserve; and it was impossible to cross by the bridges till the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre and left had driven them through Vittoria. The whole then co-operated in the pursuit, which was sustained by all till after it was dark.

"The movement of the troops under lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, and their possession of Gamarra Mayor and Abechuco, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France. They were then obliged to turn to the road towards Pamplona; but they were unable to hold any position, for a sufficient length of time, to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off. The whole, therefore, of the latter, which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions taken up by the enemy in their retreat from their first position at Ariñez, and on the Zadorra, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had, were taken close to Vittoria. I have reason to believe, that the enemy carried off with them one gun and one howitzer only."

In consequence of the favourable issue of the battle of Vittoria, the cortes indicating their intention of calling to account those persons who had adhered to the usurper, and were known by the name of *juramentados*, Wellington addressed a memoir to that body, enforcing the propriety of granting, with a few exceptions, a general amnesty. "I am the last person," said the humane and politic English general, "who will be found to diminish the merits of the Spaniards who have adhered to the cause of their country during the severe trial which I hope has passed, particularly of those who, having remained among the enemy without entering their service, have served their country at the risk of their lives. But at the same time I can appreciate the merits of those individuals, and of the nation at large, I can forgive the weakness of those who have been induced by terror, by distress, or by despair, to pursue a different line of conduct.

"I entreat the government to advert to

the circumstances of the commencement, and of the different stages of the eventful contest; and to the numerous occasions on which all men must have imagined that it was impossible for the powers of the Peninsula, though aided by Great Britain, to withstand the colossal power by which they were assailed, and nearly overcome. Let them reflect on the weakness of the country at the commencement of the contest, on the numerous and almost invariable disasters of the armies, and on the ruinous disorganization which followed; and let them decide, whether those who were witnesses of these events are guilty, because they could not foresee what has since occurred. The majority are certainly not guilty in any other manner; and many, as I have above stated, who were deemed guilty in the eye of the law, as having served the pretended king, have, by that very act, acquired the means of serving, and have rendered important services to their country.

"It is my opinion that the policy of Spain should lead the government and the cortes to grant a general amnesty, with certain exceptions. This subject deserves consideration in the two views, of the effort now making failing, or succeeding in freeing the country from its oppressors. If the effort should fail, the enemy will, by an amnesty, be deprived of the principal means now in his hands of oppressing the country in which his armies will be stationed. He will see clearly that he can place no reliance on any partisans in Spain; and he will not have even a pretence for supposing that country is divided in opinion. If the effort should succeed, as I sincerely hope it may, the object of the government should be to pacify the country, and to heal the divisions which the contest unavoidably must have occasioned. It is impossible that this object can be accomplished as long as there exists a large body of the Spanish nation, some possessing the largest properties in the country, and others endowed with considerable talents, who are proscribed for their conduct during the contest; conduct which has been caused by the misfortunes to which I have above adverted. These persons, their friends, and relations, will, if persecuted, naturally endeavour to perpetuate the divisions in the country, in the hope, at some time, to take advantage of them; and, adverting to their number, and to that power which they must derive from their properties and connexions it must be feared that

they will be too successful. But there are other important views of this question.

"First, Should the effort to free the country from its oppressors succeed at some time or other, some approaches to peace must be made between the two nations; and the amnesty to the persons above described will remove the greatest difficulty in the way of such an arrangement.

"Secondly, Should ever Spain be at peace with France; and should the proscription against these persons be continued, they will remain in France a perpetual instrument in the hands of that restless power, to disturb the internal tranquillity of Spain; and in case of the renewal of war, which will be their constant wish and object, they will be the most active, the most mischievous, and most inveterate enemies of their country; of that country which, by mistaken severity, aggravates her misfortunes by casting off from her thousands of her useful subjects.

"On every ground, then, it is desirable that this measure should be adopted, and that the present moment should be seized for adopting it. I am far, however, from thinking that an amnesty ought to be granted without exceptions and conditions; and I proceed to state, first, the exceptions which, in my opinion, ought to be made; and, secondly, the conditions on which any amnesty ought to be granted.

"The amnesty ought not to extend to the ministers of king Joseph, nor to those who have been most active in his support, and by their influence and persuasions can be proved to have induced others to have espoused his interests; nor to those who have been instrumental in shedding the blood, and in committing acts of cruelty against any Spaniard. Those, likewise, who have deserted any public trust or station to join the intruder, with the exception of non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the army, ought to be liable to the legal consequences of their conduct. All others ought to be pardoned on the following conditions: first, that unless positive evidence should be given to the government of their having served the public during the time they were in the service of the pretended king, they shall reside in the place appointed for their residence, and be under the inspection of the police, and shall not be employed by the public for two years from the date of the amnesty. After that time they should be eligible for employment, unless previously

accused of some act, the proof of which would legally render them incapable of filling an office. In bringing this subject under the consideration of the government, I am, perhaps, intruding my opinion on a subject in which, as a stranger, I have no concern; but having had an advantage enjoyed by few, of being acquainted with the concerns of this country since the commencement of the contest, and having been sensible, both in the last and in the present campaign, of the disadvantages suffered by Spain from the want of a measure of this description, I have thought it proper, as an individual well-wisher to the cause, to bring it under the

consideration of the government; assuring them, at the same time, that I have never had the slightest communication on the subject with the government of my own country; nor do I believe that they have ever turned to it their attention. What I have above stated are my own opinions, to which I may attribute more weight than they merit; but they are formed upon experience and long reflection, and are founded upon a sincere devotion to the interests of this country."

Such noble sentiments came with peculiar grace from a victorious general in the very height of his triumph.

OPERATIONS FROM THE BATTLE OF VITTORIA TO THE BATTLES OF THE PYRENEES.

THE heavy cavalry and D'Urban's Portuguese being left in Vittoria, and Giron detached with the Gallician army in pursuit of the convoy which had moved from Vittoria on the morning of the battle, the pursuit was renewed on the 22nd. On the 24th, in the morning of which day their last gun was captured, the mass of the fugitive French reached Pamplona; but when Joseph and his staff were safely enclosed behind its walls, his fleeing soldiers were refused admittance, and on their attempting to force an entrance over the walls, they were repulsed by a fire of musketry from the garrison. They therefore continued their flight across the Pyrenees; but being furnished with supplies, raised by contributions on the neighbouring Spanish peasantry, they rallied in the fastnesses of the mountains. The heavy rains which had fallen the two days after the battle of Vittoria, had retarded the pursuit of the allies.

On the 26th Pamplona was invested, and as the enemy, finding themselves not hard pressed, had occupied the fertile valley of the Bastan, with three divisions under Gazan; Hill, as soon as he had received intelligence that O'Donnell was marching on Pamplona, moved with two British, and the same number of Portuguese brigades, against them, and drove them successively from every post. The whole line of the Spanish frontiers, from Roncesvalles to the mouth of the Bidassoa, was now occupied by the allies. Thus Wellington stood upon the frontier of another liberated land, as victor,

and its saviour. This was true glory—real philanthropy.

On the 27th, leaving Hill with the 2nd division, in charge of the operations before Pamplona, Wellington marched with the light, 4th, and 7th divisions, and two brigades of cavalry, by Taffalla on Logroña, to cut off Clausel's retreat into France; while general C. Clinton was, with the 6th and 7th divisions, and a body of cavalry, directed to intercept him by way of Salvatierra, should he attempt to escape by that road; but hearing that Clausel had taken the direction of Tudela, he desisted the pursuit, lest Suchet uniting with Clausel and Paris, should operate with a powerful force on the right flank of the allies. Clausel, who had been informed by an alcaide, that Wellington was in possession of Tafalla, expecting him, recrossed the Ebro, and marched on Saragossa, where, destroying his artillery and baggage, he retreated through the Pyrenees by Jaca.

While Wellington was marching against Clausel, Graham was in advance to intercept Foy's retreat; who, collecting the small garrisons in Lower Biscay, and throwing a reinforcement into St. Sebastian, hastily gained Toloso, and attempted to make a stand; but Graham bursting open the gates with artillery, Foy escaped in the dark, and being chased by Giron, fled towards the Bidassoa. The blow struck at Vittoria, had been felt throughout Europe. It broke up the congress assembled, in consequence of the battles of Lutzen and Baut-

zen at Prague, in Bohemia, under the mediation of Austria; and infused spirit and union into the confederated states; and not only occasioned the evacuation of the whole of Spain, south of the Ebro, but the restoration of the forts of Pancorbo, Passages, Guetaria, and Castro Urdiales, to the Spaniards. Suchet evacuated Valencia on the 6th July, leaving garrisons in Saguntum and Peniscola, and assembled his forces between Tarragona and Tortosa. The only fortresses throughout the Peninsula now remaining in the hands of the enemy were Santona, Pamploña, St. Sebastian, and those in Valencia and Catalonia.

But these great successes were accompanied by a reverse—the failure of the Anglo-Sicilian expedition before Tarragona; of which Wellington, on return to his head-quarters at Huerta, received information in the despatches from Sir John Murray.

Wellington's plan of operations for the campaign of 1813, was that while general Elio and the duke del Parque occupied Suchet, on the Xucar, Murray should attack Tarragona, or some other mountain fortress; but should Suchet come down upon him in force before he had established himself in Catalonia, he was to re-embark with all possible expedition, return to Valencia, and seize the strong lines the enemy occupied before they could bring back sufficient troops for their protection. In aid of the attempt, the Spanish generals were to approach the line of the Xucar. In prosecution of this design, the fleet of transports, with Murray's troops on board, sailed from Alicant; and, on the evening of the 2nd, came to anchor at the port of Salon, which is within sight of Tarragona. The troops were landed the next morning, and, by three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, Tarragona was invested. As the only road between Tortosa and Tarragona for the advance of artillery was commanded by the hill fort of San Felipe, on the Col de Belaguer, which is a few miles west of Tarragona, a brigade, under lieutenant-colonel Prevost, was despatched to attack it. Fire was opened against it on the 6th, and a number of shells being thrown into the work, a magazine exploded, which inclined the garrison to surrender on the 7th.

As the French had dismantled the outer line, and destroyed most of the works, when they became masters of Tarragona, only a few hundred troops (the present garrison mustered 700 men,) were necessary for the protection of the inner line. The governor,

however, on the appearance of the allies, hastily repaired and occupied Fuerte Real (Fort Royal), and the bastion of San Carlos, both within the outer line. On the 6th, Murray opened two batteries against the fort, and a third on the following day. On the 8th, the place was practicably breached, but it was deemed prudent to delay the assault till the body of the place could be attacked, on which two heavy batteries were opened on the 11th; but Murray, receiving intelligence that Suchet was in march across the mountains to the relief of Tarragona, despatched his cavalry to Altafalla, and proceeded to select a position favourable for battle, leaving orders with major-general Clinton that the outworks should be stormed at nightfall. A report reaching him that generals Decaen and Maurice Mathieu were advancing rapidly from Villa Franca to co-operate with Suchet, he hastily returned to Tarragona and repeated the orders for the assault. The storming party was formed and ready to advance, but Murray countermanded his order, and, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of his officers, directed that the batteries should be dismounted and the siege raised. The field artillery and cavalry were sent on to the Col de Belaguer, and the infantry marched to Salon, where they were embarked. The embarkation of the siege artillery—"the honoured train which had battered the gory walls of Badajos"—and the stores, was abandoned. "A strange panic had seized the unfortunate commander, and he madly determined to abandon his battering train, when not an enemy was within leagues of Tarragona. Nothing could surpass the indignation which the disgraceful order caused. The army and navy openly expressed their feelings, the staff officers remonstrated, and the admiral not only refused obedience, but offered, at his own responsibility, to remove the artillery during the night. After wavering for a time, Murray ordered a preconcerted signal to be given, and, as if an overwhelming enemy was at hand, the guns were spiked and abandoned. Unmolested, the British troops effected their embarkation, and many of the stores and horses were shipped on the 13th, without the slightest interruption from the enemy; but eighteen or nineteen battering pieces, whose carriages had been burned, were, with all the platforms, fascines, gabions, and small ammunition, triumphantly carried by the enemy into the fortress, in the

view of the fleet and the army. Sir John Murray, meanwhile, seemingly unaffected by the misfortune, shipped himself on the evening of the 12th, and took his usual repose in bed.*

On the 13th, a party of French cavalry approaching the out-pickets at Col de Belaguer, Murray landed some infantry at that point, to cover the embarkation of the cavalry and field artillery. On the ensuing day he landed his entire force, hoping to surprise Mathieu's division at Bardillos; but still infirm of purpose, he determined to re-embark, when, at this juncture, the Mediterranean fleet, under sir Edward Pellew, hove in sight, and signalized that lord William Bentinck was on board to take the command. Lord William, on assuming the command, ordered the fort at Col de Belaguer to be dismantled, and the troops to be re-embarked for Alicaut.

This disgraceful affair gave much annoyance to Wellington. In his reply to Murray's despatch, detailing the operations, he says:—"I have received your letters of the 14th and 23rd June, and I am much concerned that your matters have turned out so unfortunately. In my official letter, I have stated the points on which we want information; and I recommend to you to write a detailed narrative of all your proceedings. I confess that that which weighs most on my mind in all this is the loss of your artillery and stores, of which you think the least. First, they are very important trophies to the enemy, of which he will make good use, under existing circumstances, and entirely alter the nature of the operation of raising the siege. Secondly, the loss of them entirely cripples our operations on the eastern coast during the campaign, and prevents the army of the eastern coast from taking all the advantage which they may take from our success in this quarter, which, it is probable, will be followed by Suchet's throwing his army on our right flank. However, the consequences are not so important to you as the facts themselves, and I am anxious you should place them in a light to justify you in the eyes of his majesty's government."

In writing to Murray's successor, lord William Bentinck, the commander-in-chief thus expressed himself:—"Sir John Murray's misfortune will create a devil of a breeze; and, according to the information I have at present, I can form no opinion of the merits of the question, and therefore do

not write any to him. I shall send his letters home without any comment on my part, excepting to draw the attention of the government to my instructions, of which they have a copy."

On receiving a detailed account of Murray's ill-conducted operations, Wellington determined to prefer charges against him, and, in a letter to colonel Torrens, dated Lesaca, 8th August, 1813, he gives a summary of the causes for that proceeding:—

"I entertained a very high opinion of ——'s talents, but he always appeared to me to want what is better than abilities, viz., sound sense. There is always some mistaken principle in what he does. I confess I do not know what to make of ——'s charges. Raising the siege I do not care about; it might have been necessary when the enemy approached him; nor do I care much about his embarking, his instructions would warrant his doing so if he raised the siege, and did not think he could fight a decidedly successful action. But what I cannot bear is his leaving his guns and stores; and, strange to say, not only does he not think he was wrong in so doing, but he writes of it as being rather meritorious, and says he did it before at Biar.

"It appears that he knew, on the 7th and 8th, that Suchet was approaching him on one side, and Maurice Mathieu on the other. I shall charge him with having then omitted to make arrangements to raise the siege, and to embark his guns and stores. I shall then charge him with disobedience of his instructions in not having gone to Valencia to join the duque del Parque, when he raised the siege and embarked. If he had raised the siege on the 7th and 8th, or rather had then discontinued to disembark his guns and stores, and had afterwards embarked his corps on the 12th and 13th, on finding Suchet approaching him, and thinking the enemy too strong for him, and had then sailed for the coast of Valencia, he would have obeyed his instructions, and the manœuvre would have answered; that is to say, he would have gained the lines of the Xucar, and probably more ground in Valencia without a battle. Instead of that, after losing his guns, he stayed till the evening of the 17th; then lord William embarked the army, which, since the 12th, had been disembarked at the Col de Belaguer; and, in fact, Suchet, after having obliged sir John Murray to raise the siege of Tarragona, returned and forced the duque del Parque to

* *History of the War in the Peninsula.*

abandon the Xucar before he could be supported by lord William Bentinck. The best of the story is, that all parties ran away. Maurice Mathieu ran away, sir John Murray ran away, and so did Suchet. He was afraid to strike at sir John Murray without his artillery, and knew nothing of Maurice Mathieu, and he returned into Valencia, either to strike at the duque del Parque, or to get the assistance of Harispe, whom he had left opposed to the duque del Parque. I know that in his first proclamation to his army on their success, he knew so little what had passed at Tarragona, that he mentioned the English general having raised the siege, but not his having left his artillery. He could, therefore, have had no communication with the place when he marched, and he must have known of the raising of the siege afterwards only by the reports of the country."

Murray was accordingly ordered to be tried by court-martial for disobedience to

his instructions, and for abandoning his artillery and stores without necessity; but as it was difficult to hold a court-martial in Spain, the trial did not take place till the termination of the war, when, in consequence of defects in evidence and technical informalities, he was acquitted of intentional disobedience, but found guilty of abandoning his artillery and stores, and sentenced to be admonished. In vindication of his abandonment of his artillery, his defence was, that "they were of small value—old iron. He attached little importance to the sacrifice of artillery; it was his principle; he had approved of colonel Adam losing his guns at Biar, and he had also desired colonel Prevost, if pressed, to abandon his battering train before the fort of Belaguer. Such doctrine might appear strange to a British army, but it was the rule with the continental armies, and the French owed much of their successes to the adoption of it."

SIEGE OF ST. SEBASTIAN (FROM COMMENCEMENT TO BLOCKADE.)

WELLINGTON now determined to lay siege to St. Sebastian. On the 11th of July, he established his head-quarters at Ernani, for the purpose of arranging with the commanding officers of the artillery and engineers, the best mode of attack for the reduction of that fortress. The town of St. Sebastian, the capital of Guipuscoa, is built on a low sandy peninsula, projecting into the Bay of Biscay, and formed by the harbour on the one side, and by the Urumea on the other. On the western side, the defences of the town are washed by the sea; on the eastern, the only approach by land is over an isthmus across a double line of works, consisting of a solid curtain of masonry, stretching completely across the isthmus. At the extremity of the peninsula is a rocky height called Monte Orgullo, rising steeply to a point, crowned by the small citadel La Motta. About 700 yards from the land front of the place is a range of heights, upon which stood the convent of St. Bartholomeo, and a small redoubt and circular field work. The southern face of La Motta is covered with batteries, which plunge into the lower defences of the town; but La Motta is commanded by Monte Olia, which stands on the sand hills on the right

bank of the river, about 1,500 yards from the town. On the right bank of the Urumea are considerable sand hills, called the Chofre range, which completely command the northern line of the works, and as the river is for some hours, before and after ebb-tide, not only fordable, but leaves a broad belt of dry land on the left side, so that a hostile force may turn the front, and march close along the eastern wall, it was therefore determined to batter the eastern wall in breach from the sand hills, and to storm the breaches as soon as practicable, by a bold advance along the left of the Urumea, at low water, having previously dislodged the enemy from the convent of St. Bartholomeo and the advanced works.

The commander-in-chief, having examined the defences, and arranged the operations for the siege, entrusted its conduct to sir Thomas Graham, who had approached St. Sebastian on the 29th of June. The guns, ammunition, and stores necessary for the siege had been landed at Passages. The siege instructions were, that the outposts should be first stormed, and then the main attack of the place made on the eastern face of the sea wall.

On the 11th of July, the place was in-

vested. The besieging force consisted of the 5th division (Hay's and Robinson's brigades,) some detachments of the 1st division, and the Portuguese brigades of Bradford and Wilson; in all amounting to about 10,000 men. On the morning of the 14th, a battery of four 18-pounders was opened against the convent of St. Bartholomeo, and one 9-pounder and howitzers on the redoubt on the following day. A practicable breach having been effected in the convent, on the morning of the 17th, an assault was made by the three companies of the royals, and detachments of the 5th, 13th, and 14th caçadores, supported by the 9th regiment, and the enemy was driven in confusion down the hill, carrying with them in their flight a strong reinforcement, which had just left St. Sebastian through the village of San Martin; but the assailants pushing on to the glacis in the pursuit, were driven back by the garrison. The loss of the enemy was 240; that of the allies about 100, of which 7 officers and 60 privates were of the 9th regiment.

As soon as the allies had cleared St. Bartholomeo, two batteries were established on its site; and the batteries marked out on the sand-hills being completed, were armed with 20 heavy guns and 12 mortars and howitzers. The batteries were thrown up during the night in a situation to enfilade and take in the reverse the defences of the town. This in the loose sand was a most difficult work, and the fire of the enemy was directed in great precision to interrupt it. Four sentinels were killed in succession through one loop-hole. The only eminence from which artillery could be brought to bear directly on the town, though still about 100 feet below it, was above the convent, and almost adjoining its walls. Here a battery was erected: the covered way to it passed through the convent, and the battery itself was constructed in a thickly peopled burying ground. "A more ghastly circumstance can seldom have occurred in war; for coffins and corpses, in all stages of decay, were exposed, when the soil was thrown up to form a defence against the fire from the town, and were used, indeed, in the defences; and when a shell burst there it brought down the living and the dead together. An officer was giving his orders, when a shot struck the edge of the trenches above him; two coffins slipped down upon him with the sand, the coffins broke in their fall, the bodies rolled with him for some distance, and when

he recovered he saw that they had been women of some rank, for they were richly attired in black velvet, and their long hair hung about their shoulders and their livid faces. The soldiers, in the scarcity of firewood, being nothing nice, broke up coffins for fuel with which to dress their food, leaving the bodies exposed; and till the hot sun had dried up these poor insulted remains of humanity, the stench was as dreadful as the sight."*

The ruins of San Martin were now occupied, and approaches being struck out to the right or left of it, the enemy abandoned the circular redoubt. A parallel was then commenced on the right, across the isthmus, in cutting which a drain was discovered, about four feet high and three wide, with a pipe running through it to convey water to the town. This was charged as a mine with several barrels of gunpowder, and designed to be fired as a signal for the assault.

The whole of the batteries opened against the walls of the place on the 20th, and two practicable breaches, one 30 yards and the other 10 yards, being effected by the 24th, an assault was ordered to be made on the night of that day; but the houses in front of the breach being discovered to be on fire, it was deferred till the next morning, when it was expected the buildings would be consumed. In the meantime, the enemy had made every possible preparation to repel the assailants; live shells, heavy stones, and combustibles were placed upon the walls, the houses opposite the breach set on fire and reduced to ruins, those behind them loop-holed, and burning planks and beams placed on the breach.

The troops destined for the assault—namely, the 3rd battalion of the royals, under major Frazer; the 9th regiment, under colonel Cameron, as a support; the 38th regiment, under colonel Greville, to assault the small breach; a detachment from the light companies of all those regiments, placed in the centre of the royals, under lieutenant Campbell, of the 9th regiment—being in readiness before dawn of the 25th, the mine formed in the aqueduct was sprung as a signal to rush forward, which so startled and confused the garrison, that they abandoned their posts at the counterscarp and glacis, under which the mine had been placed, and the advances reached the breach with little loss and crowned the summit. Nobly were they led. Major Frazer and

* Southey.

the engineer officer, lieutenant Jones, first topped the breach, followed by a few men of the 1st royals; others were rushing up to join them, but in broken order. A steep descent now presented itself, while flames and smoke burst from the burning houses in their front. At the same moment, the garrison recovered from their panic, and opened a destructive fire in front and flank, from the loop-holed houses and the two towers that flanked the breach, while showers of shells, stones, grenades, and grape, were poured down from the citadel and the flank defences, on the stormers and the dense crowd of assailants at the foot of the breach, the space beneath the wall and the sea being too narrow to admit of any formation of the troops to keep down the musketry from the breaches. The consequence was the breaches and their feet were covered with dead and dying. Major Frazer, and a few men of the 1st royals, who had actually penetrated to the town, were slain amid the burning ruins into which they had thrown themselves; and lieut. Jones, and the nine brave men of the royals, who stood alone on the breach, were struck down wounded. Lieutenant Campbell, who, with the survivors of his detachment, had twice mounted the ruins, was twice wounded, and all around him killed. The gallant men who had won the breach being all struck down, and the troops at its foot being in such a state of inextricable confusion, as not to be able to ascend the breach, the assailants at length withdrew, with the loss of, in men and officers (among whom was sir Richard Fletcher), 44 officers of the line, and 520 privates, killed, wounded, and missing.

The enemy, stimulated by their success, at daybreak of the 26th, in a *sortie*, surprised and captured 200 Portuguese and 30 British in the trenches.

On this failure being reported to Wellington, he came from his head-quarters at Lesaca; and finding that the ammunition was insufficient for the prosecution of the siege, he determined to convert it into a blockade until the arrival of the expected supply of stores from Portsmouth. To this intent, he ordered the trenches to be held by 800 men, to repel any attempt the enemy might make to destroy the works; the batteries to be dismantled, excepting two guns and two howitzers to be left on the Chofre range and Monte Olla, to keep up the fire on the breaches; and Graham to advance with his disposable forces to support Giron, on the

banks of the Bidassoa, and at the same time to act in observation of the garrison of St. Sebastian.

When Napoleon Buonaparte heard of the battle of Vittoria, he immediately despatched Soult from his camp in Saxony to take the command of the troops assembled in the neighbourhood of Bayonne, and endeavour to restore his power in the Peninsula; that marshal reached Bayonne on the 13th of July, and immediately began to reorganize the French armies, and recruit them with conscripts and national guards. Mustering about 78,000 men, he distributed them into three corps of battle, consisting of nine divisions of infantry, two of heavy dragoons, and one of light cavalry. The left wing, under Clausel, was posted at St. Jean-Pied-de-Port; the centre, under D'Erlon, occupied the heights near Espelette and Ainhoué, with an advanced guard behind Urdax; the right wing, under Reille, was stationed on the mountains above Vera and Sarre. Villatte was in observation on the banks of the Bidassoa. The cavalry were stationed on the Nive and the Adour. The French army thus guarded the whole northern issues of the passes of the Pyrenees, from the pass of Roncesvalles, on the east, to the mouth of the Bidassoa, on the west; Soult's head-quarters were at Ascaïn. Entrenched camps were formed at Bayonne and at St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, for the purpose of rallying the army in the event of defeat.

On the 24th, the French marshal issued a proclamation, couched in the Napoleonic style, in which he told his troops it was the emperor's order "to drive the enemy across the Ebro; and that, whenever the relative duties of a French general and his troops were ably fulfilled, their enemies had commonly no other resource than in flight"—an assertion, as Mr. Southey justly observes, strikingly exemplifying the character of the vain-glorious people whom he was addressing. He himself had been repulsed by a far inferior force at Corunna; had been driven from Oporto, and defeated in the bloody field of Albuera. He was addressing men who had been beaten at Vimiero, beaten at Talavera, beaten at Busaco, beaten at Fuentes d'Onor, routed at Salamanca, and scattered like sheep at Vittoria. They had been driven from Lisbon into France; and yet the general who had so often been baffled, addressed this language to the very troops who had been so often and so signally defeated. His expression that the English "owe their

military character to the French," seems to imply he had forgotten Cressy, Agincourt, Poitiers, Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramilies. After noticing his own appointment to the command of the army, and Napoleon Buonaparte's recent campaign in Germany, he thus proceeded:—

"While Germany was thus the theatre of great events, that enemy, who, under pretence of succouring the inhabitants of the Peninsula, has in reality devoted them to ruin, was not inactive. He assembled the whole of his disposable force—English, Spaniards, and Portuguese—under his most experienced officers; and, relying on the superiority of his numbers, advanced in three divisions against the French force assembled upon the Douro. With well-provided fortresses in his front and rear, a skilful general, enjoying the confidence of his troops, might, by selecting good positions, have braved and discomfited this motley levy. But, unhappily, at this critical period, timorous and pusillanimous councils were followed. The fortresses were abandoned and blown up; hasty and disorderly marches gave confidence to the enemy; and a veteran army, small indeed in number, but great in all that constitutes the military character, which had fought, bled, and triumphed in every province in Spain, beheld with indignation its laurels tarnished, and itself compelled to abandon all its acquisitions, the trophies of many a well-fought and bloody day. When at length the indignant voice of the troops arrested this disgraceful flight, and its commander, touched with shame, yielded to the general desire, and determined on giving battle near Vittoria, who can doubt, from this generous enthusiasm, this fine sense of honour, what would have been the result had the general been worthy of his troops? had he, in short, made those dispositions and movements which would have secured to any one part of his army the co-operation and support of the other.

"Let us not, however, defraud the enemy of the praise that is due to him. The dispositions and arrangements of their general have been prompt, skilful, and consecutive. The valour and steadiness of his troops have been praiseworthy. Yet do not forget that it is to the benefit of your example they owe their present military character; and that whenever the relative duties of a French general and his troops have been ably fulfilled, their enemies have commonly had no other resource than flight.

"Soldiers! I partake of your chagrin, your grief, your indignation. I know that the blame of the present situation of the army is imputable to others—be the merit of repairing it yours. I have borne testimony to the emperor of your bravery and zeal. His instructions are to drive the enemy from these lofty heights, which enable him proudly to survey our fertile valleys, and chase them across the Ebro. It is on the Spanish soil that your tents must next be pitched, and from thence your resources drawn. No difficulties can be insurmountable to your valour and devotion. Let us, then, exert ourselves with mutual ardour; and be assured, that nothing can give greater felicity to the paternal heart of the emperor, than the knowledge of the triumphs of his army—of its increasing glory—of its having rendered itself worthy of him, and of our dear country.

"Extensive but combined movements for the relief of the fortresses are on the eve of taking place. They will be completed in a few days. Let the account of our success be dated from Vittoria, and the birth of his imperial majesty be celebrated in that city: so shall we render memorable an epoch deservedly dear to all Frenchmen.

"SOULT, duc de Dalmatie,

"Lieutenant de l'Empereur."

In the night of the very day of his return to Lesaca from St. Sebastian, lord Wellington received information that the passes of the Pyrenees had been forced, and that the enemy were penetrating into the valleys in overwhelming force. "We must do the best we can to stop them," was his calm reply to the officer who brought the intelligence; and instantly he proceeded to the scene of action.

The allied army was thus distributed:—Byng's brigade of the 2nd division, and Murillo's Spanish infantry division, were posted on the extreme right, at the pass of Roncesvalles; Cole, with the fourth division, was stationed at Biscaret in second line, to support Byng; and the 3rd division (Picton's) was in reserve at Olague. These troops formed the right wing, and covered the direct approaches to Pamplona from St. Jean-Pied-de-Port. The right of the centre, commanded by sir Rowland Hill, occupied the valley of the Bastan, having Pringle and Walker's brigade of the 2nd division in the Maya Pass, and Amarante's Portuguese division, which formed a part of Hill's corps, in the passes of Col d'Ariette and Col d'Espégas, eastward of Maya, about five leagues

on the west of Roncesvalles. The remainder of the 2nd division was in the valley in reserve. Campbell's Portuguese brigade was stationed at Los Aldudes, a post within the French territory. The light and 7th divisions, under Alten and Dalhousie, formed the left centre, and occupied the heights of Santa Barbara, the town of Vera, and the pass of Echelar, from which last point they communicated with the valley of the Bastan. The 6th division (Pack's) was in reserve at San Esteven, ready to support the right or left centre. The left wing, consisting of the 1st (Howard's) and 5th (Oswald's) divisions, Portuguese brigade, under the command of Graham, and Spey's, were engaged in the siege of St. Sebastian, covered by lord Aylmer's brigade, and the brigades of the German legion, who were in position on the road between Irun and Oyarzun, and supporting Freyre's Spanish corps, which covered the heights of San Marcial, and guarded the line of the Bidassoa. Longa's troops kept up the communication from the left of the centre at Vera with Freyre's corps. O'Donnell and d'España, with their respective corps, maintained the blockade of Pamplona; and the allied cavalry, under sir Stapleton Cotton, was distributed in cantonments in the rear of that fortress towards Tafalla; while the guerilla bands of Duran and Mina, in the neighbourhood of Saragossa, covered the right flank and rear of the allied army from Suchet's movements. Wellington's headquarters were at Lesaca, immediately opposite Soult's.

Both armies occupied on opposite heights within their own frontier, a line about eleven leagues in length from the sea on the left, to the mountains on the westward of the pass of Roncesvalles on the eastern side on the extreme right. In some places they were encamped within half cannon shot, and their sentries within 150 yards of each other. During the interval of the cessation of hostilities, the two armies offered no molestation to each other. "The French, gay and alert, as usual, were drumming and trumpeting all day long; the more thoughtful English enjoying the season and the country, looking down with delight on the sea and the enemy's country, and Bayonne in the distance; and sketching, in the leisure which their duties might allow, the beautiful scenery of the Pyrenees."*

The line of the Lower Pyrenees, on the Spanish side of those mountains, is difficult

* Southey.

of defence, in many parts there being no lateral communication, and in others it is long and circuitous. For this reason, the concentration of a sufficient force in any position in rear of the passes, to ensure successful resistance at any one pass when attacked with superior numbers, is attended with difficulty. But the communications on the French side, or Upper Pyrenees, being short and easy, and access free from one part of the line to the other, the enemy was enabled to throw at pleasure the weight of their forces against the weakest part of the allied line, and overwhelm it before succour could, on account of the long circuit it would have to make, assemble in the rear from the remoter parts of the position. Availing himself of this advantage, Soult determined to force one of the passes with an overwhelming force, and then, by pushing forward on the flank and rear of the troops defending the others, force his way to Pamplona.

The Pyrenees, which separate Spain from France, and form a natural barrier between those kingdoms, are a lofty chain or range of mountains, crowded together in all varieties of form, rising abruptly from the Mediterranean Sea, at the Cape of Creux, near the Gulf of Rosas, and extending in a general direction from south-east to north-west, from that sea to the port of Passages, in the Bay of Biscay. Their length is about 270 miles, by an average breadth of about 40 miles. The greatest breadth, about 60 miles, is in the central part; that of the western extremity about 40 miles; while that of the eastern is scarcely 20 miles. Its principal summits range from 9,000 to above 11,000 feet in altitude. La Maladetta (Maudit, Maledictus, accursed), or Pic de Néton, is the highest, being 11,424 feet high, while that of Mont Perdu, said by geographers to be the highest, is but 11,168 feet high. The line of perpetual congelation is between 9,000 and 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. On the loftier mountains glaciers are found; and also avalanches occur, as in the Alps. The principal passes are those of Roncesvalles, famed in war and romance, Maya, San Estevan, and Doña Maria.

The Pyrenees are not merely an isolated chain, running direct from sea to sea, but it has its ramifications; on the west its prolongation forms the mountains of Guipuscoa, Biscay, Asturias, and Galicia, the extremities of which terminate on the Capes of Ortegal, and Finisterre, and the other head-

lands of the north-west of Spain; on the east, its ramifications extend to those of the Cevennes, which possibly form a connecting link with the Alps. The Spanish or southern slope of the Pyrenees is much steeper, and of more rugged and difficult ascent than the northern or French side.

The Pyrenees abound in valleys, rivers, and lakes. The largest of the former are those of the Garonne and Lavedan, in the central Pyrenees. The principal rivers on the southern slope are the Aragon, Cinca, Seyre, Gallego, Ter, and Lobregat, the last two mentioned flowing into the sea near Barcelona, the others into the Ebro. The chief of those, on the north side, are the Adour, Pau, Oleron, Garonne, Bidassoa, Nive, Nevelle, Arriège, and Gers, which fall into the Bay of Biscay; and the Aude, Tet, and Tech, which flow into the Mediterra-

nean. On the French, or northern slope, the lakes are numerous, and some of them on very elevated sites; that of Pic du Midi being 8,813 feet, that of Mont Perdu 8,393 feet, and that of the port of Oo, 8,800 feet elevation. On the Spanish, or southern side, lakes rarely occur.

The Pyrenees are historically associated with celebrated events. Hannibal crossed them, in the beginning of the second Punic war. Cæsar traversed them with his army, in his warfare against the Pompeians in Spain. Among their defiles Charlemagne lost the rear-guard of his army. Edward, the Black Prince, led his army over one of the western passes, in his expedition in defence of Peter the Cruel against Henry of Transtamarre. In the winter of 1813-'14, they were the scene of those desperate contests called "The Battles of the Pyrenees."

THE BATTLES OF THE PYRENEES.

THE Battles of the Pyrenees, which were among the fiercest and the best-contested of the Peninsular contests, were the series of combats and battles entitled the combat of Roncesvalles and Linzoain, that of Maya, the double battle of Sorauren, and the combats of Buena, Doña Maria, Echelar and Ivantelli.

Soult's first object was the relief of Pamplona, which he understood could not hold out longer than ten days. To accomplish this object he determined to attack the passes of Roncesvalles and Maya, the roads from which converge on Pamplona. Accordingly, early on the morning of the 25th of July, he conducted in person a strong column, under Clausel, direct against the pass of Roncesvalles, while Reille led a strong corps along the ridge of Arola, to the left of Roncesvalles, to cut off the retreat of the troops disputing that pass.

At the same moment that Soult advanced from St. Jean Pied-de-Port against the pass of Roncesvalles, D'Erlon, with a column of 15,000 men, advanced to the Maya pass. The troops of both corps were furnished with four days' provisions, which were supposed would last them till they obtained possession of the magazines of the allied armies.

Under cover of some demonstrations against the small passes of Espegue and Lereta, which are to the right of the Maya pass, he conducted his main body by a pathway, which, leading from Espelette, enters the pass of Maya. Near the south-east entrance of the rock, a picket was posted; one mile in rear of the picket lay the light companies of Pringle's brigade; the 34th being two miles and a-half below, and the other regiments still farther. At day-break, the advanced picket received notice that the enemy were close upon them; and in a few minutes, crowning the summit of the mountain, the foe opened a galling fire on the 20th regiment, which general Ross was hastily forming to meet the attack. A company was ordered to charge the enemy and drive them back. Captain Tovey dashed forward against the front of the 6th French light infantry with the bayonet. The French, seeing so few opponents, called out to them to lay down their arms; Tovey's answer was to his men—"Bayonet away; bayonet away!" and the enemy's advance was checked. This gallant exploit, supported by the light companies of the brigade, afforded time for the brigade to form; and in the mean time, the reserves of the 4th

division were brought up. The 34th hastily joined, and the 50th came up to their support; but these gallant battalions were forced, by overpowering numbers, to give way, till the 92nd* advanced to their support, when the contest was continued with stubborn courage, in which unequal struggle, one wing of that regiment was nearly destroyed. Meanwhile, the enemy's numbers increased so rapidly, and covered the mountain with so overwhelming a force, that its defenders were obliged to fall back to a mountain range communicating with Echellar, from which pass they were reinforced at about six o'clock in the evening by Barnes's brigade, which came up from the pass of Echellar. The struggle was renewed, when the enemy were driven back to the first summit of the range. The allies lost in killed and wounded 1,600 men, 140 prisoners, and 4 guns, the only cannon taken from Wellington's army during the Peninsular war. The enemy's loss was so severe, that they did not attempt to advance the next day.

While D'Erlon was proceeding in his attack against Hill, Soult was directing the attack against Byng, who was posted with his brigade of the 7th division, consisting of 1,500 men, on the summit of the craggy ridge of rock at Altobiscar, commanding the higher passes of the Pyrenees. On Soult's approach, the English general detached Murillo's Spanish division to cover the road through Arbaicête, which turned the pass a few miles to the right. As the French swarmed up the heights, Byng's handful of British sent deadly volleys against the assailants, and he resolutely maintained his position against a succession of fresh troops and the weight of numbers, until intelligence was brought him in the evening, that Murillo had been driven back on Cole's division, and that Reille's column having pushed along the ridge of Ariola, had turned the left of the position, when he retired on that division. That part of Cole's division which was posted on the Arola ridge had, though they had held the enemy in check for several hours, been driven back by overwhelming numbers; but the fusileer brigade advancing to their support, Cole recovered his position;

but finding it no longer tenable, his right having been turned by Reille's advance on Mount Ariola, he retreated during the night to the strong ridge of Lincoain, in front of Zubiri, where he was joined by Campbell's Portuguese, from Los Alduides, which Soult had hoped to cut off. In consequence of Cole's retrogression from Roncesvalles, Hill, for the purpose of keeping up his communication with the right wing of the line, made a corresponding retrograde movement from his advanced position at the head of the valley, and fell back during the night of the 25th to Iurrita.

Picton receiving intelligence of Cole's retreat, advanced on the following morning with the 3rd division from Olague to his succour; and, as he was senior officer, took the command. The enemy's whole force advancing in the course of the evening, Picton retired to some strong ground which he maintained in order of battle till night-fall; and early on the morning of the 27th fell back, and took up a position on some steep ridges that stretched across the mouths of the Zubiri and Lanz valleys, at Huarte and Villaba, about four miles from Pamplona, for the purpose of covering the blockade of that fortress. Hill, on the evening of the 26th, marched from the Bastan to gain the Marcalaina road. These movements occasioned so much uneasiness to O'Donnel, that he spiked his guns, destroyed his magazines, and would have raised the blockade of Pamplona had not D'Espagne come up with his corps at the critical moment. The garrison availing themselves of his panic, made a sortie, and captured fourteen guns.

In the mean time Wellington was proceeding with all possible speed to the point of danger. Reaching Ostiz, where Long's brigade of light cavalry, which furnished the posts of correspondence in the mountains, was stationed, he issued orders to stop Hill and the 6th and 7th divisions in their march down the valley of the Lanz, until the state of affairs at Huarte should be ascertained. Then at full speed he made for Sorauren. On approaching that village, observing the enemy's columns moving from the heights above on the village, and consequently that

* Napier says, that "the 92nd was principally composed of Irishmen, whose stern valour would have graced Thermopylæ;" but Alison (*History of Europe*) says that he ascertained from the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, that nine-tenths of the corps were Scotch highlanders; and in his appendix to

the volume, he gives the proportions according to two returns; namely, the Prize List, Vittoria, 1813, and the Inspection Report, 15th of October, 1813. By the first, the total number of Scotch were, 825; by the second, 822; of the Irish, by the first document, 61; by the second, 62.

the troops in the valley of the Lanz would be intercepted, he galloped into the village, and instantly alighting, pencilled a memorandum, directing the march of the imperilled troops by the road of Oricain on Lizasso. Then remounting, he rode out at one end of the place, and the aid-de-camp (lord Fitzroy Somerset) bearing his instructions, quitted it at another, the enemy's light troops pouring down the heights at the same moment, entered it in the centre. As he approached the allied position, "one of Campbell's Portuguese battalions desecrating him, raised a cry of joy, and the shrill clamour, caught up by the next regiment, swelled as it ran along the line, into that stern and appalling shout which the British soldier is wont to give on the edge of battle, and which no enemy ever heard unmoved."

Wellington, on reaching the allied position, made no alteration in Picton's disposition of the troops and selection of the battle-ground. The allied line, which extended about two miles, was posted on the Sierra de Oricain, in the form of a curved semicircle, the left extending beyond the road of Roncesvalles, the right to the village of Sorauren. The enemy occupied a parallel ridge; a deep and rugged ravine intervening between the positions. The 3rd division was drawn up on the right, in front of the village of Huarte, and extended to the hills beyond Olaz; and the 4th division, Byng's British and Campbell's Portuguese brigades occupied the left, their right resting on a height which commanded the road from Zubiri to Roncesvalles, their left resting on the heights in front of Villaba, at a chapel beyond Sorauren. The cavalry, under Cotton, were stationed near Huarte on the right, that being the only ground where it was possible for them to act; on which side the enemy's horse were also assembled. Hill, on the 28th, was posted on a ridge between Lizasso and Aresteren, covering the Marcalain and Irunzun roads; his left prolonged towards Buenza. Dalhousie, with the 7th division, was on his march to join him. The Spanish troops of Murillo and O'Donnel were in reserve, except the regiment of Pravia, which occupied part of the hill on the right of the 4th division above the road from Zubiri. The left of the French line extended from the road of Roncesvalles, and its right to the village of Sorauren. The French cavalry were posted nearly opposite the English horse. D'Erlon was in position of observation at Elizondo.

Scarcely had the allies taken up their position, and Wellington reached the scene of action, than Soult directed an attack on the isolated hill occupied by the 10th Portuguese caçadores, and the Spanish regiment of Pravia, on the right of the 4th division; but though the enemy was repulsed, Wellington deeming the post of importance, reinforced it with the 40th, and the Spanish regiment El Principe. The only other hostile occurrences of this day (27th July), were the occupation of Sorauren by the enemy, and a general skirmish along the line, a terrible storm occurring, which occasioned premature darkness.

Early in the morning of the 28th, the 6th division under Pack came up from San Estevan, and they were immediately formed across the valley of the Lanz, in rear of the left of the 4th division. While in the act of taking up their position, Clausel's first division, covered by a cloud of sharpshooters, rushed down the valley of the Lanz, and turning Cole's left, was preparing to wheel up on his rear, when a Portuguese brigade attached to the 6th division, drove the assailants down the ridge; while "almost at the same instant the main body of the 6th division emerging from behind the same ridge, near the village of Oricain, formed in order of battle across the front. It was the counter stroke of Salamanca. The French, striving to encompass the left of the allies, were themselves encompassed;"* for so destructive a fire was brought upon them, the 4th division plying them with shattering volleys on the right, and Campbell's Portuguese in the rear, whilst the 6th division received them in front; that after several endeavours to make way, they were thrown into disorder, and hastily retreated with great loss.

Clausel's two remaining divisions, and Reille's brigades, now assailed the extremity of the ridge occupied by the left of the 4th division, where the seventh caçadores were posted round an ermeta or chapel behind Sorauren. The Portuguese were driven from their position, but being reinforced by Ross's brigade, the Anglo-Portuguese returned to the charge, and bayoneted the French down the hill. Again the enemy rallied, and the allies were in turn driven back. Wellington observing the struggle, brought Byng's brigade forward at a running pace, and directing the 27th and 40th regiments to charge with the bayonet; Ross having reformed his brigade with the

* Napier

same object, while Campbell rallied the broken Portuguese regiment, the whole fell upon the enemy, and drove them down the hill with a terrific slaughter.

To carry the detached hill on the Roncesvalles road, on the right of the position, was the next object of the enemy; there the Spanish regiment El Pravia had been posted, supported by the British 40th. The Spanish troops being driven from the plateau, the 40th was left standing alone. In fourfold numbers the assailants now pressed up, and crowned the summit. The word to advance was given, when, with a thrilling hurrah, on marched the 40th with the bayonet. "In a moment, the leading sections of the French column being annihilated, and the supporting one torn and disordered, they were driven at the point of the bayonet headlong down the heights, and a tempest of bullets followed their hurried flight. Four times the assault was renewed, but the assailants were in vain reformed, and again led forward. At last they recoiled from the position, the bravery of one glorious regiment having rendered it impregnable: three surviving companies of that gallant corps having in the last struggle sufficed to bear down a whole brigade of their opponents."

The battle now became general along the whole front of the heights, occupied by the 4th division, against whom a furious assault was made. The French came on with fixed bayonets and loud shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" They met with no opposition until within a few paces of their opponents, when a shattering volley was poured in, and being immediately charged with the bayonet, they broke and fled precipitately down the heights, suffering a terrible carnage. In this gallant affair every regiment of the 4th made a bayonet charge; the 7th and 23rd fusileers, and the 20th and 40th, four different times. At one point the enemy succeeded in overpowering the 7th Portuguese caçadores, posted around the chapel behind Sorauren, but Ross' brigade advancing to the encounter, the foe was hurled down the steep. Again they returned reinforced, and overpowering another (the 10th) Portuguese battalion, stationed on the right of Ross' brigade, they established themselves on the allied line—Ross, now assailed in front and flank, being obliged to withdraw from his post in the line. In this extremity, Wellington ordered the 27th and 48th regiments to charge the hostile column which had established itself on the heights, and Ross

having formed his brigade, and Campbell rallied his broken Portuguese for the same object, the enemy were driven back with great loss; and the 6th division, at the same time, moving forward in the valley of the Ulzama, threatening the enemy's right flank, this sanguinary and hotly-contested struggle ceased, which "Wellington, fresh from the fight, with homely emphasis called, in a letter to lord William Bentinck, 'bludgeon-work!'"

The day's loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, amounted to 2,600, and no doubt that of the enemy exceeded that number. With their usual modesty they acknowledged it to be 1,800. Throughout this trying day Wellington's post was in that part of the heights where the battle raged fiercest. There he sat upon the ground, exposed within musket range, during the whole of the hottest affairs. Several officers of his personal staff were wounded; and a ball striking the plate of the marquis of Worcester's sword-belt, and throwing him from his horse, glanced off, and grazed Lord Wellington.

No movement took place this day between the contending armies, except the arrival of the 7th division at Marcalain, by which the communication between Hill's position and the left of the position of the main army was secured, and strength and unity imparted to the entire force. The French army was also reinforced by D'Erlon's at Ostiz on this day.

Soult being thus reinforced, determined, as he could make no impression on the allied front, to try and turn their left. With this view, on the night of the 29th, he reinforced D'Erlon with one division, and passed a strong force across the Lanz, on his right, and occupied in strength the crest of the mountains opposite the 6th and 7th divisions; at the same time endeavouring to mask his final object, by drawing in upon his left, the troops which held the mountains opposite the 3rd division. He thus reinforced D'Erlon, and effected a connection between himself and that general. But Wellington, as soon as he observed his antagonist's dispositions, divined his intentions, and determined to defeat them, and dislodge him from his supposed impregnable position. To this end, he directed Dalhousie, with the 7th division, to turn the enemy's right, by possessing himself of the mountain crest before him; while Picton, with the 3rd division, crossed the heights of Zubaldica, which the enemy's left had abandoned, and turned

the left of their position, by the valley of the Zubiri. The 4th and 6th divisions stood ready to assail the enemy in front as soon as the effect of the flank movements should appear. The movements of both Picton and Dalhousie were successful. As soon as Dalhousie had driven in the enemy from the mountain in his front, Packenham, who had assumed the command of the 6th division, general Pack having been wounded in the first battle of Sorrauren, on the 28th, carried, in conjunction with Byng's brigade, the villages of Sorrauren and Ostiz. Both wings having been turned, the front was assailed, when the enemy gave way and retreated, followed vigorously by the allies, until darkness closed the pursuit at Olague.

While the contest was raging on the allied right, D'Erlon appeared in front of Hill, and manœuvring on the left of his position, endeavoured to outflank him, at the same time repeatedly attacking him in front; but he was always driven back with heavy loss, and often charged with the bayonet, the 34th and 92nd distinguishing themselves in those operations. At length the enemy, having filed a large division round the British left flank, Hill leisurely withdrew from the heights behind Lizasso, to a second ridge, about a mile in his rear, near Eguarras, where he repelled every effort to dislodge him. It was now about sunset. The enemy retired in the night, defeated at all points. Soult, assigning to D'Erlon's divisions, who were in good order, the rear-guard, retreated under cover of the night of the 30th, on San Estevan, by the pass of Doña Maria. The allies were in immediate pursuit. Early on the morning of the 31st his rear-guard, consisting of two divisions, and posted at the summit of the pass, was dislodged, after a vigorous resistance, by Hill and Dalhousie, with severe loss. During this operation, Wellington had moved with Byng's brigade and Cole's division on Irurita, by the Pass of Velate. Byng had reoccupied the Maya Pass, and on his march had captured a large convoy of ammunition and provisions, in Elizondo. Early on the 31st, orders had been sent to Alten to head the enemy, if possible, at San Estevan or Sumbella; at all events, to cut in upon their line of march somewhere. At the same time, Longa was ordered to advance to the defiles of Yanzi, and thus aid the light division to block the way on that side; and Graham was advertised to hold his army in readiness to move with the same view. Soult's situation was

now (August 1st) critical; his army was almost enclosed in a net. He was in the deep narrow valley of San Estevan, and three British divisions, with one of Spaniards, under Wellington, were on his right flank, concealed by the mountains; Hill was close behind him; Dalhousie held the pass of Doña Maria, in his rear; Byng was at Maya, at the head of the valley; the light division would, in a few hours, close it up at Estevan; and Graham was marching to close the only other exit from the valley by Vera and Echellar. "A few hours gained, and the French must surrender or disperse. Wellington gave strict orders to prevent the lighting of fires, the straggling of soldiers, or any other indication of the presence of troops; and he placed himself among some rocks, at a commanding point, from which he could observe every movement of the enemy. Soult seemed tranquil, and four of his gens-d'armes were seen to ride up the valley in a careless manner. Some of the staff proposed to cut them off. The English general, whose object was to hide his presence, would not suffer it; but the next moment three marauding soldiers entered the valley, and were instantly carried off by the horsemen. Half-an-hour afterwards the French drums beat to arms, and their columns began to move out of San Estevan towards Sumbella. Thus the disobedience of three plundering knaves, unworthy the name of soldiers, deprived one consummate commander of the most splendid success, and saved another from the most terrible disaster."*

Though fortune had delivered the French from a fearful danger, their position was still hazardous. In their march to the defiles of Echellar, a great part of the French army, breaking its ranks and dispersing, Soult endeavoured to form a rear-guard. As he beheld the disorderly mass hurrying forwards—"Cowards," said he, "where are you fleeing to? You are Frenchmen, and you are running away! In the name of honour, halt and face the enemy!" Stung by these reproaches, 1,200 men rallied under the direction of the marshal and his aides-de-camp, and formed a sort of rear-guard; but torrents of fugitives swept impetuously on to the defiles of Yanzi and Echellar, and passed them in the course of the night. But Reille's division, who entered the first-mentioned gorge on the following day, were not to meet with so easy

* Napier.

an escape;* while struggling through the pass, they were assailed by the head of the light division with a destructive fire, from the precipice which overhung the road. A scene of confusion and slaughter ensued, which is thus described by an eye-witness:—“We overlooked the enemy at this point,” says captain Cook, in his *Memoirs*, “at a stone’s throw, and from the summit of a tremendous precipice. The river separated us, but the French were wedged in a narrow road, with inaccessible rocks on one side, and the river on the other. Confusion, impossible to describe, followed; the wounded were thrown down in the rush and trampled upon; the cavalry drew their swords, and endeavoured to charge up the pass of Echellar, but the infantry beat them back, and several, horses and all, were precipitated into the river; some fired vertically at us, the wounded called out for quarter, while others pointed to them, supported as they were on branches of the trees, on which were suspended great-coats clotted with gore, and blood-stained sheets, taken from different habitations, to aid the sufferers.” So piteous was the scene, that the light division ceased to fire, or discharged their pieces with averted gaze, except on those who had muskets and sabres in their hands, and endeavoured to force the passage. The loss was great; the bridges, road, and ravine were heaped with the dead and dying. During the night, Soult rallied his broken and dispirited divisions near the town of Echellar, and took up a strong position in the pass of that name. On the following day, lord Wellington collected the 4th, 7th, and light divisions in front of that post, and moved forward to the attack. Barnes’s brigade of the 7th division was the first to reach the ground, when, rushing up the steep height, under a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery, it charged Clausel, commanding the rear-guard of 6,000 men, and drove them from their strong position. Clausel then fell back to a strong ridge beyond the pass of Echellar, covered by the Ivantelly rock, which was strongly occupied. In the evening of the next day, August the 2nd, colonel Barnard, with five companies

* The commander-in-chief was much discontented with the result of this day’s operations; had his orders been obeyed by Alten and the Spanish leaders Longa and Barbacenas, none of Reille’s division could have escaped. The distressing march of forty miles in nineteen consecutive hours, over rugged and precipitous mountains, to which Alten’s misapprehension subjected the light division, had reduced them to a

of the 95th rifles, and four companies of the 52nd, dislodged the enemy from his last position within the Spanish territory, and Spain was again free. In the course of this day, lord Wellington was nearly taken prisoner. He was standing near the wall of Echellar, examining his maps, escorted by half a company of the 43rd. The French, who were close at hand, sent a detachment to cut the party off, and such was the nature of the ground that the enemy would have fallen unawares on the English general, had not Blood, a serjeant of that regiment, and who was on the look-out in front, rushed down the precipitous rocks on which he was posted, and given his lordship notice; even as it was, the French sent a volley of shot after him as he galloped away.

The loss of the French in these fierce and desperately contested battles exceeded 15,000 men in killed and wounded; themselves admitted that it exceeded 13,000 men, including 2,700 prisoners;† but as 6,000 prisoners, taken in these battles, were shipped for England, the French account must be considered only as an approximation to the truth. The loss of the allies, according to the return, was 881 killed, 5,510 wounded, and 705 missing; not quite two-thirds of whom were British. Large quantities of baggage, a convoy of provisions, as also a few cannon, were captured. Soult, on the 28th, had sent his artillery and wounded to the army of reserve under Villate. On the night of the 2nd of August the British bivouacs were again established on nearly the same positions which the allied army had occupied at the commencement of the severe and bloody conflicts entitled *The Battles of the Pyrenees*. Wellington had narrated many a tale of his exploits, but he never told one of more brilliant performance, deeper interest, and more decisive effect than that of the memorable battles of the Pyrenees, in the despatch, dated “Lesaca, August 1st, 1813,” communicating the operations to the secretary of state, the earl of Bathurst, and which was as follows:—

“San Estevan, 1st August, 1813.

“MY LORD,—The allied army was posted, as I have already‡ informed your lordship,

state of exhaustion when they reached the precipice. Many men were so exhausted, that they fell down on the march, and died convulsed and frothing at the mouth. Barbacenas should have moved with his whole brigade of the army of Galicia to the bridge of Yanzi, instead of sending a battalion of caçadores.

† Belmas’ *Journaux des Sièges dans la Péninsule*.

‡ In the Despatch dated, “Lesaca, 19th July, 1813.”

in the passes of the mountains, with a view to cover the blockade of Pamplona, and the siege of San Sebastian. Major-general Byng's brigade of British infantry, and general Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, were on the right in the pass of Roncesvalles; lieutenant-general sir Lowry Cole was posted at Viscaret to support those troops, and lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton, with the 3rd division, at Olague in reserve. Lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill occupied the valley of Baztan with the remainder of the 2nd division, and the Portuguese division under the conde de Amarante, detaching general Campbell's Portuguese brigade to Los Alduides, within the French territory. The light and 7th occupied the heights of Santa Barbara and the town of Vera, and the Puerto de Echellar, and kept the communication with the valley of Baztan; and the 6th division was in reserve at San Estevan. General Longa's division kept the communication between the troops at Vera, and those under lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham and Mariscal Campo don P. A. Giron on the great road. The conde de la Bisbal blockaded Pamplona.

"The defect of this position was, that the communication between the several divisions was very tedious and difficult, while the communication of the enemy in front of the passes was easy and short; and in case of attack, those in the front line could not support each other, and could look for support only from their rear.

"On the 24th, marshal Soult collected the right and left wings of his army, with one division of the centre, and two divisions of cavalry, at St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, and, on the 25th, attacked, with between 30,000 and 40,000 men, general Byng's post at Roncesvalles. Lieutenant-general Sir L. Cole moved up to his support with the 4th division, and these officers were enabled to maintain their post throughout the day; but the enemy turned it in the afternoon, and lieutenant-general sir L. Cole considered it to be necessary to withdraw in the night; and he marched to the neighbourhood of Zubiri. In the actions which took place on this day, the 20th regiment distinguished themselves.

"Two divisions of the centre of the enemy's army attacked sir R. Hill's position in the Puerto de Maya, at the head of the valley of Baztan, in the afternoon of the same day. The brunt of the action fell

upon major-general Pringle's and major-general Walker's brigades, in the 2nd division, under the command of lieutenant-general the hon. W. Stewart. These troops were at first obliged to give way, but having been supported by major-general Barnes' brigade of the 7th division, they regained that part of their post which was the key of the whole, and which would have enabled them to re-assume it if circumstances had permitted it. But sir R. Hill having been apprised of the necessity that sir L. Cole should retire, deemed it expedient to withdraw his troops likewise to Iurrita, and the enemy did not advance on the following day beyond the Puerto de Maya.

"Notwithstanding the enemy's superiority of numbers, they acquired but little advantage over these brave troops during the seven hours they were engaged. All the regiments charged with the bayonet. The conduct of the 82nd regiment, which moved up with major-general Barnes' brigade, is particularly reported. Lieutenant-general the hon. W. Stewart was slightly wounded. I was not apprised of these events till late in the night of the 25th and 26th; and I adopted immediate measures to concentrate the army to the right, still providing for the siege of San Sebastian, and for the blockade of Pamplona.

"This would have been effected early on the 27th, only that lieutenant-general sir L. Cole and lieutenant-general sir T. Picton concurred in thinking their post at Zubiri not tenable for the time during which it would have been necessary for them to wait in it. They therefore retired early on the 27th, and took up a position to cover the blockade of Pamplona, having the right, consisting of the 3rd division, in front of Huarte, and extending to the hills beyond Olaz; the left, consisting of the 4th division, major-general Byng's brigade of the 2nd division, and brigadier-general Campbell's (Portuguese) brigade of the conde de Amarante's Portuguese division, on the heights in front of Villalba, having their left at a chapel behind Sorauren, on the high road from Ostiz to Pamplona, and their right resting upon a height which defended the high road from Zubiri and Roncesvalles. General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, and that part of the conde de la Bisbal's corps not engaged in the blockade, were in reserve. From the latter, the regiment of Pravia and that of El Principe were detached to occupy part of the hill on

the right of the 4th division, by which the road from Zubiri was defended.

"The British cavalry, under lieutenant-general sir S. Cotton, were placed near Huarte on the right, being the only ground on which it was possible to use the cavalry. The river Lanz runs in the valley which was on the left of the allied, and on the right of the French army, along the road to Ostiz; beyond this river there is another range of mountains connected with Lizasso and Marcalain, by which places it was now necessary to communicate with the rest of the army.

"I joined the 3rd and 4th divisions just as they were taking up their ground on the 27th, and shortly afterwards the enemy formed their army on a mountain, the front of which extends from the high road to Ostiz to the high road to Zubiri; and they placed one division on the left of that road on a height, and in some villages in front of the 3rd division; they had here, also, a large body of cavalry.

"In a short time after they had taken up their ground, the enemy attacked the hill on the right of the 4th division, which was then occupied by one battalion of the 4th Portuguese regiment, and by the Spanish regiment of Pravia. These troops defended their ground, and drove the enemy from it with the bayonet. Seeing the importance of this hill to our position, I reinforced it with the 40th regiment, and this regiment, with the Spanish regiments, El Principe and Pravia, held it from this time, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the enemy during the 27th and 28th to obtain possession of it. Nearly at the same time that the enemy attacked this height on the 27th, they took possession of the village of Sorauren on the road to Ostiz, by which they acquired the communication by that road, and they kept up a fire of musketry along the line till it was dark.

"We were joined on the morning of the 28th by the 6th division of infantry, and I directed that the heights should be occupied on the left of the valley of the Lanz, and that the 6th division should form across the valley in rear of the left of the 4th division, resting their right on Oricain, and their left on the heights above mentioned. The 6th division had scarcely taken their position, when they were attacked by a very large force of the enemy which had been assembled in the village of Sorauren. Their front was, however, so well defended by the fire of their own light troops from the heights

on their left, and by the fire from the heights occupied by the 4th division and brigadier-general Campbell's Portuguese brigade, that the enemy were soon driven back with immense loss from a fire on their front, both flanks and rear.

"In order to extricate their troops from the difficulty in which they found themselves in their situation in the valley of the Lanz, the enemy now attacked the height on which the left of the 4th division stood, which was occupied by the 7th caçadores, of which they obtained a momentary possession. They were attacked, however, again by the 7th caçadores, supported by major-general Ross, with his brigade of the 4th division, and were driven down with great loss.

"The battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the 4th division, and in every part in our favour, excepting where one battalion of the 10th Portuguese regiment of major-general Campbell's brigade was posted. This battalion having been overpowered, and having been obliged to give way immediately on the right of major-general Ross' brigade, the enemy established themselves on our line, and major-general Ross was obliged to withdraw from his post.

"I, however, ordered the 27th and 48th regiments to charge, first, that body of the enemy which at first established themselves on the height, and next, those on the left. Both attacks succeeded, and the enemy were driven down with immense loss; and the 6th division, having moved forward at the same time to a situation in the valley nearer to the left of the 4th, the attack upon this front ceased entirely, and was continued, but faintly, on other points of our line.

"In the course of this contest, the gallant 4th division, which had so frequently been distinguished in this army, surpassed their former good conduct. Every regiment charged with the bayonet, and the 40th, 7th, 20th, and 23rd, four different times. Their officers set them the example, and major-general Ross had two horses shot under him. The Portuguese troops likewise behaved admirably; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Spanish regiments El Principe and Pravia. I had ordered lieutenant-general sir R. Hill to march by Lanz upon Lizasso, as soon as I found that lieutenant-generals sir T. Picton and sir L. Cole had moved from Zubiri, and lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie from

San Estevan to the same place, where both arrived on the 28th, and the 7th division came to Marcalain.

"The enemy's force, which had been in front of sir R. Hill, followed his march, and arrived at Ostiz on the 29th. The enemy thus reinforced, and occupying a position on the mountains which appeared little liable to attack, and finding that they could make no impression on our front, determined to endeavour to turn our left by an attack on sir R. Hill's corps. They reinforced, with one division, the troops which had been already opposed to him, still occupying the same points in the mountain on which was formed their principal force; but they drew in to their left the troops which occupied the heights opposite the 3rd division; and they had, during the nights of the 29th and 30th, occupied in strength the crest of the mountain on our left of the Lanz, opposite to the 6th and 7th divisions; thus connecting their right in their position with the divisions detached to attack lieutenant-general sir R. Hill.

"I, however, determined to attack their position, and ordered lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie to possess himself of the top of the mountain in his front, by which the enemy's right would be turned; and lieutenant-general sir T. Picton to cross the heights on which the enemy's left had stood, and to turn their left by the road to Roncesvalles. All the arrangements were made to attack the front of the enemy's position as soon as the effect of these movements on their flanks should begin to appear. Major-general the hon. E. Pakenham, whom I had sent to take the command of the 6th division, major-general Pack having been wounded, turned the village of Sorauren as soon as the earl of Dalhousie had driven the enemy from the mountain by which that flank was defended; and the 6th division, and major-general Byng's brigade, which had relieved the 4th division on the left of our position on the road to Ostiz, instantly attacked and carried that village. Lieutenant-general sir L. Cole likewise attacked the front of the enemy's main position with the 7th cacadores, supported by the 11th Portuguese regiment, the 40th, and the battalion under colonel Bingham, consisting of the 53rd and Queen's regiments. All these operations obliged the enemy to abandon a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops. In their retreat from this

position, the enemy lost a great number of prisoners.

"I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of all the general officers, officers, and troops, throughout these operations. The attack made by lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie was admirably conducted by his lordship, and executed by major-general Inglis and the troops composing his brigade; and that by major-general the hon. E. Pakenham and major-general Byng; and that by lieutenant-general sir L. Cole; and the movement made by sir T. Picton merited my highest commendation. The latter officer co-operated in the attack of the mountain by detaching troops to his left, in which lieutenant-colonel the Hon. R. Trench was wounded, but I hope not seriously

"While these operations were going on, and in proportion as I observed their success, I detached troops to the support of lieutenant-general sir R. Hill. The enemy appeared in his front late in the morning, and immediately commenced an extended manœuvre upon his left flank, which obliged him to withdraw from the height which he occupied behind Lizasso to the next range. He there, however, maintained himself; and I enclose his report of the conduct of the troops.

"I continued the pursuit of the enemy after their retreat from the mountain to Olague, where I was at sunset immediately in the rear of their attack upon lieutenant-general sir R. Hill. They withdrew from his front in the night; and yesterday took up a strong position, with two divisions to cover their rear, in the pass of Doña Maria. Lieutenant-general sir R. Hill and the earl of Dalhousie attacked and carried the pass, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the enemy and the strength of their position. I am concerned to add that lieutenant-general the hon. W. Stewart was wounded upon this occasion. I enclose lieutenant-general sir R. Hill's report.

"In the meantime, I moved with major-general Byng's brigade, and the 4th division, under lieutenant-general the hon. sir L. Cole, by the pass of Velate, upon Irurita, in order to turn the enemy's position on Doña Maria. Major-general Byng took in Elizondo a large convoy going to the enemy, and made many prisoners. We have this day continued the pursuit of the enemy in the valley of the Bidassoa, and many prisoners and much baggage have been taken. Major-general Byng has possessed himself of the

valley of Baztan, and of the position on the Puerto de Maya, and the army will be this night nearly in the same position which they occupied on the 25th of July.

"I trust that H.R.H. the Prince Regent will be satisfied with the conduct of the troops of his Majesty, and of his allies on this occasion. The enemy having been considerably reinforced and re-equipped, after their late defeat, made a most formidable attempt to relieve the blockade of Pamplona, with the whole of their forces, excepting the reserve under general Vilatte, which remained in front of our troops on the great road from Irun. This attempt has been entirely frustrated by the operations of a part only of the allied army; and the enemy has sustained a defeat, and suffered a severe loss in officers and men.

"The enemy's expectations of success, beyond the point of raising the blockade of Pamplona, were certainly very sanguine. They brought into Spain a large body of cavalry and a great number of guns, neither of which arms could be used to any great extent by either party in the battle which took place. They sent off the guns to St. Jean Pied-de-Port, on the evening of the 28th, which have thus returned to France in safety.

"The detail of the operations will show your lordship how much reason I have to be satisfied with the conduct of all the general officers, officers, and troops. It is impossible to describe the enthusiastic bravery of the 4th division; and I was much indebted to lieutenant-general sir L. Cole for the manner in which he directed their operations; to major-general Ross, major-general Anson, major-general Byng, and brigadier-general Campbell, of the Portuguese service. All the officers commanding, and the officers of the regiments, were remarkable for their gallantry; but I particularly observed lieutenant-colonel O'Toole, of the 7th caçadores, in the charge upon the enemy on our left on the 28th; and captain Joaquim Telles Jurdao, of the 11th Portuguese regiment, in the attack of the mountain on the 30th.

"I beg to draw your lordship's attention likewise to the valuable assistance I received throughout these operations from lieutenant-general sir R. Hill; and from lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie, and lieutenant-general sir T. Picton, in those of the 30th and 31st of July. To the conde de la Bisbal likewise, I am indebted for every assist-

ance it was in his power to give, consistently with his attention to the blockade. I have already mentioned the conduct of the regiments of Pravia and El Principe, belonging to the army of reserve of Andalusia, in a most trying situation; and the whole corps appeared animated by the same zealous spirit which pervaded all the troops in that position.

"Marshal sir W. Beresford was with me throughout these operations; and I received from him all the assistance which his talents so well qualify him to afford me. The good conduct of the Portuguese officers and troops in all the operations of the present campaign, and the spirit which they show on every occasion, are not less honourable to that nation than they are to the military character of the officer, who, by his judicious measures, has re-established discipline, and renewed a military spirit in the army.

"I have again to draw your lordship's attention to the valuable assistance I received throughout these operations from the quarter-master-general, major-general Murray, and major-general Pakenham, the adjutant-general, and the officers of those departments respectively; from lord Fitzroy Somerset, lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and the officers of my personal staff.

"Although our wounded are numerous, I am happy to say that the cases in general are slight, and I have great pleasure in reporting to your lordship, that the utmost attention has been paid to them by the inspector-general, Dr. M'Grigor, and by the officers of the department under his direction. Adverting to the extent and nature of our operations, and the difficulties of our communications at all times, I have reason to be extremely well satisfied with the zeal and exertions of sir R. Kennedy, the commissary-general, and the officers of his department, throughout the campaign; which, upon the whole, have been more successful in supplying the troops than could have been expected.

"I transmit this despatch to your lordship by H. S. H. the hereditary prince of Orange, who is perfectly acquainted with all that has passed, and with the situation of the army; and will be able to inform your lordship of many details relating to this species of operations, for which a despatch does not afford scope. His highness had a horse shot under him in the battle near Sorrauren, on the 28th of July.

P. S. I have omitted to inform your lord-

ship in the body of the despatch, that the troops in the Puerto de Maya lost there four Portuguese guns on the 25th of July. Major-general Pringle, who commanded when the attack commenced, had ordered them to retire towards Maya; and when lieutenant-general Stewart came up, he ordered that they might return, and retire by the mountain road to Elizondo. In the mean time, the enemy were in possession of the pass, and the communication with that road was lost, and they could not reach it."

In a letter to sir T. Graham, dated "Lesaca, 4th August," he says:—"Many events turned out unfortunately for us on the 1st instant, each of which ought to have been in our favour; and we should have done the enemy a great deal more mischief than we did in his passage down this valley. But as it is, I hope that Soult will not feel an inclination to renew his expedition, on this side at least. The French army must have suffered terribly. Between the 25th of last month and 2nd of this, they were engaged seriously not less than ten times; on many occasions in attacking very strong positions, in others beat from them or pursued. I understand that the officers say they have lost 15,000 men. I thought so, but as they say so, I now think more. I believe we have about 4,000 prisoners. It is strange enough that our diminution of strength to the 31st does not exceed 1,500 men; although I believe our casualties are 6,000."

During the fierce and protracted struggles between the hostile armies which have been just narrated, and which demanded all the energies and attention of the English general's mind, to baffle the skill and desperate efforts of the enemy, his allies were causing him embarrassment and mystification, and throwing every difficulty in their power to thwart and impede his measures. Though he had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies, the Spanish ministry, jealous of his success, interfered with his measures, and often counteracted them. Not one of the engagements the Cortes had entered into, and which Wellington had made the condition of his accepting the command of the Spanish armies, had been adhered to. His recommendations for promotion after the battle of Vittoria were disregarded, orders were sent direct to the subordinate generals, and changes were made in the commands and in the destination of the troops without his concurrence,

and without passing through him as generalissimo. Scarcely had he passed the Ebro, when Castaños was removed from the government, and his nephew, Giron, deprived of his command. On this subject he addressed letters to Don Diego de la Vega Infanzon, and the secretary at war, Don Juan O'Donohu. The two to the secretary at war, for the information of the regency, complaining of the breach of the engagements on the faith of which he had been induced to accept the command of the Spanish army, and of the supercession of Castanos and his nephew, Giron, from their commands, are as distinguished for the clear and resistless reasoning by which they show to the regency the impolicy of the removal of those officers, and point out to them with equal truth and dignity the folly and injustice of their proceedings, both to his coadjutors and to himself, as they are for the calm, moderate, and magnanimous tone and spirit in which they are couched. In their comprehensive spirit, their sound argument, eloquent truth, and vigour of language, they would not, as has been appropriately said, suffer from a comparison with the most perfect compositions extant. "The severity of stricture, the cool and searching inquiry, the admirable tone, the frank yet finely satiric spirit, present a model of epistolary argument which cannot too pointedly be held up to the emulation of diplomatists and statesmen, no less than to soldiers employed in the service of their country."

"Huarte, 2nd July, 1813.

"SIR,—I have had the honour of receiving your excellency's letter of the 15th June, conveying to me the pleasure of the regency, that the captain-general Castanos should be recalled from the command of the 4th army, in order to attend the sittings of the Council of State, as he was not at the head of that army of which the command had been confided to him by the regency; and that general Freyre should be captain-general of Estremadura and Castile, and should command the 4th army; and that general Lacy should be captain-general in Galicia, and should command the troops in that province, independently of the general commanding the 4th army; and that general Don P. A. Giron should be removed to the 1st army.

"As the constitution of the Spanish monarchy has declared the ministers responsible for the acts of the government, I may consider these acts as those of your excellency; and I hope that I may venture to convey a

few observations upon them, which I beg may be laid before the regency.

“Justice towards the character of captain-general Castaños, an officer who has served his country in close concert with me for the last three years, and who, in the whole course of that time, has never differed in opinion from me on any subject of importance, induces me to remind your excellency that the local situation of the 4th army, before the commencement of the campaign, prevented its formation into a corps, of which the captain-general could, with propriety, place himself at the head; that if this formation had been locally practicable, the deplorable state of the finances applicable to the support of the 4th army would have prevented its remaining united in such corps.

“Your excellency must be aware that when there is no money for the support of the troops, a particular district or country may not find it impossible to supply without payment the food for a small body, while it would be quite impossible to supply it for a large one; and for this reason, and others referable to the state of discipline and the peculiar organization of some of the troops, I did not think it proper that more of the troops of the 4th army should be assembled together than the two divisions, comprising the army from Galicia, under the command of Don P. A. Giron.

“It would have been indecorous and improper, adverting to general Castaños’ rank and situation, besides being inconvenient, if he had joined these divisions, or any other portion of the fourth army, and he therefore, in the commencement of the operations of the campaign, had his head-quarters at or near mine and the Portuguese head-quarters, by my desire.

“Not only your excellency has not adverted to these circumstances in the decision which you have recommended to the government regarding general Castaños; but you have omitted to revert to others. Besides being commander-in-chief of the fourth army, general Castaños was captain-general of Estremadura and Castile, and Galicia. In that capacity he had duties to perform most important for the political interests, and particularly for the welfare of the army.

“It was his duty to establish the authority of the Spanish government in the different towns and districts, as they should be successively evacuated by the enemy; and from the nature of the army, and the peculiar

march it followed, he could not have performed this duty if he had been what is called at the head of the fourth army, or at my head-quarters, which have moved every day since the 22nd of May, and have never been in any large or capital town, excepting Salamanca, where I left general Castaños, nor even upon the high road.

“It was I, and not general Castaños, who suggested that he should employ himself in this manner; and I must say, that considering the manner in which Don P. A. Giron has commanded the divisions of the army of Galicia in the field, we should have neglected our duty to the state, if we had not chalked out for general Castaños the performance of those duties for which he is now punished and disgraced. In regard to the arrangements made by your excellency for filling the appointments held by general Castaños, and the removal of general Don P. A. Giron, without trial, or even cause assigned, from a situation in which he had been placed by general Castaños by my desire, and in which he had conducted himself entirely to my satisfaction, as I had already reported to the government; I believe that in addition to the inconvenience and injury to the public of all changes of this description in the midst of military operations, it will not be denied, that they are directly in breach of the engagements made to me by the late regency, and confirmed by the existing regency, which engagements your excellency knows well, alone induced me to accept the command of the Spanish army.

“Your excellency knows, also, that this is not the first time that the engagements solemnly entered into with me, after full and repeated discussions, have been broken, and nobody knows better than your excellency, the inconveniences to the service which resulted. You are likewise aware of my disposition and desire to serve the Spanish nation, as far as it is in my power. There are limits, however, to forbearance and submission to injury; and I confess that I feel that I have been most unworthily treated in these transactions by the Spanish government, even as a gentleman.

“It is not my habit, nor do I feel inclined to make a parade of my services to the Spanish nation; but I must say that I have never abused the powers with which the government and the cortes have entrusted me, in any, the most trifling instance, nor have ever used them for any purpose, excepting to forward the public

service. For the truth of this assertion, I appeal likewise to your excellency; and I believe it will be admitted that the circumstances which rendered necessary the formation of these engagements render it necessary to perform them, if it is desired that I should retain the command of the army.—I have the honour to be, &c. "WELLINGTON."

In reply to this letter, the minister at war informed the English chief, that the regency had directed him to lay his resignation before the cortes; and that further instructions on the subject would be transmitted to him on the assembling of the newly appointed regency.

"Lesaca, 7th August, 1813.

"I have had the honour to receive one letter from your excellency of the 19th July, and three of the 25th, by my aid-de-camp, the chef d'Escadron Croquenbourg. I am very much obliged to your excellency for the definition which you have taken the trouble of giving me of the nature of the responsibility of a person filling your office. I had understood it otherwise; and that the organs of the government were responsible for the expediency of all their acts at the moment of performing them, whether legal or otherwise.

"It was on the ground of the inexpediency of removing captain-general Castaños at the moment, and of the injustice of punishing him by that removal, for a supposed offence, that I ventured to address your excellency, and not against the act as being one beyond the power of the government. Neither did I remonstrate against the act as being a breach of the engagement which the regency had made with me in December, 1812, and January, 1813. That engagement does not state one syllable about the removal, by the regency, of officers from their situations; and it would have been very improper for me to endeavour to limit the authority of the government in that respect, and highly inexpedient for the government to consent to limit its authority.

"Neither have I complained, as a breach of an engagement made with me, of the refusal of the government to comply with my recommendation, that certain officers should be promoted; all of them officers deservedly high in the estimation of the army, and of the public, and of the government themselves; all of them employed in high situations, some of them in command of armies to which they have been appointed by the government, and not by me,

and one of them the minister at war. I had hoped, that after such a victory as was gained by the allies on the 28th of June, it would have been deemed gracious on the part of the government to promote certain officers, and I recommended those to the government, who appeared to me, by their services, to be the most deserving. But it belongs to the regency, and not to me, to make the promotion, and I have received their decision with the respectful silence which is due to them; nor should I now notice the matter, only that it forms the subject of one of the letters from your excellency, to which I am now replying; and that I wrote to remove all doubt and ambiguity from my letter of the 2nd July, and from what follows in this. That of which I complain is, that when the regency thought proper to remove captain-general Castaños and general Giron from their situations, they should have selected general Freyre and general Lacy to fill them, contrary to the engagement made with me, in the letter from the minister at war, of January, 1813; that they should have appointed general Giron and general — to serve in the army of Catalonia, contrary to the same engagement; that this engagement appears to exist only that it may be broken; and that the regency should now deny that it ever intended to adhere to the engagement made by its predecessors, when it authorized the late minister at war, Don I. de Carvagal, to write to me on the 28th of March, 1813.

"It has always been my wish, as your excellency knows, to support the existing authority; and there are not wanting instances, since I have held the command of the Spanish army, of my having interposed to prevent officers in high stations from assuming authority not belonging to them, and from using language in their addresses to be laid before the government, more expressive of their irritable feelings than of their respect; such conduct and language is, in ordinary circumstances, quite inexcusable; and the only excuse which can be alleged for its existence (which is none for its continuance) is the state in which the government and army of Spain had been for some time past.

"From this state I hoped, backed by the confidence and support of the government, and by their liberal adherence to the engagements they had made with me, that I should have been able to extricate the army; and in the meantime, I have uniformly, as in

duty bound, in every instance, upheld the authority of the government. I would, however, observe to your excellency, that the government could avoid this evil, if they were to adhere to the fourth article of the engagement of the 1st of January, 1813, which points out the mode in which the reports and applications of the army are to reach the government, and the orders and decisions of the government to reach the army. It would not be in the power, then, of any officer to address them in disrespectful, doubtful, or ambiguous terms, and if such address were to reach them, he who should forward it would be responsible for its contents.

“Nor does it appear that this mode of doing business can prevent the government from having the earliest knowledge of all that passes. I believe that an order has already been given by the government to all officers in command, to send direct to the minister at war copies of all reports made to me, and of all orders sent by me; to which order, if it had passed through the regular channel, I should not have the slightest objection. By enforcing this order, government would have, in an authentic shape, all the information which they could wish, at the earliest possible period of time.

“I acknowledge that I feel some astonishment that the regency, having found it so easy to dismiss captain-general Castaños from his situation for no assigned fault, should have felt any scruple about dismissing the duque del Parque, he being supposed to have written in improper terms.

“It is useless now to trouble your excellency with the motives which induced me to ask the late regency to enter into certain engagements with me, previous to my taking upon myself the command of the Spanish army, to which I had been appointed by the cortes; these reasons are to be found fully detailed in my addresses of the 4th of December, 1812, and every day’s experience has convinced me of the expediency of what I asked, in order to enable me to perform my duty. The existing government have broken the engagements into which, it appears by your excellency’s letter, they do not consider they ever entered; and it further appears, by your excellency’s letter, that they are dissatisfied with that part of the arrangement made with the former regency, which relates to the communication between the government and the army.

“I have above explained myself upon this point, in a manner which will, I hope, prove satisfactory to the regency. But having before been mistaken respecting the intentions of the regency, in regard to the engagements with me as explained by the late minister at war, I trust that your excellency will now be pleased to explain their intentions in language that cannot be misunderstood. I am anxiously desirous of serving the Spanish nation, to which I am indebted for so much favour and kindness, in every way that may be in my power, and I will continue to serve them at the head of the allied British and Portuguese army, whatever may be the decision of the regency on what is now brought before them. I shall be much concerned, for many reasons, into which it is not necessary to enter, if I should be obliged to relinquish the command of the Spanish army, which the cortes and the late regency had confided to me in consequence of the decision of the existing regency; but, if I should, I can only assure your excellency, that I will do it at the period, and in the mode which may be most convenient and agreeable to the regency; and that I will at all times act most cordially with, and assist to the utmost of my power, any officer who may be named to succeed me. It must appear to your excellency to be very desirable to the government, for the welfare of the army, and to myself, to receive their early decision on the contents of this letter.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“WELLINGTON.”

In reply to the answer of the minister at war, that the new regency were not bound by the act of their predecessors in conferring the command of the Spanish armies on his lordship, in a letter, dated Lesaca, 30th August, 1813, addressed to the minister of war, after requiring that “the existing regency would be pleased to ratify the agreement made by their predecessors, on such terms as he could not be mistaken, as he had been before, regarding the meaning intended to be conveyed by the letter of the former minister of war, when he originally accepted the command of the Spanish armies,” he said—“It is really necessary for many reasons connected with the public service, that the government should come to an early decision on this subject, and should have an opportunity of making a new arrangement for the command of their armies, if they should think that they ought

not to comply with what I have now had the honour of submitting to your excellency. Therefore, in case the regency should not consider it proper to comply with my request, I beg leave hereby to resign the command of the Spanish armies, with which the cortes and regency of Spain have honoured me. More than half Spain has been cleared of the enemy above a year, and the whole of Spain, excepting Catalonia and a small part of Arragon, since the months of May and June last; the most abundant harvest has been reaped in all parts of the country; millions of money which have been spent by the contending armies, are circulating everywhere; and yet your armies, however weak in numbers, are literally starving. The allied British and Portuguese army under my command has been subsisted, particularly latterly, almost exclusively upon the magazines imported by sea; and I am concerned to inform your excellency, that besides money for the pay of all the armies, which has been given from the military chest of the British army, and has been received from no other quarter, the magazines have supplied quantities of provisions to all the Spanish armies, in order to enable them to remain in the field at all."

On this subject, in a letter addressed to sir Henry Wellesley, dated "Huarte, 2nd July, 1813," he says, "I enclose copies of the letters which I have received from the minister at war, in regard to the removal of general Castaños, and the consequent arrangements, and the copy of the draft of my answer of this day. I shall be very much obliged to you if you will call together Arguelles, Ciscar, La Vega, Torreno, and any other who may have been concerned in nominating me to the command of the Spanish army, and show them these letters, and tell them that if I have not some satisfaction for the insult offered to me by these arrangements, in breach of all the engagements entered into with me, it will be impossible for me to hold the command. I beg you will tell these gentlemen, at the same time, that I am sincerely desirous of continuing to hold the command, from knowing the importance attached to my continuance in Spain, as well as to the rest of Europe; but I cannot do it under existing circumstances. I consider the gentlemen above mentioned to have been principally concerned in nominating me to the command of the army, and that they are likewise the principal supporters of the ex-

isting government, and I wish that they should be aware of all the circumstances, and should have it in their power to interfere if they should still wish that I should retain the command. If they do not wish it, and will not interfere, it is better that I should resign, to which measure, if I am compelled, I will adopt it, in a manner to do as little injury to the government as may be in my power."

Wellington, committing the charge of the blockade of Pamplona to d'Espagna, now prepared to resume the siege of St. Sebastian; but many circumstances tended to impede his operations. The absence of a naval force on the north coast of Spain, had enabled the enemy to supply the beleaguered fortress with stores and ammunition, and to relieve or withdraw their other garrisons on that coast. The inexpeditious removal of the artillery, stores, and provisions from Lisbon and Corunna to the immediate seat of war, had occasioned great inconvenience and injury in the prosecution of the war. Of the negligence and inefficiency with which the maritime department of the war had been conducted, he made repeated charges against the admiralty. His remonstrances to the secretary of state on the same subject were frequent and pressing. Among the numerous letters addressed on this subject to the earl of Bathurst, the following extracts prove the urgency of the case:—

Zubieta, 10th July, 1813.

"I am certain that it will not be denied, that since Great Britain has been a naval power, a British army has never been left in such a situation, and that at a moment when it is most important to us to preserve, and the enemy to interrupt the communication by the coast. If they take only the ship with our shoes, we must halt for six weeks."

* * * *

"I beg your lordship to observe in what manner the blockade of the coast is kept up. I wish to make the siege of San Sebastian, which is one of quite a different description from that of Pamplona; but I cannot undertake it till I shall know whether we are secure at sea. I really believe that this is the first time, of late years, that any British commander on shore has had reason to entertain doubts on this point."

* * * *

"Your lordship will see by my report, that we are still waiting for the battering train, and we have thus lost sixteen days in the month of August, since I should have

renewed the attack on San Sebastian if I had had the means. This is a most important period in the campaign, particularly for the attack of a place in the Bay of Biscay. How we are to attack Bayonne afterwards, I am sure I do not know. A British minister cannot too often have under his view the elements by which he is surrounded, and cannot make his preparations for the operations of a campaign at too early a period."

* * * *

"Lesaca, 4th of August.

"I entreat your lordship to let me know whether the government will or will not send a sufficient naval force to co-operate with the army in this siege."

* * * *

"Lesaca, August 13th.

"The supplies of all kinds from Lisbon and other parts in Portugal, and from Corunna, are delayed for want of convoy; the maritime blockade of San Sebastian is not kept up at all; the enemy have a constant communication with San Sebastian from St. Jean de Luz and Bayonne."

* * * *

"Lesaca, 19th August.

"If we had a sufficient naval force, we might, if the weather permitted, make an attack from the sea, at the same time that we should make the attack upon the breaches from the land. This would at all events divide the enemy's attention, and would probably prevent much of the loss in the assault of the breaches, if it did not tend to ensure the success of the assault."

The following despatch, dated "Lesaca, August 21st, 1813," was addressed to Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty:—

"I have received your letter of the 28th July. I do not know what sir Charles Stuart has written to government regarding want of naval means on the Lisbon station. What I have written has been founded on my own sense of the want of naval assistance on the coast, as well as on the coast of Portugal; and I assure you that I neither know nor care what has passed, or may pass, in parliament or in the newspapers on the subject.

"I complain of an actual want of necessary naval assistance and co-operation with the army, of which I believe no man will entertain a doubt who reads the facts stated in the reports to government. I know nothing about the cause of the evil; it may be owing to a general deficiency of

naval force for all the objects to which it is necessary to attend in an extensive system of war. It may be owing to a proper preference of other services over this, or it may be owing to the inapplication of the force entrusted to their command by the admirals and captains. I state the fact, which nobody will deny; and leave it to government to apply the remedy or not as they may think proper, hoping only that they will know whether they propose to apply a remedy or not. As far as I am concerned, I have no objection to the whole, or any part of the army, being employed in expeditions against the French and American posts, if government think that policy preferable to that which they have followed lately. I may entertain an opinion upon the subject; but as the commander of the army, I should not think it necessary to say one word on the subject, any more than I shall regarding the deficiency of the naval means to assist us as we ought to be assisted by the navy, when I shall know from government that they do not propose [query purpose] to give us any more. It will then remain for me to see whether the service can be carried on during the winter, under the circumstances of the delays and disappointments to which we are now liable from the want of security for vessels to sail on the coast singly, and from the want of convoys for them to sail together, and to report to government if I should find it correct.

"I beg to observe that the circumstances of the coast of Portugal are very different from those of the channel in regard to the facilities which the enemy has of interrupting the communication, and it is for many reasons much more easy to guard. The inconveniences also to which the public service is exposed, from the want of the secure navigation of the coast of Spain and Portugal, by the army, are of far greater magnitude than those suffered by the want of security on the coasts of the channel. If the insecurity should be of any very considerable duration in point of time, it will affect the army in its bread and corn; and the truth is, that the delay of any one ship affects the operations of the army, as I assure you we have not more of anything than we want; and the delay or loss of some particular ships, loaded with ordnance or military stores, would go [query tend] to impede all the operations of the campaign. For instance, we have done literally nothing since the 2nd of August, because there was

a mistake regarding the preparation of an ordnance equipment, which was afterwards delayed by contrary winds; and the delay for want of convoy, or capture on the coast, of a vessel having on board ammunition or stores, commonly called camp equipments, would just stop the operations of the army till the ammunition or stores could be replaced. For this reason, I acknowledge that I should differ with you *in thinking this the last point to be attended to*. Allowing for the partiality I may be supposed to feel for it, I should think that, considering the expense already incurred in keeping this army in the field, it would be bad policy to

cramp their operations, by leaving their maritime communications insecure.

"I shall not trouble you with the facts, as they will come before you in another quarter. And I believe nobody will deny, that either we have not sufficient naval means, or that they are misapplied. But besides these facts, I assure you that there is not an hour in the day in which some statement does not come before me of the miseries resulting from the want of naval means; and even while writing this letter the commissary-general has been here to complain, that his empty provision ships are detained at Santander for want of convoy."

SIEGE OF ST. SEBASTIAN (ITS RESUMPTION AND CAPTURE.)

GENERAL Graham's despatches to lord Wellington, dated 18th and 27th July, detailing the operations against St. Sebastian, the assault on that place, and its failure, were—

"Hernani, 18th July, 1813.

"My Lord,—The convent of San Bartholomeo, and the adjoining work, on the extremity of the steep hill towards the river, were taken yesterday. The natural and artificial strength of these fortified posts, occupied by a large body of troops, and the impossibility of access to either, but by the fronts, made it very desirable to have destroyed the defences as much as possible, and a new battery was begun on the left the preceding evening, but not being ready in the morning, the attack was determined on.

"A column, consisting of the pickets of the 4th caçadores, commanded by lieutenant Antonio de Quairos, of 150 men of the 13th Portuguese regiment, under captain Almeyda, supported by three companies of the 9th regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Craufurd, with a reserve of three companies of the royal Scots, under captain Arquimbeau, was formed on the right to attack the redoubt, under the direction of major-general Hay. Major-general Bradford commanded the left column, composed of 200 men of the 13th Portuguese regiment, under the command of major Snodgrass, of that regiment; an equal number, under lieutenant-colonel Macneagh of the 5th caçadores, and supported by the 9th regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Cameron. The whole of the troops employed in the

service, being under the command of major-general Oswald.

"About 10 A.M., the left column began the attack on the convent, while the right passed the ravine near the river. Both attacks were made with such vigour and determination, that all obstacles were overcome, without the loss that might have been expected. The enemy were driven in confusion down the hill, carrying a strong reinforcement, just sent from St. Sebastian, along with them in their flight through the burnt village of San Martin. The impetuosity of the troops in pursuit could not be restrained by the exertion of the superior officers, who had received major-general Oswald's directions not to pass San Martin, and some unavoidable loss was sustained by those who followed the enemy to the foot of the glacis; on their return to San Martin.

"I need hardly assure your lordship that on this, as on other occasions, major-general Oswald conducted the service in the best manner; and I am equally obliged to major-generals Hay and Bradford, for their conduct of the attacks intrusted to them. But I beg, in justice to the officers, whose distinguished gallantry in leading on the men to overcome the variety of obstacles that were opposed to them, to mention major Snodgrass, captain Almeyda, and lieutenant de Quairos (severely wounded) of the Portuguese service, and lieutenant-colonel Campbell of the 9th foot.

"I cannot conclude this report without ex-

pressing my perfect satisfaction with all the officers and men of the royal artillery, both in the four-gun battery, employed for three days against the convent, and on the opposite bank of the river, where several field-pieces were served with great effect.—I have the honour to be, &c.

“THOMAS GRAHAM.”

“Hernani, 27th July, 1813.

“My Lord,—The attack of the breach in the line-wall on the left flank of St. Sebastian took place on the morning of the 25th, when the fall of the tide left the foot of the wall dry. I am sorry to say, that notwithstanding the distinguished gallantry of the troops employed, some of whom did force their way into the town, the attack did not succeed. The enemy occupied in force all the defences of the place which looked that way, and from which, and from all round the breach, they were enabled to bring so destructive a fire of grape and musketry, flanking and enfilading the column, and to throw over so many hand-grenades on the troops, that it became necessary to desist from the assault.

“The loss sustained was therefore severe, especially by the 3rd battalion royal Scots, the leading one of major-general Hay’s brigade, which being on duty in the trenches, formed the column of attack; major-general Spry’s Portuguese brigade, that of major-general Robinson, and the 4th caçadores of brigadier-general Wilson’s, being in reserve in the trenches; the whole under the direction of major-general Oswald, commanding the 5th division.

“Though the attack has failed, it would be great injustice not to assure your lordship, that the troops conducted themselves with their usual gallantry, and only retired when I thought a further perseverance in the attack would have occasioned a useless sacrifice of brave men. Major-general Hay, major Fraser, colonel the hon. C. F. Greville, and colonel Cameron, commanding the royal Scotch, 38th and 9th regiments, greatly distinguished themselves. Major Fraser lost his life in the breach, with many of his brave comrades.

“The conduct, throughout the whole of the operations of the siege hitherto, of the officers and men of the royal artillery and engineers, never was exceeded in indefatigable zeal, activity, and gallantry; and I beg to mention particularly to your lordship, lieutenant-colonels Dickson, Fraser, and Hay, and major Webber Smith of the royal

artillery; lieutenant-colonel sir R. Fletcher, lieutenant-colonel Burgoyne, and majors Ellicombe and C. F. Smith of the royal engineers.

“Three officers of this corps, employed to conduct parts of the columns of attack, behaved admirably, but suffered severely; captain Lewis has lost his leg; lieutenant Jones was wounded in the breach, and taken; and lieutenant Mitchell, after his return, was killed in the trenches.

“I beg to recommend to your lordship, lieutenant Campbell of the 9th, who led the forlorn hope, and who was severely wounded in the breach. I have the greatest satisfaction, too, in assuring your lordship of the cordial support and assistance afforded by sir George Collier, commanding his majesty’s ships on the coast, and of all the officers and seamen of the squadron employed in them.

“No exertion that could be effected was wanting; and lieutenant-colonel Dickson has remarked to me, in the strongest terms, the steady and gallant conduct of a detachment of seamen on the batteries, under the command of lieutenant O’Reilly (first lieutenant of his majesty’s ship *Surveillante*) and of their exemplary behaviour while on shore. I beg, too, to mention Mr. Digby March, master’s mate, acting as lieutenant in the batteries, after lieutenant Dunlop was severely wounded.—I have the honour to be, &c.

“THOMAS GRAHAM.”

During the suspension of the siege, the garrison had employed every resource that military ingenuity could devise to make a formidable defence. New defences were constructed, the old ones strengthened, and the breaches in the sea-wall repaired. A second or interior rampart, parallel to the outer rampart, and with a perpendicular fall of more than 15 feet to the level of the streets, was constructed behind the great breach, of the ruins of the houses which had been destroyed during the first assault—the ground at the bottom of which was filled with sword blades, placed erect, and all sorts of impediments and combustibles. The houses beyond the breach, and behind the ruined houses, were loop-holed. Traverses, composed of combustibles, were thrown across the streets.

The besiegers had been no less active. The old trenches had been repaired, the heights of San Bartholomeo strengthened, and the convent of Antigua fortified. Preparations were now made for the resumption of the siege. On the 5th August, orders were

issued that the ordnance and stores that had been shipped at Passages should be re-landed. The batteries used at the first siege were enlarged, and new ones erected. "Sailors were employed in this work, and never did men more thoroughly enjoy their occupation. They had a double allowance of grog, as their work required, and at their own cost they had a fiddler; they who had worked their spell in the battery went to relieve their comrades in the dance, and at every shot which fell upon the castle they gave three cheers."

On the 19th, the battering-train, ordnance, ammunition, &c., which had been long expected, arrived from Portsmouth. The same transports brought out a company of sappers and miners.* The tents of the besiegers were placed on the lower range of hills, about two miles and-a-half from the town. The greater part of them were among orchards, valleys, and ravines.

It was now determined to renew the siege on an enlarged scale, both from the isthmus and from the opposite bank of the Urumea; while, on the other side of the bay, a mortar battery should be erected for the attack of the castle. The breach was to be enlarged round the angle of the land front, by laying open the two round towers at each end of the front breach, and connect it with the second on the right, adding to it another on the left, and demolishing a dense bastion by which the approach was flanked, to the left of the whole. The siege was resumed on the 24th, on which day the garrison made a *sortie*, injuring the sap and making a few prisoners.

During the last ten days, the besieging force had been dragging into battery the train of ordnance. On the morning of the 26th, the batteries opened with a salvo of 57 pieces of ordnance. As the rocky islet of Santa Clara, situated at the mouth of the harbour, facilitated the introduction of supplies into the place, and its guns enfiladed

* Even so late back as February the 11th, 1812, lord Wellington had said, in a letter to the earl of Liverpool, "While on the subject of the artillery, I would beg leave to suggest to your lordship the expediency of adding to the engineers' establishment a corps of sappers and miners. It is inconceivable with what disadvantages we undertake anything like a siege, for want of assistance of this description. There is no French corps d'armée which has not a battalion of sappers and a company of miners. But we are obliged to depend for assistance of this description upon the regiments of the line; and although the men are brave and willing, they want the know-

ledge and training which are necessary. Many casualties among them consequently occur, and much valuable time is lost at the most critical period of the siege." Until this late period of the war, there had been no corps of sappers and miners, or any body of men trained for siege operations. The corps of royal artificers had consisted of handicraftsmen of different descriptions, and the work of the trenches had been performed by the soldiers of the line. The deficiency of the resources of art on this account, compelled the English general to compensate the defect by the courage of the troops; and the fearful expenditure of life was the result.

the breach, at three o'clock of the morning of the 27th, 100 of the 1st Royals, under captain Cameron, and a party of seamen, under lieutenant Arbuthnot, of the *Surveillante*, were landed from the boats of the fleet to dislodge the garrison, which, though consisting only of 24 men and one officer, inflicted a loss on the assailants exceeding their own number before the place was captured; a loss occasioned by the only landing-place being under a flight of steps, commanded by a small entrenchment on the west point of the islet, and exposed to the whole range of works on the west side of the rock and of the walls.

On the 28th, the garrison made a second *sortie*, but were quickly repulsed at the point of the bayonet, and driven back without being able to effect the least damage. During the whole of the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th, a direct fire had been maintained on the place, when the old breach was reduced to its former condition, and a new one effected, about a stone's throw apart. Both were commanded by the guns of the castle, and both were flanked by the bastions of the town wall. On the last-mentioned day the fire of the garrison was nearly silenced; but during the whole time they had been actively employed in endeavouring to repair, during the night, the injury done to the defences. To break the force of the shot of the assailants' batteries, they suspended large solid beams at the points to which the guns were directed. To ascertain the nature and extent of the fire which the enemy could turn on the assaulting columns, and if possible induce them to spring the mines which they were supposed to have prepared under the glacis of the hornwork, a false attack was made on the night of the 29th. For this purpose seventeen men of the royals, headed by lieutenant Marsden, of the 9th regiment, at a rapid pace, all the breaching batteries playing hotly at the time, reached the foot of the breach unperceived, and mounting in extended order,

ledge and training which are necessary. Many casualties among them consequently occur, and much valuable time is lost at the most critical period of the siege." Until this late period of the war, there had been no corps of sappers and miners, or any body of men trained for siege operations. The corps of royal artificers had consisted of handicraftsmen of different descriptions, and the work of the trenches had been performed by the soldiers of the line. The deficiency of the resources of art on this account, compelled the English general to compensate the defect by the courage of the troops; and the fearful expenditure of life was the result.

shouted and fired; the whole party were killed, except their leader, who returned alone to the trenches.

On the 30th, the breaches being declared practicable, lord Wellington, who had frequently come over from Lesaca to inspect the progress of the siege, ordered an assault to be made on them at eleven o'clock of the following day. To prepare the way for the attack, about two hours after midnight, the three mines which had been run in front of the batteries, under the sea-wall, for the purpose of counteracting any mines the enemy might have made at the great breach, were exploded, which blew down the sea-wall to the extent of 500 feet.

Until the present night, only one ford, and that at some little distance from both breaches, had been discovered. By examining the stream by a telescope, major Snodgrass, of the 52nd, who commanded a battalion of Portuguese caçadores, conceived the idea that there must be another ford, so far above the one already known, as to lead direct to the foot of the lesser breach.

* The party consisted of 150 men of the light division, under lieutenant-colonel Hunt, of the 52nd regiment; 200 of the brigade of guards, under lieutenant-colonel Cooke; 200 of the German legion, under major Robertson; and 200 of the 4th division, under major Rose, of the 20th foot. When the order was read to the 4th division, and those who were desirous to volunteer were desired to step some paces to the front, the whole division moved forward. The divisions named for the assault leave their knapsacks on the camp-ground, under a guard, that they may be less incumbered in their formidable enterprise. The head of the column of attack is formed of the storming party, consisting of 300 men, with officers in proportion, from the different regiments of the division ordered for the assault. They are volunteers, and, as may be supposed, are fellows whom a small matter will not frighten or daunt, or send to the right about. From these 300, a party of from twenty-five to thirty is to precede the advance of the remainder of this storming party. The subaltern officer who has volunteered the command of it, generally selects these men from his own regiment, and attaches to it sergeants on whose zeal and support he can rely. This little band is called by the well known and rather melancholy name of "Forlorn Hope." They are prepared for the worst, but hope the best. As the instructions to the officer commanding this party are to lead the column to the breach, and to make a lodgment in it, he previously examines the ground well, so that the darkness of the night shall not lead him into error. The attack generally commences on a preconcerted signal of so many guns from a particular battery. He must be a stout-hearted fellow whose pulse does not rattle on at a gallop as these signal guns go off. The officer who leads gives the word, "Follow me!" then leads straight to the glacis, to the point he had intended, where, from its being ploughed up from the fire from the batteries, there is no doubt where he is when

Though the moon was in her first quarter, and gave a very considerable light, he devoted the whole of the night of the 30th to a personal trial of the river, and he found it as he expected, fordable at low water immediately opposite the smaller breach. Crossing the ford, the water reaching up to his waist, he clambered up the face of the breach at midnight, gained its summit, and looked down on the town.

The morning of the 31st broke gloomily and enveloped in fog; the fog, however, cleared off about nine o'clock, when the sun shone forth brilliantly, but with a close and oppressive heat, so that the very animals were silent in the camp and on the hills, as if struck with an instinctive feeling of the approaching conflict. The column of attack was formed; it consisted of the brigades of Robinson and Hay, of the 5th division, the Portuguese caçadores, and 750 volunteers,* from the fifteen regiments of the 1st, 4th, and light divisions, and who had come down from the main army on the frontier; "men who," as Wellington ex-

he is there. No time is to be lost, and all jump into the ditch to avoid the fire of the place, which, from the assault being now discovered, deals out death in all shapes wholesale. Fire-balls are thrown out, and the darkest night becomes light as day, presenting to the open view of the besieged, the steady march of the column which follows the storming party, under cover of the riflemen and sharpshooters lying on the glacis, who keep up a fire on the ramparts to those who show their heads above them, or in the embrasures. The column, however, presents too great a mass to escape without the concentrated fire upon it from the bastions making dreadful chasms in it; but the grand tug of war is in the breach, opposite which deep trenches are cut, and traverses thrown up, completely separating the parts of the wall breached from the rest of the rampart, and from the body of the place, where parties posted on the sides of it, and from loopholed houses in its front, keep an incessant fire on the top, whilst the poor "forlorn hope," supported by the storming-party, scramble up the rugged breach, where they are either knocked on the head, tumbled headlong down, or maintain their ticklish pre-eminence till the main column forces them on the rampart. St. Sebastian presents a significant illustration of the fate and fortune of the greater portion of the stormers and the main column; of the former, consisting of 750 heroic men, "such as could show others how to mount a breach," in the course of a few minutes more than one-half were struck down. They had been selected, on account of lord Wellington's disapprobation of the conduct of the volunteers who led the first assault. The reason they did not lead the assault, but were in support of the 2nd brigade of the 5th division in that operation, was the discontent of lieutenant-general Leith, who assigned the honour to his own brigade; it being an article of his belief, that no British troops could fail in anything they undertook. The following occurrence, which

pressed himself, "could show other troops how to mount a breach." Robinson's brigade (2nd) led, supported by the volunteers, having in reserve the two remaining brigades of the 5th division, consisting of Hay's brigade (1st), and Spry's Portuguese brigade, and the 5th Portuguese caçadores, under major Hill. Leith commanded the whole column; Graham took his post by the batteries, on the other side of the Urumea, from which he could overlook and direct the operations. The orders were, to be ready for the assault at the time appointed, which was the hour of low water, and these orders all who heard them cheerfully prepared to obey.

The forlorn hope, consisting of thirty men, commanded by lieutenant M'Guin, of the 4th regiment, took its station at the debouche of the most advanced trench. The tide was now fast ebbing, and gave evidence that the river might be forded. The word to advance was given. Silently the assaulting columns* moved forward, and had scarcely reached the mid-space of the river when they were assailed by so violent a tempest of grape, musketry, canister, and round shot, that in the space of a couple of minutes the bed of the river was covered with the bodies of the killed and wounded. Nowise daunted, the survivors pushed on, but as they advanced, the enemy exploded the two mines on the flank of the front line of the works, which blew down a considerable extent of the counterscarp and the retaining wall, forming the ditch of the hornwork next the sea; but as the men were in loose order, only about thirty were killed. The progress of the assailants nowise checked, they rushed forward and mounted the breach; but such was the hurricane of fire poured upon them, that all their heroic daring was in vain; a withering discharge of musketry was kept up from the line of retrenchment behind the breach, took place at the selection of the storming party for the siege of St. Sebastian, is too interesting to be omitted:—"There was nothing but confusion here last night (with the light and the 4th divisions) from the eagerness of the officers to volunteer, and the difficulty of determining who were to be refused, and who allowed to go, and run their heads into a hole in the wall, full of fire and danger. Major Napier was here quite in misery, because, though he had volunteered first, lieutenant-colonel Hunt of the 52nd, his superior officer, insisted on his right to go. The latter said that Napier had been in the breach at Badajos, and he had a fair claim to go now. So it is among the subalterns; ten have volunteered where two are to be accepted. Hunt, being lieutenant-colonel, has nothing but honour to look to; as to promotion, he is past that. The men say they don't

the traverses, the ramparts, and the ruined houses, as well as from every part of the walls from which the assailants could be seen, while grape, canister, shells, and round-shot from the Mirador and Del Principe batteries on the castle-hill swept the approaches, and showered death on the column at the foot of the breach; the forlorn hope was cut off to a man, and the heads of the column annihilated as they ascended. In vain the officers rushed forward; in vain they were devotedly followed by their men; in vain a succession of supports was brought forward from the trenches; the murderous fire swept them all away, as fast as they showed themselves on the crest of the breach. No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge. The face and foot of the breach were covered with the dying and the dead, and the debouches from the trenches were so choked up with corpses as to prevent the passage of the troops. "The volunteers, who had, with difficulty, been restrained in the trenches, calling out to know, why they had been brought there, if they were not to lead the assault, being now let loose, went like a whirlwind to the breaches, and again the crowded masses swarmed up the face of the ruins, but reaching the crest-line they came down like a falling wall; crowd after crowd were seen to mount, to totter, and to sink, the deadly French fire was unabated, the smoke floated away, and the crest of the breach bore no living man."† The deadly strife had now raged for two hours, and not a man was to be seen on the breach. A battalion of Portuguese (13th caçadores) under major Snodgrass, supported by a detachment of the 24th, under lieutenant-colonel M'Bean, forded the river, under the fire of St. Ulmo, the castle, and the infantry on the walls, and assaulted the lesser breach to the right of the main one; but here, too, the obstacles care what they are to do, *but they are ready to go anywhere*."—Larpent's Private Journal during the Peninsular War, from 1812 to its close.

* "While the head of the column was still gathering on the strand, about thirty yards from the salient angle of the hornwork, twelve men, commanded by a serjeant whose heroic death has not sufficed to preserve his name, running violently forward, leaped upon the covered-way, with intent to cut the sausage of the enemy's mines. The French, startled by this sudden assault, fired the train prematurely, and though the serjeant and his brave followers were all destroyed, and the high sea-wall was thrown with a dreadful crash upon the head of the column, not more than forty men were crushed by the ruins, and the rush of the troops was scarcely checked."—Napier. † Napier.



STORMING
OF
SAN SEBASTIAN.

C. W. Terry.

D. J. Power.

were insurmountable. The crisis was imminent. The tide was rising, and the river would soon be impassable. The circumstances being desperate, a desperate remedy was adopted. Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, the chief officer of artillery, commenced firing his own artillery from the Choffre batteries on the high curtain of the breach, a few feet above the heads of the assailants, who were astonished at hearing the roar of cannon in their rear; but observing the enemy swept from the curtain, the intent was soon fully intelligible. This fire was kept up with admirable precision against the high curtain and traverses, sweeping away the enemy and their defences, and strewing the rampart with the mangled limbs of the defenders; but it had not been continued twenty minutes, when an explosion took place, which, for a moment, confounded the combatants on both sides. A shell from one of the British mortars, falling among a heap of fire barrels, live shells, hand-grenades, and other combustibles, accumulated behind the traverses, suddenly exploded, at the same time communicating with a mine placed under the breach, which was intended to be sprung, as soon as the assailants established themselves on the summit. Three hundred French grenadiers, who stood over it, were blown to atoms. The explosion was accompanied by smoke so dense as to obscure all vision. In the confusion which ensued, the assailants, with an appalling shout, rushing through the smoke and dust, rendered themselves masters of the first traverse. Animated by this success, they soon, in spite of a fierce resistance, pushed up the high curtain in great numbers, and assisting one another, lowered themselves into the town by the ruins. In the very heat and fury of the explosion, the stormers of the light division, under Hunt, had effected a lodgment in some of the ruined houses. The French colours on the cavalier were torn down by lieutenant Gethen of the 11th regiment. At the same time Snodgrass with the Portuguese had effected a lodgment in the small breach to the right. The enemy now attempted to defend the numerous in-trenchments in the streets, by exploding the combustibles of which the traverses were formed. But after a long and obstinate resistance, being on all sides impetuously attacked, and driven from all their defences, except the convent of Santa Teresa, they retreated into the castle, leaving 700 prisoners in the hands of the assailants. Just as the

ramparts were carried, a fierce tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain, fell upon the devoted town; the elemental crash added additional terror to the fury and uproar of the assault. No sooner was the town won, than a fearful spectacle of the horrors of war and wickedness, of rapine and outrage succeeded. The camp-followers, and the people of the surrounding country, pressed into the town to add to the violence of the drunken and licentious troops. Fortunately there were but few females in the place, but these few were basely treated. The wine and spirit cellars were broken open, houses were everywhere ransacked, and furniture wantonly destroyed. When night set in, the darkness was effectually dispelled by the glare of the burning houses, which one after another took fire. Before midnight, it was one sheet of flame, and by noon on the following day little remained of it, except its smoking ruins. When the siege was first begun, the houses exceeded 600; now nine-tenths of them had been consumed. The spectacle which this scene presented, was horrible. The strong light which fell from the burning houses disclosed crowds of dead, dying, and intoxicated men, huddled together. Heaps of dead were lying everywhere, English, Portuguese, and French, one upon another. The few inhabitants that were to be seen seemed stupefied with horror; they had suffered so much, that they looked with apathy on all around them. "Carpets, rich tapestry, beds, curtains, wearing apparel, and every kind of valuable property," says an eye-witness of the fearful scene, "were carelessly scattered about upon the bloody pavements, while ever and anon fresh bundles of these articles were thrown from the windows of the burning houses. Here you would see a drunken fellow whirling a string of watches around his head, and then dashing them against the wall; then another more provident, stuffing his bosom with the smaller articles which he most prized. Next would come a party rolling a cask of wine and spirits before them, with loud acclamations, which in an instant was tapped, and in an inconsiderably short space of time emptied of its contents. The careless hum of conversation, and the occasional laugh, and wild shout of intoxication, the pitiable cries, or deep moans of the wounded, and the unintermitted roar of the flames, produced such a concert as no man, who listened to it, can ever forget. Of these various noises the greater number began gradually to sub-

side as night passed on, and long before dawn there was a fearful silence. Sleep had succeeded inebriety with the bulk of the army; of the poor wretches who groaned and shrieked three hours ago, many had expired, and the very fire had wasted itself by consuming every thing on which it could feed."

Lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham's detail of the siege and capture of St. Sebastian was, in the following despatch, addressed to the marquis of Wellington.

"Oyarzun, 1st September, 1813.

"My Lord,—In addition to your lordship's orders of the preceding day, to attack and form a lodgment on the breach of San Sebastian, which now extended to the left, so as to embrace the outermost tower, the end and front of the curtain immediately over the left bastion, as well as the faces of the bastion itself, the assault took place at 11 o'clock, A.M., yesterday; and I have the honour to report to your lordship, that the heroic perseverance of all the troops concerned was at last crowned with success. The column of attack was formed of the 2nd brigade of the 5th division, commanded by major-general Robinson, with an immediate support of detachments of volunteers, and having in reserve the remainder of the 5th division, consisting of major-general Spry's Portuguese brigade, and the 1st brigade under major-general Hay, as also the 5th battalion of caçadores of general Bradford's brigade, under major Hill, the whole under the direction of lieutenant-general sir James Leith, commanding the 5th division. Having arranged every thing with sir James Leith, I crossed the Urumea to the batteries of the right attack, where everything could be most distinctly seen, and whence the orders for the fire of the batteries, according to circumstances, could be immediately given.

"The column in filing out of the right of the trenches was as before exposed to a heavy fire of shells and grape-shot, and a mine was exploded in the left angle of the counterscarp of the hornwork, which did great damage, but did not check the ardour of the troops in advancing to the attack. There never was any thing so fallacious as the external appearance of the breach; without some description, the almost insuperable difficulties of the breach cannot be estimated. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and there by single

files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of at least twenty feet to the level of the streets; so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point. During the suspension of the operations of the siege, from want of ammunition, the enemy had prepared every means of defence which art could devise, so that great numbers of men were covered by intrenchments and traverses, in the hornwork, on the ramparts of the curtain, and inside of the town opposite to the breach, and ready to pour a most destructive fire of musketry on both flanks of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain. Every thing that the most determined bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward from the trenches in succession. No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge; and though the slope of the breach afforded shelter from the enemy's musketry, yet still the nature of the stone rubbish prevented the great exertions of the engineers and working parties from being able to form a lodgment for the troops, exposed to the shells and grape from the batteries of the castle, as was particularly directed, in obedience to your lordship's instructions; and, at all events, a secure lodgment could never have been obtained without occupying a part of the curtain.

"In this almost desperate state of the attack, after consulting with colonel Dickson, commanding the royal artillery, I ventured to order the guns to be turned against the curtain. A heavy fire of artillery was directed against it; passing a few feet only over the heads of our troops on the breach, and was kept up with a precision of practice beyond all example. Meanwhile I accepted the offer of a part of major-general Bradford's Portuguese brigade to ford the river near its mouth. The advance of the first battalion, 13th regiment, under major Snodgrass, over the open beach, and across the river; and of a detachment of the 24th regiment, under lieutenant-colonel M'Bean, in support, was made in the handsomest style, under a very severe fire of grape. Major Snodgrass attacked, and finally carried the small breach on the right of the great one, and lieutenant-colonel M'Bean's detachment occupied the right of the great breach. I ought not to omit to mention, that a similar offer was made by the 1st Portuguese regiment of

brigadier-general Wilson's brigade, under lieutenant-colonel Fearon; and that both major-general Bradford, and brigadier-general Wilson, had, from the beginning, urged most anxiously the employment of their respective brigades in the attack, as they had had so large a share in the labour and fatigues of the right attack. Observing now the effect of the admirable fire of the batteries against the curtain, though the enemy was so much covered, a great effort was ordered to be made to gain the high ridge at all hazards, at the same time that an attempt should be made to storm the hornwork.

"It fell to the lot of the 2nd brigade of the 5th division, under the command of colonel the hon. C. Greville, to move out of the trenches for this purpose, and the 3rd battalion of the royal Scots, under lieutenant-colonel Barns, supported by the 38th, under lieutenant-colonel Miles, fortunately arrived to assault the breach of the curtain

about the time when an explosion on the rampart of the curtain, (occasioned by the fire of the artillery) created some confusion among the enemy. The narrow pass was gained, and was maintained, after a severe conflict, and the troops on the right of the breach having, about this time, succeeded in forcing the barricades on the top of the narrow line wall, found their way into the houses that joined it. Thus, after an assault which lasted above two hours, under the most trying circumstances, a firm footing was obtained. It was impossible to restrain the impetuosity of the troops, and in an hour more the enemy were driven from all the complication of defences prepared in the streets, suffering a severe loss on their retreat into the castle, and leaving the whole town in our possession."

The despatch then proceeds to particularize the officers who had distinguished themselves during the siege.

THE BATTLE OF SAN MARCIAL AND THE COMBAT OF VERA.

SOULT determined to make another effort for the relief of St. Sebastian, or at least to draw off its garrison. Quitting his camp behind the formidable works which he had thrown up in advance of St. Jean de Luz, covering the great road to Bayonne, on the night of the 30th of August, he marched with the purpose of assailing the army covering the siege of that fortress. Reille, with two divisions, and a strong reserve, under Villatte, was directed to cross the Lower Bidassoa, and carry the heights of San Marcial, while Clausel, with five divisions, passed the river at Vera, and pushed on to turn the Haya mountain. Three divisions of Spaniards, under general Freyre, occupied the heights and the town of Irun, thus covering the high road to the besieged fortress, and observing the fords by which the enemy could approach the position. The position was strong, the front and left being covered by the river, and their right appuying on the Sierra de Haya. The 1st division, under major-general Howard, and lord Aylmer's brigade, in rear of Irun, formed a reserve to the left of the Spaniards, and Longa's division near the Sierra, a reserve to their right. Still further to secure them, lord Wellington, receiving information that during the 29th and following day, a large

force of the enemy was assembling at Vera, ordered two brigades (Anson's and Ross's) of the 4th division, to occupy the heights on the right of the Sierra in support of Longa's division; at the same time the Portuguese, forming the other brigade of the 4th division, was directed to take post between the convent of Vera and Lesaca; and general Inglis's brigade of the 7th division was ordered to close to the left, and occupy the bridge on the Bidassoa, below Lesaca; while, to occupy the attention of the enemy, under D'Erlon, to their own left, the allied troops occupying the passes of Echellar, Zugarramurdi, and Haya, were directed to attack the weakened posts in front of their position. Hill was ordered to push the heads of his columns towards St. Jean Pied-de-Port.

At day-break of the morning of the 31st, the enemy was discovered advancing against the Spanish position. One column was already at the foot of the San Marcial height, another was in the act of fording the stream, and a third, under protection of batteries which they had thrown up during the night, were constructing a pontoon bridge over the river, about three-quarters of a mile from the high road to St. Sebastian. A heavy fire of artillery opened on both sides. The

two divisions, under Reille, as soon as formed, pushed forward to the attack of the Spaniards, anticipating an easy victory. The Spaniards calmly awaited the attack, till the assailants had nearly reached the summit of the steep, then impetuously charging them with the bayonet, drove them headlong down the face of the heights. As often as the French repeated the attack, so often were they driven back, some of them even across the river, where many of them, in their haste, lost the direction of the fords, and perished. During this conflict, Villatte's reserve having crossed the pontoon bridge, advanced to the support of their defeated comrades. Encouraged by this assistance, Reille's divisions again advanced to the charge, and one brigade succeeded in gaining the chapel of San Marcial, on the summit of the left of the line. At this critical moment lord Wellington came upon the field; when, ordering the 85th regiment to repel the attack, and riding forward with his whole staff to the menaced point, he was greeted with the most enthusiastic vivas by the whole of the Spanish line. Animated by his presence—for the supernatural effects of the talisman in the fable were hardly more powerful than the presence of Wellington in battle or the face of danger,—it reassured the infirm of purpose and gave fresh vigour to the brave—they again charged the enemy, and drove them in so great confusion, that, panic-stricken, they plunged headlong into the river, and so crammed the bridge and the pontoon boats which had come across to their assistance, that many perished in the depth of the water, by the giving way of the bridge, and the sinking of the boats.

Simultaneously with this attempt to gain the direct road to St. Sebastian, Clausel, who, with four divisions, had crossed the river higher up, near Vera, endeavoured to pass to the right of the Haya mountain, where another road leads to St. Sebastian, through Oyarzun. The Portuguese brigade, stationed on the right of the Haya mountain, was immediately attacked, and though Inglis moved to its support with his brigade, the post, on account of the vast superiority of the enemy's force, not being tenable, the allies withdrew to a stony ridge in front of the convent of Antonio, commanding the intersection of the roads, in which position

they remained unassailable. The light division, and Barnes's brigade of the 7th division, coming up in the course of the night, Clausel finding his position becoming every moment more critical, fell back under cover of the night; but, on reaching the Bidassoa at dawn, and finding it so swollen by the heavy rain which had fallen during the preceding day, as not to be fordable, he attempted his passage by the bridge of Vera, where a detachment of the light division being posted in a fortified house on a high rock just above the town, opened a fire upon the retreating columns, which occasioned a loss to them of 200 men.

The loss of the French in these operations was 3,600 men, including two generals killed and three wounded. That of the allies was 400 killed, 2,060 wounded, and 150 missing; above 1,600 of these being Spaniards. The moral effect of the failure of the attack on the heights of San Marcial was sensibly felt both by the French and Spaniards during the rest of the war. It made the French feel that San Marcial would give the Spaniards the same confidence in themselves which the Portuguese had learned at Busaco.

While the heights of San Marcial were the scene of contest, the whole French line in front of the passes of Echellar, Zugarramurdi, and Haya, were assailed. Two Portuguese brigades of the 6th and 7th divisions, directed by Colville and Dalhousie, at day-break of the 31st, drove the enemy from their camp behind Urdax, and burned it; but at the same moment, Abbé collecting his force in front of Ainhoë, repulsed the 6th division with severe loss. The loss of the enemy in these affairs was between 300 and 400 men.

During these combats, and the battles of San Marcial, a tempest of uncommon violence had raged. "Huge branches were torn from the trees, and whirled through the air like feathers on howling winds, while the thinnest streams swelling into torrents, dashed down the mountain, rolling innumerable stones along with a frightful clatter."* Amidst the turmoil and cover of the night, the French engaged in the battle of San Marcial, recrossed the Bidassoa, and Soult's head-quarters were fixed at St. Jean de Luz.

* Napier.

THE CAPTURE OF THE CASTLE OF ST. SEBASTIAN.

THE day after the assault of the town, preparations were made for carrying the castle; but the operations were retarded by the necessity of endeavouring to quench the conflagration which had spread through the whole town, and was still increased by the garrison's fire on it.

Lord Wellington, who, on account of the injury the inhabitants would have sustained, had refused to bombard the town, gave orders to prepare for the bombardment of the castle, and should that fail of producing a capitulation, to breach the main points of the castle-defences, and assault the garrison. Batteries were accordingly erected on the works of the town, and two twenty-four pounders and a howitzer placed on the islet of Sta. Clara. The remains of the ruined houses were loop-holed for musketry. From these points a fire was kept up with but little intermission for five successive days. On the night of the 7th September, the breaching batteries were completed and armed; and on the morning of the 8th, fifty-nine breaching-pieces, including mortars, opened with an appalling crash on the citadel. After a rapid and well-directed fire, for two hours, the white flag was hung out on the Mirador battery, and the chamade beat. The garrison, amounting to 1,800 men, including officers, being one-third of the original complement of the garrison, marched out with the honours of war, and laid down their arms on the glacis. By the terms of capitulation, the garrison became prisoners of war, to be sent to England. "When the kindness shown to the captive officers was acknowledged to the commandant of the place, who had been uniformly attentive to those who had been prisoners, he said that he had been twice prisoner in England; that he had been fifty years in the service, and on the 15th of the passing month he should have received his dismissal; that he was now sixty-six years old, and should never serve again; and if he might be permitted to return into France, instead of being sent to England, he should be the happiest of men. Sir Thomas Graham wrote to lord Wellington in favour of the kind-hearted old man; and it may be believed that the application was not made in vain."* Captain Songeon, who on the

day of the first assault, had descended the breach to assist the wounded, was also sent to France. Another instance of humanity and its reward, that occurred during this siege, took place in the person of colonel St. Angelo. On the failure of the first assault, and the retreat of the allied troops to the trenches, the garrison advanced beyond their trenches, or clustered on the ramparts, shouting defiance, and threatening a descent in pursuit. To check the intention, an animated fire of round and grape-shot was opened from the allied battery, the thickest of which fell on a particular part of the breach, where lay a grenadier of the royals, shot through both legs, and unable to extricate himself from his perilous situation. His fate appearing inevitable, St. Angelo stepped forward, walked coolly through the hottest of the fire, and lifting his wounded enemy in his arms, carried him into the town. On the fall of the fortress, he was sent among the other prisoners to England, but was, on arriving there, instantly liberated, and sent to France.

The garrison, at the time of its surrender, amounted to 1,800 men, being one-third of its complement at the commencement of the siege. The loss of the allies in the course of the siege and assaults was 951 officers and men killed, and 2,490 officers and men wounded. The loss would have been much greater had the tower of Los Hornos on the front of the outer wall, and about the middle of the great breach, which was mined and charged with 1,200 lbs. of powder, been exploded, which was prevented by an accidental shot having cut its saucisson.

The governor of St. Sebastian, general Rey, has been much, and justly, condemned for his breach of the laws of war, for the exposure of the allied prisoners in the reparation of the works to the fire of the besiegers' batteries; as also for not protecting them in their confinement by hoisting the black flag over the place where they were shut up. The consequence was, that they suffered more severely than the garrison; for the officer charged with their custody, refused them leave to throw up cover for their protection; neither would the governor permit the black flag to be hoisted, to avert the fire from their place of confinement.

The destruction of the town of St. Sebas-

* Southey.

tian, has been the cause of much misrepresentation. The libels of the *Duende*, the *Redactor*, and other journals, were grounded on an official complaint made to the government by the xefe politico (the political chief) of the province of Guipuscoa, which contained the falsehood that the British officers encouraged the conflagration because St. Sebastian was favourable to French commerce, to the exclusion of British merchants; and that the plundering and excesses lasted for several days. Lord Wellington was well aware that these accusations were either written or sanctioned by the count Villa Fuentes, and under the direction of O'Donohu, the secretary at war, for the purpose of reconciling the Spanish people to his removal from the command of their armies. Indignant at the calumny of himself and his officers, which he justly stigmatized as an infamous libel, he refuted it in the following letter, dated Lesaca, 9th October, 1813, addressed to his brother, sir Henry Wellesley, the British minister to the Spanish government at Cadiz:—

“I enclose a letter which I have received from the minister of war of the 28th September, in which he has enclosed the copy of one of the 5th September, from the conde de Villa Fuentes, the xefe politico of the province of Guipuscoa, complaining of the conduct of the allied British and Portuguese army in the storm of the town of San Sebastian; and, as I received at the same time the enclosed newspaper [*The Duende*, published at Cadiz], which contains the same charges against that army in a more amplified style, and both appear to proceed from the same authority, I shall proceed to reply to both complaints; and I trouble your excellency on this subject, as it is one upon which your excellency will recollect that I have orders to correspond with his majesty's minister alone. I should have wished to adopt another mode of justifying the officers concerned on this occasion; but as there is no redress by the law for a libel, I must be satisfied with that which is in my hands. I shall begin with that charge which the inclosed newspaper contains, and which is not made in direct terms in the letter, from the xefe politico, though it is directly charged against lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham, that he intended to burn the town; viz., that the town of St. Sebastian was thus ill-treated, because its former trade had been exclusively with the French, and to the disadvantage of Great Britain.

“This charge cannot be intended to apply to the common soldiers, who cannot be supposed to know or reflect much upon what passed before they attacked the place. This infamous charge applies exclusively to the principal officers who, from motives, not of commercial policy, but of commercial revenge, are supposed so far to have forgotten their duty as to have ordered or suffered the sack of this unfortunate town, and thus to have risked the loss of all they had acquired by their labours and their gallantry; and you will more readily conceive, than I can venture to describe, the feelings of indignation with which I proceed to justify the general and other officers of this army from a charge officially made by a person in a high office, that they designed to plunder and burn the town of St. Sebastian.

“I need not assure you that this charge is most positively untrue. Everything was done that was in my power to suggest to save the town. Several persons urged me in the strongest manner, to allow it to be bombarded, as the most certain mode of forcing the enemy to give it up. This I positively would not allow, for the reasons that I did not allow Ciudad Rodrigo or Badajos to be bombarded. Neither is it true that the town was set on fire by the English and Portuguese troops. To set fire to the town was part of the enemy's defence. It was set on fire by the enemy on the 22nd of July, before the final attempt was made to take it by storm; and it is a fact that the fire was so violent on the 24th of July, that the storm which was to have taken place on that day, was necessarily deferred till the 25th, and, as it is well known, failed.

“I was at the siege of St. Sebastian on the 30th of August, and I aver that the town was then on fire. It must have been set on fire by the enemy, as I repeat that our batteries, by positive orders, threw no shells into the town; and I saw the town on fire on the 31st of August, before the storm took place.

“It is well known that the enemy had prepared for a serious resistance, not only on the ramparts, but in the streets of the town; that traverses were established in the streets, formed of combustibles, with the intention of setting fire to and exploding them during the contest with the assailants. It is equally known that there was a most severe contest in the streets of the town

between the assailants and the garrison; that many of these traverses were exploded, by which many lives on both sides were lost; and it is a fact, that these explosions set fire to many of the houses.

"The xefe politico, the author of these complaints, must have been as well aware of these facts as I am, and he ought not to have concealed them. In truth, the fire in the town was the greatest evil that could befall the assailants, who did every thing in their power to get the better of it; and it is a fact, that owing to the difficulty and danger of communicating through the fire with the advanced posts in the town, it had very nearly become necessary at one time to withdraw those posts entirely. In regard to the plunder of the town by the soldiers, I am the last man who will deny it, because I know that it is true. It is one of the evil consequences attending the necessity of storming a town, which every officer laments, not only on account of the evil thereby inflicted on the unfortunate inhabitants, but on account of the injury it does to discipline, and the risk which is incurred of the loss of all the advantages of victory, at the very moment they are gained. It is hard that I and my general officers are to be so treated as we have been by the xefe politico, and unrestrained libellers, because an unavoidable evil has occurred in the accomplishment of a great service, and in the acquirement of a great advantage. The fault does not lie with us; it is with those who lost the fort, and obliged us, at great risk and loss, to regain it for the Spanish nation by storm.

"Notwithstanding that I am convinced it is impossible to prevent a town in such a situation from being plundered, I can prove that upon this occasion particular pains were taken to prevent it. I gave most positive orders upon the subject, and desired that the officers might be warned of the peculiar situation of the place, the garrison having the castle to retire to, and of the danger that they would attempt to retake the town if they found the assailants were engaged in plunder. If it had not been for the fire, which certainly augmented the confusion, and afforded greater facilities for irregularity, and if by far the greater proportion of the officers, particularly of the principal officers who stormed the breach, had not been killed or wounded, in the performance of their duty in the service of Spain, to the number of 170 out of 250;

I believe that the plunder would have been in great measure, though not entirely, prevented.

"Indeed, one of the subjects of complaint, that sentries were placed at every house, shows the desire at least of the officers to preserve order. Those sentries must have been placed by order; and unless it is supposed, as charged, that the officers intended that the town should be plundered and burned, and placed the sentries to secure that object, it must be admitted, that their intention in placing those sentries was good. It likewise most unfortunately happened, that it was impossible to relieve the troops which stormed the town till the 2nd instant, instead of immediately after the town was in our possession. Those who make these complaints forget, that on the 31st of August, the day this town was stormed, the whole of the left of the army was attacked by the enemy. I do not believe that I should have been congratulated and thanked for having successfully done my duty on that occasion, if I had either risked the blockade of Pamplona, or the loss of the battle fought on the 31st of August, by keeping at St. Sebastian troops to relieve those which had stormed, in order that the inhabitants of St. Sebastian might suffer rather less by their irregularities. In fact, it was not possible to allot troops to relieve them till the 2nd, at which time I assert that all irregularity had ceased, as I was at St. Sebastian on that day.

"In regard to the injuries done to the inhabitants by the soldiers with their fire-arms and bayonets, in return for their applause and congratulations, it appears to me extraordinary that it did not occur to the complainants that those injuries, if they were really done, were done by accident, during the contest in the streets with the enemy, and not by design. In regard to the charge of kindness to the enemy [namely, the granting of life to the 700 prisoners taken], I am afraid it is but too well-founded; and that till it is positively ordered by authority, in return for the ordonnance of the French government, adverted to in my despatch of the 10th of September, that all the enemy's troops in a place taken by storm shall be put to death, it will be difficult to prevail upon British officers and soldiers to treat an enemy, when their prisoners, otherwise than well. I wish that the xefe politico had not made the charge against so respectable a character as lieutenant-general sir

Thomas Graham, that he omitted to apply for his assistance to extinguish the fire in the town till it was entirely destroyed, leaving the inference to be drawn, that he therefore wished that the town should be destroyed, as it would have saved me the pain of observing, that the total neglect of the Spanish authorities to furnish any assistance whatever that was required of them to carry on the operations of St. Sebastian did not encourage sir Thomas to apply for the assistance of the *xefe politico* in any shape. In fact every thing was done that could be done to extinguish the fire by our own soldiers; and I believe that the truth is, that the assistance was asked by me, not only to endeavour to extinguish the fire, but to bury the dead bodies* lying about the town and ramparts; and it was not made sooner, because the want of it was not felt at an earlier period.

"I certainly lament, as much as any man can, the evils sustained by this unfortunate town, and those who have reason to complain of their fate, and deserve the relief of government; but a person in the situation of a *xefe politico* should take care, in forwarding these complaints, not to attack the characters of honourable and brave men, who are as incapable of entertaining a design to injure the peaceable inhabitants of any town, as they are of allowing their conduct to be influenced by the infamous motives attributed to them by the enclosed libel.

"I hear frequently of the union of the two nations; but I am quite certain that nothing is so little likely to promote that union as the encouragement given to such unfounded charges, and the allowing such infamous libels to pass unpunished.

"I have only to add, to what I have already stated in this letter, in answer to the minister-at-war's inquiries regarding the punishment of the offenders on this occasion, that several soldiers were punished. How many, it is not in my power at present to state."

In a subsequent letter, dated "Vera, 23rd October, 1813," addressed to the same person, he says:—

"When I wrote to you last, in regard to the complaints made to the Spanish govern-

ment of the conduct of the officers of the British army, in the storm of St. Sebastian, I had directed that major-general Hay, who commanded in the town after the storm, should be called upon to account for his conduct; and having afterwards heard that an officer of the 5th division had written to a friend in Vittoria, exulting over the misfortunes that the town had suffered, I directed that particular inquiry might be made respecting the writer of the supposed letter.

"I have now the honour to inclose major-general Hay's answer, with its several enclosures, being letters from the officers in the temporary command of brigades, the general officers who commanded them having been wounded, and from the officers commanding regiments, from which you will see the total want of foundation for the charge that the mischief which the town has sustained was done by the allied troops. In fact, the officers and the troops did every thing in their power to stop the progress of the fire, which was set to the town by the enemy; and many lost their lives in the attempt, owing to the fire of musketry kept up upon the roofs of the houses by the enemy in the castle.

"In the course of the inquiry upon this subject, a fact has come out, which I acknowledge that I had not heard of before, and as little suspected; but it is sufficiently the cause of the groundless complaints upon the subject, of the aggravation with which they have been brought before the public, and of the channel in which they have been conveyed to the public notice; viz., that the inhabitants of the town of St. Sebastian cooperated with the enemy in the defence of the town, and actually fired upon the allies. This appears not only from the statements of the officers, but is fully corroborated by that of the chevalier de Songeon, and the officers of the French garrison, who signed the enclosed certificate of his conduct. It is not astonishing that the inhabitants *from whom* the town was taken for the nation, should complain of those who took it from them."

In another letter, dated "Vera, 30th October," he thus gave expression to the indignant feeling aroused in his breast by these

* Heaps of dead were lying everywhere—English, French, and Portuguese—one upon another. Very many of the assailants lay dead upon the roofs of the houses which adjoined the breach. The bodies were thrown into the mines and other excavations and

then covered over so as to be out of sight, but so hastily and slightly, that the air far and near was tainted, and fires were kindled in the breaches to consume those which could not be otherwise disposed of.

infamous accusations:—"I acknowledge, that if such a paragraph as appeared in the *Duende* of the 4th instant, signed 'Mercedes,' had been published by an officer of the government before I entered Spain in 1812, and the author had not been punished, or formally denounced by the government, I should never have entered Spain, and the siege of Cadiz would never have been raised, nor any of the other events occurred which have delivered Spain from the enemy. * * * It will rest with the king's government to determine what they will do on a consideration of all the circumstances of the case; but if I was to decide, I would not keep the army in Spain for another hour."

And he was not only exposed to the enmity and malignity of the minister-at-war and his satellites; the whole of the factious part of the cortes and the public press circulated libels imputing to him the most sinister views. They asserted that every concession made to the English general was an offence against the dignity and independence of the nation. To so rancorous a pitch did they carry their enmity and hate, that "if he was active in the field, he was intent to subjugate Spain rather than defeat the enemy; if he was careful in preparation, his delay was to enable the French to conquer; if he was vigorous in urging the government to useful measures, his design was to enforce his own laws; if he neglected the Spanish armies, he desired they should be beaten; if he meddled with them usefully, it was to gain the soldiers, turn the army against the country, and thus render Spain dependent on England." So extravagant were their perfidious insinuations, that a report was spread, that he was about to assume the Spanish sceptre, which produced a vehement protest by the silly dukes Ossuna and Frias, the conde de Gante, and other of their grandees. To this silly and insidious affair, he alludes in the following passage in the letter, dated Vera, 16th October, 1813, and addressed to his brother, sir Henry Wellesley:—"There is no end of the calumnies against me and the officers of the army. Very lately the newspapers took the occasion of a libel in an Irish newspaper, reporting a supposed conversation between Castaños and me (in which I am supposed to have consented to change my religion to become king of Spain, and he to have promised the consent of the grandees) to accuse me of this intention; and then those fools, the

duke de — and de —, and the viscomte de — protest formally that they are not of the number of grandees who had given their consent to make such an arrangement! What can be done with such libels and such people, except despising them, and continuing one's road without noticing them?"

The truth is, that the burning of St. Sebastian was occasioned by the enemy, and was part of their system of defence; they had done so on the 22nd of July, when the first attempt was made to storm the town; and the conflagration continued so fierce for two days afterwards, when the assault was to have taken place, that it was of necessity deferred. According to general Rey's own statement, the town was on fire in six different places when the first assault was made; and was one of the great obstacles the besiegers had to encounter. Besides, the explosion of the combustibles laid at the traverses in the streets, and the shells thrown from the castle, contributed to promote the conflagration. The violent tempest of thunder, rain, and wind, which lasted the whole night of the assault, favoured, also, the conflagration of the houses which were on fire. Both general Robinson, who led the storming party, and general Hay, who commanded in the town immediately after the storm, bore testimony that both officers and men exerted themselves to the utmost to stop the progress of the flames; and that many lives were lost in the attempt from musketry-fire, as well by the inhabitants themselves, from the roofs and windows of their houses, as from the fire of the enemy in the castle. It was equally untrue, that the outrages continued for several days; they ceased on the 2nd of September, as lord Wellington says in his letter, and would have ceased sooner had the covering army not been engaged in the battle of San Marcial. It is probable that the troops engaged in the storming were irritated that the inhabitants had not only taken part with the garrison in the defence of the town, but actually fired on the allied troops after they had effected an entrance; a fact admitted by captain de Songeon and other French officers. The story of the massacre of the townspeople and the garrison is refuted by the fact, that 700 were admitted to surrender, who, by the laws of war, were liable to be put to the sword. The few that were slain or injured, were so slain or injured by accident, during the contest in the streets. The assertion, also, that the pillage con-

tinued for several days, is equally false. On the morning of the 2nd of September order was restored. "Those emblems of preparation for punishment, the gallows and halberets, were exhibited on that morning on the Plaza, fronting the entrance of the town from the isthmus, and a provost's guard was in attendance.* That excesses were committed it would be untrue to deny. But, as Mr. Southey observes, the difference between the conduct of the British at St. Sebastian and that of the French at Oporto, Tarragona, and other places, is this, that the crimes which the former perpetrated were checked as soon as they could be by the officers, acknowledged by the generals as evils which they had not been able to prevent, severely condemned by them, and punished; those of the French had been systematic and predetermined; the men were neither checked nor reproved by their generals; and so far were the generals from receiving any mark of disapprobation from their government, that the acts themselves were ostentatiously proclaimed in bulletins and official reports, in the hope of intimidating the Portuguese and Spaniards, and without any sense of shame. There are few assaults on record, as colonel Gurwood, in his *Introduction to the Despatches*, says, which were followed by less wantonness or vengeance than those of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and St. Sebastian.

At this time, reinforcements to the extent of 5,000 men, among which was the brigade of guards, under the command of lord Aylmer, joined the British army; and during the siege of St. Sebastian, a few hundred men, the remains of Romana's army in Holstein, returned to Spain.

Lord Wellington's narrative of the assault of St. Sebastian, and of the battle of San Marcial, the combat of Vera, and the assault of the French line in front of the Puertos of Echellar, Zugarramurdi, and Maya, is detailed in the despatch addressed to the earl of Bathurst:—

"Lesaca, 2nd September, 1813.

"My Lord,—The fire against the fort of St. Sebastian was opened on the 26th of August, and directed against the towers which flanked the bastion on the eastern face, against the demi-bastion on the south-east angle, and the termination of the curtain of the south face. Lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham had directed that an

* Leith Hay's *Narrative of the Peninsular War*.

establishment should be formed on the island of Sta Clara, which was effected on the night of the 26th, and the enemy's detachment on the island were made prisoners. Captain Cameron, of the 9th, had the command of the detachment which effected this operation, and lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham particularly applauds his conduct, and that of lieutenant Chadwick, of the royal engineers. The conduct of lieutenant the honourable James Arbuthnot, of the royal navy, who commanded the boats, was highly meritorious, as likewise that of lieutenant Bell, of the royal marines. All that was deemed practicable to carry into execution, in order to facilitate the approach to the breaches before made in the wall of San Sebastian, having been effected on the 30th of August, and the breach having been made at the termination of the bastion, the place was stormed at eleven o'clock in the day of the 31st, and carried. The loss on our side has been severe. Lieutenant-general sir James Leith, who had joined the army only two days before, and major-generals Oswald and Robinson, were unfortunately wounded in the breach; and colonel sir Richard Fletcher was killed by a musket-ball at the mouth of the trenches. In this officer, and in lieutenant-colonel Craufurd, of the 9th regiment, his majesty's service has sustained a severe loss.

"I have the honour to enclose lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton's report of this operation, in which your lordship will observe, with pleasure, another distinguished instance of the gallantry and perseverance of his majesty's officers and troops under the most trying difficulties. All reports concur in the praise of the conduct of the detachment from the 10th Portuguese brigade, under major Snodgrass, which crossed the river Urumea, and stormed the breach on the right, under all the fire which could be directed upon them from the castle and town. The garrison retired to the castle, leaving about 700 prisoners in our hands; and I hope I shall soon have the pleasure of informing your lordship that we are in possession of that fort. Since the fire against San Sebastian had been recommenced, the enemy had drawn the greater part of their force to the camp of Urogne; and there was every reason to believe that they would make an attempt to relieve the place. Three divisions of the fourth Spanish army, commanded by general Don Manuel Freyre,

occupied the heights of San Marcial and the town of Irun, by which the approach to San Sebastian by the high road was covered and protected; and they were supported by the 1st division of British infantry, under general Howard, and lord Aylmer's brigade, on their left and in the rear of Irun; and by general Longa's division, encamped near the Sierra de Aya, in rear of their right. In order to secure them still further, I moved two brigades of the 4th division, on the 30th, to the convent of San Antonio, one of which (general Ross's) under lieutenant-general sir L. Cole, the same day, afterwards moved up to the Sierra de Aya, and the other on the morning of the 31st, leaving the 9th Portuguese brigade on the heights between the convent of Vera and Lesaca. Major-general Inglis's brigade of the 7th division was moved, on the 30th, to the bridge of Lesaca, and I gave orders for the troops in the Puertos of Echellar, Zugaramurdi, and Maya, to attack the enemy's weak posts in front of these positions.

"The enemy crossed the Bidassoa by the fords between Andarra and the destroyed bridge on the high road before daylight on the morning of the 30th, with a very large force, with which they made a most desperate attack along the whole front of the position of the Spanish troops on the heights of San Marcial. They were beat back, some of them even across the river, in the most gallant style by the Spanish troops, whose conduct was equal to that of any troops that I have ever seen engaged; and the attack having been frequently repeated, was, upon every occasion, repelled with the same gallantry and determination. The course of the river being immediately under the heights on the French side, on which the enemy had placed a considerable quantity of cannon, they were enabled to throw a bridge across the river, three-quarters-of-a-mile above the high road, over which, in the afternoon, they marched again a considerable body, who, with those who had crossed the fords, again made a desperate attack upon the Spanish positions. This was equally beat back; and at length, finding all their efforts on that side fruitless, the enemy took advantage of the darkness of a violent storm to retire their troops from this front entirely.

"Notwithstanding that, as I have above informed your lordship, I had a British division on each flank of the 4th Spanish army, I am happy to be able to report that

the conduct of the latter was so conspicuously good, and they were so capable of defending their post without assistance, in spite of the desperate efforts of the enemy to carry it, that, finding that the ground did not allow of my making use of the 1st or 4th divisions on the flanks of the enemy's attacking corps, neither of them were in the least engaged during the action.

"Nearly at the same time that the enemy crossed the Bidassoa in front of the heights of San Marcial, they likewise crossed that river with about three divisions of infantry in two columns, by the fords below Salin, in front of the position occupied by the 9th Portuguese brigade. I ordered general Inglis to support this brigade with that of the 7th division under his command; and as soon as I was informed of the course of the enemy's attack, I sent to lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie, to request that he would likewise move towards the Bidassoa with the 7th division; and to the light division to support major-general Inglis by every means in their power. Major-general Inglis found it impossible to maintain the heights between Lesaca and the Bidassoa, and he withdrew to those in front of the convent of San Antonio, which he maintained. In the mean time major-general Kempt moved one brigade of the light division to Lesaca; by which he kept the enemy in check, and covered the march of the earl of Dalhousie to join general Inglis.

"The enemy, however, having completely failed in their attempt upon the position of the Spanish army on the heights of San Marcial, and finding that major-general Inglis had taken a position from which they could not drive him, at the same time that it covered and protected the right of the Spanish army, and the approaches to San Sebastian by Oyarzun, and that their situation on the left of the Bidassoa was becoming at every moment more critical, retired during the night.

"The fall of rain during the evening and night had so swollen the Bidassoa, that the rear of their column was obliged to cross the bridge of Vera. In order to effect this object, they attacked the posts of major-general Skerrett's brigade of the light division, at about three in the morning, both from the Puerto de Vera, and from the left of the Bidassoa. Although the nature of the ground rendered it impossible to prevent entirely the passage of the bridge after daylight, it was made under the fire of a great

part of major-general Skerrett's brigade, and the enemy's loss in the operation must have been very considerable.*

"While this was going on upon the left of the army, Mariscal de Campo don P. A. Giron attacked the enemy's posts in front of the pass of Echellar on the 30th and 31st. Lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie made general Le Cor attack those in front of Zugarramurdi with the 6th Portuguese brigade on the 31st, and major-general the hon. C. Colville made colonel Douglas attack the enemy's posts in front of the pass of Maya on the same day, with the 7th Portuguese brigade. All these troops conducted themselves well. The attack made by the earl of Dalhousie delayed his march till late in the afternoon of the 31st; but he was, in the evening, in a favourable situation for his further progress; and in the morning of the 1st in that allotted for him.

"In these operations, in which a second attempt by the enemy to prevent the establishment of the allies upon the frontier has been defeated by the operations of a part only of the allied army, at the very moment at which the fort of San Sebastian was taken by storm, I have had great satisfaction in observing the zeal and ability of the officers, and the gallantry and discipline of the troops. The different reports which I have transmitted to your lordship, from lieutenant-general sir T. Graham, will have shown the ability and perseverance with which he has conducted the arduous enterprise intrusted to his direction, and the zeal and exertion of all the officers employed under him."

Official Return of the Allied Army serving in the Peninsula, on the 30th of August, 1813.

General-in-chief—Field-marshal the marquis of Wellington, K. G. *Quarter-master-general*—Sir George Murray, K. B. *Adjutant-general*—Sir Edward Packenham, K. B. *Chief-engineer*—Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, bart. *Senior officer of artillery*—Lieutenant-colonel Dickson.

CAVALRY.—*Lieutenant-general*—Sir Stapleton Cotton, K. B. *Assistant adjutant-general*—Colonel Elley.—Major-general Lord Edward Somerset: 1st

* According to the author of the *History of the War in the Peninsula*, this statement of the despatch is not correct, in which the French are described as passing under the fire of a great part of general Skerrett's brigade; for that officer remained in order of battle on the lower slopes of Santa Barbara, half a-mile distant, and allowed the enemy to escape. When general Vandermaesen, who commanded the rear of the retreating column, approached the bridge of Vera, his advanced guard "was driven back by a rifle company, posted in the fortified house. This happened about three in the morning, and the riflemen defended the passage till daylight, when a

life-guards, 2nd life-guards, royal horse-guards (blue).—Major-general William Ponsonby: 5th dragoon-guards, 3rd dragoons, 4th dragoons.—Major-general Fane: 3rd dragoon-guards, 1st, or royal dragoons.—Major-general baron Bock: 1st dragoons, king's German legion, 2nd dragoons, king's German legion.—Colonel Grant: 10th hussars, 15th hussars.—Major-general Vandeleur: 12th light dragoons, 16th light dragoons.—Major-general Lang: 13th light dragoons, 14th light dragoons.—Major-general Victor Alten: 1st hussars, king's German legion, 18th hussars.—Brigadier-general D'Urban: 1st Portuguese dragoons, 11th Portuguese dragoons, 12th Portuguese dragoons.—Brigadier-general Otway: 4th Portuguese dragoons, 10th Portuguese dragoons.—Brigadier-general Madden: 5th Portuguese dragoons, 8th Portuguese dragoons.

INFANTRY: FIRST DIVISION.—*Lieut. general*—Sir Thomas Graham, K. B. *Assistant adjutant-general*—Lieutenant-colonel Bouverie. *Assistant-quarter-master-general*—Colonel Upton. *First brigade*—Major-general Howard: 1st guards (1st battalion), 1st guards (2nd battalion). *Second brigade*—Major-general Hon. Edward Stopford: Coldstream guards, 3rd guards. *Third brigade*—Colonel Halkett: 1st light battalion, German legion, 2nd light battalion, German legion, 1st battalion of the line, German legion, 2nd battalion of the line, German legion, 5th battalion of the line, German legion.

SECOND DIVISION.—*Lieutenant-general*—Sir Rowland Hill, K. B. *Lieutenant-general*—Sir William Stewart, K. B. *Assistant adjutant-general*—Lieutenant-colonel Rooke. *Assistant-quarter-master-general*—Lieutenant-colonel hon. A. Abercrombie. *First brigade*—Major-general Walker: 50th regiment, 71st regiment, 92nd regiment. *Second brigade*—Major-general Byng: 3rd regiment, 57th regiment: provisional battalion, 31st regiment, 66th regiment. *Third brigade*—Colonel O'Callaghan: 28th regiment, 34th regiment, 39th regiment.

PORTUGUESE DIVISION.—*First brigade*—Lieutenant-general Hamilton: 2nd regiment of the line, 14th regiment of the line, 5th regiment of the line, 5th caçadores. *Second brigade*—Brigadier-general Campbell: 4th regiment of the line, 10th regiment of the line. *Third brigade*—Colonel Ashworth: 6th regiment of the line, 18th regiment of the line, 6th caçadores.

THIRD DIVISION.—Lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton, K. B. *Assistant adjutant-general*—Lieutenant-colonel Stovin. *First brigade*—Major-general Brisbane: 45th regiment, 74th regiment, 88th regiment. *Second brigade*—Major-general the hon. Charles Colville: 5th regiment, 83rd regiment, 87th regiment, 94th regiment. *Third brigade* (Portuguese)—9th regiment of the line, 21st regiment of the line.

FOURTH DIVISION.—*Lieutenant-general*—the second company and some Portuguese caçadores came to their aid. But the French reserve left at Vera, seeing how matters stood, opened a fire of guns against the fortified house from a high rock just above the town, and their skirmishers approached it on the right bank, while Vandermaesen plied his musketry from the left bank. The two rifle captains and many men fell under this cross fire, and the passage was forced; but Vandermaesen, urging the attack in person, was killed, and more than 200 of his soldiers were hurt." As the matter refers to the division in which colonel Napier served, his correction of the despatch is, more than probable, correct.

hon. sir Lowry Cole, K. B. *Assistant-adjutant-general*—Lieutenant-colonel Bradford.—*First brigade*—Major-general Anson: 27th regiment, 40th regiment, 48th regiment; provisional battalion, 2nd (Queen's), 53rd regiment. *Second brigade*—Major-general Ross: 7th royal fusiliers, 20th regiment, 23rd regiment. *Third brigade (Portuguese)*—Brigadier-general Harvey: 11th regiment of the line, 23rd regiment of the line, 10th caçadores.

FIFTH DIVISION.—*Lieutenant-general*—Sir James Leith, K. B. *Assistant-adjutant-general*—Lieutenant-colonel Berkeley. *Assistant-quarter-master-general*—Lieutenant-colonel Gomm. *First brigade*—Major-general Hay: 1st royal Scots, 9th regiment, 38th regiment. *Second brigade*—Major-general Robinson: 4th (king's own) regiment, 47th regiment, 59th regiment. *Third brigade (Portuguese)*—Major-general Spry: 3rd regiment of the line, 15th regiment of the line, 8th caçadores.

SIXTH DIVISION.—*Lieutenant-general*—Henry Clinton. *Assistant-adjutant-general*—Lieutenant-colonel Tryon. *Assistant-quarter-master-general*—Major Vincent. *First brigade*—Major-general Pack: 42nd royal Highlanders, 79th regiment, 91st regiment. *Second brigade*—Major-general Lambert: 11th regiment, 32nd regiment, 36th regiment, 61st regiment. *Third brigade (Portuguese)*—8th regiment of the line, 12th regiment of the line, 9th caçadores.

SEVENTH DIVISION.—*Lieutenant-general*—the earl of Dalhousie, K. B. *Assistant-adjutant-general*—Lieutenant-colonel D'Oyley. *First brigade*—Major-general Barnes: 6th regiment; provisional battalion, 24th regiment, 54th regiment, chasseurs Britannique. *Second brigade*—Colonel Mitchell: 51st regiment, 68th regiment, 82nd regiment. *Third brigade (Portuguese)*—Major-general Le Cor, 7th regiment of the line, 19th regiment of the line, 2nd caçadores.

LIGHT DIVISION.—*Major-general*—Charles Baron Alten. *Assistant-adjutant-general*—Major Marlay. *Assistant-quarter-master-general*—Major Stewart. *First brigade*—Major-general Kempt: 43rd regiment, 95th rifles (1st battalion), 95th rifles (2nd battalion). *Second brigade*—Major-general Skerrett: 52nd regiment, 95th rifles (2nd battalion). *Portuguese troops attached to the light division*—20th regiment of the line, 1st caçadores, 3rd caçadores.

Unattached British brigade—Major-general lord Aylmer: 76th regiment, 84th regiment, 85th regiment. *Unattached Portuguese brigades*—Major-general Bradford: 13th regiment of the line, 24th regiment of the line, 5th caçadores. Brigadier-general Wilson: 1st regiment of the line, 16th regiment of the line, 4th caçadores.

Royal Staff Corps—Lieutenant-colonel hon. R. L. Dundas; Lieutenant-colonel Sturgeon.

Staff corps of cavalry—Lieutenant-colonel Scovell. The 60th regiment (5th battalion), and the regiment of Brunswick Oels attached, in companies, to the different brigades of the army.

The army in the field was formed into divisions, brigades, and corps, its staff military and civil, and its *matériel*. Each division was commanded by a lieutenant-general, or a major-general having local rank as such. Each division was formed of two or more brigades; each brigade consisting of two, three, or four battalions; the light companies of which were formed, when

in presence of the enemy, under the command of a field-officer or senior captain of the light companies of each brigade. Each brigade was commanded by a major, or brigadier-general, or colonel on the staff. To each division of infantry, a brigade of artillery was attached under the immediate orders of the general commanding the division. The cavalry was also composed of divisions, each division consisting of two or more brigades, and each brigade of two or more regiments of heavy or light cavalry. To each brigade of hussars, or light cavalry, a troop of horse-artillery was usually attached, when in advance or before the enemy, under the immediate orders of the general commanding the brigade.

The personal staff of the commander of the forces consisted of the military secretary, the commandant at head-quarters, and the aides-de-camp. *The adjutant-general's department* consisted of the adjutant-general, the deputy-adjutant-general, the assistant-adjutant-general, and the deputy-assistant-adjutant-generals. The officers of this department were charged with all the details of duties, returns, correspondence, discipline, &c. *The quarter-master-general's department* consisted of the quarter-master-general, the deputy-quarter-master-general, the assistant-quarter-master-generals, and the deputy-assistant-master-generals. The officers of this department were charged with the embarkation, disembarkation, equipment, quartering, hutting, encamping, route-marching, and the occupation of positions of the different divisions, and of the troops at the stations to which they were respectively attached, under the authority and responsibility of the general or other superior officer in command of them. *Staff attached to head-quarters*.—An assistant in the quarter-master-general's department, having the superintendence of the billeting, and of the quarters at the head-quarters, and of the baggage of the army; a staff-surgeon, a chaplain, an assistant-commissary-general, an assistant-provost-marshal, and an assistant baggage-master.

Corps attached to head-quarters.—The officer commanding the royal artillery, with the staff of his corps, having a general superintendence of the artillery and ammunition attached to the corps and divisions, as also of the battering-train, reserve-artillery, and ammunition. The commanding royal engineer, with the staff and other officers belonging to his corps, having a general super-

intendence over the officers of engineers, the corps of sappers and miners, pontoons, and the engineers' park, consisting of *matériel* for sieges, entrenching tools, &c., belonging to the army. The officer commanding the corps of guides; in charge also of the post-office, and of the general communications of the army. The officer commanding the staff-corps of cavalry, being in charge of the police of the army, and of other duties of a confidential nature. The provost-marshal and his assistants, having charge of all prisoners of war, deserters from the enemy, and all prisoners tried, or to be tried, by a general court-martial; and having the authority of inflicting summary punishment for all offences whatever committed under their observation.

Civil departments attached to head-quarters.—1. The medical department, consisting of inspector of hospitals, deputy-inspector, physicians, staff surgeons, apothecaries, dispensers, assistant-staff surgeons, hospital assistants, &c. 2. The purveyor's department, consisting of a purveyor to the forces, with deputies and assistants, in charge of the hospitals, hospital *matériel*, of the arms, accoutrements, clothing, and necessaries of the men in hospital, and of the burial expenses of the men who die in hospital. 3. The paymaster-general's department, consisting of paymaster-general, assistants, &c. 4. The commissariat's department, consisting of commissary-general, deputy-commissary-generals, assistants, deputy-assistants, commissariat clerks, and other clerks. This department was divided into two branches, stores and accounts. 5. The storekeeper-general's department, consisting of storekeeper-general and his assistants, having charge of the field equipments, tents, &c., and the heavy baggage of the army. 6. The comptroller of army accounts, with inspectors and examiners, to whom all accountants, those of the commissariat excepted, rendered their accounts in the same manner as previously to the commissariat of accounts. 7. The post-office, under charge of the officer commanding the corps of guides. 8. The press, for the greater facility in circulating the general orders, &c., attached to the adjutant-general's department.

The matériel attached to the army consisted of—1. The battering-train, under the orders of the officer commanding the royal artillery. 2. The pontoon train, under the orders of the commander of the royal engineers. 3. The engineer's park, *matériel* for

sieges, &c. 4. The waggon-train, under the order of the quarter-master-general attached to the hospitals, commissariat, &c., or to divisions, as circumstances might require. 5. The ordnance stores train. 6. The commissariat waggon-train. 7. The other transport of the army.

In the principal towns through which the army passed on the line of the resources, and place of embarkation or disembarkation, a hospital station was usually formed, to which, besides the necessary medical and hospital staff, a *depôt* staff was generally attached, consisting of a captain, as commandant, a subaltern as adjutant, an assistant-commissary-general, and an assistant-provost-marshal. The port of embarkation and disembarkation, and the chief *depôt* of the army, was generally under the command of a superior officer, with officers of adjutant and quarter-master-general departments attached to him; exclusive of the garrison staff of town-major, town-adjutant, provost-marshal, &c.; and of the commandant of the *depôt* of convalescents, drafts, &c., to whom a local staff of adjutant, paymaster, and quarter-master was attached. Officers of the quarter-master-general's department, officers of the royal engineers, and of the royal staff corps, were employed on topographical surveys, reports of roads, bridges, and resources of the country. And regimental officers were employed by the generals commanding divisions, as officers in observation beyond the outposts of their respective divisions; to obtain information in respect to the movements of the enemy in front, and for the purpose of reporting on the resources, roads, rivers, bridges, and other military features of the country occupied between the outposts of the two armies.

The staff attached to a lieutenant-general, or a major-general, having local rank as such, consisted of two aides-de-camp, one assistant-adjutant-general, one deputy-assistant-adjutant-general, one assistant-quarter-master-general, one deputy-assistant-quarter-master-general, one or two officers of the royal engineers, one staff-surgeon, one chaplain; one assistant-commissary, with deputy assistants, clerks, &c.; one assistant-provost-marshal, one baggage-master, with assistance from the staff-corps of cavalry; one storekeeper of ordnance, in charge of the reserve ammunition, under the officer commanding the artillery attached to the division. *The staff attached to a major or brigadier-general,*

or colonel on the staff, consisted of one aide-camp, one brigade-major, one deputy-assistant-commissary-general, with clerks and assistants in that department. The

general officer commanding the cavalry had a staff attached to him similar to that of the superior general officer commanding a corps.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE ANGLO-SICILIAN ARMY ON THE EASTERN COAST OF SPAIN.

WHEN the news of the battle of Vittoria reached Napoleon Buonaparte in his camp on the Elbe, he sent orders to Suchêt to evacuate Valencia, and having garrisoned the fortresses, to retire behind the Ebro. On the 5th of July, the French marshal put his orders into execution, and garrisoning Saguntum, Lerida, Murviedro, Tortosa, Mesquinenza, Peniscola, Mongon, and Denia, concentrated his forces in Catalonia and on the Lower Ebro. At the same time he evacuated Aragon, the castle of Saragossa having surrendered to the patriots. In the mean time, the duque del Parque and Elio had been defeated on the Xucar by Habert, with considerable loss, though the attacking force of the assailants amounted to 28,000 men, and that of the enemy was not 9,000.

Lord William Bentinck, in obedience to Wellington's instructions to lay siege to Tarragona, followed Suchêt into Catalonia. On the 30th July, leaving the blockade of the fortresses to Elio's corps in his rear, he advanced from Alicante with the Anglo-Sicilian army, and crossed the Ebro at Amposta on flying bridges. Being joined, on the 3rd of August, by the army of the duque del Parque, and on the 11th by the Catalan force, under Sarsfield, he invested Tarragona; but before ground was broken, Suchêt, having formed a junction with Decaen, and assembled every disposable soldier that Barcelona and the other garrisons could spare, advanced for its relief, with an army amounting to 24,000 men. A position was taken up by the allies in front of Tarragona, with the intent of giving battle to the enemy; but Bentinck ascertaining the strength of the hostile army as it approached, raised the siege on the 15th, and, in the course of the following night, fell back to Cambrils. Suchêt entered Tarragona on the 18th, and immediately blowing up its fortifications and several portions of the walls, retired again behind the Llobregat, taking with him the garrison and above 200 pieces of artillery. He strengthened

his position with a tête-de-pont at Molinos del Rey, and several redoubts on the right bank of the river. The allies now returned to the desolated and ruined city, and for the convenience of its bay, it became the rendezvous of the English fleet and store ships to the end of the war. In the beginning of September, the English general, for the purpose of observing the enemy, moved forward to Villa Franca, and pushed forward an advanced guard of the second battalion of the 27th, a Calabrian, and three Spanish battalions, under colonel Adam, to the pass of Ordal, for the purpose of communicating with Copon's army, which was hanging on the enemy's right flank at Martorel. This post is of considerable strength, commands the high road from Barcelona, is ten miles in advance of Villa Franca, and about the same distance from the French position on the Llobregat. Against this post Suchêt advanced with Harispe and Habert's divisions, at midnight of the 12th, and driving in the pickets, suddenly assailed the main body, who were reposing in position. The 27th British, suddenly starting up, poured in a destructive volley on the enemy, and then charged with the bayonet. The rest of the allies made a stout resistance; but being overpowered by numbers, and at the same time attacked by cavalry, lost about 1,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Captain Waldron, with 80 men of the 27th, and captain Muller, with the same number of Germans, effected an orderly retreat; but the rest of the allies escaped in the greatest confusion. On the day following this disaster, Suchêt marched upon the left flank of the allied army, and coming up with it on its retreat over the plains of Villa Franca, where a halt had been made on a favourable spot for closing up the ranks, brought on an affair of cavalry, in which the charge of French cuirassiers was gallantly repelled by the 20th light dragoons and a regiment of Brunswick hussars, under lord Frederick Bentinck. Suchêt,

then desisting from the pursuit, retired to his position behind the Llobregat, and the English general conducted the allied army by Atafulla, on Tarragona; under the dismantled walls of which town the allies encamped on the morning of the 14th. Two days afterwards, lord William Bentinck transferred his command to lieutenant-general Clinton, and quitted Spain to resume his command in Sicily.*

Clinton, in succeeding to the command, endeavoured to render Tarragona once more defensible. Towards the end of October, for the purpose of availing themselves of the resources about Villa Franca, which is midway between Tarragona and Barcelona, and the neighbouring districts, and which afforded the only available means of support of the Spanish armies, Clinton advanced to Villa Franca for their protection. On the 1st of December, Suchêt, in the hope of surprising the allies in their cantonments, advanced to their position; but finding Clinton ready for his reception, he again retired behind the Llobregat. The harvest having been now gathered in, Clinton returned to Tarragona, and put it in a

proper state of defence; but on an application to the Spanish government to equip the town with the requisite artillery and stores, they refused to provide a single piece of ordnance or any stores for its defence; and even when admiral Halloway brought some ship guns from Port Mahon, the minister-at-war, O'Donohu, expressed his disapprobation, observing, with a sneer, that the necessary guns might be provided from the Spanish ordnance moved into Gibraltar by general Campbell, when he destroyed the lines of San Roque. On the 3rd of December, Suchêt made a general movement of his forces to cover the pillage of the town of Martorel,† the inhabitants of which had incurred his displeasure. This was the last offensive effort of the French in Catalonia. When informed, by Soult's letter, of the defection of the Nassau battalions in front of Bayonne, he ordered all the German and Italian regiments in the French service to be disarmed and marched to France. In this state of affairs, the duque San Carlos arrived at Suchêt's head-quarters, bearing the treaty of Valençay for the restoration of Ferdinand VII.

OPERATIONS PRECEDING THE INVASION OF FRANCE.

AT this time the congress being about to assemble at Prague, in which Napoleon Buonaparte intended to propose that persons, accredited by Joseph and the cortes, should submit the arrangements for a peace between his brother and the Spanish pa-

triot; the British government apprehending, that the proposal to partition Spain would meet with little opposition from the northern powers, the command of an army in Germany, to oppose Buonaparte, was offered to lord Wellington. His reply was,

* Lord William Bentinck, on his assuming the command of the Anglo-Sicilian army, renewed his proposal to lord Wellington of withdrawing that force from Spain, and employing it in the protection of Sicily, and of revolutionizing it, in conjunction with Murat's co-operation. Lord Wellington's curt reply to the first proposal was:—"My Lord,—In answer to your lordship's despatch of the 20th, I have to observe, that I conceive the island of Sicily is, at present, in no danger whatever. I have, &c." To the second proposal, the answer was:—"I entertain no doubt that the English and Murat, or the English and any other power, that could put thirty or forty thousand men in the field, could create a revolution in Italy. * * * * It is very difficult to form an opinion of Murat's sincerity; but I am quite certain he will do nothing unless the emperor of Austria will take a line with the allies. In that case, he will probably conclude with you. If he should conclude with you, I authorize you to embark from Spain all your Anglo-Sicilian corps, and take them where you please, in order to carry into execution your treaty with Murat."

† When lord W. Bentinck retreated from Villa Franca, Suchet levied a heavy contribution on the inhabitants. The extent of his peculations may be easily imagined from the single fact, that immediately after the occupation of Valencia, in 1811, he imposed, for the subsistence of the troops, an extraordinary contribution—that is, one beyond the regular annual taxation of two hundred millions of reals; one moiety of which exhausted all the money, gold, silver plate, and jewels of the province; the other moiety was taken in grain, stuffs, clothing, and other articles. In Aragon the requisitions were irrecoverable, on account of their excessive magnitude. For some years before the French had been driven out of Navarre, the requisitions had often exceeded 200 per cent. of the revenue of the landholders and farmers. By the accounts of the royal commissary of Joseph, the count Masilano, the sums levied on the different communes of Andalusia, from the period of the entry of the French in July, 1810, till August, 1812, amounted to six hundred millions of reals. The exactions on the other provinces were of equal extent.

"In regard to my going to Germany, I am the prince regent's servant, and will do whatever he and his government please. But I would beg them to recollect, that the great advantages I enjoy here, consist in the confidence which every body feels, that I am doing what is right, which advantage I should not enjoy, for a time at least, in Germany. Many might be found to conduct matters as well as I can, both here and in Germany; but nobody would enjoy the same advantage here, and I should be no better than another in Germany. If a British army should be left in the Peninsula, therefore, it is best that I should remain with it." About the same time he received a proposition from the duc de Berri, to join the allied army with 20,000 men, already organised and armed in the south of France; but as the English general had no faith in the reality of the existence of that force, he referred the duke to the British secretary for foreign affairs, and at the same time stated his ideas on the subject to lord Bathurst in the despatch, dated Lesaca, August 8th. This letter is characterized by the usual clear-sightedness of the duke, and shows that no success, however great, was capable of obscuring his judgment. In it he says—

"My Lord,—It is a very common error, among those unacquainted with military affairs, to believe that there are no limits to military success. After having driven the French from the frontiers of Portugal and Madrid to the frontiers of France, it is generally expected that we shall immediately invade France; and some even here expect that we shall be at Paris in a month. None appear to have taken a correct view of our situation on the frontier, of which the enemy still possess all the strongholds within Spain itself; of which strongholds, or at least some of them, we must get possession before the season closes, or we shall have no communication whatever with the interior of Spain. Then in France, on the same great communications, there are other strongholds, of which we must likewise get possession.

"An army which has made such marches, and has fought such battles, as that under my command has, is necessarily much deteriorated. Independently of the actual loss of numbers by death, wounds, and sickness, many men and officers are out of the ranks for various causes. The equipment of the army, their ammunition, the soldiers' shoes, &c., require renewal; the magazines for the

new operations require to be collected and formed, and many arrangements to be made, without which the army could not exist a day, but which are not generally understood by those who have not had the direction of such concerns in their hands. Then observe, that this new operation is only the invasion of France, in which country everybody is a soldier; where the whole population is armed and organized, under persons, not, as in other countries, inexperienced in arms, but men who, in the course of the last twenty-five years, in which France has been engaged in war with all Europe, must, the majority of them, at least, have served somewhere. I entertain no doubt that I could tomorrow enter France, and establish the army on the Adour, but I could go no farther, certainly. If peace should be made by the Powers of the North, I must necessarily withdraw into Spain; and the retreat, however short, would be difficult, on account of the hostility and the warlike disposition of the inhabitants, particularly of this part of the country, and the military direction they would receive from the gentry, their leaders. To this add, that the difficulty of all that must be done to set the army to rights, after its late severe battles and victories, will be much increased by its removal into France at an early period; and that it must stop short in the autumn, if it now moves at too early a period.

"So far for the immediate invasion of France, which, from what I have seen of the state of the negotiations in the north of Europe, I have determined to consider only in reference to the convenience of my own operations. The next point for consideration is the proposal of the duc de Berri to join this army, taking the command of the 20,000 men who, he says, are ready, organized, and even armed, in order to act with us. My opinion is, that the interests of the house of Bourbon and of all Europe are the same, viz., in some manner or other, to get the better and rid of Buonaparte.

"Although, therefore, the allies in the north of Europe, and even Great Britain and Spain, might not be prepared to go the length of declaring that they would not lay down their arms till Buonaparte should be dethroned, they would be justified in taking this assistance from the house of Bourbon, and their French party who are dissatisfied with the government of Buonaparte. It might be a question with the house of Bourbon, whether they would involve their

partisans in France upon anything short of such a declaration, but none with the allies whether they would receive such assistance. Indeed, there would scarcely be a question for the princes of the house of Bourbon, if they are acquainted with the real nature and extent of Buonaparte's power. He rests internally upon the most extensive and expensive system of corruption that was ever established in any country, and externally upon his military power, which is supported almost exclusively by foreign contributions. If he can be confined to the limits of France by any means, his system must fall. He cannot bear the expense of his internal government and of his army; and the reduction of either would be fatal to him. Any measures, therefore, which should go only to confine him to France would forward, and ultimately attain, the objects of the house of Bourbon and of their partisans.

"If the house of Bourbon and the allies, however, do not concur in this reasoning, we must then, before the duc de Berri is allowed to join the army, get from the allies in the north of Europe a declaration how far they will persevere in the contest with a view to dethrone Buonaparte; and the British government must make up their minds on the question, and come to an understanding upon it with those of the Peninsula."

From the fall of St. Sebastian to the resumption of hostile operations, above one month elapsed.* Many causes conduced to the suspension. Among these the following were the most prominent. The organising anew of the regiments that had suffered most in the recent siege and battle; the concentrating of the divisions; the replacing exhausted stores; and perfecting the whole *matériel* of the army. To assume the offensive on the whole line of the operations, until Pamplona surrendered, would have been hazardous, for as the French were still in possession of the fortresses of Jaca, Lerida, Mesquinenza, Figueras, Gerona, Hostalrich, Barcelona, Tortosa, Peniscola, Saguntum, Denia, &c., on the eastern coast of Spain, and Santona on the western, Suchet might advance to the relief of that fortress. The mistake of the officer of engineers in trans-

mitting the orders for the collection of the pontoon-train, and the inclement state of the weather, had also delayed the movements. But being urged by the British cabinet, in consequence of the rupture of the congress of Prague, and the accession of Austria to the coalition of the confederated German states, Wellington determined to make a forward movement on the French frontier, as a diversion in favour of the German allied movements; and, for this purpose, he determined to dispossess the enemy of an advanced position on the right of the Bidassoa, consisting of a range of heights, the key of which was a high steep mountain, called La Rhune, in front of the passes of Vera and Echellar. A few miles in the rear of this advanced position was a strongly fortified line of works along the Nivelle, which the enemy had been engaged in constructing since the battles of the Pyrenees. Nature had provided the strongest means of defence of this position; everywhere rocks, and torrents, and ravines were crowded together. Art also had exerted its utmost ingenuity for the same purpose. Entrenchments on entrenchments covered the vast slopes of the mountains, which, from their natural steepness were so difficult of access, that it was laborious work even for an unarmed man to reach those points which were now to be assailed in the face of an enemy perfectly prepared.

To attack this position, it was necessary to cross the Bidassoa, which here forms the boundaries of Spain and France, taking its rise in Mount Belat, and flowing down the valley of Bastan, after a circuitous course, falls into the Bay of Biscay, near Fuenterrabia. But there was some difficulty to discover fords near the mouth to pass over the infantry. For this purpose some Spanish fishermen were prevailed on to wade through the channel at low water. By their exertions four fords were discovered between the Isle of Conference, or, as it is otherwise called, the Isle of Pheasants, and the mouth of the river. Wellington determined to possess himself of this advanced position preparatory to his operations in France. For this purpose the left wing of the allied army was destined.

* The people of England, unaware of the difficulties which beset their general, even in the midst of his successes, began to be discontented at his not marching direct to the walls of Paris. The public press conduced to the diffusion of the illusion, and occasioned Wellington to observe, sarcastically, "If I had been at any time capable of doing what these gentlemen expected, I should now, I believe, have

been in the moon. They have long ago expected me at Bourdeaux; nay, I understand that there are many of their wise readers—amateurs of the military art—who are waiting to join the army till the headquarters shall arrive in that city; and when they shall hear of the late Spanish battle, I conclude that they will defer their voyage till I arrive at Paris."

THE PASSAGE AND BATTLE OF THE BIDASSOA.

At three o'clock of the morning of the 7th of October, the troops appointed for the attack stood to their arms. Those destined to force the passage of the river on the left were marched to their positions some hours before day-break, with strict orders to remain concealed. One brigade of the 5th division was posted in the ditch on the western side of Fuenterabia; the other brigade of this division, with lord Aylmer's British, and Spry's Portuguese brigades, were concealed behind embankments which secured the meadows bordering the river from inundation between that town and Irun; and the 1st division, with Wilson's Portuguese brigade, were drawn up under shelter of some eminences between Irun and the foot of the heights of San Marcial. The dispositions for attack were, the extreme left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 5th divisions, and Wilson's brigade of Portuguese, fording the river at the points discovered near its mouth, was to attack the entrenchments near and about the village of Andaye. Freyre, with his Spaniards, was to cross at the fords in front of Biriatu, and, attacking the works on the Montagne Verte, and on the heights of Mandalle, turn the enemy's flank in his camp before Urogne. The light division, and Longa's Spaniards, were directed to dislodge the enemy from the Commissari mountain and the pass of Vera; while on the extreme right, the Andalusian army, under Giron, was to advance against the entrenched position on La Rhune. To ensure support and co-operation of the different columns, a rocket was fired from the church steeple at Fuenterabia, as the signal for their simultaneous advance.

The night had been one of storm and darkness, accompanied with thunder. Thus, not only the movement of the artillery to the heights of San Marcial, and of the pontoon train to the water edge was unperceived by the enemy, but also the advance of the attacking columns. As there was a considerable bend in the river inwards, on the extreme left of the allied line, the troops forming that portion were instructed to advance first, so that the attack might be simultaneous. At seven o'clock, lord Aylmer's brigade, which led the advance on

the extreme left, and the 5th division, emerging from their places of concealment, advanced to the fords which had been pointed out for them to cross; the one taking the ford pointing towards the heights of Andaye, the other that opposite the French position at Sans Culottes. When they had reached the middle, the rocket rose from the steeple of Fuenterabia, and the guns and howitzers on the heights of San Marcial opened their thunder. Immediately, the different columns of attack rushed down to the banks of the river, and plunging into the stream, reached the opposite side, under cover of the artillery. The 5th division, and Aylmer's brigade, gaining the right bank, drove in the French picquets, in spite of the heavy fire they kept up from the hedges, ditches, and the walls and windows of the houses round Andaye. By some artillery, from an entrenchment thrown up opposite to the old bridge, the enemy was quickly dislodged from the looped houses that defended the passage. The 1st division then crossed in support of the 5th, which was now preparing to attack the enemy's line on the nearest range of hills. All the enemy's successive works and entrenchments were now rapidly carried. The 9th regiment, under colonel Cameron, particularly distinguished itself; it stormed the heights of Croix des Bouquets, at the point of the bayonet. The 2nd brigade of guards, and the detachment of the German legion, having effected the passage, covered the formation of a pontoon bridge for the passage of the artillery.

By this time, Freyre's Spaniards had gained the heights of Mandalle, when the lines that had formed to resist Maitland's 1st brigade of guards, and Wilson's Portuguese, finding both their flanks turned, retreated in so great a hurry that they left three guns unspiked. The light division assaulted the position of Vera and the Commissari mountain with much ardour and resolution, though the ascent up the heights was by a steep and narrow zigzag pass, defended by five strong redoubts on the summits of the steep mountains, domineering one over the other. Colburn, placing himself at the head of his brigade, consisting of the 52nd, the 2nd battalion of the 95th, and a battalion of

Portuguese caçadores, at the point of the bayonet, drove the enemy from their works successively, and finally dislodged them from their formidable entrenched camp on the summit: 500 prisoners and three pieces of cannon were taken at this point.

The Andalusian forces, under Giron, carried the entrenchments of the lower slopes of La Rhune, till they arrived at the foot of the lofty rock, on which a chapel had been converted by the enemy into a military post; here, after a long and resolute contest, in which the flash of the musketry was so incessant, that the conical outline of the mountain had all the semblance of being brilliantly illuminated, and the chapel was visible in the blaze to a great distance, when darkness compelled them to desist their efforts. But Wellington, reconnoitring the position on the following morning, found that the rock might be approached by its right, and that the attack might be combined with that of the works in front of the camp at Sarre. Accordingly, he concentrated the Andalusian army on their right, when Giron carried the post upon the rock; and following up his success, stormed a hill entrenchment that protected the right of the camp; but he was still unable to force the summit of the mountain, which was now deemed to be inaccessible on all sides excepting that of Ascain. In the night, however, the enemy withdrew both from the chapel and the camp of Sarre. The enemy had thus been dislodged from all their works in advance of the entrenched camps at Urogne; and the whole allied army occupied a range of commanding position from which they could assail the French territory simultaneously at different points.

On the following day, a detachment of the 7th division having imprudently pushed forward into the village of Sarre, was attacked by a superior force, and suffered severely; but a few Spanish regiments advancing to their aid, the French were repulsed, and the detachment enabled to retain its position; but on the 12th, a redoubt in advance of the camp of Sarre, held by an advanced party of Spaniards, and which had been abandoned on the 8th, was surprised; but as it was too far in advance of the allied position, the enemy was allowed to retain it.

In the passage and battle of the Bidassoa, the loss of the allies in killed and wounded was 1,500, and that of the enemy 100 less; the disparity arising from their protection

behind the entrenchments. While the left wing of the army was engaged in deadly conflict, the officers of Hill's corps on the right had races on the plains of Burquete.

During these desperate contests, many displays of heroism were exhibited; but there was one eminently conspicuous. The French garrison, consisting of 300 men, having abandoned a strong field-work which covered the right of the Bayonette ridge, were observed by colonel Colborne to hurry off in evident confusion. He galloped forward, attended by his staff and about half-a-dozen riflemen, and, intercepting them, ordered them to surrender. Believing that he was in advance of a force too strong to be resisted, the men throwing down their arms, submitted. Another instance of heroic conduct occurred on this day. Two French regiments pouring a heavy fire on Giron's Spaniards as they fought their way up abreast with the British near the saddle ridge, to the right of the Vera pass, the Spaniards stopped, and "though the adventurer Downie, who was now a Spanish general, encouraged them with his voice, they seemed irresolute, and did not advance. There happened to be present an officer of the 43rd regiment, named Havelock, who being attached to general Alten's staff, was sent to ascertain Giron's progress. His fiery temper could not brook the check. He took off his hat, he called on the Spaniards to follow him, and putting spurs to his horse, at one bound cleared the abattis, and went headlong amongst the enemy. Then the soldiers shouting for "El chico blanco," the fair boy, so they called him, for he was very young and had light hair, with one shock broke through the French, and this at the very moment when their centre was fleeing under the fire of Kempt's skirmishers from the Puerto de Vera."* Neither is the following incident the least unworthy of notice of the transactions connected with the battle just described. General Freyre having pointed out an impassable ford to the officer who was to lead the column consisting of the brigade to the right across the river, the column was thus obliged to retrace its steps; when captain Mann, of the royal staff corps, leaving his horse sticking in the mud, descended the stream to a ford about a quarter of a mile lower, and wading breast-high through the stream, followed by the column, quickly gained the French side of the river.

* Napier.

The village of Urogne having been burnt and pillaged by some of the allied troops during the battle, on the next day the following general order was published, confirming the republication of the order issued at Irurita on the 9th of the preceding July, as some of the troops in the pursuit from Vittoria, had, at that time, penetrated the passes, and established posts in the French territory :—

“ Lesaca, 9th October, 1813.

“ 1. The commander of the forces is concerned to be under the necessity of publishing over again his orders of the 9th July last [dated from Irurita], as they have been unattended to by the officers and troops which entered France yesterday.

“ 2. According to all the information which the commander of the forces has received, outrages of all descriptions were committed by the troops in presence even of their officers, who took no pains whatever to prevent them.

“ 3. The commander of the forces has already determined that some officers, so grossly negligent of their duty, shall be sent to England, that their names may be brought before the attention of the prince regent, and that his royal highness may give such directions respecting them as he may think proper, as the commander of the forces is determined not to command officers who will not obey his orders.”

The following is the order referred to :—

“ Irurita, 9th July, 1813.

“ 1. The commander of the forces is anxious to draw the attention of officers of the army to the difference of the situation in which they have been hitherto among the people of Portugal and Spain, and that in which they may hereafter find themselves among those of the frontiers of France.

“ 2. Every military precaution must henceforth be used to obtain intelligence, and to prevent surprise. General and superior officers at the head of detached corps will take care to keep up a constant and regular communication with the corps on their right and left, and with their rear; and the soldiers and their followers must be prevented from wandering to a distance from their corps and cantonments on any account whatever.

“ 3. Notwithstanding that these precautions are absolutely necessary, as the country in front of the army is the enemy's, the commander of the forces is particularly desirous that the inhabitants should be well

treated; and that private property must be respected, as it has been hitherto.

“ 4. The officers and soldiers of the army must recollect that their nations are at war with France solely because the ruler of the French nation will not allow them to be at peace, and is desirous of forcing them to submit to his yoke; and they must not forget that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal, have been occasioned by the irregularities of the soldiers, and their cruelties, authorized and encouraged by their chiefs, towards the unfortunate and peaceful inhabitants of the country.

“ 5. To revenge this conduct on the peaceable inhabitants of France would be unmanly and unworthy of the nations to whom the commander of the forces now addresses himself; and, at all events, would be the occasion of similar and worse evils to the army at large than those which the enemy's army have suffered in the Peninsula; and would eventually prove highly injurious to the public interests.

“ 6. The rules, therefore, which have been observed hitherto, in requiring, and taking, and giving receipts for supplies from the country, are to be continued in the villages on the French frontier; and the commissaries attached to each of the armies of the several nations, will receive the orders from the commander-in-chief of the army of their nations, respecting the mode and period of paying for such supplies.”

These orders were repeatedly read in English, Portuguese, and Spanish, at the heads of the respective regiments, and were translated into the French and Basque languages. The following proclamation, which was also translated into the Basque language, was addressed, November 1st, to the French people, signifying that the commander of the forces would punish all persons who should plunder or molest them, as long as they remained peaceably in their villages.

“ Proclamation Ire, aux Françaises, par le feld-maréchal marquis de Wellington, général en chef des armées alliées.

“ Au quartier général, ce 1 Nov., 1813.

“ Entrant dans votre pays, je vous annonce que j'ai donné les ordres les plus positifs, dont y il a-ci dessous traduction, pour prévenir les malheurs qui sont ordinairement la suite de l'invasion d'une armée ennemie (invasion que vous connaissez être la conséquence de celle que votre gouverne-

ment avait fait de l'Espagne), et des succès des armées alliées sous mes ordres. Vous pouvez être assurés que je mettrai à exécution ces ordres; et je vous prie de faire arrêter et conduire à mon quartier général tous ceux qui, contre ces provisions, vous font du mal. Mais il faut que vous restiez chez vous, et que vous ne preniez aucune part dans les opérations de la guerre dont votre pays va devenir le théâtre. WELLINGTON."

This proclamation was accompanied by the translation of the above specified orders.

The translation of the proclamation was as follows:—

"Proclamation to the French, by field-marshal the marquis of Wellington, general-in-chief of the allied armies. Head quarters, 1st of November, 1813.

"On entering your country, I make known to you that I have given the strictest orders, of which a translation is subjoined, to avert the misfortunes which are generally the consequence of the invasion of an enemy's army (an invasion which, you are aware, has resulted from that made by your government on Spain), and of the success of the allied armies acting under my orders.

"You may rest assured, that I will carry these orders into effect; and I request that you arrest and conduct to my head-quarters all those who, in disobedience of them, may do you any injury. But it is necessary that you should remain in your houses, and should not take any part in the operations of the war of which your country is about to become the theatre. WELLINGTON."

The outrages still continuing, even after the battle of the Nivelle, for their more effectual suppression the following proclamation was issued:—

"Proclamation, No. 18.

"Au quartier général,
ce 23 Février, 1814.

"1. Les habitans qui desirent former une garde pour la conservation de l'ordre public, et pour la protection de leurs biens; sont invités à faire savoir leurs intentions au commandant-en-chef; et en même temps à lui notifier la force de la garde communale qu'ils proposent former dans leurs communes respectives.

"2. Cette garde communale sera sous les ordres du maire, qui sera tenu responsable pour sa conduite.

"3. MM. les maires sont invités à faire arrêter par cette garde communale les traîneurs, muletiers, et autres des armées alliées, qui font aucun mal ou dégât; et de les con-

duire au quartier général, ou à l'officier qui commande des troupes alliées dans les environs. Chaque plainte doit être accompagnée d'un procès verbal des circonstances de l'arrestation, pour que les coupables soient punis et forcés à payer pour ce qu'ils ont pris ou détruit. WELLINGTON."

This proclamation was translated into the English language, and was accompanied by the following order:—

"St. Sever, 5th March, 1814.

"The commander of the forces requests the attention of general officers, and officers commanding regiments, to the following translation of a proclamation, which he has addressed to the country, directing the magistrates to form a guard in each parish, for the preservation of peace and property within the district of each: and requests that every assistance may be given to the magistrates to carry into execution the objects of this proclamation:—

Translation of a proclamation by field-marshal the marquis of Wellington, commander-in-chief, &c. &c., numbered 18, and dated Head-quarters, 23rd Feb., 1814.

"1. The inhabitants of such districts as are desirous of forming a guard within their respective parishes, for the preservation of order and for the protection of their property, are desired to make known their wishes to the commander-in-chief, specifying, at the same time, the numbers of which they propose the guard to consist.

"2. The guard is, in all cases, to be under the protection of the mayor, who will be held responsible for its conduct.

"3. Whenever either stragglers, muleteers, or followers of the army, commit any sort of depredation, the mayors are hereby directed to have them arrested by this guard, and sent to the head-quarters of the army, or to the general officer commanding the nearest division, accompanied by a statement of the damage done, and of the circumstances attending the transaction, in order that those who may be convicted may be punished for their offences, and be forced to pay the value of what they may have taken or destroyed. WELLINGTON."

In consequence of these humane and prudent orders, the inhabitants of the country soon established a peaceful and lucrative traffic in supplies necessary for the army.

"In no part of Spain," says the English general to lord Bathurst, in a letter dated St. Jean de Luz, 21st November, 1813, "have we been better, I might say so well,

received; and it is a fact that we really draw more supply from the country than we ever did from any part of Spain. The inhabitants, who had at first left their habitations, have in general returned to them, many of them at the risk of their lives, having been fired at by the French sentries at the outposts; and they are living very comfortably and quietly with our soldiers cantoned in their houses.

"The Spaniards plundered a good deal, and did a good deal of mischief, on the first two days; but even this misfortune has been of service to us. Some were executed, and many punished; and I sent all the Spanish troops back into Spain to be confined, which has convinced the French of our desire not to injure individuals."

As there was hardly a soldier in the Spanish or Portuguese service who could not tell a tale of a parent or brother murdered, a sister or daughter ravished, or a patrimony destroyed, from the violence of the French soldiers, or the more lasting scourge of their contributions, the Spaniards and Portuguese talked of retribution and revenge, and looked forward to the plunder of France as a measure of just retaliation for all the misery the French had inflicted on Spain and Portugal. But lord Wellington's letters to the Spanish generals, Murillo, Freyre, Mina, &c., convinced them, notwithstanding their reluctance to carry them into execution, and even remonstrances against them, that he would not allow any act of the kind. "Where I command," says he to Freyre, in a letter dated St. Jean de Luz, 21st December, 1813, "I declare that no one shall be allowed to plunder. If plunder must be had, then another must have the command.* You have large armies in Spain, and if it is wished to plunder the French peasantry, you may enter France, but then the Spanish government must remove me from the command of their armies.* * * * It is a matter of indifference to me whether I command a large or a small army, but whether large or small, the army must obey me, and above all, must not plunder."

Excesses being committed, he punished with summary military law, whether the offenders were British, Spanish, or Portuguese; and in the case of British offence, the whole regiment or brigade to which the

* He had been re-instated in the command of the Spanish armies. In December, the new cortes, appreciating the consequences of being left to themselves, decided that he should retain the command of their armies, and the regency be bound to fulfil the engagements of its predecessors.

offender belonged was kept under arms to prevent further offence. The whole of the Spaniards, except Murillo's division, which had not been guilty of outrage, namely Freyre's Gallicians, Giron's Andalusians, and Longa's and Mina's troops, were sent back to their own country. On the very day of the battle they had been guilty of marauding, and had murdered several of the French peasants. Their indulgence of vengeance may appear from a single anecdote. "Hearing screams," says the author of the *Subaltern*, "we ran up, and found a poor old French peasant lying dead at the bottom of the garden. A bullet had passed through his head, and his thin grey hairs were dyed with his own blood. A caçadore rushed out, and attempted to elude us. On entering, we saw an old woman, the wife of the peasant, lying dead in the kitchen. The desperate Portuguese did not attempt to deny having perpetrated these murders; he seemed, on the contrary, wound up to a pitch of frenzy: 'they murdered my father,' said he; 'they cut my mother's throat; and they ravished my sister before my eyes; and I vowed at the time I would put to death the first French family that fell into my hands. You may hang me if you will; but I have kept my oath, and care not for dying.'" He was hanged; indeed, no fewer than eighteen were suspended on this and the following days, to the branches of trees. Measures so extreme were requisite to check the ardent thirst of vengeance in the Peninsular soldiers. On the 12th though in hourly expectation of a battle, lord Wellington caused all the Spanish and Portuguese marauders, taken in the act, to be executed.

On the day following the battle, Freyre's and Longa's men had pillaged and murdered several persons in Ascaïn; and the next day the whole of the Spanish troops continued their excesses in several directions. Mina's men made a plundering and marauding excursion towards Hellette, and were in so formidable a state of mutiny, that it was necessary to disarm them. During the battle, adjutant-general Pakenham, detecting two British soldiers plundering in Ascaïn, caused them to be hung on the two trees nearest to the spot, with papers affixed to their breasts detailing for what offence this summary justice was inflicted; and several officers were sent to England for not having repressed the misconduct of their men.

Soult, who had not only sanctioned and permitted the French troops in their un-

manly violence and outrage on the people of Spain, but had been guilty of the same himself, now that he was in his own country, affected a display of moderation and justice. When the French troops, who preserved the same predatory habits among their own countrymen for which they had been long and uniformly licensed and encouraged by their officers in Spain, were quitting St. Jean de Luz after their discomfiture on the Nivelle, a woman complained to an officer whose company had been quartered there, that his men were plundering her house; he disregarded her entreaties to restrain them; and the woman, in her emotion at seeing her little property rifled by her own countrymen, exclaimed, "that if those who ought to be the defenders of the inhabitants would not protect them, but robbed them, the English might as well be there at once." "Oh!" replied the officer, "if you are the friend of the English, you shall see how I will protect you!" and immediately he set fire to her house. A gen-d'arme who was present took the woman's part, and promised to report the circumstance to marshal Soult; he did so; and the officer was brought to a court-martial, condemned, and shot.

Winter had now set in in its sternest mood; a season of unusual severity had commenced. The cold became so intense that the sentries were frozen at their posts on the bleak and dreary summits of the Pyrenees. Perished with wet and cold, a spirit of discontent was engendered among the troops. The days were hot in the extreme, followed by nights that were piercingly cold and frosty.* Their picket and night duties were incessant and very harassing. The dulness of their camps and bivouacs, the wearisome duties of guard and

fatigue, and the sufferings from frost and sleet, tired the patience, and shook the constancy of the best soldiers. Oftentimes, as the chill mist upon the mountains was for a few hours dissipated by the sun or wind, the fertile plains of France were seen beneath in all the tempting luxuriance of sunshine; and the eye of the longing sentinel, freezing at his post, could discern the smoke of towns and villages, and scattered homesteads, lying in pleasant and warm valleys. No trial, as it has been justly observed, is more severe on the moral character of the soldier than a state of inaction in the field, when accompanied by tiresome duties and severe privations. Many a brave man who, in the presence of an enemy, would only abandon his colours with his life, under these circumstances loses spirit and principle, and alike regardless of the impulses of honour and the obligation of an oath, adopts a desperate resolution, and in despair goes over to the enemy. Thus many an idle rover, without principle to endure to the end, was tempted away, and deserted to the enemy. In less than four months, above 1,200 men had gone over to the enemy; according to Mr. Southey's statement, on the average weekly proportion of twenty-five Spaniards, fifteen Irish, twelve English, six Scotch, and half a Portuguese.

The cause of some of these desertions was singular. Men who feared neither the French nor any human being, had deserted from a dread of ghosts or dead bodies. The author of the *Subaltern* says: "As this was an event that had rarely occurred before, many opinions were hazarded as to its cause. For my part, I attributed it entirely to the operation of superstitious terror in the minds of the men; and for this reason, it is generally the custom, in placing sentries in the

find nothing but a bellyful of bullets for breakfast. But, on the Pyrenees, in the more fortunate and healthy days of tents, it was not unusual, when the mountain blasts and torrents of rain drew up the pegs of the tents, which then fall, as nothing in nature falls, squash upon the soldier, who lies enveloped and floundering in the horrible wet folds of the canvas, that nothing but the passing joke of "Boat a-hoy!" or the roars of laughter caused by some wag who turns this acme of misery into mirth, could reanimate to the exertion of scrambling out of these clumsy winding-sheets. Here, often in the morning, the soldier called up in his blanket, which, from the insensible perspiration, had become stiff and frozen, awoke, covered with hoar frost, like a twelfth-cake. Indeed, it was often with some difficulty that he could get out of his frozen envelope of blanket.—*Gurwood's Introduction to the Wellington Orders*

* In the camp and the bivouac all goes on merrily, but there come moments of which the bare remembrance recalls ancient twitches of rheumatism, which the iron forms of the most hardy cannot always resist. On the night previous to Craufurd's affair on the Coa, on those previous to the battle of Salamanca, and the battle of Waterloo, and on many other less anxious nights, not hallowed by such recollections, deluges of rain not only drenched the earth, but unfortunately all that rested, or tried to rest, upon it; the draining through the hut from above, by some ill-placed sticks in the roof, like lightning conductors, conveyed the subtle fluid where it was least wanted, while the floods coming under, drove away all possibility of sleep: repose was, of course, out of the question, when even the worms would come out of the earth, it being far too wet for them. "In such a night as this" it was weary work to wait the lagging dawn with a craving stomach, and worse still to

immediate presence of the enemy, to station them in pairs, so that one may patrol as far as the next post, while the other remains steady on his guard. Perhaps, too, the wish of giving greater confidence to the men themselves may have some weight in dictating the measure; at all events, there can be no doubt that it produces that effect. Such, however, was the nature of the ground covered by our pickets among the Pyrenees, that in many places there was hardly room for a couple of sentinels to occupy a single post, while it was only at the mouths of the various passes that two were more desirable than one for securing the safety of the army. Rugged as the country was, however, almost every part of it had been the scene of action, while the dead, falling among rocks and cliffs, were left in various instances, from necessity, unburied; and exactly in those posts where the dead lay unburied, single sentinels were planted. That both soldiers and sailors are frequently superstitious, every person knows; nor can it be pleasant for the strongest minded among them to spend two or three hours of a stormy night beside a mangled and half-devoured carcase; indeed, I have been myself, more than once, remonstrated with, for desiring as brave a fellow as any in the corps to keep guard near one of his fallen comrades; 'I don't care for living men,' said the soldier, 'but for God's sake, sir, don't put me beside *him*;' and wherever I could yield to the remonstrance, I invariably did so. My own opinion, therefore, was, that many of the sentries became so overpowered by superstition, that they could not keep their ground. They knew, however, that if they returned to the picket, a severe punishment awaited them; and, therefore, they went over to the enemy, rather than endure the misery of a diseased imagination. As a proof that my notions were correct, it was remarked, that the army had no sooner descended from the mountains, and taken up a position which required a chain of double sentinels to be renewed, than desertion in a very great degree ceased. A few instances, indeed, still occurred, as will always be the case where men of all tempers are brought together, as in the army; but they bore not the proportion of one to twenty to those which took place among the Pyrenees."

At this period the following letter was addressed to lord Bathurst, which is as distinguished for its kind motives, and con-

sideration of the interests of those in whose behalf it was penned, as for its justice and necessity.

"Vera, 10th October, 1813.

"My Lord,—I wish to draw your attention to the situation of sir Rowland Hill and sir John Hope. They, each of them, command very large corps, and great expenses must be incurred by them; and I know that the former, and I believe the latter, have not the means of defraying their expenses. The general officers of the British army are altogether very badly paid; and adverting to the deductions from their pay, they receive less than they did fifty years ago, while their expenses are more than doubled; and their allowances of all kinds are smaller than those of corresponding ranks in other services, while, from the custom of the British army, they are all obliged to keep tables for their staff; and their expenses are greater.

"It would not, probably, be possible to increase the pay of general officers generally; but I earnestly recommend that sir John Hope and sir Rowland Hill should have an allowance each, equal to that of the second in command in Sicily, or to that of the commanding officer at Cadiz.

"I would beg your lordship to observe likewise that the expenses of an officer who must spend more than he receives here, are vastly increased by the disadvantageous rate at which he is obliged to draw his money; and I believe that, in this way, even sir Thomas Graham, who has a large private fortune, has been frequently in distress here.—Believe me, &c. WELLINGTON."

The position of the allied army was now as follows: the 1st and 5th divisions, lord Aylmer's British brigade, Bradford and Wilson's Portuguese brigades, and the Spanish force under Giron, were encamped in France, extending to the greater La Rhune. The light and 4th divisions occupied the heights in front of Vera. The army of reserve of Andalusia, and the 7th division, were posted near Echellar. The 3rd division was near Echellar and Maya. The 6th division was in position at Maya, with Hamilton's Portuguese division at Ariscoen. One brigade of the 2nd division was at Alduides; the remainder of that division, and the Spanish corps of Murillo, were at Roncesvalles. The cavalry were principally cantoned in the valley of the Ebro. Head-quarters were at Vera.

The despatch detailing the passage and battle of the Bidassoa, which equalled in boldness of conception, the passage of the

Douro, and surpassed it in execution, addressed to lord Bathurst, was—

“Lesaca, 9th October, 1813.

“My Lord,—Having deemed it expedient to cross the Bidassoa with the left of the army, I have the pleasure to inform your lordship that that object was effected on the 7th instant. Lieutenant-general sir Thomas Graham directed the 1st and 5th divisions, and the 1st Portuguese brigade under brigadier-general Wilson, to cross that river in three columns below, and in one above, the site of the bridge, under the command of major-general Hay, colonel the hon. C. Greville, major-general the hon. Edward Stopford, and major-general Howard; and lieutenant-general don Manuel Freyre directed that part of the fourth Spanish army, under his immediate command, to cross in three columns at fords above those at which the allied British and Portuguese troops passed. The former were destined to carry the enemy's entrenchments about and above Andaye; while the latter should carry those on the Montagne Verte, and on the heights of Mandale, by which they were to turn the enemy's left.

“The operations of both bodies of troops succeeded in every point; the British and Portuguese troops took seven pieces of cannon in the redoubts and batteries which they carried, and the Spanish troops one piece of cannon in those carried by them. I had particular satisfaction in observing the steadiness and gallantry of all the troops. The 9th British regiment were very strongly opposed, charged with bayonets more than once, and have suffered, but I am happy to add, that in other parts of these corps our loss has not been severe. The Spanish troops, under lieutenant-general Don M. Freyre, behaved admirably, and turned and carried the enemy's entrenchments on the hills with great dexterity and gallantry; and I am much indebted to the lieutenant-general, and to lieutenant-general Sir T. Graham, and to the general and staff-officers of both corps, for the execution of the arrangements for this operation.

“Lieutenant-general sir T. Graham, having thus established within the French territory the troops of the allied British and Portuguese army, which had been so frequently distinguished under his command, resigned the command to lieutenant-general sir J. Hope, who had arrived from Ireland on the preceding day. While this was going on upon the left, major-general C. Baron

Alten attacked, with the light division, the enemy's entrenchments in the Puerto de Vera, supported by the Spanish division under brigadier Longa; and the Mariscal de Campo, Don P. A. Giron, attacked the enemy's entrenchments and posts on the mountain called La Rhune, immediately on the right of the light division, with the army of reserve of Andalusia.

“Colonel Colborne, of the 52nd regiment, who commanded major-general Skerrett's brigade in the absence of the major-general on account of his health, attacked the enemy's right, in a camp which they had strongly entrenched. The 52nd regiment, under the command of major Mein, charged, in a most gallant style, and carried the entrenchment with the bayonet. The 1st and 3rd caçadores, and the 2nd battalion 95th regiment, as well as the 52nd regiment, distinguished themselves in this attack. Major-general Kempt's brigade attacked by the Puerto, where the opposition was not so severe; and major-general C. Alten has reported his sense of the judgment displayed both by the major-general and by colonel Colborne in these attacks.

“The light division took 22 officers, and 400 prisoners, and 3 pieces of cannon; and I am particularly indebted to major-general C. Baron Alten for the manner in which he executed this service. On the right, the troops of the army of reserve of Andalusia, under the command of Don P. A. Giron, attacked the enemy's posts and entrenchments on the mountain of La Rhune in two columns, under the command of Spaniards only. These troops carried everything before them in the most gallant style, till they arrived at the foot of the rock on which the hermitage stands; and they made repeated attempts to take even that post by storm; but it was impossible to get up; and the enemy remained during the night, in possession of the hermitage, and on a rock on the same range of the mountain with the right of the Spanish troops. Some time elapsed yesterday morning before the fog cleared away sufficiently to enable me to reconnoitre the mountain, which I found to be least inaccessible by its right, and that the attack of it might be connected with advantage with the attack of the enemy's works in front of the camp of Sarre. I accordingly ordered the army of reserve to concentrate to their right, and as soon as the concentration commenced, Mariscal de Campo, Don P. A. Giron, ordered the bat-

talion *de las Ordenes* to attack the enemy's post on the rock, on the right of the position occupied by his troops, which was instantly carried in the most gallant style. These troops followed up their success, and carried an entrenchment on a hill, which protected the right of the camp of Sarre; and the enemy immediately evacuated all their works to defend the approaches to the camp, which were taken possession of by detachments from the 7th division, sent by lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie through the Puerto de Echellar, for this purpose. Don P. A. Giron then established the battalion of *Las Ordenes* on the enemy's left, on the rock of the hermitage. It was too late to proceed farther last night; and the enemy withdrew from their post at the hermitage, and from the camp of Sarre, during the night.

"It gives me singular satisfaction to report the good conduct of the officers and troops of the army of reserve of Andalusia, as well in the operations of the 7th instant,

as in those of yesterday. The attack made by the battalion of *Las Ordenes*, under the command of colonel Hore, yesterday, was made in as good order and with as much spirit as any that I have seen made by any troops; and I was much satisfied with the spirit and discipline of the whole of this corps. I cannot applaud too highly the execution of the arrangements for these attacks, by the Mariscal de Campo, Don P. A. Giron, and the general and staff-officers under his directions. I omitted to report to your lordship, in my dispatch of the 4th instant, that when on my way to Roncesvalles, on the 1st instant, I directed brigadier-general Campbell to endeavour to carry off the enemy's pickets in his front, which he attacked on that night; and completely succeeded, with the Portuguese troops under his command, in carrying off the whole of one picket, consisting of seventy men. A fortified post, on the mountain of Ariola, was likewise stormed, and the whole garrison put to the sword."

SURRENDER OF PAMPLONA.

PAMPLONA, after a blockade of four months and ten days, surrendered on the 31st of October. During the blockade, the garrison had made several sorties for the purpose of collecting provisions, and impeding the progress of the blockade, encouraged by the sound of Soult's guns, as he pursued the 4th and 5th divisions under Picton to Huarte. On that made on the 26th July, the governor vigorously attacked O'Donnel, who, retreating from some of his trenches, spiking a number of his guns, and destroying a quantity of ammunition, would have abandoned the blockade, had it not been for the timely arrival of D'Espagna with his corps. On the first of the following month the blockade was resumed; and in the middle of September the prince of Anglona's division of Del Parque's army arrived to relieve the Andalusian force, who then joined the rest of that army near Echellar. On the 3rd of October, the governor wished to turn the remaining inhabitants out of the town; but this D'Espagna would not allow. Foiled in this design, he sent word that 7,000 rations must be supplied for the inhabitants of the place, as he would no longer feed them. The Spanish general replied, that unless

the inhabitants were fed as well as the garrison, while any food lasted, he would hold the governor responsible for their treatment, and should strictly inquire into the fact when the place should be surrendered. Thus foiled again, Cassan caused it to be reported that he would blow up the citadel, having already undermined some of the bastions, and would cut his way through the besieging force into France. Wellington, indignant at the design, sent orders to D'Espagna, to inform Cassan, that if he attempted to carry his design into execution, he would hold him responsible for the act, "as it could be no otherwise considered than as a desire to inflict a sensible injury on the Spanish nation, against all the laws of war, and afterwards throw themselves upon the generosity of the allied army. But I warn you, general, that I have no disposition to such a sentiment for those who shall conduct themselves in the manner supposed, and I therefore desire that you will grant neither capitulation nor favour of any kind to the garrison of Pamplona, if they do the slightest damage to the place, but, without waiting for further orders, will put to death the governor, officers, and non-commis-

sioned officers, and will decimate the soldiers." At the same time, he immediately ordered up a reinforcement of cavalry, under sir Stapleton Cotton, and directed them to show themselves on the plains near Pamplona. This stern order and precaution no doubt had their influence on Cassan, who now proposed terms of surrender, which being rejected, he and his garrison loudly proclaimed, in an official declaration, their resolution, to bury themselves under the ruins of the fortress; but in five days afterwards, they laid down their arms and colours, and surrendered themselves, 3,000 in number, as prisoners of war. D'Espagna refused to accede to the capitulation, till he had ascertained that none of the inhabitants had perished during the blockade, either through ill treatment or for want. The garrison and inhabitants had for many weeks subsisted on rations of four ounces of horse-flesh for each person, and at last dogs and cats were esteemed dainties, and rats and mice had long been sought after with avidity.

Pamplona, the capital of Navarre, is partly situated on an eminence, and partly in a plain on the banks of the small river Agra, which washes the northern and eastern fronts of the fortress, the defences on those sides consisting only of walls edging the perpendicular rocky bank of the river; but on the other parts it is regularly fortified. The city is surrounded on all sides by a circle of mountains, about eight miles distant; and has two castles, one within the city, the other without the walls. A deep trench of considerable extent renders the approaches to it difficult on the side on which it is attackable. Lord Wellington was, at this time, subject to much embarrassment and difficulty, occasioned not only by his ungrateful and faithless allies, but also by the conduct of the ministry of his own country.

The sterile nature of the country, particularly Les Landes, and its coast, which is open to the prevailing winds, being unapproachable in stormy weather, supplies could not be trusted to from the sea;* even in the sheltered harbour of Passages, the transports

* At this time, the supplies for many of the corps of the allied armies were carried to the mountain encampments on the heads of men and women, long strings of whom were to be seen toiling up the steep and slippery ascents.

could with difficulty ride to their moorings, in consequence of the heavy swell that tumbled in from the Atlantic; and that difficulty was much increased by the British ministry neglecting to keep a sufficient naval force on the coast. This neglect not only operated to the injury of the allies, but enabled the enemy's army to obtain abundant supplies by means of its coasting vessels between Bourdeaux and Bayonne; besides affording them facility to recruit their cavalry and infantry with those horses and men which must have been employed in the conveyance of their stores, had they been compelled to obtain them by land conveyance. On this subject the English general again urged the foreign secretary of state and the English government in the following emphatic terms:—"I beg leave once more to impress on your lordship the absolute necessity that we should have the maritime communication constant and secure, notwithstanding the inconvenience, the difficulty, and the danger, if it is intended by his majesty's government, that I should maintain a large army upon this frontier; and it is obvious from what I have above stated, that stinted naval means will not answer."

Since April more than twenty applications and remonstrances on this subject had been made by lord Wellington to the government and the admiralty, but they had all been unheeded. The consequence was, that when snow and rain were falling copiously on the Pyrenees, and the plains where the left wing of the army was huddled, the troops were without proper clothing, because the ships containing the great coats, shoes, and other indispensables, could not leave the ports of Lisbon and Oporto for fear of capture by cruisers issuing from Santona, Bayonne, and Bordeaux. Because the ordnance store-ships could not sail from Lisbon for want of convoy, the British troops, after the battle of Vittoria, were obliged to use French ammunition, though too small for English muskets. Such were the negligence and incapacity of the government officials of the time, that when they sent a battering train, consisting of 117 pieces, for the siege of St. Sebastian, "with characteristic negligence," shot and shell for only one day's consumption were sent for the use of the besiegers.

FRANCE.



GARDEN OF THE PALAIS ROYAL

PALACE OF FONTAINEBLEAU

PALAIS HARBOR

SCALE

Longitude West of Greenwich

Longitude East from Greenwich

The Illustrations by J. Wray & Engraved by J. Rogers.

The Map Drawn & Engraved by J. Hopkin.

THE INVASION OF FRANCE.

ANNO 1813.

It was a bright honour, and a rich reward to the army of England, and its patient and persevering allies, after five years of severe warfare, to carry forward their triumphant standards into the territory of the common foe.* The spirit in which their illustrious leader, as announced in his memorable order to the army, dated 9th July, 1813, led them forth to victory, and the preservation of the independence of Europe, was as calm and noble as the honourable sentiments which it breathed were dignified and enlightened.

Since the battles of the Pyrenees, the enemy had been labouring with incessant diligence in constructing a formidable line of defence, to prevent the advance of the allies into France. It consisted of three successive lines of heights, the entire front of each being defended by abattis, retrenchments, and a chain of redoubts. The first line covered St. Jean de Luz; in front of which town, the right of the position rested on the sea, having in the rear the fort Socoa as a support. From this point the line stretched, in a half-circle, twelve miles inland, crossed the Nivelle, and terminated on a strong height behind the village of Ainhoë. The second line stretched from St. Jean de Luz on the right, to Cambo on the left; and the third line was established behind St. Pé on the road to Ustaritz. The mountain La Petite Rhune formed a strongly entrenched advanced post in front of the village of Sarre, and was covered with two formidable redoubts, and strong interior lines. The bridge at Ascain, and that below it, were covered by strong *têtes-de-pont*; and the space included in the bend of the Nivelle to the heights of Ainhoë, was studded with redoubts and lines of retrenchments. In a word, the whole of the position was strong by nature, and had been fortified by skill. In many parts it was impregnable in front, and was much stronger and more inaccessible than the lines of Torres Vedras were, which Massena, after eight weeks' blockading, had been fearful to assail.

This formidable position, besides being covered on every assailable point with re-

* Sherer's *Military Memoirs of Wellington*.

trenchments, and that the Sierras and every eminence were crowned with numerous field-works, in the intersecting valleys and spaces of leveller surface the enemy were formed in great strength, some in lines, some in columns, according as the nature of the ground would allow, with *tirailleurs* covering the slopes half-way down their descents. Their troops were collected in vast entrenched camps at Sans Culottes, Bourdegain, Serres, Ainhoë, &c. The first camp was occupied by three divisions, stretched inland along the summits of a series of detached heights towards the foot of the Little Rhune. To the left of that camp was another at Ascain and Serres, on both banks of the Nivelle, occupied by a division. A camp occupied by three divisions, under Clausel, was posted on the heights behind Sarre. Five miles to the left of Sarre, behind Ainhoë, was a camp of two divisions under D'Erlon. The division of Foy was at Bidarry on the Nive; and that of Paris was posted in the neighbourhood of St. Jean-Pied-de-Port. The Little Rhune was held by a brigade. Thus the great road to Bayonne, and those from Vera by Echellar, from Maya and Pamplona, were all guarded.

During the construction of these works, Soult, in addition to the reinforcements drawn from the general conscription throughout France, had received a special force of 30,000 conscripts, which had been levied in the provinces bordering on the Pyrenees. His position was now occupied by 70,000 combatants. The French cavalry was posted at Orthes. Soult's light division was on the heights of Cambo. An organized national guard was stationed at the issues of all the valleys of St. Jean-Pied-de-Port. The Franco-Spanish partisan, Casa Palacio, commanded the remains of Joseph's Spanish guard. Since the passage and battle of the Bidassoa, the weather had been extremely inclement; continual rain falling near the coast, where the left wing of the allied army was cantoned, and snow in mountainous regions where its right wing was posted. "Quel terrible temps!" exclaimed lord Wellington, in a letter to the Spanish general Freyre; "le général Hill ne peut pas se mettre

en mouvement, étant jusqu'aux genoux dans le neige," and to sir John Hope he said, when speaking of what was passing in his own immediate quarters, "the rain will destroy us if it lasts much longer."

The heavy autumnal rains at length being over, and the weather clearing up, the English general prepared to act against the enemy. Hill was accordingly ordered to descend from his mountain position, and move into the valley of the Bastan. The army having been concentrated during the 6th and 7th instant, was organized into three grand divisions. The right wing, which consisted of the 2nd (Stewart's) and 6th (W. Clinton's) divisions, Hamilton's Portuguese division, the Spanish division of Morillo, Grant's cavalry brigade, a brigade of Portuguese artillery, and three mountain guns, was commanded by Hill. The centre was divided into two columns; the left of which consisted of the light division, under Charles Alten, supported by Longa's Spaniards; and the right column was composed of the 3rd (Colville's, in the absence of Picton), the 4th (Cole's) and the 7th (the Portuguese Mariscal del Campo Le Cor's, in the absence of lord Dalhousie) divisions. Giron's Andalusian army of reserve, and Victor Alten's brigade of light cavalry, with six mountain guns, under sir Stapleton Cotton, and three brigades of British artillery, were posted as a reserve between the two columns of the centre. The left wing, which consisted of the 1st (Howard's), and the 5th (Hay's) divisions, lord Aylmer's independent brigade, and the Portuguese brigades of Wilson and Bradford, Vandeleur's light cavalry brigade, and the heavy German cavalry, with fifty-four guns, was commanded by Hope. The right wing was collected in the valley of the Bastan, the posts of Roncesvalles, Altobiscar, and the Aldudes, which had been held by Hill's troops, being given over to those of Mina. The right centre was collected about the passes of Echellar and Zugarramurdi; and the left centre occupied the mountain La Rhune. The left wing occupied a strong defensive position on the range of heights from which the enemy had been dislodged at the battle of the Bidassoa. Freyre, with the army of Galicia, was posted on the heights of Mandale towards Ascain, thus connecting the centre and left wing.

Wellington having carefully reconnoitred the enemy's position, arranged his plan of attack. Deeming his right too strong to

justify an attack, he determined to divert him by feigned attempts on that quarter, while he forced the centre—(particularly the opening between the Rhune mountains and the bridge of Amotz, on the right of which D'Erlon's divisions were posted, and on the left Clausel's)—and left, and thus turned the right. In the event of this object being gained, it was possible, by establishing the assailing columns in the rear of the enemy's right, his retreat to Bayonne might be intercepted. To accomplish this purpose the right wing was to assail the enemy's left; the right centre was to direct its attack against the redoubts in front of Sarre, and the heights behind that village; and the left centre the heights of the lesser Rhune, and having carried them, to co-operate in the general attack on the enemy's centre; while Giron's Andalusians were to attack the slopes of the Rhune situated to the westward of Sarre. The left wing was to engage the attention of the enemy by a feigned attack on their right, on the hills in front of St Jean de Luz. Freyre's Spaniards were to effect the same purpose, and prevent reinforcements being sent from the camp at Sarre to Clausel's assistance. And the squadron of sir George Collier, with whom arrangements had been made for the purpose, was to throw shells from off St. Jean de Luz into the enemy's camp, and the Socoa fort. The attack was to commence at the dawn of the morning of the 10th of November.

Soon after midnight of the 9th, the troops having formed under arms, advanced to the verge of the line of the enemy's outposts, preparatory to the attack at dawn. As the columns moved forward, the stillness of the surrounding scene was felt by all to be impressive. The village clocks striking the hours amid the darkness increased the general anxiety for day-break; and the first streaks of light in the east were watched by many thousand eyes with strong and almost feverish impatience. On reaching their stations, the troops were ordered to lie extended upon the ground. The columns were so posted that the intervening ground concealed them from the enemy.* The centre was formed in columns of attack pointing towards Sarre, and lay, for several hours, in a ravine separating the great and little Rhune mountains, within half musket-shot of the entrenchments with which the face of the latter was covered.

* *Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns.*

BATTLE OF THE NIVELLE.

LORD WELLINGTON, quitting his head-quarters at Vera soon after midnight, joined Beresford before break of day; and with his staff remained under cover of a small wood about 600 yards from the redoubt which was to be the first object of assault. With the first ray of light, the three signal-guns were fired in rapid succession from the summit of the Atchubia. Instantly a brisk cannonade opened, and a skirmish of pickets commenced along the whole line. About seven o'clock an impression having been made by the artillery on the redoubts in front of Sarre, the soldiers of both columns of the centre leaping up, with a stern shout, rushed to their points of attack: the left column against the Rhune, the right against the redoubts and the village of Sarre. The light division, with the 43rd among its foremost assailants, attacking with irresistible impetuosity, stormed all the entrenchments of the mountain. The 4th and 7th divisions carried the two redoubts of St. Barba and Granada, which commanded the approach to Sarre, advanced against that village, when the third appearing on its flank, it was abandoned by the enemy without an effort to save it. It was now eight o'clock, and the whole centre was united and established on the brow of La Petite Rhune.*

The enemy's outworks having been carried, the right and left centre moved forward in six columns against the enemy's en-

* "In a few minutes," says an officer engaged in the attack on the smaller Rhune, "we reached the summit of the mountain, within twenty yards of the walls of the first fort. The soldiers and officers gasped for breath; many of the former, from the weight of their knapsacks and accoutrements, staggered and fell, and before they could recover their feet, were pierced with bullets, to rise no more; the officers led on in a group, and carried the first fort. The second was then attacked hand to hand, the French using their bayonets and the butt end of their pieces; one of our officers gallantly jumped into the second fort, and a French soldier thrust a bayonet through his neckerchief, transfixing him to the wall, and then fired his piece, which blew away the officer's collar, who immediately jumped up unhurt. Another officer, while clambering up the wall, received a severe blow on the fingers with the butt end of a fire-lock, which compelled him to drop from his hold. Indeed we were so hard pressed, that several officers seized the dead soldiers' firelocks, and fought with them bludgeon-wise. Amongst others, sir Andrew Barnard, of the rifles, joined in this hard fight. As the enemy rushed out of the second fort, a little athletic man,

trenched range of heights in rear of Sarre, extending about twelve miles from Ascain to Mondarrain, and which was the strongest part of his position, every ridge being defended by a redoubt; and the whole face of it covered with abattis and lines of retrenchment; while bodies of troops, some in line, some in column, filled up the intervals, and tirailleurs swarmed on its more accessible holes. Towards the top, the ascent was so steep, that the assailants were obliged to use their hands as well as feet in climbing. Though the enemy poured a heavy fire from the various fortifications on the assaulting columns, nothing arrested their impetuous valour. The enemy, driven from point to point, from redoubt to redoubt, escaped only because the assailants were, from their excessive toil, too breathless to pursue them. The third redoubt, termed Donjon, though protected by a ditch or cleft in the rock, fifteen feet deep, was resolutely assailed by the 43rd, who leaping into the cleft, scaled the walls, and in a few minutes the British colours were planted on the castle. In only one redoubt did they make a resolute stand, namely, the signal redoubt. When the 52nd reached the top of the hill, upon which this formidable redoubt was placed, they rushed forward to escalade it, "but a wide ditch, thirty feet deep, well fraised and pallisaded, stopped them short, and the fire of the enemy stretched all the

with red hair, eagerly followed a French officer; the Frenchman parried two of his thrusts, but finding his men give way, he turned suddenly round, and made off; the soldier, fearing his prey would escape, hurled his firelock at him; the bayonet pierced the Frenchman's body, when he fell heavily on his face with the weight of the musket, the bayonet still sticking in him. Another French officer, who had shown a noble example of heroism, stood upon the top of the wall, with both his eyes hanging on his cheeks, with his short cloak flapping in the wind, and not daring to move from his perilous position, lest he should tumble down the steep precipice of many hundred feet in depth. The forts being now carried, I seized the hand of an officer, and congratulated him on his escape; the next instant he was down with a horrible wound, and a ball grazed my left cheek. It was one of the best-contested fights I ever saw; ten officers and nearly one hundred men were killed and wounded in a few minutes. General sir James Kempt and his aid-de-camp, the hon. C. Core, had urged their horses up the rocks, with their hats off, and were cheering us on while carrying the third fort, when the general was wounded."

foremost men dead. The intrepid Colborne, escaping miraculously, for he was always at the head and on horseback, immediately led the regiment under cover of the brow to another point, and thinking to take the French unawares, made another rush, yet with the same result. At three different places did he rise to the surface in this manner, and each time the French fire swept away the head of his column. Resorting then to persuasion, he held out a white handkerchief, and summoned the commandant, pointing out to him how his work was surrounded, and how hopeless his defence; Beresford having led a column in their rear, so as to intercept their retreat, whereupon the garrison yielded, having had only one man killed, whereas on the British side there fell 200 soldiers of a regiment never surpassed in arms since arms were first borne by men.* The garrison consisted of a complete battalion, containing above 500 men. The fleeing enemy who had defended this part of the position, were now chased into the lower grounds, towards the bridges of Amotz, Ascain, and St. Pé, over the Nivelle.

On the right, Hill had been no less successful. He advanced against the heights of Ainhouë in echellons of divisions. Clinton, with the 6th, supported by Hamilton's Portuguese, forded the Nivelle, and without firing a shot, drove the enemy drawn up in front of their works from their position, and breaking through his defences, carried three of the five redoubts on that flank. The 2nd division, led by Stewart, was equally successful, driving the enemy from a parallel ridge, defended by a strong field-work. Hill then led both divisions with their support on Espelette, when the enemy, fearful of being intercepted, abandoned their advanced line in front of Ainhouë, and retreated in confusion towards Cambo. By two o'clock, the whole of the enemy's position behind Sarre and Ainhouë was in possession of the allies, who were now established in the rear of the enemy's original position, and had driven back their centre on their right.

Wellington now observing a large force of the enemy concentrated on the heights above St. Pé and Ascain, and drawn up in battle order, ordered the 3rd and 7th divisions to advance on this position by the left bank of the Nivelle, and the 6th on the right; the movement being covered by the

* Napier.

2nd and Hamilton's Portuguese on the one side, and the 4th and light divisions, with Giron's Andalusians, who held the heights above Ascain, on the other. The enemy defended the position for a short time with a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, but as soon as the allied columns closed upon them, they retreated in disorder to the third line of their defence on the heights of Bidart, about eight miles in rear of their first line, evacuating St. Jean de Luz, Ascain, and six miles of retrenchments, and breaking down the bridges on the Nive. Under cover of the night, Soult withdrew from the impregnable part of his position, and then the allies were left masters of the whole line. Hope, so far distant that the sound of his guns could not be heard by the right and the centre, had had his share in the honours of the day. His demonstration against the camps of Sans Culottes and Bons Secours, at Urogne, had been successful. He had beaten the enemy out of that position, and had pushed as far as the inundations which covered the entrenchments in front of Bourdegian and Siboure. So completely had he, in these operations, occupied Soult's attention, that the French marshal imagined his attack, from its vigour and pertinacity, was the principal object of Wellington; and therefore did not dispatch any succour to his left and centre, until they were driven from every position, and on the point of being cut off. As the left and centre of the allies were now established in the enemy's rear, the defendants of the right of their position were obliged to follow the retreat of their countrymen. With the approach of night, the firing ceased in every part of the allied line. During these operations, a detachment of Spaniards under Mina, whom Hill had left to guard the passes of Roncesvalles and Altobiscar, and Los Alduides, moved along the heights of Maya, and attacked and carried the advanced posts of the enemy in that direction; but the French being reinforced, returned to the assault, and beat them back to the village of Maya. The Spaniards lost 100 men in killed and wounded, the French 150. The loss of the enemy in the battle had been about 3,000 killed and wounded, 1,600 prisoners, 51 guns, and a large quantity of field magazines, stores, and provisions. That of the allies, in killed and wounded, 2,694. The able management of the artillery, under colonel Dickson, had contributed in no small degree to the

success of the allies. Guns had been dragged up precipices, or let down from the summits of rocks; while mountain pieces, on swivel carriages, harnessed on the backs of mules trained to the purpose, showered down destruction from points from which no attack had been expected.

During the remainder of this month, no transaction of importance occurred than an occasional reconnoissance or affair of posts. In one on the 18th, brigadier-generals Wilson and Vandeleur were wounded; and on the 23rd, it being necessary to put forward the advanced pickets of the light division, the troops advanced further than was intended, eighty men and an officer of the 43rd were taken in front of the village of Arcangues.

The following is the despatch of the battle of the Nivelle:—

“ St. Pé, 13th Nov. 1813.

“ My Lord,—The enemy had, since the beginning of August, occupied a position with their right upon the sea, in front of St. Jean de Luz, and on the left of the Nivelle, their centre on La Petite Rhune, and on the heights behind that village; and their left, consisting of two divisions of infantry, under count D'Erlon, on the right of that river, on a strong height in rear of Ainhoüé, and on the mountain of Monderam, which protected the approach to that village. They had had one division under general Foy at St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, which was joined by the army of Aragon, under general Paris, at the time the left of the allied army crossed the Bidassoa. General Foy's division joined those on the heights behind Ainhoüé, when sir R. Hill moved into the valley of Baztan. The enemy, not satisfied with the natural strength of this position, had the whole of it fortified; and their right in particular had been made so strong, that I did not deem it expedient to attack it in front.

“ Pamplona having surrendered on the 31st of October, and the right of the army having been disengaged from covering the blockade of that place, I moved lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill on the 6th and 7th into the valley of Baztan, as soon as the state of the roads, after the recent rains, would permit, intending to attack the enemy on the 8th, but the rain which fell on the

7th having again rendered the roads impracticable, I was obliged to defer the attack till the 10th, when we completely succeeded in carrying all the positions on the enemy's left and centre, in separating the former from the latter, and by these means turning the enemy's strong positions, occupied by their right on the lower Nivelle, which they were obliged to evacuate during the night, having taken 51 pieces of cannon and 1,400 prisoners.

“ The object of the attack being to force the enemy's centre, and to establish our army in rear of their right, the attack was made in columns of divisions, each led by the general officer commanding it, and each forming its own reserve. Lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill directed the movements of the right, consisting of the 2nd division, under lieutenant-general the hon. sir William Stewart; the 6th division, under lieutenant-general sir Henry Clinton; a Portuguese division, under lieutenant-general sir John Hamilton; and a Spanish division, under general Morillo, and colonel Grant's brigade of cavalry, and a brigade of Portuguese artillery, under lieutenant-colonel Tulloh, and three mountain guns, under lieutenant Robe, which attacked the position of the enemy behind Ainhoüé.

“ Marshal sir William Beresford directed the movements of the right of the centre, consisting of the 3rd division, under major-general the hon. C. Colville; the 7th division, under mariscal de Campo le Cor; and the 4th division, under lieutenant-general the hon. sir Lowry Cole. The latter attacked the redoubts in front of Sarre, that village, and the heights behind it, supported on their left by the army of reserve of Andalusia, under the command of mariscal de Campo don P. A. Giron, which attacked the enemy's positions on the right of Sarre, on the slopes of La Petite Rhune, and the heights behind the village on the left of the 4th division.

“ Major-general Charles Baron Alten, attacked, with the light division, and general Longa's Spanish division, the enemy's positions on La Petite Rhune; and having carried them, co-operated with the right of the centre in the attack of the heights behind Sarre.*

“ General V. Alten's brigade of cavalry,

* In the report of the battle of the Nivelle, the author of the *History of the War in the Peninsula* says, that Lord Wellington, from some oversight, did but scant and tardy justice to the light division.

“ Acting alone, for Longa's Spaniards went off towards Ascaïn and scarcely fired a shot, this division furnishing only 4,000 men and officers, first carried the smaller Rhune defended by Barbot's brigade, and

under the direction of lieutenant-general sir Stapleton Cotton followed the movements of the centre; and there were three brigades of British artillery with this part of the army, and three mountain guns with general Giron, and three with major-general C. Alten. Lieutenant-general don M. Freyre moved in two columns from the heights of Mandale towards Ascain, in order to take advantage of any movement the enemy might make from the right of their position towards their centre; and lieutenant-general sir J. Hope, with the left of the army, drove in the enemy's outposts in front of their entrenchments on the lower Nivelles, carried the redoubt above Urrugne, and established himself on the heights immediately opposite Siboure, in readiness to take advantage of any movement made by the enemy's right.

"The attack began at daylight; and lieutenant-general sir L. Cole having obliged the enemy to evacuate the redoubt on their right, in front of Sarre, by a cannonade, and that in front of the left of the village having been likewise evacuated on the approach of the 7th division, under general Le Cor, to attack it. Lieutenant-general sir L. Cole attacked and possessed himself of the village, which was turned on its left

then beat Taupin's division from the main position, thus driving superior numbers from the strongest works. In fine, being less than one-sixth of the whole force employed against Clausel, they defeated one-third of that general's corps. Many brave men they lost, and of two who fell in this battle I will speak: the first, low in rank, for he was but a lieutenant; rich in honour, for he bore many scars, was young of days. He was only nineteen; but he had seen more combats and sieges than he could count years. So slight in person, and of such surpassing and delicate beauty, that the Spaniards often thought him a girl disguised in man's clothing, he was yet so vigorous, so active, so brave, that the most daring and experienced veterans watched his looks on the field of battle, and implicitly following where he led, would, like children, obey his slightest sign in the most difficult situations. His education was incomplete, yet were his natural powers so happy, the keenest and best furnished intellects shrunk from an encounter of wit, and every thought and aspiration was noble, indicating future greatness, if destiny had so willed it. Such was Edward Freer of the 43rd, one of three brothers who, covered with wounds, have all died in the service. Assailed the night before the battle of the Nivelles with that strange anticipation of coming death, so often felt by military men, he was pierced with three balls at the storming of the Rhune rocks, and the sternest soldiers in the regiment wept, even in the middle of the fight, when they heard of his fate. On the same day, and at the same hour, was killed colonel Thomas Lloyd. He likewise had been a long time in the 43rd. Under him Freer had learned the rudiments of his profession, but in the

by the 3rd division, under major-general the hon. C. Colville; and on its right, by the reserve of Andalusia, under don P. A. Giron; and major-general C. Baron Alten carried the positions on La Petite Rhunc. The whole then co-operated in the attack of the enemy's main position behind the village. The 3rd and 7th divisions immediately carried the redoubts on the left of the enemy's centre, and the light division those on the right, while the 4th division, with the reserve of Andalusia on their left, attacked their positions in their centre. By these attacks the enemy were obliged to abandon their strong positions which they had fortified with much care and labour; and they left in the principal redoubt, on the height, the 1st battalion of the 88th regiment, which immediately surrendered.

"While these operations were going on in the centre, I had the pleasure of seeing the 6th division, under lieutenant-general sir H. Clinton, after having crossed the Nivelles, and having driven in the enemy's pickets on both banks, and having covered the passage of the Portuguese division, under lieutenant-general sir J. Hamilton, on its right, make a most handsome attack upon the right of the enemy's position behind Ainhoué, and on the right of the Ni-

course of the war promotion placed Lloyd at the head of the 94th, and it was leading that regiment he fell. In him, also, were combined mental and bodily powers of no ordinary kind. A graceful symmetry combined with herculean strength, and a countenance at once frank and majestic, gave the true index of his nature, for his capacity was great and commanding, and his military knowledge extensive, both from experience and study. On his mirth and wit, so well known in the army, I will not dwell, save to remark, that he used the latter without offence, yet so as to increase his ascendancy over those with whom he held intercourse; for though gentle he was valiant, ambitious, and conscious of his fitness for great exploits. He, like Freer, was prescient, and predicted his own fall, yet with no abatement of courage. When he received the mortal wound, a most painful one, he would not suffer himself to be removed, but remained watching the battle and making observations on the changes in it, until death came. It was thus at the age of thirty, that the good, the brave, the generous Lloyd died. Tributes to his merit have been published by lord Wellington, and by one of his own poor soldiers! by the highest, and by the lowest! To their testimony I add mine; let those who served on equal terms with him say whether in aught I have exceeded his deserts." Every reader of taste and feeling must appreciate these graceful and glowing tributes of friendship. To have his memory perpetuated, and his patriotic services commemorated in so beautifully and touchingly expressed eulogy, is enough to make every high-spirited youth covet the soldier's death, in the glorious strife of the battlefield.

velle, and carry all the entrenchments, and the redoubt on that flank. Lieutenant-general sir J. Hamilton supported, with the Portuguese division, the 6th division on its right; and both co-operated in the attack of the second redoubt, which was immediately carried.

“Major-general Pringle’s brigade of the 2nd division, under the command of lieutenant-general sir W. Stewart, drove in the enemy’s pickets on the Nivelles and in front of Ainhoüé, and major-general Byng’s brigade of the 2nd division carried the entrenchments and a redoubt further on the enemy’s left: in which attack, the major-general and these troops distinguished themselves. Major-general Morillo covered the advance of the whole to the heights behind Ainhoüé, by attacking the enemy’s posts on the slopes of Mondarrain, and following them towards Itsassu. The troops on the heights behind Ainhoüé were, by these operations, under the direction of lieutenant-general sir R. Hill, forced to retire towards the bridge of Cambo, on the Nive, with the exception of the division on Mondarrain, which, by a march of a part of the 2nd division, under lieutenant-general sir W. Stewart, was pushed into the mountains towards Baygorry.

“As soon as the heights were carried on both banks of the Nivelles, I directed the 3rd and 7th divisions, being the right of our centre, to move by the left of that river upon St. Pé, and the 6th division by the right of the river on the same place, while the 4th and light divisions, and general Giron’s reserve, held the heights above Ascain, and covered this movement on that side, and lieutenant-general sir R. Hill covered it on the other. A part of the enemy’s troops had retired from their centre, and had crossed the Nivelles at St. Pé; and as soon as the 6th division approached, the 3rd division, under major-general the hon. C. Colville, and the 7th division, under general Le Cor, crossed that river, and attacked, and immediately gained possession of, the heights beyond it. We were thus established in the rear of the enemy’s right; but so much of the day was now spent, that it was impossible to make any further movement; and I was obliged to defer our further operations till the following morning.

“The enemy evacuated Ascain in the afternoon, of which village lieutenant-general don M. Freyre took possession, and quitted

all their works and positions in front of St. Jean de Luz during the night, and retired upon Bidart, destroying all the bridges on the lower Nivelles. Lieutenant-general sir J. Hope followed them with the left of the army as soon as he could cross the river; and marshal sir W. Beresford moved the centre of the army as far as the state of the roads, after a violent fall of rain, would allow; and the enemy retired again, on the night of the 11th, into an entrenched camp in front of Bayonne.

“In the course of the operations, of which I have given your lordship an outline, in which we have driven the enemy from positions which they had been fortifying with great labour for three months, in which we have taken fifty-one pieces of cannon and six tumbrils of ammunition, and 1,400 prisoners, I have great satisfaction in reporting the good conduct of all the officers and troops. The report itself will show how much reason I had to be satisfied with the conduct of marshal sir W. Beresford, and of lieutenant-general sir R. Hill, who directed the attacks of the centre and right of the army; and with that of lieutenant-generals sir L. Cole, sir W. Stewart, sir J. Hamilton, and sir H. Clinton; major-generals the hon. C. Colville, and C. Baron Alten; mariscal de Campo F. Le Cor, and mariscal de Campo don P. Morillo, commanding divisions of infantry; and with that of don P. A. Giron, commanding the reserve of Andalusia.

“Lieutenant-general sir R. Hill, and marshal sir W. Beresford, and these general officers, have reported their sense of the conduct of the generals and troops under their command respectively; and I particularly request your lordship’s attention to the conduct of major-general Byng, and of major-general Lambert, who conducted the attack of the 6th division. I likewise particularly observed the gallant conduct of the 51st and 68th regiments, under the command of major Rice and lieutenant-colonel Hawkins, in major-general Inglis’ brigade, in the attack of the heights above St. Pé, in the afternoon of the 30th. The 8th Portuguese brigade, in the 3rd division, under major-general Power, likewise distinguished themselves in the attack of the left of the enemy’s centre; and major-general Anson’s brigade of the 4th division, in the village of Sarre and the centre of the heights.

“Although the most brilliant part of this service did not fall to the lot of lieutenant-

general sir J. Hope and lieutenant-general don M. Freyre, I had every reason to be satisfied with the mode in which these general officers conducted the service of which they had the direction.

"Our loss, although severe, has not been so great as might have been expected, considering the strength of the positions attacked, and the length of time, from daylight in the morning till night, during which the troops were engaged; but I am concerned to add that colonel Barnard, of the 95th, has been severely, though I hope not dangerously, wounded; and that we have lost in lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, of the 94th, an officer who had frequently distinguished himself, and was of great promise.

"I received the greatest assistance in forming the plan for this attack, and throughout the operations, from the quarter-master-general, sir G. Murray, and the adjutant-general the hon. sir E. Pakenham; and from lieutenant-colonels lord Fitzroy Somerset and Campbell, and all the officers of my personal staff, and H.S.H. the prince of Orange. The artillery, which was in the field, was of great use to us; and I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the intelligence and activity with which it was brought to the point of attack, under the directions of colonel Dickson, over the bad roads through the mountains in this season of the year."

Soult thus manœuvred out of his doubly entrenched position—on which the whole army had for the preceding three months laboured incessantly, and all the resources of the country, whether of materials or working men, had been called out by requisition—and his troops beaten at all points, he, during the night which followed the battle, withdrew his right wing from the position in front of St. Jean de Luz, and the lower Nivelle, and fell back on his third line of fortified camps, the right of which rested on the sea-coast at Bidart, and the left at Ustaritz on the Nive; having, before he began his retreat, partially broken down a part of the bridge connecting St. Jean de Luz with its suburb Siboure, and totally

destroyed all the bridges of communication between the town and the vicinity of St. Pé. Thus, though the allies were left masters of the whole line of defence, both pregnable and impregnable, much delay was occasioned to them; and it was above twelve o'clock before the left wing could ford the river. But the men were in high spirits, and crossing the deep water by platoons, and forming on the opposite bank, the army advanced in order of battle. Hope with the left marched on Bidart, Beresford with the centre moved on Arbonne, and Hill took possession of Suraide and Epilette, a position about twelve miles distant from Bayonne. Again, in the night of the 11th, Soult withdrew from his position at Bidart, and retreated to his entrenched camp in front of Bayonne, leaving Paris's division at St. Jean Pied-de-Port, and a strongly fortified line of posts on the right bank of the Nive, supported by a considerable force cantoned at Ville Franque, Mouguerre, and the adjacent villages between the Nive and the Adour.

The weather had now become extremely inclement; the rivulets had, from the incessant rain, swelled into broad and deep streams, and the roads perfectly impracticable for any general movement of the army. The Anglo-Portuguese troops were therefore placed in cantonments between the Nive and the sea; and as only two miles intervened between their position and the enemy at Bayonne, a defensive line of outposts from the sea to Cambo was formed in their immediate front to protect them from sudden attack. The Spanish troops having totally disregarded the orders forbidding marauding, and having committed many excesses, were ordered to return to Spain. Longa's men made their retrograde march to Medina del Pomar, Mina's to Roncesvalles, Freyre's to St. Sebastian, and Giron's to the valley of the Bastan, Morillo's corps having not yet indicated a disposition to pillage and revenge, were retained with the army. Head-quarters were established at St Jean de Luz,* a

* Arcangues formed the centre of the position, and through this centre passed the communication to and from the head-quarters. It was also the centre of everything that was impassable; for between Arcangues and a house called "Garat's house" (so called from its owner, one of the historians of the French revolution), there was a space of boggy ground which required a detour of a league or two to avoid it, and then only by a doubtful tract through a country of the same soil. From November to February, the

constant communications through the centre had well worked up this boggy ground into a sort of hasty pudding mixture that became the dismay of every one who had to pass it. The muleteer devoutly said his prayers before he attempted it; and the mules and horses, which, poor devils, lacked both corn and courage, smelled the passage at Garat's house a mile off, and pricked their ears always in fright at the reasonable anticipation of leaving their bones there. This infernal spot, named "Jackass Hole," was well

picturesque town situated on the bay of Biscay. Here Wellington was to be daily seen taking his usual walks on the promenade formed by the sea-wall for the protection of the town from the effect of the heavy gales that blow in upon that coast at certain seasons of the year. It was not without astonishment that the inhabitants beheld the generalissimo of the armies of Great Britain, Portugal, and Spain, habited in a plain blue frock coat, without a single decoration, take his daily, and sometimes solitary walk, on the esplanade overlooking the sea, saluting affably, and often entering into conversation with those who approached him. "Could this courteous and unassuming person, thought they, be the great captain who had defeated generals glittering in gold, covered with embroidery and orders, and who never stirred out without a numerous train of aides-de-camp and orderlies?"*

The constituted authorities and notables, as well as the inhabitants generally of St. Jean de Luz, soon justly appreciated the character of the British general, and a few days after he had fixed his head-quarters in their town, they presented him the following address :

"Monseigneur,—Les notables des communes, de St. Jean de Luz et Siboure, se presentent devant votre seigneurie pour lui exprimer la reconnaissance de tous les habitants pour la faveur qu'ils ont de la posséder dans leurs seins. Une guerre affreuse fait gémir en secret toute la France, que n'a d'autre désir, d'autre besoin, que de paix. Nous savons, monseigneur, que tous vos soins ne tendent, qu'à attendre ce but. Puissez vous réussir dans un si noble projet ! Vous aurez mérité des droits à la reconnaissance de l'univers ; et nous ne cesserons d'adresser des vœux au ciel, pour qu'il daigne conserver long temps un héros aussi grand que sage."

(Here follow the signatures.)

The following is the translation :—

"My Lord,—The notables of the communes of St. Jean de Luz and Siboure present themselves to your lordship, to express the gratitude of all the inhabitants for the known to the right wing of the army, the animals of which had to cross it to go to head-quarters for English hay and oats, when they could get them. In this deplorable turnpike of communication, the long-eared tribe might be counted in hundreds in all stages of decomposition. Accordingly, the first question to any arrival on the right, or from the anxious master to his driver was, "How the deuce did you get over 'Jackass Hole?'" Those who saw no mule return, asked no question, for, alas ! the melancholy anticipations were too fatally solved the next time

favour which they enjoy in having you amongst them. France, secretly groaning under the evils of a dreadful war, has no other desire, no other want, than peace. We know, my lord, that all your endeavours are directed to attain this object. May you succeed in so noble a design ! You will have earned the gratitude of the universe ; and we shall not cease to address our prayers to heaven for the preservation of a hero as great as he is wise.

("Signed," &c.)

On the prospect of the entrance of the allies into St. Jean de Luz, the mass of the inhabitants had deserted it with the French army, under the impression that the same cruelties and pillage would be exercised upon them, that their countrymen had practised towards the people of the Peninsula. But when they heard of the punishment of those who had been guilty of marauding and outrage, and that the English army respected private property, and scrupulously paid for their supplies, they returned back to their dwellings ; the town soon became a bustling scene of traffic ; and as provisions grew scarce, the women from the mountainous country round St. Andero might be seen with their truck baskets slung over their shoulders, bringing in honey, chocolate, and other necessary articles of consumption. Indeed, so amicable an intercourse was established between the English army and the people of the country, that the French peasants sought that protection within the British lines, that they could not find from their own soldiery. "It is a curious circumstance," says the English chief, in one of his epistolary communications, "that we are the protectors of the property of the inhabitants against the pillage of their own armies, and that their cattle, property, &c., are driven into our lines for protection." "Every peasant," says Pellot, Soult's commissary-general, angrily, "wishes to be under his [Wellington's] protection."

At this time, while exerting all his energies to secure the independence and they had to cross. Even the duke himself, who, in his rides, was seldom dismayed by difficulty, thought twice on going to the right, and rarely passed this rubicon of dead asses, mules, and mud ; and it was easy to judge how unpopular it was with the head-quarter staff, as he was seldom accompanied by any other, than he who was always by his side, poor Alexander Gordon, who fell at Waterloo.—*Gurwood's Introduction to the Wellington Orders.*

* Jackson and Scott's *Military Life of Wellington.*

promote the welfare of the Spaniards and Portuguese, the English general was treated with baseness and ingratitude by his faithless and fickle allies. His designs were thwarted; obstacles were thrown in the way of his measures; and he and his army slandered and maligned, not only by the Spanish government, but by the provincial authorities. Libellous pamphlets, in which the Spanish people were invited to revenge the conduct of the British army, who were accused of having committed all sorts of atrocities, from sir John Moore's retreat to the storming of St. Sebastian, were industriously circulated, and when their publishers were prosecuted, on the complaint of the British minister to the Spanish government, they were exempted from punishment. The civil magistrates not only refused to lend their allies the least assistance, but they positively ordered the inhabitants not to supply anything for even payment; and when robberies were discovered, the law was violated, and possession withheld; as, among other instances, at Toloso. At Fuenterrabia it had been settled with the authorities that the British and Portuguese hospitals should be established in a building which had been formerly used by the Spaniards for the same purpose; in giving it up, however, to the English, the Spanish officer in charge endeavoured to carry off, and burn for firewood, the boards which formed the beds, in order that the allied sick and wounded soldiers might not have the use of them; "and yet," as Wellington indignantly exclaimed, "these were the people whom we have supplied with food, clothes, arms, money, medicines; whom, when wounded and sick, we took into our hospitals; to whom we rendered every kindness in our power after having recovered their country from a cruel and an oppressive enemy!" The jealousy and hatred of England had indeed become so predominant and undisguised, that the word "Inglesismo" was used as a term of contempt.* All classes longed to shake off the burthen of gratitude. Posterity will scarcely believe that when lord Wellington was commencing the campaign of 1813, the cortes was with difficulty, and by threats rather than reason, prevented from passing a law forbidding foreign troops to enter a Spanish fortress. Alicante, Tarifa, Cadiz itself, where they held their sittings, had been preserved; Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, had been retaken for them by British valour; English money had restored their

broken walls, and replenished their exhausted magazines; English and Portuguese blood still smoked upon their ramparts; but the men from whose veins that blood had flowed, were to be denied entrance at gates which they could not approach without treading on the bones of slaughtered comrades, who had sacrificed their lives to procure for this sordid ungrateful assembly the power to offer the insult.**

This ungrateful and inimical conduct at length occasioned so much uneasiness to the English general, that he made the following communication to the English secretary of state, the earl of Bathurst:—"The persons who propagate the libels against the British army in Spain, are not the people of the country, but the officers of the government, who would not dare to conduct themselves in this manner if they did not know that their conduct would be agreeable to their employers. If this spirit is not checked, we must expect that the people at large will behave to us in the same manner; and we shall have no friend, or none who will aver himself as such, in Spain. A crisis is approaching in our connection with Spain; and if you do not bring the government and nation to their senses before they go too far, you will inevitably lose all the advantages which you might expect from the services you have rendered them. I recommend to you to complain seriously of the conduct of the government and their servants; to remind them that Cadiz, Carthage, and, I believe, Ceuta, were garrisoned with British troops at their own request; and that if they had not been so garrisoned, they would long ere this have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and Ceuta of the Moors. I recommend to you to demand, as a security for the safety of the king's troops, against the criminal disposition of the government and their servants, that a British garrison should be admitted into San Sebastian, with the intention that, if this demand is not complied with, the troops should be withdrawn. And if this is not conceded, I recommend you to withdraw the troops, be the consequences what they may, and to be prepared accordingly." The appearance of an intimation of the part of the cortes to remove the existing government being manifested, lord Wellington recommended the suspension of the measures suggested, but that power should be left with the British ambassador to make the demands or not,

* Napier.

according as he should deem the most advisable.

Nor were ingratitude and disaffection confined to the Spaniards. The intrigues of the Souza and the Patriarch faction were equally rife in Portugal. Those plotters, angry that the revenue arising from the imports of British commodities for the use of the army had been removed from the ports of Portugal to those of Spain, and which produced nine-tenths of the revenue of Portugal, acted with violence against the persons and property of British subjects, and gave currency to tales of disorders perpetrated by the military detachments on the lines of communication, insinuating that they were the result of secret orders from Wellington, to gratify his personal hatred of the Portuguese. Their anger and animosity were also increased by the exposure by lord Wellington and sir Charles Stuart, of their nonapplication of the British subsidy for the support of the Portuguese troops. But the firm and determined remonstrances of lord Wellington and sir Charles Stuart soon brought the caballers to their senses. Such disgust was, however, created in the bosom of the English general, that he gave the following expression to his indignation:—"The British army which I have the honour to command, has met with nothing but ingratitude from the government and authorities in Portugal for their services. Everything that could be done has been done by the civil authorities lately, to oppress the officers and soldiers on every occasion in which it has, by any accident, been in their power. I hope, however, that we have seen the last of Portugal."

At this period of the war an opportunity presented itself to the English chief of exhibiting the lofty disinterestedness and genuine patriotism of his character. In consequence of the insidious design of Napoleon Buonaparte, in proposing the liberation of his prisoner, Ferdinand VII.; and the equally insidious design of acceding to a general peace under the mediation of Austria, the English ministry, with whom the question of the restitution of the Bourbons was under consideration, solicited the opinion of lord Wellington on the subject, as also on the tone of popular opinion in France regarding the continuation of the Buonapartean dynasty, and the restitution of that of the Bourbons. This important subject he expounded with uncommon sagacity and the most exalted patriotism in the following extracts from the letter dated "St. Jean de

Luz, 21st Nov. 1813," addressed to the secretary of state, the earl of Bathurst:—

"I have not myself heard any opinion in favour of the house of Bourbon. The opinion stated to me upon that point is, that twenty years have elapsed since the princes of that house have quitted France; that they are equally, if not more, unknown to France than the princes of any other royal house in Europe; but that the allies ought to agree to propose a sovereign to France instead of Napoleon, who must be got rid of, if it is hoped or intended that Europe should ever enjoy peace; and that it was not material whether it was of the house of Bourbon or of any other royal family.

"I have taken measures to open correspondence with the interior, by which I hope to know what passes, and the sentiments of the people, and I will take care to keep your lordship acquainted with all that I may learn. In the meantime, I am convinced more than ever that Napoleon's power stands upon corruption, that he has no adherents in France but the principal officers of his army, and the *employés civils* of the government, and possibly some of the new proprietors; but even these last I consider doubtful. Notwithstanding this state of things, I recommend to your lordship to make peace with him if you can acquire all the objects you have a right to expect. All the powers of Europe require peace possibly more than France, and it would not do to found a new system of war upon the speculations of any individual on what he sees and learns in one corner of France. If Buonaparte becomes moderate, he is probably as good a sovereign as we can desire in France; if he does not, we shall have another war in a few years, but if my speculations are well founded, we shall have all France against him; time will have been given for the supposed disaffection to his government to produce its effects; his diminished resources will have decreased his means of corruption, and it may be hoped that he will be engaged single-handed against insurgent France and all Europe.

"There is another view of this subject, however, and that is, the continuance of the existing war, and the line to be adopted in that case. At the present moment it is quite impossible for me to move at all, although the army was never in such health, heart, and condition, as at present, and it is, probably, the most complete machine, for its numbers, now existing in Europe. The

rain has so completely destroyed the roads that I cannot move; and, at all events, it is desirable, before I go farther forward, that I should know what the allies purpose to do in the winter, which, I conclude, I shall learn from your lordship as soon as the king's government shall be made acquainted with their intentions by the king's diplomatic servants abroad. As I shall move forward, whether in the winter or the spring, I can inquire and ascertain more fully the sentiments of the people; and the government can either empower me to decide to raise the Bourbon standard, or can decide hereafter to raise the question themselves, after they shall have all the information which I can send them of the sentiments and wishes of the people.

"I can only tell you that, if I were a prince of the house of Bourbon, nothing should prevent me from now coming forward, not in a good house in London, but in the field in France; and if Great Britain would stand by him, I am certain he would succeed. This success would be much more certain in a month or more hence, when Napoleon commences to carry into execution the oppressive measures which he must adopt in order to try to retrieve his fortunes. I must tell your lordship, however, that our success, and everything, depends upon our moderation and justice, and upon the good conduct and discipline of our troops. Hitherto they have behaved well, and there appears a new spirit among the officers, which I hope will continue, to keep the troops in order. But I despair of the Spaniards. They are in so miserable a state, that it is really hardly fair to expect that they will refrain from plundering a beautiful country, into which they enter as conquerors, adverting to the miseries their own country has suffered from its invaders. I cannot, therefore, venture to bring them back into France, unless I can feed and pay them; and the official letter which will go to your lordship by this post will show you the state of our finances, and our prospects. If I could now bring forward 20,000 good Spaniards, paid and fed, I should have Bayonne. If I could bring forward 40,000, I do not know where I should stop. Now I have both the 20,000 and the 40,000 at my command, upon this frontier, but I cannot venture to bring forward any for want of means of paying and supporting them. Without pay and food they must plunder, and if they plunder they will ruin us all."

The friendly habits and generous intercourse which had long been established between the contending troops at the outposts were now put into practice. During the short term of inaction that the inclemency of the weather had occasioned, one of those occurrences of conventional civility, and observance of the proprieties of war, which occasionally occurred between the contending armies during the war in the Peninsula, now took place between the French and the allied outposts. "A disposition had for some time been gaining ground with both armies, to mitigate the miseries of warfare, as much as was consistent with each doing their duty to their country; and it had by this time proceeded to such an extent, as to allow us to place that confidence in them, that they would not molest us even if we passed their outposts. * * * The next day, there being no firing between us and those in our front, three French officers, seemingly anxious to prove how far politeness and good breeding could be carried between the two nations, when war did not compel them to be unfriendly, took a table and some chairs immediately in our front, out of a room we had lately occupied as a barrack, and bringing them down into the middle of the field which separated the advance of the two armies, sat down within one hundred yards of our picket, and drank wine, holding up the glasses, as much as to say, 'Your health,' every time they drank. Of course we did not molest them, but allowed them to have their frolic out. During the day, also, we saw the soldiers of the three nations, namely, English, Portuguese, and French, all plundering at the same time in one unfortunate house, where our pie, our pigs, and our wine had been left. It stood about 150 or 200 yards below the church, on a sort of neutral ground between the two armies; hence the assemblage at the same moment of such a group of motley marauders. They plundered in perfect harmony, no one disturbing the other on account of his nation or colour. Indeed, perfect confidence subsisted between us. The French used to get us such things as we wanted from Bayonne, particularly brandy, which was cheap and plentiful, and we, in return, gave them occasionally a little tea, of which some of them had learned to be fond." Other instances of these proprieties of warfare, and the interchange of kind civilities, were, as has been before stated, of no unfrequent occurrence in the course of the Peninsular war.

While Hasparen was the head-quarters of the 5th division, the pickets of both armies avoided every appearance of hostility, it being an understood condition in generous warfare, and among gallant soldiers, that the outposts of opposing armies should not be attacked, with the view to the paltry advantage of destroying or taking fifty to a hundred men, except with the ulterior view of surprising also the posts which they cover, and which could not be gained in any other manner. Each occupied a hill with sentries about two hundred yards apart. The French, on one occasion, pushed forward their videttes, and seemed as if they designed to trespass on the neutral ground. The captain of the English picket reported this encroachment, and received orders not to allow it. On the following morning he observed that the French vidette had been advanced about fifty yards, and he thought it most advisable to demand an interview with the French captain of chasseurs. A peasant was despatched, and returned with a message, that the commandant would wait on the English officer immediately, and in a few minutes the parties met upon neutral ground. The Briton stated the orders he had received, and explained that, to avoid so *laché* a proceeding as to fire on a vidette, he had solicited a meeting with the French chasseur. The Frenchman expressed himself in the most flattering terms, and begged that the hussar might point out a situation which would be agreeable to him. A thorn bush, about one hundred yards behind the spot upon which the French vidette was posted, was mentioned as equally advantageous for the security of the French picket, while it would reach as far as the hussar was permitted by his orders to allow. The chasseur gave orders accordingly; the vidette was placed upon the very spot recommended, and the Frenchman having expressed his satisfaction at the interview, produced a bottle of cognac; two or three officers on each side soon joined the party; a happy termination to the war was drunk; and the French officers said, at parting, that they trusted that it would not be the fate of war to bring into collision the parties who had met in so amicable a manner.*

Again,—during the passage of the advance of the army across the Pyrenees, we perceived, not twenty yards off, a wounded voltigeur extended on the ground, and a young comrade supporting him. The Frenchman never attempted to retreat; but

* *Recollections of a Subaltern.*

smiled as we came up, as if he had been expecting us. “‘Good morning,’ he said, ‘I have been waiting for you, gentlemen. My poor friend’s leg is broken by a shot, and I could not leave him till you arrived, lest some of those Portuguese brigands should murder him.—Pierre,’ he continued, ‘here are the brave English, and you will be taken care of. I will leave you a flask of water, and you will soon be succoured by our noble enemy. Gentlemen, will you honour me by emptying this canteen. You will find it excellent, for I took it from a portly friar two days ago.’ There was no need to repeat the invitation; I set the example; the canteen passed from mouth to mouth, and the monk’s brandy vanished. The conscript—for he had not joined above a month—replenished the flask with water from a spring just by. He placed it in his comrade’s hand, bade him an affectionate farewell, bowed gracefully to us, threw his musket over his shoulder, and trotted off to join his regiment, which he pointed out upon a distant height. He seemed never for a moment to contemplate the possibility of our sending him in durance to the rear; there were about him so much kindness and confidence, that on our part no one ever dreamed of detaining him. And these are but a few of the kind and humanizing feelings, with which the horrors and privations of war were mitigated in the great Peninsular struggle.”

On one occasion, a sentry of the 52nd being posted within a few yards of a French sentry, made his enemy understand, in a sort of Spanish gibberish, that he was much in want of tobacco. The French, with national politeness, offered to supply his wants, if he would give him the money to buy some in the rear of his post; then a five-franc piece was forked out, but, before given, it was necessary to have a guarantee for the fulfilment of the treaty. The Frenchman agreed to leave his firelock in pledge; but then another difficulty arose: the French sentry said, “‘But who is to keep my post?’” The Englishman immediately solved the question, by exclaiming, “‘Oh, never mind that; I am the only one opposed to you, and I will keep your post till you return.’” The assurance being accepted, the French soldier hurried off to execute his commission; but an hour passed away without his return. It afterwards appeared, that the vivandière, who sold the tobacco, had also a bottle of brandy, and the change

of the five-franc piece appeared too great a temptation to resist—the military honour of the Frenchman was drowned in *eau-de-vie*, and he was discovered dead drunk by his picket. He was, of course, asked where his firelock was, and who had it.

His explanation was with difficulty believed; but on a communication between the officers commanding the opposing pickets, the preliminaries of an amicable treaty were duly exchanged and ratified, with a present of the tobacco.*

THE PASSAGE OF THE NIVE, AND THE BATTLES IN FRONT OF BAYONNE.

THE weather having cleared up, and the state of the roads become capable of passage, the English general determined to resume active operations, as well to relieve himself from the sterile tract of country to which he was confined, between the sea and the Nive, and extend his cantonments, as to intercept the navigation of the Adour, and thus prevent his antagonist from deriving supplies from the interior of France, by the medium of that river, from Bordeaux to Bayonne; the culpable neglect of the British admiralty to maintain a sufficient naval force on that coast affording the enemy all the facility he desired. The result of the movements of the confederated powers on the other side of France, and the intelligence received in the early part of this month that Hanover was freed from French domination, and that the Dutch had risen against their oppressors, gave additional stimulus to urge on the undertaking.

The requisite preparations having been completed, orders were issued on the 7th of December for forcing the passage of the Nive, and thus turning the enemy's position in his entrenched camp in front of Bayonne; and the 9th was appointed for carrying the object into execution.

* The following anecdote is related by Cadell, as occurring while the troops were in cantonments before Bayonne. A daring fellow, an Irishman, named Tom Patten, performed a singular feat. At the barrier there was a rivulet, along which our lines of sentries were posted. To the right was a thick low wood, and during the cessation of hostilities our officers had again become intimate with those of the French, and the soldiers had actually established a tariff in tobacco and brandy in the following ingenious manner. A large stone was placed in that part of the rivulet screened by the wood, opposite to the French sentry, on which our people used to put a canteen with a quarter-dollar, for which it was very soon filled with brandy. One afternoon, about dusk, Patten had put down his canteen with the usual money in it, and retired, but, though he returned several times, no canteen was there. He waited till the moon rose, but still he found nothing on the stone. When it was near morning, Tom thought he saw the same sentry who was there when he put his

The enemy's position was formidably strong; it consisted of the fortified town of Bayonne, and an entrenched camp in its front. Bayonne—which is memorable in military history for the invention of bayonets—is situated about four miles from the sea, at the junction of the Nive with the Adour, the city being on the left bank, and the citadel and suburbs of St. Esprit on the right of the last-mentioned river. The town is strongly fortified: the Adour covers it on one side; the three others are fortified. On the left bank of the Adour, a strong bastioned line extends in a curve from the river above to the river below the town, and incloses the suburb. The town is approachable only by the two royal paved roads, that from St. Jean de Luz, on the coast, and that from St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, under the mountains. The entrenched camp was at some distance in front of this line, and nearly parallel to the ramparts. The right of this entrenched camp rested on the Adour, and was covered in front by an impenetrable morass, formed by a rivulet which falls into the Adour. The centre extended from this morass to the Nive; and the enemy's left wing was posted between the Nive and the Adour, thus com-

canteen down; so he sprang across the stream, seized the unfortunate Frenchman, wrested his firelock from him, and, actually shaking him out of his accoutrements, recrossed, vowing he would keep them until he got his canteen of brandy, and brought them to the picket-house. Two or three hours afterwards, just as we were about to fall in, an hour before day-break, the sergeant came to say that a flag of truce was at the barrier: I instantly went down, when I found the officer of the French picket in a state of great alarm, saying, that a most extraordinary circumstance had occurred (relating the adventure), and stating, that if the sentry's arms and accoutrements were not given back, his own commission would be forfeited, as well as the life of the poor sentry. A sergeant was instantly sent to see if they were in the picket-house, when Patten came up scratching his head, saying, "He had them in pawn for a canteen of brandy and a quarter-dollar," and told us the story in his way; whereupon the things were immediately given over to the French captain.

municating with Paris's division of the army of Catalonia, posted at St. Jean-Pied-de-Port. In Villefranque and Mouguerre, as before stated, considerable corps were cantoned, with advanced posts from their right in front of Anglet and towards Biaritz. Soult, from the facility which his position afforded him of masking his operations and concentrating his forces, having an interior and protected line of communication, so as to enable him to throw at pleasure, from one flank to another, their whole weight upon any part of his opponent's position, with sanguine expectation desired the minister at war, in a despatch addressed to him on the 9th, "to expect good news from him on the next day." But the event proved that he was no prophet; his experience of his antagonist should have inclined him to have been more cautious in his prediction.

The dispositions of the English general for the attack, by which he contemplated to manœuvre Soult out of his formidable position, were:—on the left, sir John Hope, with the 1st, 5th, and light divisions;—the unattached brigade, Vandeleur's cavalry, and twelve guns, was to advance from St. Jean de Luz, and make a strong reconnaissance of the enemy's entrenched camp, for the purpose of withdrawing their attention from the principal attack on the right, in order to force the passage of the Nive. On the right, sir Rowland Hill, with the 2nd division, Hamilton's three Portuguese brigades, Vivian's and Victor Alten's cavalry, Ross's horse artillery, and Tulloh's brigade of Portuguese artillery—in all, fourteen guns, was to force the barrier of the Nive by the ford above Cambo; while, in the centre, Beresford, with the 3rd and 6th divisions, should cross the river by means of a pontoon bridge, at Ustaritz, for the purpose of covering the passage of Hill. The 4th and 7th divisions were in reserve in the rear.

In pursuance of this plan of attack, three hours before daylight of the morning of the 9th, the columns which had much extent of ground to move over, preparatory to their formation for the advance, stood to their arms, and marched to their respective points of assembly. At dawn, a fire, lighted on a height behind Cambo, gave the signal of attack, and instantly the army was in motion.

At eight, after a laborious march through

heavy rain, the allied left wing began the battle by a spirited fire from the whole line of light troops upon the enemy, who returned the assault with equal vigour and determination. By one o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy's advanced posts were driven back, and the 1st division had gained the heights opposite Anglet, while the 5th division swept the whole space from those heights to the banks of the Adour. Alten, with the light division making a corresponding advance, had driven the enemy from behind a deep morass that covered their posts in front of the plateau of Bassussary, and compelled them to retreat to the plateau de Marrac.

Simultaneously with Hope's attack, Hill and Beresford's columns advanced. The 6th division, under a heavy fire of artillery, forced their passage over the pontoon bridge, and drove back D'Armagnac's brigade; and at the same moment, Hill's right wing forced their passage at a ford above Cambo, and his left wing at Halson. The enemy in front of Hill, fearing lest they should be cut off by the 6th division, retired so hastily upon Bayonne, that their leader, Foy, was separated from his command, and wandered with a few followers for some time. One regiment was also driven from the road, and avoided being cut off by making a detour across the country. The passage of the Nive was thus forced, and the allies established on the high road to St. Jean Pied-de-Port. The day was now at its close, when the enemy, under cover of the darkness, drew all his posts into the camp before Bayonne, and Hill was forced to content himself with the ground he had won. On the following morning the 6th division recrossed the river, retaining their communication with Hill. As the movements of Hope had been intended to favour the operations for the forcing the passage of the river, his instructions had been to return to his cantonments at six in the evening unless he received counter-orders. Accordingly he began his retrograde march.

The 1st division (consisting chiefly of the guards and the German troops), did not reach St. Jean de Luz till late at night, the roads being so broken up by the passage of the artillery and cavalry, and so deluged with the heavy rains* as to be

* That part of France, called Le Pays Basque, in the neighbourhood of Bayonne, has a bad reputation as to weather; it rains one half the year; and it was during that half the British army occupied it.

One of those unforeseen effects which frequently arise, when men interfere on a large scale with the works of nature, has rendered this country liable to inundations in spring and winter, and to drought in

knee-deep in mud in some of the hollows. The consequence was that the march was attended with so incredible fatigue, that inured as the troops were to such diversity of weather and exertion, many of them dropped down powerless by the road-side; and the whole body of them reached their cantonments in the most exhausted and deplorable condition. The light division had had orders to retire to Arbonne, near four miles in the rear, and the second brigade had already prepared to march; but Kempt, suspicious of the enemy's movements, delayed obedience until he could discern what was going on in his front, and for that reason retained them in their old cantonments about Arcangues and Bassussary. The 5th division and Bradford's Portuguese brigade were stationed upon the plateau of Barouilhet, having Campbell's Portuguese in advance; one battalion of which, under colonel Williams, formed the outposts. Aylmer's brigade was near Bidart. The right wing under Hill, and the centre, consisting of the 3rd and 6th divisions, were on the other side of the Nive. The 4th and 7th were considerably in the rear as a reserve, the 4th about a mile in rear of Arcangues, and the 7th between Arcangues and St. Pé; and the Spanish division of Murillo and Vivian's brigades of cavalry were in observation; the former at Urçuray, the latter at Hasparen. This wide and disconnected disposition of the allied army gave Soult hopes of verifying his prediction of sending good news to the minister at war on the morrow.

On the morning of the 10th, Wellington perceiving that the enemy had retired from their position of the previous day, ordered Hill to establish his troops on their intended position; Hill's left now rested on the heights above the village of Villefranque, the centre in front of the village of St. Pierre, covering the road from Bayonne to St.

summer. About the middle of the seventeenth century a speculator (the father of the author of *Voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*) undertook to supply the French government with ship timber from the Pyrenees; to effect this it was necessary to increase the waters of the two rivers, as they are there called, *Gaves*, of Pau and Oleron; and by turning into them the course of numerous rivulets, he doubled the volume of the latter stream, and increased the current of the Adour so much that a fifty gun-ship could pass the bar of Bayonne with less difficulty than before that time was experienced by a vessel with 10 guns. He expended 300,000 crowns on this scheme, succeeded in it, and ruined his family. But permanent evil was occasioned to the

Jean-Pied-de-Port, and the right rested on the Adour. The whole of the allied forces were disposed in the form of a crescent, or of the arc of a semicircle, but their communications were by cross roads; whereas those of the enemy were short and easy, and his troops were posted in a crescent or an arc of a semicircle within that of the allies, the extent of which was not more than one-fourth of theirs. Availing himself of this advantage, at daybreak of the 10th, he marched the main body of his army, consisting of 35,000 men, formed in two columns of attack; one under Clausel advanced against the light division posted in the plateau of Bassussary; the other under Reille against the 5th division, and Bradford's and Campbell's brigades on the plateau of Barouilhet, which protected the main road to St. Sebastian.

The position of the light division was first attacked. Soon after day-break, the enemy were observed lining the hedge-rows, and silently stealing up the wooded hollows, in front of the village of Arcangues. Kempt, who was with the pickets, ordered the reserve to occupy the church and village. His orders had been scarcely put into execution, before the enemy rushed on the pickets with loud and confident cries. On reaching the plateau of Bassussary, in front of Arcangues, a cloud of skirmishers was sent forward against the pickets of the light division, who swiftly fell back about a mile, firing all the way; but no sooner had they gained the open ground in front of Arcangues, than they faced about and presented an impenetrable front to the enemy.

While Clausel was occupying the attention of the light division, so as to favour his assault on the right flank of the allies, posted on the plateau of Barouilhet, Reille pushed rapidly forwards against that plateau. Williams' Portuguese battalion of Campbell's brigade made a brave resistance,

country; for when the mountains were clothed with woods, the snow which was collected there melted gradually under their shade, and fed the streams during the whole year; afterwards, when the snow was exposed to the sun and rain, the streams poured down in torrents, rendering the rivers destructive during the winter and spring, and scarcely supplying water enough in summer for navigation.—*Southey*. The consequence is, the soil is swampy, and it is hardly thought bad walking if the waters are not more than knee deep. The bye-roads are quite impassable. During the occupation of the country by the British troops, the infantry often sank in the mud and clay to the middle, the cavalry above the horses' knees, and even to the saddle-girths in some places.

and thus gave time for Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, to move up from their cantonments to their support. A desperate conflict ensued. While this sanguinary encounter was enduring, on the front of the gallant 5th, the main body of Clausel's column having penetrated the valley that intervened between the positions of the 5th and light divisions, made a furious attack on the right flank of the former. This brave division, though attacked both in front and flank, resolutely maintained its ground for two hours, until Bradford's Portuguese and Aylmer's British brigade breathlessly came up to its assistance. The enemy, however, at one period of the battle, forced their way through a wood, and entered on the right of Barouilhet, in so strong a force, as to overpower a body of its brave defenders, and to penetrate beyond the front of the position; but the success was momentary. A Portuguese battalion posted on the left flank, boldly moved forward on the high road, and wheeled round a wood which bounded the road on the right; and the gallant 9th British, which was on the extreme right, facing about at the same time, both regiments charging the enemy in the rear, by this bold and well timed manœuvre, checked the assailants. It was now between two and three o'clock, when the first division, who, when the action began, were at rest in St. Jean-de-Luz, came up; and at the same moment, Wellington, as soon as he heard from the right bank of the river, the cannonade on the left of the Nive, ordered the 6th division to re-pass the river, and instantly hurried to the scene of action. When the tide of battle seemed to ebb in favour of the enemy, Wellington rode up to the wavering regiment—"You must keep your ground, my lads, there is nothing behind you—charge." Instantly, a loud hurrah was raised, the fugitive Portuguese battalions rallied, and the reformed line presented an impenetrable front.

Night came, and found the allies maintaining nearly the same ground they had occupied in the morning, both at Barouilhet and Arcangues. The only advantage that had been gained by the enemy, was the occupation of the ground, from which the allied pickets had been driven. Both sides rested on their arms upon the field of battle, during the night that followed this hard contested day. Three German battalions of the regiments of Nassau and Frankfort, receiving intelligence of the liberation of their country from the French yoke, came over

from the enemy, on condition of their being sent to join their countrymen in Germany. The 5th had suffered severely; for when the action began, the ammunition mules were absent; and when the pickets were forced back, they had scarcely a round remaining. The 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 7th, were so posted in reserve (namely, the 3rd at the bridge of Urdains; the 4th, about a mile in rear of Arcangues; the 6th at Ustaritz; and the 7th between Arcangues and St. Pè), so as to be ready to support either the defenders of Barouilhet or Arcangues, on the morrow.

On the morning of the 11th, which, like the preceding day, came on wet and stormy, Wellington, judging from the appearance and movements of the enemy, that a heavy attack was meditated against the light division at Arcangues, moved the 1st division to Bidart, to the support of the position held by the light division. Soon after day-break, the enemy's pickets on the plateau of Basussary, and on its continuation in front of Barouilhet, were driven in, and the allied sentries were pushed to their former line. Some skirmishing followed both at Barouilhet and Arcangues; but about noon, the firing ceased on all sides; when, the weather clearing up, the troops received their rations, and fatigue parties were sent out to cut wood for cooking.

Suddenly a movement was observed in the enemy's line. Staff officers were seen riding rapidly to and fro, and pioneers cutting gaps in the fences. Presently the pickets were furiously forced back along the Bayonne road, and it was evident that the Barouilhet ridge was about to become the scene of a sanguinary conflict. At the first rush of the enemy, a general shout of "To arms" being raised in the allied lines, the soldiers who had gone out to cut fuel hurried back to the rear, to accoutre themselves. The French, supposing that the cause of the rush to the alarm-posts was occasioned by panic, set up an exulting cheer, and rushed forward with loud and exulting cries of "*En avant! En avant!*" Such of the allies as were prepared, met the first fury of the assault with unshrinking firmness and resolution; in a few minutes the rest were under arms, and before any impression could be made, the whole left wing had formed in perfect order of battle. The battle lasted, with little intermission, till nightfall; yet, when darkness separated the combatants, they stood exactly on the same ground they had occupied on the previous night. With

the close of the day the rain began to fall as heavily as it had during the preceding nights. The 5th division, which had again borne the brunt of the action, was relieved in the course of the night by the 1st division, and took post in the second line.

The morning of the 12th opened exceeding bright and cheering. The movements of the enemy on the heights opposite Barouilhét seemed to indicate a third attack on the allied left wing. About two o'clock a multitude of tirailleurs started out from the crest of their position, and in a few minutes a hot fire commenced along the whole line of pickets, and an animated skirmishing continued during the greater part of the day between the light troops. The reason, probably, that Soult did not venture to advance his main body, was the appearance of the 4th and 7th divisions moving forward to the point of attack. The French marshal having been again baffled and outgeneralled by his skilful and vigilant opponent, retired, under cover of the darkness of night, to his entrenched camp, leaving only a cordon of outposts in front of the left wing of the allies.

Soult having been foiled in his attempts on the left of the allies, thinking that Wellington would not expect an attack on his right, in the course of the night of the 12th drew off all his forces in Hope's front, and crossing the Nive by the bridges covered by his entrenched camp, concentrated his columns there until the morrow's operations. But his vigilant adversary, observing the gradual extinction of the watch-fires of the enemy, and discovering by patrols that the main body had quitted their ground, leaving only a weak cordon of troops in front of the allied left, divining the object of the French marshal, despatched Beresford with the 6th division across the Nive at daylight, by the boat-bridge at Villa Franque, to support the right wing, and ordered the 4th division and the greater part of the third, to be in readiness upon the left bank of the same river. At daylight of the 13th, the French marshal poured out from his entrenchments 35,000 men, and led them in three massive columns of attack upon Hill's position, which was about a league from Bayonne, and extended, in the form of a crescent, about four miles between the Nive and the Adour. Hill's little army mustered about 13,000 men. His left, consisting of Pringle's brigade, containing the 28th, 34th, and 39th regiments, was posted on a ridge of hills in

front of Villa Franque, bounded by the Nive on one side, and on the other by large mill-dams in a deep hollow, that separates it from the heights of Petit Mouguerre. Byng's brigade, consisting of the 3rd, 31st, 57th, and 66th, was stationed on the right, in front of the village of Vieux Mouguerre, on high ground, with the Adour on its right, and several mill-dams on its left. In the centre was Ashworth's Portuguese brigade, on a range of heights opposite to the village of St. Pierre; and Barnes's brigade, consisting of the 50th, 71st, and 92nd, was stationed on the heights of Petit Mouguerre. A reserve of two Portuguese brigades, under Le Cor, was formed in the rear of Villa Franque. Under cover of a mist, Soult formed his order of battle, and, at half-past eight o'clock—the sun bursting out in full splendour at the same moment—throwing out a cloud of tirailleurs, pushed in full strength up the slopes, in front of the central heights. The centre column advanced on St. Pierre, those on the flanks towards the points of the crescent of the allied position, with the intention of advancing along the two horns, and closing on the centre.

His plan of attack on the centre being now developed, Hill instantly directed Byng to hasten with the whole of his brigade, except the Buffs, or 3rd regiment, and the light companies of the brigade, to the support of the centre-right, while one of the Portuguese reserve brigades, in the rear of Villa Franque, was ordered up to the centre-left; at the same time an aide-de-camp being despatched with orders for the 6th division to move up to the support of his little army, which was now opposed to seven divisions of the enemy in front, while an 8th division, under Paris and Soult, and Pierre's cavalry, menaced it in the rear. But nowise daunted, or even discouraged, though his communication with the left bank of the river had been cut off (the boat-bridge at Villa Franque, over the Nive, having been carried away), Hill calmly awaited the attack. While these movements were in progress, the French column, under Abbé, having driven in the pickets and the light troops despatched to their support, rushed up the slopes that led to the allied centre at a rapid pace, in the firmest order, amidst a crashing storm of grape and bullets that carried havoc into their ranks, till the main road that leads from St. Jean-Pied-de-Port to Bayonne actually ran with blood. A fierce and stubborn conflict now took place. At one

time, the enemy having driven back Ashworth's Portuguese brigade, had established themselves on the crest of the centre of the allied position, and were gaining ground, by the force of weight and numbers, when the brigades marching from the flanks, arrived at the very moment they were needed, and joined battle.

While this bloody conflict was raging in the centre, Soult, taking advantage of Byng's advance from the right flank to the support of the centre, pushed forward a whole division, under d'Armagnac, against the 3rd regiment and light companies posted at Vieux Mouguerre. The post being nearly denuded of troops, the enemy succeeded in gaining possession of the heights and village; to which misfortune the conduct of the colonel of the Buffs materially contributed, he having withdrawn his regiment from out of fire, and at the same moment the colonel of the 71st was guilty of the same misconduct.* To restore the battle, Hill, descending from his post of observation, rallied both regiments, and in person led on one brigade of Le Cor's Portuguese infantry to support Barnes's men in the centre, while the other was despatched to aid the right on Vieux Mouguerre, against

D'Armagnac. This brigade ascending the reverse side of Vieux Mouguerre, under a raking fire, recovered their position, and made many prisoners, notwithstanding the fearful superiority of the enemy.

Hill leading the 71st to their position, the battle was renewed in the centre with increased fury. All the regiments behaved nobly. When the enemy were established on the crest of the position, the 92nd, who were in reserve in the rear of St. Pierre, charged two French regiments, and broke and repulsed them; but being assailed by a powerful battery and an overwhelming body of infantry, they were obliged to fall back to their old position, but quickly re-forming, they advanced, with colours flying and music playing, against a heavy mass of the enemy, who, intimidated with their dauntless bearing, faced about and retreated. At half-past twelve o'clock, the 6th division, who had marched without intermission since daylight, appeared, led on by Wellington, over the mount from which Hill had descended to restore his battle, rapidly followed by the 3rd and 4th divisions. At this moment the French, who had struggled hard and gallantly† for victory, and tested the invin-

* Those two ill-fated gentlemen were dismissed the service. For the fair repute of their friends and descendants, let their names be buried in oblivion.

† It may not be uninteresting, and without its use, to state the military qualities and warlike peculiarities of the French and the English soldier. The French soldier possesses high courage, great personal activity, considerable intelligence, and mental resources. Their buoyancy of spirits, chivalrous enthusiasm, and exalted national devotion, teach them to regard warfare, like the Romans of old, as a pastime and a recreation. They have an inordinate love of military fame and glory, which leads them to undertake the most daring and difficult enterprises. In mounting defended steeps—in forcing on under fire—in making attacks in large bodies—no troops exceed them in spirit and determination; but in close conflict with British troops all their efforts are paralyzed, their transient bursts of heroism subside, and their effervescence of spirits evaporates and dies away. During the late war in the Peninsula, the French troops would expose themselves to a raking and destructive fire, at the smallest distance, as long as ourselves, but a hurrah and a rush forward with the bayonet caused their instant flight, with the exception of a few desperate men in the rear of a flying column. The dread of close conflict with the British was invariably so thoroughly evinced by the French troops, that a shout was sufficient throughout the Peninsular war, as it had been at the Pass of Muida, to disperse a forming column, and compel it to seek its safety in flight. But though the French, as a nation, are naturally brave and heroic, they are individually the most gasconading race on the face of the earth. In the indulgence of their vapouring bluster and bravado, they never acknowledge that they

have been defeated; and this spirit is fostered by their officers continually dinning in their ears that they are nationally and individually the bravest of the human race. With all their defects, however, they possess one qualification of the soldier in an unrivalled degree. Under defeat and discomfiture they never succumb and despair; their inordinate stock of national vanity and boisterous confidence in their individual efforts, enable them to keep up their spirits and to make fresh and redoubled efforts to retrieve their losses and disgrace. Never was a brighter specimen of this invaluable endowment exhibited than in Soult's calamitous retreat from Oporto. Such are the endowments and qualifications of the French soldier; let us inquire what are those of our countrymen. A thousand well-fought battle-fields furnish incontestable evidence that the English soldier possesses unrivalled and indomitable courage, both animal and moral—the most perfect contempt of death, and the most devoted and unshaken patriotism. His cool, composed, enduring patience and fortitude in defence and holding out—his irresistible power and impetuosity in attack, and venturing on danger—his full and appalling shout, and strong and unwavering charge, are unequalled by the soldiery of any nation that has ever appeared on the face of the earth. Steadily, calmly, and silently, he awaits the advance of his enemy, and repels him with certain discomfiture, and the most decisive overthrow. His only thought is an heroic determination to exert himself to the utmost. No blustering or bravadoing is to be found in his mouth. He is neither heated with brandy, stimulated by the hope of plunder, nor inflamed by the deadly feeling of revenge. He does not even indulge an expression of animosity against his foe. He moves forward confident of victory:

cibility of English troops, were driven headlong down the heights with terrible slaughter. The left, under Pringle, on the heights before Villa Franque, though their attention was occupied by a swarm of Daricau's tirailleurs, was no further engaged than by a lively fire of the enemy's infantry; but as his line of position was nearly at right angles to the enemy's advance on the allied centre, he poured in a flanking fire of artillery on the columns assaulting that part of the position.

so strong and fixed is this impression in the mind of the English soldier, that he is always a difficult subject to manage in a retreat. He does not love retrograding; his spirits flag; he becomes sulky, growls and grumbles, because he is not allowed to turn and fight—never dreams of the possibility of defeat, so undoubting is his faith in the superiority of the army of old England—and braves death, with all its accompanying horrors of laceration and torture, with the most cheerful intrepidity; and he endures all this from a belief that it is conducive to the honour and welfare of his country. Another great quality which the scorned and slighted English "common (!) soldier" possesses over all the soldiers of the world—on gaining the ascendancy, a fallen foe never implores mercy in vain at his hands. Except in paroxysms of drunkenness, he is never cruel; his utmost personal outrage is a blow, and that, too, with no other weapon than his fist. But in no point are the French and British soldier more marked than when in the presence of the enemy. The French are all excitement and hubbub; but the English soldier is silent, stern, sedate, statue-like; not a sound is to be heard; the drum is hushed; the only solitary note is that of the bugle. The colours are always in their cases. In the process of the charge, the distinctive character of the two nations is as marked. The French advance steady and in silence, but when within one or two hundred yards of the point to be assailed, they rush forward with a loud but discordant yell, in which every man halloo for himself, without any regard to tone or time of those about him; on the other hand, the English advance coolly and steadily; the only sound heard is one wild and terrible "hurra!" the mere precursor of victory. To the idle and unworthy observation of flippant and shallow-minded writers, that English soldiers are destitute of the intelligence and mental resources of the French soldiery, and understand nothing but their mechanical duties, the best refutation that can be given is that of the author of the *History of the War in the Peninsula*, an authority admitted on all hands, not disposed to concede too large a meed of praise to his gallant but calumniated countrymen:—"It has been said, that British soldiers are less intelligent in providing for themselves, and less able to sustain themselves than the soldiers of any other nation. This is one of the many vulgar errors which have been promulgated respecting them. That they should be constantly victorious, and yet inferior to all other nations in military qualifications, does not, at first sight, appear a very logical conclusion; but the truth is, that, with the exception of the Spanish and Portuguese, who are undoubtedly more sober, the English soldier possesses all the most valuable qualities in as high, and many in a much higher

Hill now assumed the offensive. Byng, supported by Buchan's Portuguese brigade, was ordered to dislodge the enemy, who still continued in great force on some rising ground in front of the allied position, from which point a warm cannonade was kept up on the centre of the allies. Unchecked by a storm of grape and musketry, Byng advanced with the two brigades, bearing the colours of the 66th regiment in his hand, and planted them in position. The enemy was driven headlong from the post, with

degree, than any other soldier. They are as rapidly intelligent as the French, as obedient as the Germans, as enduring as the Russians, and with respect to food, as patient in enduring its want as the soldier of any other nation." The English soldier, as the same author justly observes, is not only calm and resolute in danger, and supports fatigue and the extremes of wet, and cold, and hunger, beyond that of any other troops, but his mind is not unworthy of the outward man; he is full of resources under difficulties. His intelligence and expertness are well illustrated in the following additional observations:—"Seven minutes sufficed for the troops of the light division to get under arms in the middle of the night; a quarter of an hour, night or day, to bring them in order of battle to the alarm posts, with baggage loaded, and assembled at a convenient distance in the rear." It has been said by those who are fond of attributing marvels and prodigies to French soldiers, and the idle tale has been re-echoed a thousand times over by those who form their opinions on hearsay and idle report, that the French have, above all other troops, the faculty of rallying under the worst and most discouraging circumstances: "if defeated one hour, they will rally the next, and be as ready and prompt for action as ever; and this qualification," say they, "is possessed by no other troops." Had those oracular gentlemen had the opportunity of witnessing the conduct of the British troops in the Peninsular war, they would have hesitated to pronounce wisdom of the kind.

"It is a mistaken popular notion," said the late duke, "that the Spanish or any other troops can subsist on a smaller quantity or a coarser kind of food than the British. I have had the opportunity of knowing, that the Spanish are more clamorous for it, and are more exhausted, if they did not receive it regularly, than the British are."—*Gurwood's Dispatches*. There is discretion, it is true, in giving the English soldier a good dinner—a pound of beef and a pint of porter; but experience (*ex. gr.* the Peninsular war) has proved that he will do his duty with only the expectation of that substantial fare. The popular opinion, that he must be well dined and fed—have rations and something "to keep his courage cheery," to enable him to resist the balls and blades of the foes of his country—is as unfounded and irrational, as that his brave opponent the French soldier lives on frogs and soup maigre. In a word, and in truth, "When completely disciplined, the whole world cannot produce a nobler specimen of military bearing," or one imbued with the soldierly and self-sacrificing spirit beyond the English foot soldier. "English soldiers," says the eloquent and liberal general Foy, "are magnificent soldiers, superior to the best legions under Cæsar."

the loss of two cannon and many prisoners. Soult then withdrew into his entrenched camp, and Wellington pushed his advanced posts to the very verge of the ravine in front of the enemy's camp.

In this fiercely-contested battle, the loss of the allies was, in killed, 650; in wounded, 3,907; and prisoners, 504—not "one more," although Soult's report to the minister at war stated that the loss of the allies, on the 10th and the 11th, amounted to 12,000 men, and 1,200 English prisoners taken in the affair of the 10th alone. According to his despatch, he took 2,000 from the 10th to the 13th, inclusive. He states his own loss at 6,000; and notwithstanding the gross inaccuracy of the other parts of his report, this number has been generally accepted, both by French and English historians, as a correct return. One of the French historians (De Beauchamps), however, estimates his loss at 15,000 men, alleging, that on the 13th alone, the loss was nearly 5,000 men. Another (Lapène) estimates it at 10,000; but the same writer states that the loss of the allies was 16,000. Some of the French authors will not allow the loss of their countrymen to have been more than between 4,000 and 5,000 men. This is a proof of the dependence to be placed on French accounts.

Five allied generals were wounded; namely, Hope, Barnes, Robinson, Ashworth, and Le Cor. Hope was wounded in the leg, and contused in the shoulder; his clothes and hat were pierced with musket-balls; and two horses were killed under him. Lord Wellington was constantly exposed to fire during the battle of the 11th; for no eminence being at hand from which he could survey the fight, he was compelled to be in constant transition from one position to another, in order to ascertain where the grand effort of the enemy would be directed, and provide for it accordingly. Wellington, as soon as he reached the field of battle, warmly approved of Hill's plan of disposition.

The fierce and stormy contest, which had lasted for five days in front of Bayonne, and had equalled in obstinacy and duration that of the Pyrenees, was officially detailed by the victor in the following despatch, dated St. Jean de Luz, 14th December, 1813, addressed to lord Bathurst.

"Since the enemy's retreat from the Nivelle, they had occupied a position in front of Bayonne, which had been entrenched with great labour, since the battle

fought at Vittoria in June last. It appears to be under the fire of the works of the place: the right rests upon the Adour; and the front in this part is covered by a morass, occasioned by a rivulet, which falls into the Adour. The right of the centre rests upon this same morass, and its left upon the river Nive; the left is between the Nive and the Adour, on which river the left rests. They had their advanced posts from their right in front of Anglet, and towards Biarritz. With their left they defended the river Nive, and communicated with general Paris' division of the army of Catalonia, which was at St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, and they had considerable corps cantoned in Villa Franque and Mouguerre.

"It was impossible to attack the enemy in this position, as long as they remained in force in it, without the certainty of great loss, at the same time that success was not very probable, as the camp is so completely protected by the works of the place. It appeared to me, therefore, that the best mode of obliging the enemy, either to abandon the position altogether, or at least so to weaken his force in it, as to offer a more favourable opportunity of attacking it, was to pass the Nive, and to place our right upon the Adour; by which operation, the enemy, already distressed for provisions, would lose the means of communication with the interior afforded by that river, and would become still more distressed. The passage of the Nive was likewise calculated to give us other advantages; to open to us a communication with the interior of France for intelligence, &c., and to enable us to draw some supplies from the country.

"I had determined to pass the Nive immediately after the passage of the Nivelle, but was prevented by the bad state of the roads, and the swelling of the rivulets, occasioned by the fall of rain in the beginning of that month; but the state of the weather and the roads having at length enabled me to collect the materials, and make the preparations for forming bridges for the passage of that river, I moved the troops out of their cantonments on the 8th, and ordered that the right of the army, under lieutenant-general sir Rowland Hill, should pass on the 9th, at and in the neighbourhood of Cambo, while marshal sir William Beresford should favour and support his operation by passing the 6th division, under lieutenant-general sir H. Clinton, at Ustaritz. Both operations succeeded completely. The

enemy were immediately driven from the right bank of the river, and retired towards Bayonne, by the great road of St. Jean Pied-de-Port. Those posted opposite Cambo, were nearly intercepted by the 6th division, and one regiment was driven from the road, and obliged to march across the country.

"The enemy assembled in considerable force on a range of heights, running parallel with the Adour, and still keeping Villa Franque by the right. The 8th Portuguese regiment, under colonel Douglas, and the 9th caçadores, under colonel Brown, and the British light infantry battalion of the 6th division, carried this village, and the heights in the neighbourhood. The rain which had fallen the preceding night, and on the morning of the 8th, had so destroyed the road, that the day had elapsed before the whole of sir Rowland Hill's corps had come up; and I was therefore satisfied with the possession of the ground which we occupied.

"On the same day, lieutenant-general sir John Hope, with the left of the army under his command, moved forward by the great road from St. Jean de Luz, towards Bayonne, and reconnoitred the right of the entrenched camp under Bayonne, and the course of the Adour below the town, after driving in the enemy's posts from the neighbourhood of Biaritz and Anglet. The light division, under major-general Alten, likewise moved forward from Bassussary, and reconnoitred that part of the enemy's entrenchments. Sir John Hope and major-general Alten retired in the evening to the ground they had before occupied.

* The author of *The History of the War in the Peninsula*, seemingly dissatisfied with the brief notice of the share which the light division had in the battle of Bayonne, and the misapprehension of French and English writers, misled by an inaccurate phrase in the despatch, who have stated that the whole "was driven back into its entrenchments, whereas it was the pickets only that were forced back." His narrative of the part played by the light division on that memorable occasion is as follows:—

"Soon after dawn the French infantry were observed, by the pickets of the 43rd, pushing each other about, as if at gambols, yet lining by degrees the nearest ditches. A general officer was also seen behind a farmhouse close to the sentinels, and at the same time the heads of columns could be perceived in the rear. Thus warned, some companies of the 43rd were thrown on the right into the basin, to prevent the enemy from penetrating that way to the small plain between Bassussary and Arcangues. General Kempt was with the pickets, and his foresight in delaying his march to Arbonne now saved

"On the morning of the 10th, lieutenant-general sir R. Hill found that the enemy had retired from the position which they had occupied the day before on the heights, into the entrenched camp on that side of the Nive; and he therefore occupied the position intended for him, with his right towards the Adour, and his left at Villa Franque, and communicating with the centre of the army under marshal sir W. Beresford by a bridge laid over the Nive; and the troops under the marshal were again drawn to the left of the Nive. General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, which had remained with sir R. Hill when the other Spanish troops went into cantonments within the Spanish frontier, was placed at Urcuray with colonel Vivian's brigade of light dragoons at Hasparen, in order to observe the movements of the enemy's division under general Paris, which upon our passage of the Nive had retired towards St. Palais.*

"On the 10th, in the morning, the enemy moved out of the entrenched camp with their whole army, with the exception only of those who occupied the works opposite to sir R. Hill's position, and drove in the pickets of the light division and of sir J. Hope's corps, and made a most desperate attack upon the post of the former at the chateau and church of Arcangues, and upon the advanced posts of the latter on the high road from Bayonne to St. Jean de Luz, near the mayor's house of Biaritz. Both attacks were repulsed in the most gallant style by the troops, and sir J. Hope's corps took about 500 prisoners. The brunt of the action with sir J. Hope's advanced post

the position, for he immediately placed the reserves of his brigade in the church and mansion-house of Arcangues. Meanwhile the French, breaking forth with wild cries and a rattling musketry, fell, at a running pace, upon the pickets of the 43rd, both on the tongue and in the basin, and a cloud of skirmishers descending on their left, penetrating between them and the 52nd regiment, sought to turn both. The right tongue was in like manner assailed, and at the same time the picket at the bridge near Garrat's house was driven back. The assault was so strong and rapid, the enemy so numerous, and the ground so extensive, that it would have been impossible to reach the small plain beyond Bassussary in time to gain the church of Arcangues, if any serious resistance had been attempted; wherefore, delivering their fire at pistol-shot distance, the pickets fell back in succession, and never were the steadiness and intelligence of veteran soldiers more eminently displayed; for, though it was necessary to run at full speed to gain the small plain before the enemy, who was continually outflanking the line of posts at the basin—

fell upon the 1st Portuguese brigade, under major-general Arch. Campbell, which were on duty, and upon major-general Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which moved up to their support.

"Lieutenant-general sir J. Hope reports most favourably of the conduct of these, and of all the other troops engaged; and I had great satisfaction in finding that this attempt made by the enemy upon our left, in order to oblige us to draw in our right, was completely defeated by a comparatively small part of our force. I cannot sufficiently applaud the ability, coolness, and judgment of lieutenant-general sir J. Hope, who, with the general and staff officers under his command, showed the troops an example of gallantry which must have tended to produce the favourable result of the day. Sir J. Hope received a severe contusion, which, however, I am happy to say, has not deprived me for a moment of the benefit of his assistance. After the action was over, the regiments of Nassau and Frankfort, under the command of colonel Krüse, came over to the posts of major-general Ross' brigade of the 4th division, which were formed for the support of the centre.

"When the night closed, the enemy were

though the ways were so deep and narrow that no formation could be preserved—though the fire of the French was thick and clear, and their cries vehement as they rushed on in pursuit, the instant the open ground at Bassussary was attained, the apparently disordered crowd of fugitives became a compact and well-formed body, defying and deriding the fruitless efforts of their adversaries. The 52nd being only half a mile to the left, though only slightly assailed, fell back also to the main ridge; for, though the closeness of the country did not permit colonel Colborne to observe the strength of the enemy, he could see the rapid retreat of the 43rd, and thence judging how serious the affair was—so well did regiments of the light division understand each other's qualities—withdraw his outposts to secure the main position. And in good time he did so.

On the right-hand tongue the troops were not so fortunate, for, whether they delayed their retreat too long, or that the country was more intricate, the enemy, moving by the basin, reached Bassussary before the rear arrived, and about a hundred of the 43rd and riflemen were intercepted. The French were in a hollow road, and careless, never doubting that the officer of the 43rd, ensign Campbell, a youth scarcely eighteen years of age, would surrender; but he, with a shout, broke into their column, sword in hand, and though the struggle was severe, and twenty of the 43rd, and thirty of the riflemen, with their officer, remained prisoners, reached the church with the rest. D'Armagnac's division of D'Erlon's corps was now pushed close up to the bridge of Urdains, and Clausel assembled his three divisions by degrees at Bassussary, opening meanwhile a sharp fire of musketry.

still in large force in front of our posts, on the ground from which they had driven the pickets. They retired, however, during the night, from lieutenant-general sir J. Hope's front, leaving small posts, which were immediately driven in. They still occupied in force the bridge on which the pickets of the light division had stood, and it was obvious that the whole army was still in front of our left; and about three in the afternoon they again drove in lieutenant-general sir J. Hope's pickets, and attacked his post. They were again repulsed with considerable loss. The attack was recommenced on the morning of the 12th, with the same want of success. The 1st division, under major-general Howard, having relieved the fifth division, the enemy discontinued it in the afternoon, and retired entirely within the entrenched camp on that night. They never renewed the attack on the posts of the light division after the 10th.

"The first division, under major-general Howard, were not engaged till the 12th, when the enemy's attack was more feeble; but the guards conducted themselves with their usual spirit. The enemy, having thus failed in all their attacks with their whole force upon our left, withdrew into their intrench-

The position, however, was safe. The mansion-house on the right, covered by abattis, and not easily accessible, was defended by a rifle battalion and the Portuguese. The church and churchyard were occupied by the 43rd, who were supported with two mountain guns, their front being covered by a declivity of thick copse-wood, filled with riflemen, and only to be turned by narrow hollow roads leading on each side to the church. On the left the 52nd were supported by the remainder of the division, spread as far as the great basin that separated the right wing from the ridge of Barouilhet, towards which some small posts were pushed; but there was still an interval between Alten's and Hope's positions. The skirmishing fire grew hot; Clausel brought up twelve guns to the ridge of Bassussary, with which he threw shot and shells into the churchyard of Arcangues, and four or five hundred infantry then made a rush forward, but a heavy fire from the 43rd sent them back over the ridge where their guns were posted. Yet the position of the latter, well directed at first, would have been murderous if the musketry from the churchyard had not made the French gunners withdraw their pieces a little behind the ridge, which caused their shot to fly wild and high. General Kempt, thinking the distance too great, was at first inclined to stop this fire, but the moment it lulled, the French gunners pushed their pieces forward again, and their shells knocked down eight men in an instant. The small arms then recommenced, and the shells again flew high. The French were in like manner kept at bay by the riflemen in the village and mansion-house, and the action, hottest where the 52nd fought, continued all day."

ments on the night of the 12th, and passed a large force through Bayonne; with which, on the morning of the 13th, they made a most desperate attack upon lieutenant-general sir R. Hill. In expectation of this attack, I had requested marshal sir W. Beresford to reinforce the lieutenant-general with the 6th division, which crossed the Nive at daylight in the morning; and I further reinforced him by the 4th division, and two brigades of the 3rd.

“The expected arrival of the 6th division gave the lieutenant-general great facility in making his movements; but the troops under his own immediate command had defeated and repulsed the enemy with immense loss before their arrival. The principal attack having been made along the high road from Bayonne to St. Jean Pied-de-Port, major-general Barnes' brigade of British infantry, and the 5th brigade of Portuguese infantry, under brigadier-general Ashworth, were particularly engaged in the contest with the enemy on that point; and these troops conducted themselves admirably. The Portuguese division of infantry, under the command of mariscal de Campo F. Le Cor, moved to their support on their left in very gallant style, and regained an important position between those troops and major-general Pringle's brigade engaged with the enemy in front of Ville Franque. I had great satisfaction also in observing the conduct of major-general Byng's brigade of British infantry, supported by the Portuguese brigade under the command of major-general Buchan, in carrying an important height from the enemy on the right of our position, and maintaining it against all their efforts to regain it.

“Two guns and some prisoners were taken from the enemy, who, being beaten in all points, and having suffered considerable loss, were obliged to retire upon their intrenchments. The enemy marched a large body of cavalry across the bridge of the Adour yesterday evening, and retired their force opposite to sir R. Hill this morning towards Bayonne.”

The weather now became very wet, inclement, and wintry. The streams had swollen into impassable torrents. The Nive, the Adour, the Pau, the Gaves of Oleron and Mauleon, and numerous other streams that pervade Béarn and the Basques, had overflowed their banks, rendering the low ground in their vicinity one continued marsh. The cross roads had become impassable. The

high roads were in possession of the enemy, and protected by strong fortresses. The allied army was therefore obliged to suspend all active operations against the enemy. The position of the hostile armies was now as follows: Soult considering his position before Bayonne to be impregnable—his entrenched camp before that city being defended by a strong chain of retrenchments and redoubts masked with a formidable artillery, beyond which was a broad and deep morass, passable only at two places, and both which were protected by strong redoubts—determined to pass to the right bank of the Adour, to guard against any attempt to cross that river. Leaving his right wing, consisting of four divisions, under Reille, in the entrenched camp, he extended his centre, under d'Erlon, on the right bank of the Adour to Port-de-Lanne; while his left, under Clausel, rested on the right of the Bidouse from its confluence with the Adour, to St. Palais. Two divisions of cavalry were in reserve covering his flanks. Harispe was posted at St. Jean Pied-de-Port, with a division of infantry and a body of national guards. The right of the Adour, from Bayonne to Port de Lanne, a distance of eighteen miles, was covered with redoubts, and armed; Dax and Hastingues were strongly retrenched. The bridges at Gueche, Bedache, and Came on the Bidouse, as also Peyrehorade, a town situated at the junction of the Gave de Pau and the Gave d'Oleron, were protected by *têtes-de-pont*, or bridge heads.

The allies occupied a line from Bidart on the left to Arcangues and Villa Franque; the right, which rested on the Adour, was thrown *en potence* to Urcuray, on the road to St. Jean de Luz. To secure the rear of the right wing, the 3rd division was posted at Urcuray to observe the advanced posts of the enemy between St. Palais and Hasparren; Buchan's brigade of Portuguese was stationed on both sides of the Joyeuse; while Mina's Spaniards, consisting of three battalions, were on the left of the Nive, at the villages of Bidarray and Baygorry, in observation of the enemy's movements from St. Jean Pied-de-Port. The rest of the army resumed the cantonments they had occupied previous to the battles of Bayonne. To guard against surprise, a chain of telegraphs was formed from the Nive to St. Jean de Luz. The telegraphs consisted of flags and barrels suspended on lofty signal posts. Look-out stations were appointed at the

churches of Guethery, Arcangues, and Vieux Mouguerre, and these communicated with one on a high sand hill, on the north side of St. Jean de Luz, near the entrance from the Bayonne road; so that notice of any hostile attempt might almost instantaneously be communicated to head-quarters. Works were also thrown up at Bidart, at Arcangues, and almost on every knoll. To afford every alleviation to the troops from the inclemency of the weather, the duty at the outposts was made as light as possible, being taken alternately by the different brigades in each division, the remainder in the intervals returning to their cantonments. The allied advance posts were now close to those of the enemy. Immediately after the battle of St. Pierre, Wellington had despatched orders for two brigades of the Andalusian army of reserve to cross the frontier and occupy Itsassu, for the purpose of covering the rear of the allied army on the side of St. Jean Pied-de-Port, and to Freyre to move forward two divisions of the Gallician army from Irun to Ascain, to support the allied left wing. And to prevent the recurrence of the outrages the Spanish troops had already committed, he directed that they should be supplied with provisions from the magazines of the English army. In the middle of December, Freyre's corps was placed in reserve at St. Pé, while Morillo's corps, supported by Giron's Andalusians, watched the valley of the Nive. Morillo having obtained, on a false excuse, the assistance of two squadrons of the 18th hussars, made a marauding excursion towards Mendionde, attacked the enemy's pickets, and provoked a general skirmish; and when he had compromised the English cavalry, he suddenly withdrew his infantry, and left the English cavalry to their fate. By desperate fighting the deserted squadrons, with great difficulty, escaped from being captured; several of their officers, and a large proportion of their men, were killed and wounded. On the very first day (December 9th) of the fierce and stormy five days' battles before Bayonne, Morillo's Spaniards, besides other atrocities, had murdered fifteen peasants, among whom were men, women, and children, near Hellette, in the very first village they entered.

Mina's troops, on rejoining the allied army, committed the most shocking outrages in the Vals des Baygorry and des Osses. For the suppression of these outrages, Morillo's corps was placed under arms an hour before daylight every morning, and remained under arms till an hour after dark.* The order was issued by the adjutant-general on the 18th of December, and remained in force till the 22nd. After it had been recalled, lord Wellington received a letter of remonstrance from general Freyre, enclosing Morillo's complaints. Before reading Morillo's letter, the English chief sent the following reply to Freyre, dated "à St. Jean de Luz, ce 24th December, 1813, à 11 heures du soir."

"La question entre ces messieurs et moi est, s'ils pilleront ou non les paysans Français. J'ai écrit, et j'ai fait écrire, plusieurs fois au Général Morillo pour lui marquer ma désapprobation sur ce sujet, mais en vain; et enfin j'ai été obligé de prendre des mesures pour m'assurer que les troupes sous ses ordres ne feraient plus de dégâts dans le pays. Je suis fâché que ces mesures soient de nature à déplaire à ces messieurs; mais je vous avoue que je trouve que la conduite, qui les a rendues nécessaires, est bien plus déshonorante que les mesures qui en sont la conséquence.

"Je vous prie de croire que je ne peux avoir aucun sentiment sur votre lettre que celui de la reconnaissance; et aussitôt que j'aurai lu toutes celles incluses dans votre lettre officielle, je vous enverrai réponse. En attendant je vous dis que je suis, et de toute ma vie ai été, trop accoutumé aux libelles pour ne pas les mépriser; et si je ne les avais pas méprisés, non seulement je ne serais pas où je suis, mais le Portugal au moins, et peut-être l'Espagne, serait sous la domination Française. Je ne crois pas que l'union des deux nations dépend des libelles; mais si elle en dépend, pour moi, je déclare que je ne désire pas un commandement, ni l'union des nations, si l'un ou l'autre doit être fondé sur le pillage. J'ai perdu 20,000 hommes dans cette campagne, et ce n'est pas pour que le général Morillo, ni qui que ce soit, puisse venir piller les paysans Français; et, où je commande, je déclare hautement que je ne le permettrai

* It has been before stated that the Spanish marauders, taken in the act of committing the outrages on the night of the 11th and morning of the 12th of November, after the battle of the Nivelle, were executed. In the case above stated, besides the

punishment inflicted, severe reproaches and threats of disgrace were added, in despite of the discontent of the marauding generals, and a firm determination expressed to repress them, and punish all future offence.

pas. Si on veut piller, qu'on nomme un autre à commander; parceque, moi, je déclare que, si on est sous mes ordres, il ne faut pas piller.

“Vous avez des grandes armées en Espagne; et si on veut piller les paysans Français, on n'a qu'à m'ôter le commandement, et entrer en France. Je couvrirai l'Espagne contre les malheurs qui en seront le résultat; c'est à dire, que vos armées, quelques grandes qu'elles puissent être, ne pourront pas rester en France pendant 15 jours. Vous savez bien que vous n'avez ni argent, ni magasins, ni rien de ce qu'il vous faut pour tenir une armée en campagne; et que le pays où vous avez passé la campagne dernière est incapable de vous soutenir l'année prochaine. Si j'étais assez scélérat pour permettre le pillage, vous ne pouvez pas croire que la France (toute riche qu'elle est) puisse soutenir votre armée, si le pays est pillé. Pour ceux qui désirent vivre des contributions du pays (ce qui je crois est votre objet dans la campagne prochaine), il paraît essentiel que les troupes ne soient pas autorisées à piller. Mais, malgré tout cela, on croirait que je suis l'ennemi, au lieu d'être le meilleur ami de l'armée, en prenant des mesures décisives pour empêcher le pillage, et que ces mesures la déshonorent! Je pourrais dire quelque chose aussi en justification de ce que j'ai fait, qui regarderait la politique; mais j'ai assez dit, et je vous répète, qu'il m'est absolument indifférent que je commande une grande ou une petite armée; mais que, qu'elle soit grande ou petite, il faut qu'elle m'obéisse, et surtout, *qu'elle ne pille pas.*”

The following is the translation:—

“The question at issue between these gentlemen and myself is whether or not they shall pillage the French peasantry. I have written several times to general Morillo, stating my dissatisfaction on this point, but in vain; and at last I have been obliged to take measures to prevent the troops under his command from doing further mischief to the country. I am sorry if my measures displease these gentlemen, but I consider the conduct that rendered them necessary much more dishonourable than the measures that are its consequence. I have lost 20,000 men in this campaign, and it was not that general Morillo, or anybody else, might plunder the French peasantry; and I distinctly declare, that I will not suffer it where I command. You have large armies in Spain; if you desire to plunder, deprive

me of the command, and bring them into France. I will protect Spain from the misfortunes which will be the result; for your armies, large though they be, would be driven out in a fortnight. You know very well you have neither money nor stores, nor anything necessary to maintain an army. Were I so base as to allow pillage, France, rich as she is, could not support you if the country was plundered. One would think I am your enemy instead of your best friend, because I take decisive measures to prevent pillage. I repeat once more, that I am quite indifferent whether I command a large or a small army; but large or small, I will be obeyed, and I will not suffer pillage.”

To the remonstrance of Morillo to the orders requiring him to keep his corps under arms to prevent their spirit of plunder and revenge, the commander-in-chief's reply was, in a letter dated “St. Jean de Luz, 23rd December, 1813:”—

“Before I gave the orders of which you and the officers under your command have made such repeated complaints, I warned you repeatedly of the misconduct of your troops, in direct disobedience of my orders, which I told you I would not permit, and desired you to take measures to prevent it. I have sent orders to countermand those which I gave on the 18th; but I give you notice that, whatever may be the consequence, I will repeat those orders, if your troops are not made by their officers to conduct themselves as well-disciplined soldiers ought.

“I did not lose thousands of men to bring the army under my command into the French territory, in order that the soldiers might plunder and ill-use the French peasantry, in positive disobedience of my orders; and I beg that you and your officers may understand, that I prefer to have a small army that will obey my orders, and preserve discipline, to a large one that is disobedient and undisciplined; and that, if the means which I am obliged to adopt to enforce obedience and good order occasion the loss of men, and the reduction of my force, it is totally indifferent to me; and the fault rests with those who, by the neglect of their duty, suffer their soldiers to commit disorders which must be prejudicial to their country. I cannot be satisfied with professions of obedience. My orders must be really obeyed, and strictly carried into execution; and if I cannot obtain obedience in one way, I will

in another, or I will not command the troops that disobey me."

Morillo, displeased with this rebuke, complained to his countryman, Freyre, at the same time expressing a doubt of the English general's extent of authority. To Freyre's communication, lord Wellington replied, in a letter dated St. Jean-de-Luz, 25th December, 1813:—

"In consequence of the repeated complaints of the conduct of the troops under the command of general Morillo, it appears, by the papers enclosed, that I took measures to call his attention to the subject, and I desired that he and his officers would prevent his men from plundering the country. Finding that all my remonstrances were vain; that the disorders complained of still continued; and that I received warning from various quarters of the danger to general Morillo and others from their continuance, I directed that Morillo's troops should be kept under arms during the day till further orders, in order to ensure good order in future.

"Notwithstanding the doubts of general Morillo that I have a right to give such orders, I believe that he will find that every officer in command has not only a right, but that it is his duty, to order the troops under his command under arms whenever he thinks it proper or necessary; and it is the first time I have heard that it is disgraceful to officers and soldiers to be ordered under arms. General Morillo is mistaken in supposing that the same orders have never been given to the soldiers of the other allied nations. If he will inquire, he will find that it has been done constantly; and if he reflects a little, he will discover that the disgrace does not consist in having received those orders, but in conduct that has rendered them necessary."

Morillo still persisting in the vindication of the conduct of his division, in a letter addressed to Freyre, dated St. Jean-de-Luz, ce 26 Dec. 1813, lord Wellington sarcastically replied:—

"Je viens de recevoir votre lettre du 26. Il paraît, par les lettres du général Morillo que vous m'avez envoyées, que j'avais averti le général Morillo par différentes manières, pas moins que quatre fois, des plaintes que j'avais reçues contre ces troupes; et malgré que le général nie que ses troupes aient fait du mal, il a dit lui-même au général Hill que 'c'était impossible de l'empêcher, parcequ'il n'y avait pas un soldat ni un officier

qui ne reçut des lettres de sa famille en Espagne, pour lui dire que, se trouvant en France, il devait faire fortune.' Cela étant, il reste à moi de tâcher de l'empêcher.

* * * *

"Sur ces désordres j'ai reçu toutes les preuves que je pouvais avoir; et je vous dis que dans trois differens endroits j'ai reçu l'avertissement que je devais prendre garde à la division du général Morillo, parceque les paysans Basques commençaient à parler de vengeance; et que, si une fois ils prenaient les armes en main, il serait difficile de leur faire mettre bas. C'est à dire, à Ustaritz, à Herauritz, et St. Jean-de-Luz."

* * * *

"Demandez à Mina la jolie manière avec laquelle les paysans de Baygorry l'ont attaqué par surprize dans leur village, et vous verrez que l'inimitié des paysans n'est pas à mépriser quand les troupes sont en cantonnement."

Murillo again appealing to Freyre in vindication of the conduct of his troops, to Freyre's communication of his countryman's justification, the indignant reproof of the English general in reply, dated St. Jean-de-Luz, 8th of January, 1814, which closed the mouths of the marauding Spaniard and his coadjutors, says—

"It would be very satisfactory to me to allow this subject to drop; but the letter from general Morillo contains some assertions which I cannot allow to pass unnoticed, and several misconceptions; and I think proper to trouble you again upon this subject. I deny that the order of the 18th of December ought to be viewed in any other light than as a measure to prevent a great evil and a misfortune. Let general Mina state in what kind of a situation he finds himself involved in his warfare with the French peasantry, and it will then be seen how necessary such measures were to prevent a similar warfare with the division under general Morillo. I knew that this misfortune would have occurred; and it became my duty to take effectual means to prevent it; and I am only sorry that these measures were disagreeable to the officers of general Morillo's division.

"In regard to the particular expression in the order of the 18th of December, to which general Morillo refers, I have no hesitation in stating the reason why I directed it might be used. I had repeatedly sent to general Morillo, through sir Rowland Hill and other channels, to request that he would keep his troops in order in

answer to which, the general stated to sir Rowland Hill that it was impossible, *as the officers and soldiers received, by every post, letters from their friends congratulating them upon their good fortune in being in France, and urging them to take advantage of their situation to make their fortunes.* This sir Rowland Hill told me, and I therefore saw there was no remedy but a strong one.

“I can assure you that, in my opinion, it was essentially necessary to put an effectual stop to the evils complained of; and I can equally assure you, that neither in the measure adopted nor in the orders given to carry that measure into execution, had I the most distant intention to insult or injure the officers. I considered what general Morillo told general Hill as an acknowledgment that neither he nor his officers could stop the evil, and I acted accordingly. I might satisfy myself with this answer to general Morillo’s complaints, and justify myself as the commander-in-chief of the British army to those who have a right to call upon me for such justification.

“General Morillo is, however, entirely mistaken in his assertions respecting the measures adopted to preserve discipline among the British troops; and instead of asserting, as he has, that they may commit what crimes they please with impunity, he ought, if informed, to say that no crime ever goes unpunished when the criminal can be discovered. Hundreds of times, in Spain and Portugal, whole corps and divisions have been placed and kept under arms, not only to prevent disorder, but to obtain the discovery of criminals; and in no instance has a criminal been discovered that he has not been tried, and the sentence of the court-martial put into execution. I defy general Morillo, I defy any man, to show an instance in which injury has been done to any individual, of which proof could be adduced, that the officer or soldier doing it has not been punished. Let him inquire how many soldiers have been hanged in Spain for plundering, and how many have been otherwise punished and made to pay for the damage done, and he will find there is no reason to complain on this ground.

“I have already sent to general Hill the complaints which he has made of the two soldiers of the 71st for the murder of a Spaniard, and have ordered that they might be tried; and if I am not misinformed by general Hill, there is no instance of complaint made by general Morillo that redress

has not been given when the criminal could be discovered; and in a very recent instance of an officer of dragoons, general Morillo himself requested that the complaint might not be forwarded to me, as the officer had begged his pardon for the improper conduct. The British officers and soldiers, like others, require to be kept in order, and, until I read general Morillo’s letter, I imagined that the last accusation that could be made against me was, that I neglected this duty. But, however I may endeavour to perform it, I must admit that, in a large and widely-extended army, evils and injuries may be committed without my knowing it; but with this admission I must say, that it is quite groundless to assert, or suppose that British officers and soldiers are allowed to do what they please with impunity.

“I beg your excellency to ask the question whether the British officers and soldiers have no ground of complaint? During the summer and winter there were frequent instances of officers and soldiers shot at and robbed by the Spanish troops on the roads; and one soldier was murdered between Oyarzun and Lesaca. Our stores and convoys are frequently robbed; and only yesterday the account was received of an officer put to death at Vittoria; and a few days ago I had accounts of others ill-treated at Santander; and other events of the same kind occur frequently.

“I must produce some much stronger proof of a design to ill-treat the officers and soldiers of the British army than the death and ill-treatment of those individuals would give, supposing that I were inclined to assert that such design existed, and yet this proof would be stronger than any general Morillo could adduce to support his assertion; as I again defy him to produce a single instance of complaint made, and proof adduced, and a denial, and even a delay of redress. General Morillo has made two complaints, one of injustice and breach of the ordonanza of the Spanish army by me, the other of unjust and improper conduct in allowing officers and soldiers of the British army to misconduct themselves with impunity.

“I hope this letter will show the general that there is no foundation for either complaint, and that he will withdraw them, as made in a moment of irritation, to which every man is liable. If he does not do so, I hope that he is prepared to prove them. I feel the same respect and regard for

general Morillo and his troops, that I do for all the troops under my command, and I do every thing in my power for them. This very regard must prevent me from allowing these charges of injustice to remain unrefuted, and they must be proved, or formally withdrawn."

To this letter containing truths incapable of refutation, the marauding Spaniards deemed silence a more prudent measure, than any attempt to disprove the magnanimous sentiments with which it abounds.

But the outrages of his allies, the faithlessness of their governments, and the obstacles they threw in his way in the prevention of the measures for the liberation of their countries, were not the only difficulties the English general had to contend with; he had even to encounter the mistaken projects, to combat the false views of his own countrymen in power, at variance with the interests, and prejudicial to the public service and the success of the great cause in which he was engaged for the welfare of his country and that of mankind. How admirably and cogently are the suggestions of the English secretary of state for adopting another scene of action, namely, transferring the peninsular army to Germany, and the design of the government to withdraw part of his force to invade Holland, and send an expedition to Hanover, proved inimical to the interests of the allies, in the following letter, dated St. Jean de Luz, 21st December, 1813:—

"Assure the Russian ambassador that there is nothing I can do to forward the general interest that I will not do. I am already further advanced on the French territory than any of the allied powers; and I believe I am better prepared than any of them to take advantage of any opportunities which may offer of annoying the enemy, either in consequence of my own situation, or of the operations of the armies of the allies.

* * * *

"In military operations there are some things which cannot be done; one of these is to move troops in this country during or immediately after a violent fall of rain. I believe I should not only lose many more men than I shall ever replace, by putting my troops in camp in this bad weather, but I should be guilty of an useless waste of men, if I were to attempt an operation during the violent falls of rain which we have had.

"In regard to the scene of the operations of the army, it is a question for the government, and not for me. By having kept in the field above 30,000 men in the Peninsula, the British government have now for five years given employment to at least 200,000 French troops of the best Napoleon had, as it is ridiculous to suppose that either the Spaniards or the Portuguese could have resisted a moment, if the British force had been withdrawn. The armies now employed against us cannot be less than 100,000 men, indeed more including garrisons; and I see in the French newspapers, that orders have been given for the formation at Bordeaux of an army of reserve of 100,000 men. Is there any man weak enough to suppose that one-third of the number first mentioned would be employed against the Spaniards and Portuguese, if we were withdrawn? They would, if it were still an object with Buonaparte to conquer the Peninsula. And he would succeed in his object; but it is much more likely that he would make peace with the powers of the Peninsula, and then have it in his power to turn against the allied armies the 200,000 men, of which 100,000 men are such troops as those armies have not yet had to deal with. Another observation I have to submit is, that in a war in which every day offers a crisis, the result of which may affect the world for ages, the change of the scene of the operations of the British army would put that army entirely *hors-de-combat* for four months at least, even if the new scene were Holland; and they would not then be such a machine as this army is.

"Your lordship very reasonably, however, asks what objects we propose to ourselves here, which are to induce Napoleon to make peace? I am now in a commanding situation on the most vulnerable frontier of France, probably the only vulnerable frontier. If I could put 20,000 Spaniards in the field, which I could do if I had money, and was properly supported by the fleet, I must have the only fortress there is on this frontier [i.e. Bayonne], if it can be called a fortress, and that in a very short space of time. If I could put 40,000 Spaniards into the field, I should most probably have my posts on the Garonne. Does any man believe that Napoleon would not feel an army in such a position more than he would feel 30,000 or 40,000 British troops laying siege to one of his fortresses in Holland? If it be only the resource of men and money, of which

he will be deprived, and the reputation he will lose by our being in this position, it will do ten times more to produce peace than ten armies on the side of Flanders. But if I am right in believing that there is a strong Bourbon party in France, and that that party is the preponderating one in the south of France, what mischief must not our army do him in the position I have supposed, and what sacrifices would he not make to get rid of us?

"It is the business of the government, and not my business, to dispose of the resources of the nation; and I have no right to give an opinion on the subject. I wish however to impress on your lordship's mind, that you cannot maintain military operations in the Peninsula and in Holland with British troops; you must give up either the one or the other, as, if I am not mistaken, the British establishment is not equal to the maintenance of two armies in the field. I began last campaign with 70,000 British and Portuguese troops; and taking away from me the German troops, and adding to me what could be got from the militia, and by enabling me to bring up the Portuguese recruits, I expected to take the field with 80,000 men; but this is now quite out of the question. If you should form the Hanoverian army, which is in my opinion the most reasonable plan to go upon, I shall not take the field with 50,000 men, unless I shall receive real and efficient assistance to bring up the Portuguese recruits; and it then will be about 55,000, or if our wounded recover well, about 60,000 men.

"Then I beg you to observe, that whenever you extend your assistance to any country, unless at the same time fresh means are put into action, the service is necessarily stinted in all its branches on the old stage. I do not wish to make complaints, but if you will look at every branch of the service here now, you will find it stinted, particularly the naval branch, and those supplies which necessarily come from England. I lately sent you a return of the supply of clothing received for the Spanish army for the year 1813, from which you will see how that branch stands; and I have not heard of the arrival at Plymouth of the 25,000 suits said to be lodged there, which will leave a deficiency of 3,000 suits for 1813; 7,800 suits having arrived lately at Coruña. Nearly all the great coats are deficient. The reason of this is that the inferior departments do not observe, that

when British exertion is to be made on a new scene, the old means are not sufficient. New engines must be set at work, otherwise the service must be stinted in one or both scenes, and there must be complaints.

"The different reports I have sent your lordship will show how we stand for want of naval means; and I beg you to take the state and condition of the ships *on the stations*, striking out those coming out and going home, which the admiralty will insert on the 1st and 15th of every month since June last, and you will see whether or not there is reason to complain. But whatever may be the numbers employed, I complain that there are not enough, because they do not perform the service. This is certainly not the intention of the admiralty. Since we have established our posts on the upper part of the Adour, the French have again begun to use the navigation of the coast from Bordeaux to Bayonne. Your lordship is also acquainted with the state of our financial resources. We are overwhelmed with debts; and I can scarcely stir out of my house on account of the public creditors waiting to demand payment of what is due to them. Some of the muleteers are twenty-six months in arrears; and, only yesterday, I was obliged to give them bills upon the treasury for a part of their demands, or lose their services; which bills, they will, I know, sell at a depreciated rate of exchange to the *sharks* who are waiting at Passages, and in this town, to take advantage of the public distresses. I have reason to suspect that they became thus clamorous at the instigation of British merchants. I draw your lordship's attention to these facts, just to show that Great Britain cannot extend her operations by British troops, or even her pecuniary or other assistance, without starving the service here, unless additional means and exertion should be used to procure what is wanted."

His letters dated St. Jean de Luz, 15th December, 1813, and addressed to the duke of York and lord Bathurst, relative to their proposal to withdraw the veteran battalions from the Peninsula are worthy of perusal.

Thus—to adopt the forcible and emphatic language of the author of *The History of the War in the Peninsula*, when speaking of the obstacles and difficulties which the English general had to contend with from his own government—"even at the eleventh hour was the giant Wellington measured by the political dwarfs; those self-sufficient men

looking on him as a person whose views were wild and visionary, requiring the corroboration of older and wiser heads before they could be assented to. And be it remembered, that these dangers and difficulties, these vexations and oppositions, did not happen one after another, but altogether; that it was when crossing the Bidassoa, breaking through the mountain fortifications of Soult, passing the Nive, fighting the battles in front of Bayonne; and when still greater and more intricate combinations were to be arranged, that all these vials of folly and enmity were poured upon his head. Who, then, shall refuse to admire the undaunted firmness, the unwearied temper and vigilance, the piercing judgment with which he steered his gallant vessel, and with a flowing sail, unhurt through this howling storm of passion—this tumultuous sea of folly.*

Wellington now finding himself in firm possession of the ground he had won by his skill and dexterity, published a proclamation declaring St. Jean de Luz and the ports of French Navarre south of the Adour, free and open to all nations not at war with the allies, and affording protection to all vessels, even French, which had been or might be found in the Nivelle or the Adour, and fixing a duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on all articles, except grain and salt, and stores for the use of the army. The consequence of these wise measures was, that the harbour of St. Jean de Luz was crowded with vessels of all nations, laden with all that was necessary for the maintenance of the army.

During the continuance of head-quarters at St. Jean de Luz, the English general, accompanied by all his staff, attended divine service every Sunday on the sandy beach of the bay, the brigade of guards forming a square around, while the breaking of the distant surf on the shore bore a rough burthen to the prayer of the martial congregation.

In closing our account of this campaign, we cannot refrain from laying before the reader the eloquent observations of Alison on the expulsion of the French armies from the soil of Spain:—

“The campaign of Vittoria is the most glorious, both in a moral and political point of view, which is to be found in the British annals. When we reflect that at its commencement the English forces were still on

the Coa and the Agueda, and the French armies occupied more than one-half of Spain, including the whole of its northern fortresses, and that at its conclusion they had been wholly expelled from Spain, the mountain barrier of the Pyrenees forced, and their troops maintaining a painful defensive warfare on the banks of the Adour—it is hard to say whether we have most cause to admire the ability of the chief who, in so short a time, achieved such unparalleled successes—the hardihood of the soldiers who followed him, unwearied, through such toils and dangers, or the strength of the moral reaction which, in so brief a space, produced such astonishing results. They must appear the more wonderful, when it is recollected that, at the commencement of the campaign, the Anglo-Portuguese army could muster only 70,000 combatants, and the British and Germans in Valencia 10,000 more; that the Spaniards were incapable of being trusted in serious conflict, while the French had 197,000 men present with the eagles, not, as in former campaigns, disseminated over an immense surface from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar, but concentrated in the plains of old Castile and the north of Spain, and in possession of all its frontier fortresses. In three months, the vast fabric, erected with so much toil and bloodshed during five years of previous warfare, was overthrown, and the French armies, which so long, in the pride of irresistible strength, had oppressed the Peninsula, were driven like chaff before the wind into their own territories. The march from the frontiers of Portugal to the Ebro, with the left constantly in advance, so as to compel the French to evacuate all the defensive positions which they took up; the skill with which the troops were disposed who gained the decisive battle of Vittoria; the moral courage and quick determination which arrested the torrent of Soult’s successes in the Pyrenees; the persevering energy which broke through the mountain barrier of France, and established the British standards under the walls of Bayonne—are so many examples of the highest military ability, which never were surpassed. But it would have been in vain that her chief was endowed with all these rare qualities, if the troops of England, which he commanded, had not been adequate to the duties to which they were called; but such was the admirable state of discipline and efficiency to which the British and Portu-

* Napier.

guese soldiers had now arrived, and such the heroic spirit with which they were animated, that it may safely be affirmed they never were surpassed in the annals either of ancient or modern war.

“The national historians of Spain and Great Britain differ widely, and will probably always differ, as to the comparative merit to be assigned to the efforts of their respective nations for the deliverance of the Peninsula; and the French military writers, more jealous of the fame of the descendants of those who fought at Cressy and Agincourt, than of the comparatively dim light of Spanish glory, are anxious to ascribe it chiefly to the consuming effects of the guerilla warfare. Perhaps the English military historians, and those especially who were actually engaged in the conflict, and witnessed the innumerable defeats of the Spanish armies, and the unworthy jealousy with which they were actuated, both towards the generals and troops of this country, have gone into the other extreme, and both unduly overlooked the patriotic ardour, and underrated the military influence of the indomitable spirit of hostility to French aggression, which for so long a period animated a large portion of the Peninsular people. Impartial justice will probably ascribe to both their due share in this glorious deliverance: it will admit that the power of Spain was utterly prostrated until England entered as a principal into the strife, and that the prolonged resistance of its people was mainly owing to the necessity of concentrating the French troops on the Portuguese frontier from the effects of Wellington’s victories; but that, notwithstanding all the heroism of the Anglo-Portuguese army, and all the ability of its chief, it never could have effected the deliverance of the Peninsula against the forces, generally three, often four times superior, of the French empire, unless the indomitable perseverance and resolute hostility of the Spanish character had come to their aid, by the distraction which they occasioned to the French armies.

“But there is one glory connected with the Peninsular war, which the British empire shares with no other power, and which

the biographer of Wellington is entitled to claim as exclusively his own. During all the difficulties of the contest, and in the midst of the almost overwhelming embarrassments which arose from the long continuance and oppressive burdens of the war, England never adopted the odious revolutionary principle, of drawing the resources for the contest from the country in which it was carried on; and from first to last firmly, to her own great immediate loss, repudiated the maxim that war should maintain war. Whatever she did, she did with her own forces and from her own means alone: no ravaged country had to rue the day when her standards appeared among them; no wasted realm showed where her armies had been; no tears of the fatherless and the widow, mourning cold-blooded massacres, dimmed the lustre of her victories. If disorders occurred, as occur they did, and occur they will, it was against her system of warfare, and despite the utmost efforts of her chief. With unconquerable constancy, Wellington and the British government adhered to this noble system, in the midst of pecuniary difficulties which would have crushed any other man, and financial embarrassments which would have overwhelmed any other nation. During all this time, Napoleon’s generals and armies were reveling in wealth and affluence, and France itself was enjoying comparatively light taxation, the fruit of the unbounded and systematic extortion which they practised in all the countries which their armies occupied. But mark the end of these things, and the final opposite effect of the gains of oppression and the rule of justice upon the fortunes of nations. Napoleon, driven with disgrace behind the Rhine and the Pyrenees, was unable to protect even the mighty empire he ruled from the aroused and universal indignation of mankind; while Wellington, commencing from small beginnings, had at length burst, with an overwhelming force, through the mountain barrier of the south, liberated the whole Peninsula from the oppressor’s yoke, and planted his victorious standard, amidst the blessings of a protected and grateful people, on the plains of France.”

PROPOSED RESTORATION OF FERDINAND.

At this time, a secret negotiation was going on between Napoleon Buonaparte and Ferdinand; and a royalist movement was in active organization in the south of France for the restoration of the Bourbons. The object of Buonaparte's negotiation was to create divisions among the allies, detach Spain from the coalition, and render Suchôt's force in Catalonia available for his necessities in Germany, where affairs were assuming a formidable aspect against him.

He accordingly sent to Valençay an envoy, M. de la Forest, formerly ambassador to Madrid. This person assumed for the occasion, the name of M. Dubois, and performed his part so adroitly, that a negotiation with Ferdinand was brought to a close, without its being suspected by the English, or the Spanish cortes, that anything of the kind was on foot. La Forest required Ferdinand to concert means for sending the English out of the Peninsula altogether. To this Ferdinand was forced to reply, that he could take no step towards effecting such an object, without the consent of the Spanish regency, and he knew nothing of the present state of Spain, but what he had read in the French journals. He was assured by the envoy that on those representations, he might place reliance. Such a statement, however, could hardly impose on the weak-minded Ferdinand. La Forest then endeavoured to inspire him with disgust for the cortes, whose democratic tendencies, he described to be such as would prove most fatal to Spanish monarchy, and who were wholly in the interest of Great Britain, by whose means they were kept together. Great Britain, he reported to be herself little better than a republic, and under her auspices, Jacobinism and anarchy reigned in the Peninsula. It was this lamentable state of things, La Forest said, which his master deplored, and was anxious to terminate by concluding a treaty of alliance with Ferdinand, and placing him on the throne of his ancestors. Ferdinand was so far moved by the representations of Buonaparte's emissary, that he consented to a Spanish nobleman then in France, being named to meet M. la Forest. In consequence of this the duke de San Carlos was sent by Buonaparte to Valençay, where a treaty was prepared, and signed 11th December, 1813, which

provided that the emperor of the French, should recognise Ferdinand VII. and his successors as kings of Spain and of the Indies, and also the Spanish territory, such as it was before the war. On the part of Napoleon, the provinces and fortified places still in the hands of the French, were to be restored, and Ferdinand engaged to maintain the integrity of his territory, and to make the English evacuate every part of his dominions. The two contracting parties pledged themselves to assert their maritime rights against England, and it was agreed that all Spaniards who had given in their adhesion to Joseph Buonaparte, should be reinstated in the honours, offices, and privileges which they enjoyed under him. Ferdinand was to pay annually to king Charles, his father, thirty million of reals, and in the event of his death, to secure an annuity of two million of reals to the ex-queen, his mother. All prisoners that had been made in the course of the Peninsular war, on either side, were to be immediately exchanged.

Distinguished, however, as this scheme was by artful cunning, it must be regarded as a very puny effort to deceive and cajole, as the trickery was so obvious, that the cortes, if they retained any share of understanding, could not be expected to subscribe to it. Ferdinand, since his arrival at Bayonne, had never been permitted to correspond with the regency or the cortes. To the former body he now addressed a letter, in which he made no mention of the latter, and he is believed to have wished that that body should be relieved from the care of public business altogether. Through Madame Talleyrand, he is said to have been made acquainted with the perilous situation of Buonaparte, and led to expect his final overthrow; and under these circumstances, to have been well content to remain where he was till the event took place. This has been denied by the Spanish liberals, who describe Ferdinand as having been willing to remain the menial of Buonaparte, still desiring to take a wife from the Buonaparte family, and, regardless of what might be thought of him by his contemporaries or posterity, eager to play the despotic bigot, by establishing his power, and restoring the holy inquisition, and revenging himself

for the wrongs which the royal dignity had sustained, from the advocacy of free institutions in Spain. The bearer of his letter to the regency, the duke de San Carlos, was secretly charged to ascertain the true characters of those who composed the regency and the cortes. In the event of its being proved that the regency consisted of men whose piety, loyalty, and discretion, might be depended upon, the duke was to assure them in private, that it was his majesty's royal pleasure that the treaty should be ratified; if to do this would not commit Spain with her allies, and give offence to the Spanish nation. Further, he wished it to be intimated that if the regency were disposed to approve of the treaty for the time being, on an understanding with England that as no ratification would be valid till he was at liberty, he on his return would declare it to be null and void,—in that case he wished the ratification to be given, as he could not be reproached for putting it aside, on obtaining information after his return which had been withheld from him while in captivity. On the other hand, if the duke should be satisfied that the regency and the cortes were well-disposed towards Jacobinism, and wanting in regard to the church, he was merely to ask that the treaty should be ratified. It will thus be seen, that whatever other weaknesses may be charged on Ferdinand VII., thoughtless sincerity formed no part of his character. He contemplated at the moment when he recommended the ratification of an amicable treaty, a continuance of the war on his return to Spain, if the wishes and the good faith of his people should require it.

San Carlos hastened to Spain, travelling under an assumed name, that of M. de la Forest. He reached Suchet's headquarters, carrying with him the treaty, and a letter from Ferdinand. Thence he proceeded to the Spanish capital. His presence was believed to have rendered no service to the allies, as an impression was created, that Buonaparte was disposed to make an amicable arrangement, which would secure to Spain all she had been fighting for, and render the presence of a foreign army unnecessary. In consequence of this, general Copons refrained from co-operating with general Clinton, as he had previously intended. It is further said, that the former would have concluded an armistice with Suchet, had the cortes not acted with more vigour and prudence than they usually dis-

played, and at once declared that no treaty concluded by Ferdinand, while he remained the captive of Buonaparte, could be ratified. The regency were directed by the cortes to make this known to Ferdinand, and a letter was accordingly addressed to him, which, after declaring the loyal and affectionate feelings by which the Spanish people were then animated, added, that though they were prepared to make new sacrifices to establish his throne on love and justice, for the present they must decline acting on his recommendation, and could only send him the assurance that he was the beloved and desired of the Spanish people. This was accompanied by a peremptory rejection of the treaty.

So eager was Napoleon to carry his point, that lest San Carlos should fail, he took measures for bringing it about by other means. General Palafox and General Zayas had become his prisoners. Buonaparte now dispatched them to Valençay to press upon the royal prisoner the expediency of recommending that an armistice between Suchet and the commanders opposed to him, should be concluded without delay. Escoiquiz was also sent on the same errand to Valençay, as was Don Pedro de Macanas. The professed object of Buonaparte was pressed with much earnestness, and some success. The canon Escoiquiz and Don Pedro de Macanas approved of what was suggested, and Palafox was willing to go to Spain, and there recommend that the offer now made should be accepted. This took place before news had been received of the failure of San Carlos' mission, and Ferdinand gave Palafox a duplicate of the former envoy's instructions, together with a letter, in which he expressed his hope that the treaty of which the duke was the bearer, had been ratified. Ferdinand instructed Palafox that he should seek an opportunity for communicating with the English ambassador at Madrid, and assure him the treaty was nothing more than a hoax. The mission of Palafox was soon concluded. Having arrived in Madrid, he was told by the cortes, that his majesty could only be referred to their former letter, and to the decree which they had passed against accepting any treaty which might be assented to by Ferdinand in his then situation.

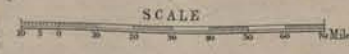
Thus ended the year 1813, a year of battles; full of real glory and honour for the arms of England: and another, "big with the fate of empires," was about to be ushered in.



COBURG.



COLOGNE ON THE RHINE.



THE PALACE AT SAXE-COBURG.
(THE RESIDENCE OF THE PRINCE OF SAXE-COBURG.)



DRESDEN



SILVER MINES IN THE HARZ MOUNTAINS.



GUTTENBERG, FAUST
SCHOFFEER.

THE INVENTORS OF PRINTING

Longitude East of Greenwich

The Illustrations by H. Whitlock & Engraved by J. Rogers

The Map Drawn & Engraved by J. Hagen

INVASION OF FRANCE ON ITS NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIERS,

BY THE ALLIED RUSSIANS, GERMANS, ETC.

WHILE the allied armies of England, Spain, and Portugal, were invading the south-west provinces of "the sacred territory," those of Russia, Germany, and Sweden were preparing to assail it on its north-eastern frontiers. To meet the threatened danger, "the man of destiny," he for whom "it was written,"—as he profanely expressed himself to the Abbe de Pradt, at Warsaw, in the course of his flight to Paris, after the abandonment of the miserable remnant of his army at Smorgoni—"in heaven to marry an archduchess," prepared to call forth all the energies and resources of France.

At a levee held at nine o'clock in the morning (December 19th), succeeding the night of his reaching Paris, he told the members of the council of state, convoked on the occasion, that "all had gone well—Moscow was in our possession," said he, "the conflagration had produced no change in the flourishing condition of the French army; but the winter had been productive of a general calamity, in consequence of which the army had sustained very great losses." With this information, and the presence of their emperor, the complacent and obsequious auditors seemed consoled for the loss of nearly half a million of men of their grand army, above 250,000 of whom had been killed, or perished of disease and famine. Alluding to the enormous loss of human life occasioned by his insane invasion of Russia, and especially of that grand army which he had led from France, Bernadotte, in a letter adjuring him to desist from his insane project of universal conquest, and promote a general peace, asks him, "where is that army?—the *elite* of France, Italy, and Germany no longer exist. On the cold and inhospitable plains of Russia lie the remains of those brave men, who saved France at Fleurus, who conquered in Italy, survived the burning climate of Egypt, and chained victory to the imperial standards at Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland;

* Malet, who was one of the ancient French noblesse, had served in the mousquetaires of the royal household before the revolution, and had commanded one of the first battalions of the Jura at the

there they lie without sepulture, and their bones whitening by the rigid blasts of the north." But the promulgation of the twenty-ninth bulletin, which, though dispatched from Smorgoni some hours before its writer quitted that place, did not arrive till the forenoon of the day of Napoleon's return, drew aside the veil which had with a reluctant hand been just before partially raised by its author; and revealed the magnitude of the disaster, the extent of the calamity, the dreadful and overwhelming catastrophe of the six months' terrific Russian campaign, which was to throw France into universal mourning. There was scarcely a family that had not lost a friend or relative. Never, perhaps, had a single campaign caused so dismal a desolation in the homes of a nation. Adulatory congratulations of the senate, the magistrates, and public functionaries of Paris, whose power and profit were dependent on their voices, however, poured in on the man who had just mercilessly sacrificed half a million of his fellow-creatures on the altar of his insatiable ambition, and were accepted as the truthful representations of thirty-four millions of people. The magistrates of the principal cities of the empire, among which Rome, Milan, Florence, Turin, Hamburg, and Amsterdam, were particularly obsequious, joined in the general asseveration. But the praises of servitude are too suspicious and apocryphal to be entitled to credence. To the few who ventured to express a murmur at the astounding national disaster, and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of their brave and heroic countrymen, the god of French idolatry calmly said that those hundreds of thousands of his fellow-countrymen, and comrades in-arms, were at rest under the snows of Russia, and had acquired as much glory for their country as the successful armies of former days.

Malet's* conspiracy, in conjunction with the discontent, and even absolute disaffection,

commencement of the revolution. In consequence of his connection with a society called the *Philadelphes*, which sprung up in the French army, at the time Napoleon Buonaparte usurped the supreme

which had shown itself in different directions,—even some of the marshals and generals, among whom were Massena, Augereau, and others, being suspected by the secret police,—having given demonstrative evidence, that the stability of his dynasty, and his son's succession to the throne, rested on a very sandy foundation, he deemed it necessary to read his willing slaves an edifying lecture, on the divine and indefeasible right of kings and emperors. A few days after his arrival, in a council of state, convened for the purpose, "Gentlemen," said the arch-plotter, "we must no longer believe in miracles; attend to the report of M. Real on Malet's conspiracy." The report being read, he resumed, "This is the consequence of the want of habit and proper ideas in France on the subject of succession. Sad effects of our revolutions! At the first word of my death, at the first command of an unknown individual, officers lead the regiments to force the jails, and make prisoners of the highest authorities. A jailor quietly incloses the minister of state within his doors. A prefect of the capital, at the command of a few soldiers, lends himself to the preparation of his great hall for the assembly of I know not what factious wretches. And all this while the empress is on the spot; while the king of Rome is alive; while the ministers and all the great officers of state are at hand. Is a man then everything here? Are revolutions nothing? oaths nothing? It is to ideology [*i.e.* the doctrine which teaches the duty of resistance to the indefeasible and divine right of kings and emperors], that we are to attribute all these misfortunes; it is the error of its professors that necessarily induced, and in fact brought on the reign of

power, and had for its immediate object his deposition. Some of the members contemplated the restoration of a republican government, and others, of whom Malet was one, the recal of the Bourbon family. He was, in 1808, committed to prison, and he was still in custody in a *Maison de Santé*. Here, with only two accomplices—Lafox, an old abbé, and Ratsoeau, a young corporal on guard—he conceived the daring project of forging a *senatus consultum*, announcing the fall of Napoleon Buonaparte in battle in Russia; and by virtue of which document the imperial government was abolished, he created governor of Paris, and a provisional government established. On the 23rd of October, 1812, at night, eluding the surveillance under which he was detained, he presented himself, dressed in the uniform of a general of brigade, and, accompanied by the corporal, in the dress of an aid-de-camp, he repaired to the prison of La Force, where he demanded and obtained the liberation of generals Lahorie and Guidal, who were

blood. Who proclaimed the principle of insurrection as a duty? Who cast adulation before the people, in elevating them to a sovereignty which they were incapable of exercising? When one is called to regenerate a state, it is principles diametrically the reverse which require to be followed. History paints the human heart; it is in history we must seek for the mirror of the advantages or evils of different species of legislation. Frochot is an honourable man; he is attached to the empire; but his duty was to have devoted himself to death on the steps of the Hotel de Ville. A great example is required from all functionaries. The noblest of deaths would be that of a soldier on the field of honour, if that of a magistrate perishing in defence of the throne and the laws were not more glorious still."

This key-note formed an admirable theme for the flourishes of the various counsellors of the sections, to whom the fate of Frochot, the peccant prefect of the Seine, who had put Malet's conspirators in possession of the tower of St. Jacques, from which the tocsin was usually sounded, and had prepared an apartment in the Hotel de Ville for the reception of the new administration, had been submitted with reference to the extent of his crime and punishment. "What is life," said the count of Chabrol, who had been created prefect of Paris instead of Frochot, "in comparison to the interests which rest on the sacred head of the heir of the empire?" It was the opinion of M. des Fontagnes, senator, peer of France, and grand master of the imperial university, that "reason pauses with respect before the mystery of power and obedience, and abandons all inquiry into its nature to that religion which made the persons of kings

confined for the same cause as himself. They then went to the Minims barrack of the 2nd regiment, and 10th cohort. Malet assuming an air of absolute authority, the obedience of the men was demanded, and the drums ordered to beat. He assumed the command; and the party marching in different directions, in an instant Savary, minister of police, and some other of the principal functionaries, were arrested and conducted to prison. Malet's party took possession of the Hotel de Ville, and ordered Frochot, the prefect of the Seine, to have prepared an apartment ready for the reception of the new government; but being recognised by Laborde, the chief of the military palace, he was seized and confined. Next day, Malet, Lahorie, Guidal, and eleven other of the conspirators, were shot on the plain of Grenelle, by order of a military tribunal. Malet met his death with great courage, and generously exculpated his fellow-sufferers, by declaring that he alone conceived the conspiracy, and had had no associates.

sacred, after the image of God himself. It is his voice that humbles anarchy and faction, in proclaiming the divine right of kings; it is the Deity himself who has made it an unalterable maxim of France; it is nature who appoints kings to succeed one another, while reason itself declares that the royalty itself is immutable." Under cover of these violent protestations of devoted loyalty, Frochot was permitted to retire from office to prosecute his studies in ideology, or indoctrinate himself into more deep acquaintance in the mysteries of hereditary right than he had shown himself possessed of.*

Aware of the influence of religious prejudices and superstition on the feelings and fears of mankind, and the proneness of human nature to bow to the delusion and imposture of priestcraft, and fearful his disputes and treatment of the pope would be turned by his enemies to the furtherance of their views and the injury of his designs, six days after his arrival, he endeavoured to conciliate the Roman pontiff. The cause of that dispute was, the pope's refusal to consent to the alienation of his secular dominions, and unwillingness to acknowledge the validity of Buonaparte's second marriage, and ratify the legitimacy of his son. For that refusal he was seized in July, 1809, and after being removed to different places, was put in confinement at Fontainebleau. Now the principal points in dispute between the parties were settled by a concordat. By the requisition of the pope's renunciation of his temporal power, it had been the intention of the Frenchman, in his reveries of universal empire, to assume the papal temporal authority himself, and constitute Paris the capital of the world, where the residence of the pope would have been fixed for the exercise of his ecclesiastical power.

But more urgent causes than lectures on ideology, and squabbles with the keeper of the keys of heaven, now demanded his attention. Russia was rapidly approaching the French frontier; Prussia was indicating an intention of shaking off the yoke; the spirit which was prompting the inhabitants of Germany to regain their respective nationalities, presaged a dreadful approaching contest. To provide for the coming danger, Napoleon instructed his agents to demand of the legislative body an immediate addition of 350,000 men to the armies. "The insolence of the conquerors of Louis XIV., and the

* Scott.

humiliation of the treaties of Louis XV.," said the government orator, Regnaud St. Jean Angely, "seem again to threaten us; we are called on to save France from those ignominious days." The amount of the conscription demanded, was granted January 9th.

This conscription consisted of 100,000 conscripts of the first ban of national guards, who had been placed in the frontier garrisons, with the understanding that their services were not to be required beyond the limits of France; they were now converted into soldiers of the line, and destined to fill the one hundred and fifty skeleton regiments that had been brought from Spain after lord Wellington's retreat from Burgos. Besides these, 100,000 were ordered to be taken from the conscription of 1813; 100,000 from the classes liable to conscription in the preceding four years; and 150,000 from those arriving at the legal age in 1814. The same measures were, with extraordinary activity, put into execution by the viceroy Eugene Beauharnais in Italy; and the princes of the Rhenish confederacy were required to furnish their contingents as quickly as possible. Forty thousand seamen and naval gunners of the fleet were drafted for artillery service, and transferred to the land forces; a large body of mariners were regimented as a division of infantry; and four regiments of the imperial guards, a legion of veteran gend'armerie, and a large body of Polish light horse, were withdrawn from Spain. Thousands of horses were impressed in every province. The artillery and *matériel* of the army were put in the most effective condition. In the month of April, the military force at the command of Buonaparte was, with the new levies, the troops throughout France, and the large garrisons in the fortresses of Dantzic, Thorn, Modlin, Zamosc, Guadentz, Czenstschau, Custrin, Magdeburg, Posen, Spandau, Torgau, Glogen, &c., in Polish and Proper Prussia, on the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe, augmented as it was by the woe-stricken and corpse-like fugitives of the grand army, nearly 800,000 men. The garrison of Dantzic alone numbered among its defenders the wreck of one hundred regiments, of twenty-two different nations. So fearful and destructive had been the merciless and insatiable ambition of its leader on the most splendid and powerful army that ever had marched under the banners of any nation, ancient or modern.

Promises were made to the representative legislature, that no augmentation should be made to the national burthens; but all sorts of violent expedients were resorted to to raise money. Among these was the sale of all the heritable property belonging to the municipalities, public hospitals, and communes; the treasury receiving the price, and the incorporated bodies being inscribed, for the amount of the price received, as creditors in the books of the public funds; the accounts to be rendered every three years to the deputies of all the provinces of the empire, who should be then assembled in the capital. To supply the deficiency, the profuse treasures which had been accumulated in the vaults under the Tuilleries, from the sack and pillage, and war contributions of the conquered countries, contributed three hundred millions of francs. On the 22nd of March, the *corps législatif* declared, in an obsequious and adulatory address, that all that they and the French nation had done for their emperor was too little.

In the tremendous loss which had occurred in the disastrous retreat from Moscow to the Niemen,* the Prussian and Austrian contingents, which formed the flanks of the grand army, had sustained little or no participation. The first had been left under the command of marshal Macdonald, in Courland, to hold in check the garrisons of Riga and St. Petersburg; but his right flank being uncovered by the repassage of the shattered remnant of the grand army over the Niemen, and the advance of the Russians under Wittgenstein, he retreated towards Tilsit, followed by the Russian general, Diebitch, who, by a skilful manœuvre, intervened his force between the Prussians under D'Yorck and the other portion of Macdonald's army, consisting of the German contingent troops, and despatched a flag of truce to Yorck, proposing to allow him to retreat in safety. A convention was accordingly entered into at Potcherau, December 30th, by virtue of which an armistice was agreed to, that the Prussians should be cantoned in the Prussian territory, and

remain neutral for two months. An armistice was also concluded with Schwarzenberg, (between whom and the Russians, since the repassing of the Niemen by the French, no other encounters or warlike measures seem to have taken place than a series of manœuvres, marches, and countermarches, so as to give a semblance of hostile movements,) that the Austrian contingent force should retire into Galicia, in the Austrian territory. When the news of D'Yorck's armistice reached Berlin, the convention was formally disowned; he was ordered to be arrested and sent for trial to the capital, to be tried for disobedience, and general Kleist was directed to conduct the Prussian contingent as quickly as possible to the head-quarters of the grand army. The Prussian minister, Hardenberg, to indicate to his master's ally, Buonaparte, his fidelity, proposed to the French ambassador at Berlin to raise the Prussian contingent to 60,000 men; and to consolidate the friendship of the two courts, he suggested the marriage of the prince royal of Prussia with a princess of the Buonapartean family. But as crowned heads have but little faith in their promises and treaties, the Prussian monarch secretly, on January 22nd, 1813, quitted his capital for Breslaw, Augereau being stationed in Berlin with a strong force, to watch the Prussian cabinet, and overawe the inhabitants. At Breslaw the king, in an interview with the emperor Alexander, vented in tears his penitence for having acted against his royal brother during the recent campaign. After the interview he proposed to Buonaparte an armistice, on condition that the French evacuated Dantzic and the other fortresses on the Oder, and retired behind the Elbe into Saxony; the Czar would stop the march of his armies, and remain behind the Vistula. This proposition being rejected, on the 30th of the same month he declared war against his former confederate, and published a proclamation calling on his subjects to arm and rally round his standard for the maintenance of national independence. This proclamation roused in the

* The appearances which this disastrous retreat presented were truly awful. The roads were choked with the dead and the dying, and the atmosphere was completely tainted. The ill-fated troops suddenly fell down, in a perfect state of exhaustion, on the road and by the watch-fires, the blood gushing from their eyes and mouths. Others thrust their frozen and benumbed limbs among the embers, and were burnt to the bone without being conscious of the injury. Around every bivouac, the morning disclosed a circle

of dead bodies—ministers of state, generals, and private soldiers—huddled as close together as possible, to derive warmth from one another's bodies. It is reported by more than one eye-witness, that at their ghastly bivouacs, many took their loathsome repast from the quivering flesh of their dying comrades. The loss had been immense. When the wretched wreck reached the Niemen, only 50,000 men, including the reinforcements, survived, and nearly 20,000 of these died in the hospitals and towns of Prussia.

highest degree the military spirit of the country. Tired with a detestation of their oppressors, and a desire of revenge, the youth of every class rushed to fill the ranks, and recover the lost liberty and tarnished honour of their country. On all sides there was a universal cry for arms. The Tugendbund, the Burchenschaft, and the other secret political societies, actively and enthusiastically preached a national crusade against the hated foe of their country, and exerted themselves with all their energy and might, to animate the great body of the people with their own patriotic devotion.

This astonishing outbreak of national enthusiasm was responded to by every male throughout the nation: even boys of nine and ten years of age offered themselves to be enrolled, and when refused acceptance, gave expression to their disappointment in floods of tears. The poet, Körner, excited the national enthusiasm to the highest pitch of vehemence in his animated strains of "Men and Cowards," and the "Song of the Sword." Seven years of oppression and tyranny now united every heart, and upraised every hand against the foe.*

The merciless rapacity of the war contributions and requisitions since the peace of Tilsit, had robbed the whole country of its subsistence; and their rapacious oppressors, under the terrors of military execution, had wrenched from the inhabitants their property, and the whole of the cattle, horses, and carriages in their possession. Atrocious acts of cruelty had added a deeper hue to the general feelings of execration with which

* The devoted spirit and exalted patriotism which animated the hearts of those noble youths, were upheld and inspired by devotional feelings. "We marched," says one of the volunteers, the poet Körner, "in parade from Zoblen to Rogau, a Lutheran village, where the church with great simplicity, but also with great taste, had been decorated for the convention of the volunteers. After singing a hymn of my composition, the clergyman of the parish delivered an address, full of manly vigour and public enthusiasm. Not a dry eye was to be seen in the whole assembly. After the service, he pronounced the oath before us, for the cause of humanity, of fatherland, of religion, to spare neither substance nor soul, to conquer or die for the right. We swore! He then fell on his knees, and besought God for a blessing on his champions. It was a moment when the thought of death kindled flame in every eye, and awoke heroism in every heart. The oath, solemnly repeated by all, and sworn on the swords of the officers, and Luther's hymn, *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott* (A stronghold is our God), concluded the ceremony; on which a thundering *vivat* burst from the congregation of champions for German freedom, while every blade leaped from its scabbard, and gleams of

French tyranny and violence were regarded. Among those acts were the massacre of eleven officers of Schill's corps, for their adherence to his cause; and the transportation of the volunteers of the queen's regiment, chained together by the neck, to the *depôt* of galley slaves at Cherbourg, where they were condemned to hard labour, in the convict dress, with a 24-pound cannon-ball fastened to the ankle of each, among the common malefactors.

On the 1st of March, a treaty, offensive and defensive, was concluded at Kalisch between the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia.

By a proclamation,† dated March 19th, Russia and Prussia dissolved the confederacy of the Rhine, and called on all the Rhenish confederated states to join in a great league for the deliverance of Germany from the domination of France, under pain of losing their nationality.

In December, the Russian army advanced in two grand divisions; the one direct on Warsaw, the other on Königsberg and the other provinces of Prussia, masking the fortresses as they advanced. When the armies of Russia and Prussia were united, their light troops soon overran the eastern and northern provinces of Germany, at the same time spreading proclamations, calling on the inhabitants to join in the liberation of captive Europe from the thralldom of the oppressor. Berlin, Dresden, and the towns of the Hanseatic league, Hamburgh, Lubeck, Luneburg, &c., declared for the allies, and received their troops. The recovery

warlike light shone through the sanctuary. The hour was so much more impressive, that most of us went out with the conviction that it was the last time we should ever meet." To indicate the solemnity of the duty they had undertaken, and their readiness to meet death in the cause in which they had engaged, the uniform of the university volunteers was black. They were officered by their respective tutors and professors.

† It is worthy of remembrance that all the proclamations of the allied sovereigns, at this time, were loud in advocating the principles of liberty, and in denouncing despotism in all its forms. Princes who had long borne arms against and persecuted and proscribed liberal doctrines, now became the patrons of societies for the dissemination of free opinions, and invoked the intelligence and patriotism of those, in whom, but in the short space of a few following months, it was deemed criminal to question the custom or justice of authorised government, or to maintain that man had rights which were at variance with existing laws and institutions. After the people had achieved the victory for them, what a memorable refutation of their professions did the Holy Alliance present of their sincerity and intention!

of this last-mentioned place was connected with an incident of peculiar and romantic interest. The people of the town, encouraged by the liberation of Hamburgh by the Cossacks, under Tetterborn, and the appearance of an English detachment of 200 men, who, landing from Heligoland, had possessed themselves of the batteries of Bloxen and Bremerlake, at the mouth of the Werer, rose against the French garrison, and expelled it. Morand, who lay at Bremen with 3,000 men, determined to inflict vengeance on the revolted patriots, marched against them, and quickly overcame their feeble resistance; twenty-seven of the principal inhabitants were seized and condemned to be shot next day in the principal square of the city.

On the following morning they were drawn out, with the fatal bandages on their eyes, for execution, in the presence of Morand; but at the moment, a sudden "hurrah" was heard, and a violent rattle of musketry at the gates announced that succour was at hand. The French troops hastened to the ramparts, leaving the prisoners with their eyes bandaged and their arms pinioned on the spot designed for their execution. Soon a loud shout announced that the town was carried, and instantly the Cossacks, under Chevalicheff, rushing into the centre of the square, unbound the terrified prisoners and restored them to their weeping friends; while 2,000 French prisoners, and 1,000 killed and wounded, among whom was Morand, graced the first triumph of the arms of freedom in Germany.

A treaty of alliance, which was the basis of the Grand Alliance, ratified by the treaty signed at Reischenback, 14th June, 1813, was entered into in the early part of April, between England, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, by virtue of which, in conjunction with supplemental treaties, the first mentioned power undertook to supply the three other powers with subsidies to the extent of many millions, either in sterling money, issues of paper, or bills of credit, for the maintenance of the respective armaments which these powers were by the treaty bound to supply for the promotion of the common cause. Long prior, however, to any diplomatic connection having been formed, immense supplies of arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, had been dispatched from the Thames to the mouth of the Elbe, to be distributed among the northern powers of Germany. Bernadotte, in the course of

the preceding year, at the conference at Abo, had engaged with the Russian emperor to join in a coalition against Buonaparte, in hopes of being declared successor to the imperial throne of France; but by virtue of the recent treaty, he was to be indemnified with Norway for his loss of Finland.

Prior to his quitting Paris, Buonaparte endeavoured to conciliate Murat, and persuade him to take the command of the cavalry of the army assembled at Erfurth. Jealousies and grudges had for some time subsisted between the two brothers-in-law, and Murat had not forgotten that Buonaparte had vilified his military conduct, and accused him of having abandoned the wretched remnant of the grand army surviving from the Moscow campaign. It has been before stated, that Murat, on reaching Konigsberg, had, in discontent at Buonaparte's slight of his complaint of having received insult from Ney and Davoust, hurried forward to Posen, and there, on the 16th of January, abruptly quitted the army, and returned to Naples. The emperor, on hearing of his desertion, appointed Eugene to the chief command; and at the same time wrote to his sister Caroline, Murat's wife, "Your husband is extremely brave on the field of battle; but out of sight of the enemy he is weaker than a woman; he has no moral courage." To Murat himself he wrote, "I do not suspect you to be one of those who think that the lion is dead, but if you have counted on this, you will find yourself mistaken. Since my departure from Wilna, you have done me all the evil you could; your title of king has turned your head." A furious correspondence now ensued between the two brothers-in-law. Buonaparte, in a subsequent letter to his sister, accused Murat of being a traitor—called him a fool—said he was unworthy of his family connections with him. To these imputations, "his majesty of Naples," indignantly returned answer—"The wound on my honour is inflicted, and it is not in the power of your majesty to heal it: you have insulted an old companion in arms, faithful to you in your dangers, not a small means of your victories, a supporter of your greatness, and the reviver of your wandering courage on the 18th Brumaire. Your majesty says that when one has the honour to belong to your *illustrious* family, one ought to do nothing to hazard its interests or obscure its splendour. And I, sire, tell you in reply, that your family received from me quite as much

honour as it gave in uniting me in matrimony with Carolina. A thousand times, though a king, I sigh after the days when, as a plain officer, I had superiors, but no master. Having become a king, but finding myself in this supreme rank, tyrannized over by your majesty, and domineered over in my own family, I have felt more than ever the need of independence, the thirst of liberty. Thus you afflict, thus you sacrifice to your suspicion the men most faithful to you, and the men who have best served you in the stupendous road of your fortune; thus Fouché has been immolated by Savary, Talleyrand sacrificed to Champagny, Champagny himself to Bassano, and Murat to Beauharnais,—to Beauharnais, who has with you the merit of mute obedience, and that other merit (more gratifying to you because more servile) of having cheerfully announced to the senate of France your repudiation of his own mother. I can no longer deny to my people [this was an allusion to the Berlin decrees prohibiting all internal commerce] some restoration of commerce, some remedy for the terrible evils inflicted on them by the maritime war. From what I have said of your majesty, and of myself, it results that our old mutual confidence and faith are gone. Your majesty will do what you most like, but whatever may be your wrongs towards me, I am still your honest and faithful brother-in-law,—*JOACHIM.*”

The effects of this correspondence rankling in Murat's breast, and also influenced by the hope of a timely defection from the declining fortunes of Buonaparte, that he might secure to himself and his descendants the crown of Naples, by joining the confederacy

which eventually took the designation of “The Grand Alliance,” he alleged that his own dominions were in too agitated a state to admit of his absence for the present.

Fearful of the recurrence of an attempt similar to that of Malet, while he was absent on the Moscow campaign, Buonaparte established a council of regency, and appointed his wife, Marie Louise, regent, reserving to himself exclusively the privilege of prescribing all measures to be passed by the senate. Having made this arrangement, he quitted Paris on the 15th of April, and hurried to Mayence, where he halted for eight days, to give time for collecting the troops, which had been organized in France and Italy, and were converging towards that city from the Rhine and the Alps to the Elbe, and had been directed to concentrate at Erfurth. He reached the camp at that town on the 25th, and on the 28th he opened the campaign by advancing towards the enemy, who occupied Halle, Leipsic, and all the adjacent roads. To prevent the enemy's advance to Leipsic, the allies moved forward to give him battle on the plains of Lutzen. On the 29th, Ney had taken Weissenfels, and driven back the advanced guard of the allies to the right bank of the Saale, thus re-establishing the communication with Eugene, who, on succession to the command of the wreck of the grand army, had retired on Magdeburg, for the purpose of forming a junction with the new levies as they came up from the Rhine and Italy, which the operations of the enemy had interrupted. On the 30th, Eugene crossed the Saale, and effected a junction with the main army.

BATTLES OF LUTZEN AND BAUTZEN.

THE first collision between the hostile armies took place, May 1st, in crossing the defile of Grûnebach, leading to the plains of Lutzen, when the head of Souham's division of Ney's corps being assailed by the battery on the heights of Poserna, 300 men were struck down; but at length the leading square effecting its passage, the allied vanguard retreated, and the French army entering the plain, bivouacked for the night around Lutzen, and the adjacent villages. In this encounter marshal Bessières, duke of Istria, and colonel of the imperial guards,

was killed. Being among the foremost who advanced to reconnoitre the position of the allies, the brigadier of his escort was killed by his side, being struck by a cannon-ball. “Inter that brave man!” said the marshal. The words had scarcely passed his lips when a second cannon-ball struck himself on the breast, and laid him dead on the spot. Bessières was one of Napoleon's most esteemed generals, and had, in different ranks, commanded the guard which accompanied him in his battles. The body of the marshal was covered with a white sheet to con-

ceal the calamity from his soldiers, and no one spoke of the event even at the imperial head-quarters—an ominous practice, which was commenced during the disastrous Moscow retreat, and was continued in this campaign, in order that the fearful consumption of men by which it was characterised might be less observed.

On the morning of the 2nd, the French army was thus placed:—Ney's corps was stationed in the centre, of which the village of Kaya formed the key, sustained by the imperial guards, who were drawn up before Lutzen, celebrated for the death of Gustavus Adolphus two centuries before, and whose tomb is situated in its neighbourhood, shaded by trees and evergreens. The young and old guard, under Marmont, formed the right, extending as far as the defile of Poserna, and resting on Kaya. Eugene's troops formed the left wing, reaching from Kaya to the Elster.

The allies, who had bivouacked for the night within two leagues of the enemy, early in the morning of the 2nd, crossed the Elster near Pegau, and making a furious attack on Kaya, the enemy was driven out of the village, and the centre of the army broken. Ney was contemplating a retreat; Buonaparte was at the moment pressing forward with the right wing in column, with the intention of possessing himself of Leipsic, and though attacked in flank, he pushed forward sixteen battalions of the young guard, preceded by eighty pieces of artillery, and followed by the whole of the reserve cavalry. Kaya was regained. At the same time the two wings of the French army prepared to wheel up and outflank those of the allies. The battle lasted till darkness had enveloped the field. The allies, to save themselves from being surrounded, fell back a short distance. The contest had been furious and bloody. Amidst the ruins of the burning villages, the flower of the Prussian youth, who had left their universities to support the cause of national honour and freedom, and the French conscripts, many of whom were students in the universities, or of the best families, met in dreadful conflict, each side struggling gallantly for victory, until nearly half of their numbers found an untimely grave. Each army bivouacked on the field of battle amidst the smoking ruins of the villages that had been destroyed. The French reposed in squares, with their arms beside them, in case of surprise in the night. On the

following morning, the allies retreated to Leipsic without the loss of prisoners, standards, or cannon. The enemy's loss was in killed 6,000, in wounded 12,000, and 700 prisoners. That of the allies was 15,000, among whom was Scharnhorst, one of the most accomplished strategists and staff-officers in Europe. Among the dead lay many of the landwehr and landsturm in their dresses from the plough. Ere the battle was scarce finished, Buonaparte despatched couriers to all the courts of Europe, even as far as Constantinople, to blazon exaggerated reports of his victory. Wittgenstein, who had succeeded to the chief command of the allied forces, on the death of Kutusoff, commanded at the battle of Lutzen. The outrages of the French, both on their march and in the neighbourhood of the battle, had been great. All the miseries of war, arising from pillage and outrage, were inflicted on the unhappy inhabitants on every side. Under the very windows of the chamber of the hotel at Eckartsberg, where Buonaparte slept on the night preceding the battle, the licentious soldiers, with loud shouts and desperate cries, throughout the night, threw on a huge fire the furniture, beds, and property of the inhabitants, into whose houses they had broke. On the morning following the battle the allies slowly retired to Dresden, and crossing the Elbe, marched for their strongly entrenched camp at Bautzen, without having sustained the loss of a single piece of artillery, or any prisoners, during their retreat. Buonaparte entered Dresden on the 8th, and was received as a friend and conqueror by the magistrates and populace, who only a few days before had hailed with the most enthusiastic acclamations the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia as liberators of Germany. On the magistrates obsequiously presenting themselves to him—"Who are you?" said he, in a quick and rude tone of voice. "Members of the municipality," replied the trembling burgomasters. "Have you bread?" "Our resources have been entirely exhausted by the requisitions of the Russians and Prussians." "Ha! it is impossible, is it? I know no such word; get ready bread, meat, and wine." On the 12th his faithful vassal, the king of Saxony, presented himself, who was welcomed with extraordinary pomp, and entertained with a military fête, as a token of his esteem, for being the only one of his dependent princes who still contributed to indulge him in his dream of universal and absolute dominion.

The dismantled arches of the Dresden bridge being restored, the troops and artillery crossed to the right bank of the river; and on the 16th, Ney was despatched from Torgau with a corps of 60,000 men to march by a circuitous route, to be ready to assail the right flank of the allied army, as soon as Buonaparte was sufficiently advanced with the main body of the grand army to attack the centre and left. On the 18th, Caulincourt was sent on a mission to the head-quarters of the czar, with proposals for an accommodation, among which was the proposition to despoil Napoleon's submissive vassal, the Saxon king, of his recently acquired dominions, by depriving him of the grand ducal crown of Poland. Buonaparte's perfidy to the Poles was equally detestable. While professing to restore to that unhappy nation its lost nationality, he proposed to the czar that a condition of their amicable relations should be, that the grand duchy of Warsaw should be incorporated with the Prussian monarchy, and that Warsaw should be the capital of Prussia. His proposal met with no acceptance from the czar.

On the 19th May, the French army was in presence of the allies, and bivouacked on the left bank of the Sprey. Under a powerful array of artillery, dispersed along every projection that commanded the opposite bank, temporary bridges were constructed, the passage of the river was effected, and immediately, for the purpose of opening a communication with Ney's troops on the right flank of the allies, Bertrand's Italian corps was detached; but these troops lying in loose order after partaking of a repast in a wood, were surprised by Barclay de Tolly. They immediately took refuge in the neighbouring neutral territory of Bohemia, but with the loss of 2,000 prisoners and sixteen cannon. At the same moment, D'Yorck, who was advancing against Lauriston's division, which formed the head of Ney's column, was repulsed by that general with a loss equal to that which Bertrand sustained.

The right of the allied army rested on strongly fortified eminences; their left on a chain of wooded hills. The Prussians, under Blucher, occupied the right; the Russians, under the command of the czar, held the left. The right formed the key of the position.

By five o'clock of the morning of the 20th, the French advanced to the attack. Ney was ordered to make a circuit round the allied extreme right, and turn that

flank; and Oudinot simultaneously to engage the left, while Soult and Buonaparte attacked the centre. For four hours the struggle was maintained with unflinching obstinacy; the heights were repeatedly won, lost, and regained. Ney having now turned the right flank of the position, and Oudinot preparing to perform the same manœuvre on the left flank, the allies, to prevent being attacked in both rear and front, abandoned their entrenched position, and retired in two massive columns, repelling every charge of the French cavalry, and replying with equal rapidity and effect to the artillery of their pursuers. So skilfully was their retreat conducted, that on the morning following the battle, the allied rear-guard held the heights of Weissenberg, which are within cannon-shot of the field of Bautzen; every eminence, ravine, and obstacle being made available to arrest the pursuit of the enemy. The allies continued their retreat towards their entrenched camp near Schweidnitz, in Upper Silesia, where they determined to remain till the reinforcements on their march from Russia and Prussia should come up, and that time might be afforded to Austria to join the coalition. Fresh attacks were made on the following day on the rear of the allies, which were constantly repelled. Napoleon, though he might claim to be victor, was much dissatisfied with the result of these operations. His ill-humour broke out in angry reproaches. To one of his generals he addressed the coarse speech, "You creep—scoundrel!" and he expressed bitter vexation at finding no guns and no prisoners remained in his power, after all the blood that had been shed. On the heights of Reichambach, where the Russian rear-guard made a halt, the French general, Bruyeres, a veteran of the army of Italy, was struck down by a bullet, and afterwards Duroc received a mortal wound from a ball which had shivered a tree close to which Napoleon had been standing, and which in its rebound killed general Kirchenner. Buonaparte visited his dying follower and confidant, whose entrails had been torn by the shock, and is said to have been greatly affected by his fate. An interesting dialogue was published as having passed between them, which, however, general Rapp told Bourrienne was purely an effort of invention, as Duroc had only requested his emperor to suffer him to die in peace.

The loss of the allies in killed and wounded was 15,000; that of the enemy

5,000 killed, 1,500 prisoners, and 20,000 wounded, who were lodged in Bautzen, and the villages in its environs. The army of the allies amounted to 90,000 men, that of the French to 150,000. The czar was commander-in-chief of the allied forces.

On the eve of the night preceding the battle of Bautzen, an armistice was proposed by the allies, for the settlement of disputes, under the mediation of Austria. On 4th June, a convention for a six weeks' truce was signed at Pleswitz, a village in the circle of Striegau, and a general congress of diplomatists was appointed to take place at Prague. On the day that this congress was held, the details of the battle of Vittoria reached the belligerents, and had an important influence on subsequent events. The preliminaries being settled, Buonaparte returned to Dresden.

This city now assumed a Frenchified appearance. Parisian costumes, manners, and equipages, were predominant. The theatres were filled with actors and actresses from the Theatre Française, or the Opera Comique. French licentiousness and immorality inundated the city, and inflicted a moral gangrene on the proverbial honesty of the Saxon character. The ladies of pleasure became so numerous, and their gains so large, that despite the habitual extravagance and improvidence of that section of "the fair defects of nature," their expenses could not keep pace with their receipts, and many of them in a few weeks became eminent capitalists, imbued with the proper commercial spirit.*

Austria, who had for some months been veiling her preparations for assuming a formidable attitude, under the specious pretext of mediation, now deemed the time favourable for declaring her intentions. Count Metternich, on the part of Austria, had an interview with the French emperor on the 28th of June. The latter would at first hear of nothing but the resumption of hostilities, or peace upon such terms as he might be pleased to dictate. He complained that Austria was neither his friend, nor an impartial judge, but wished to profit from his embarrassments to regain what he had taken. "Well!" said he, "let us drive a bargain. How much is it you want?" Metternich replied, that all his master

desired was to see moderation, and respect for the rights of nations prevail; but matters were come to that extremity, that Austria could not remain neutral: she must be with the emperor of the French or against him. In the progress of their conference, as Napoleon collected from Metternich, that Austria could not be bribed to join him by any moderate concession to gratify her selfishness, he broke out into very angry language, and asked Metternich "what England had given to induce Austria to make war on him?" The Austrian minister, disdaining to defend himself against so coarse an accusation, only replied by a look of scorn and resentment. A profound silence followed, during which Napoleon and Metternich traversed the apartment with long steps, without looking at each other. Napoleon dropped his hat, perhaps to give a turn to this awkward situation. But Metternich was too deeply affronted for any office of courtesy; and the emperor was obliged to lift it himself. Buonaparte then resumed the discourse in a more temperate strain, and said he did not yet despair of peace. On the 14th of June, Great Britain acceded to the treaty concluded between Russia and Prussia. Metternich proposed, in the interview which has been described, that the French should entirely evacuate Germany, and that the Rhine should be the boundary of the French empire. The revolutionary governments of France, and Buonaparte, had proclaimed that the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the ocean, were the natural limits of France. Metternich did not claim that Savoy should be given up, or the acquisitions of France beyond the Alps; but Buonaparte refused to yield what the Austrian negotiator had required, and declared that he would not abandon the Confederation of the Rhine. He attempted, by lofty-sounding language, to overawe Metternich. That able diplomatist had not to learn that the circumstances of the time made Austria omnipotent, and he was not to be intimidated any more than he was to be tempted or duped. It was in vain that Austria was offered the Illyrian provinces, with an indemnity for what she had lost, to be wrung from her ancient enemy, the Ottoman Porte. The offer was spurned, and Metternich declared that Germany must no longer be torn to pieces by wars: her independence must be restored. It now became evident that in the character of mediator, Austria

* Ce fut l'âge d'or des femmes livrées à la débauche. On en vit plusieurs s'enrichir au point de se constituer des rentes, ou de payer comptant en napoléons des maisons qu'elles achetaient.—*Temoin*, Oculaire, 148; *Odeï*, tom ii., p. 148.



PRAG.
IN THE OCCUPATION OF THE ALLIED TROOPS

could effect no accommodation: she could not be detached from the general cause by anything that Buonaparte offered for her exclusive advantage; and Napoleon rejected as insulting, terms which would have placed him on an equality with the most powerful sovereigns of Europe. It was then determined, as a last resort, to hold a congress at Prague; and it was the wish of Buonaparte that the negotiations should go on, even if the war were renewed. The congress accordingly assembled, but no pacification was brought about. It was forcibly pressed upon Austria by the allies, that she had only to throw her weight into the scale, and the overgrown power of Buonaparte must be destroyed for ever. The emperor Francis still hesitated. It may, however, be presumed that family considerations made him reluctant to become the foe of Buonaparte. On the 7th of August, Austria submitted to the assembled powers and their representatives, her plan of pacification, of which the bases were the following:—1. The dissolution of the grand duchy of Warsaw, which was to be divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. 2. The re-establishment of the Hanseatic towns in their former independence. 3. The reconstruction of Prussia, assigning to that kingdom a frontier on the Elbe. 4. The cession to Austria of the maritime town of Trieste, with the Illyrian provinces. The emancipation of Spain and Holland, as matters in which England, no party to the congress, took chief interest, was not stirred for the present, but reserved for consideration at the general peace. A concluding article stipulated that the condition of the European powers, great and small, as might be settled at the peace, should be guaranteed to all and each of them, and not innovated upon except by general consent.

Buonaparte in return offered much, but most of his cessions were clogged with conditions, which at once showed how unwillingly they were made, and seemed, in most cases, to provide the means of annulling them when times should be favourable.

1. The grand duchy of Warsaw Napoleon

* It has been truly said by a writer, who was an eyewitness of his fearful narrative, that "the progress and retreats of the French armies were marked by acts more suited to the ruthless and savage deeds of a horde of barbarians; to the followers of an Attila, a Timour Bec, or a Ghengis Khan, than to those of a European military force: they left behind them scenes of horror, misery, and desolation, unparalleled in the annals of war, but which are the inevitable results of the revenge-

ful passions inspired in a licentious soldiery, who are the instruments of evil and insatiable ambition." The historian of the operations of the French armies in Germany during 1809, says—"terror preceded, devastation followed us. The advanced guard seizes the best of everything, the centre have to glean, the rear-guard finding nothing, vent their rage in setting fire to the houses and buildings." The military reports, says that most impartial and truth-speaking

agreed to yield up, but stipulated that Dantzic, with its fortifications demolished, should remain a free town, and that Saxony should be indemnified for the cession of the duchy, at the expense of Prussia and Austria. 2. The cession of the Illyrian provinces was agreed to, but the seaport of Trieste was reserved. 3. Contained a stipulation that the German Confederation should extend to the Oder. Lastly; the territory of Denmark was to be guaranteed. Napoleon's agreement, however, to grant some of the terms of the allies was so tardy, that before they could arrive at Prague, the 10th of August, the day which concluded the armistice, had expired, and the signature of Austria was affixed to the secret article of the treaty of Reichenbach, entered into the preceding month of June, which had been expressly reserved by count Studeon for the sanction of the emperor of Austria, in which it was stipulated, that "in the event of Austria taking a part in the war, she should receive £500,000 in bills on London, and the like sum in military stores and equipments; that she should bring 200,000 men into the field." In the course of the night, the immediate recommencement of hostilities was announced to all the armies of the allies, by rockets thrown up from the heights along the frontiers of Bohemia and Silesia.

On the 27th July, the exiled general Moreau, at the pressing solicitation of Bernadotte and the czar, had landed from America at Goteburg, and on the 16th was received with high distinction at the allied head-quarters at Prague. At the same time Jomini, who had been chief of Ney's staff, chagrined at having been refused the rank of general of division in the French army, also passed over to the allies. The towns forming the Hanseatic league, who had fallen again under the dominion of the French, were now punished for their defection with the most heartless cruelty. All the atrocities of Junot, Massena, and Soult, in Spain and Portugal, were equalled by Davoust, Vandamme, and the other satellites of lawless power on the banks of the Elbe, Bremen, and other parts of Germany in the summer of 1813.*

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THE SAXON CAMPAIGN.

THE BATTLES OF DRESDEN, CULM, GROSS-BEEREN, DENNEWITZ, AND LEIPSIK.

To Buonaparte the coalition of Austria with the allies, and the breaking off of all negotiations for peace, were in every respect to the last extreme mortifying. He had been so far subdued, that he was willing to make

of all French writers, the late general Foy (*Histoire de la Guerre en Péninsule sous Napoleon*) presented nothing but a series of burnings and massacres, rapine and pillage, violation of women and children, and desecration of churches and altars. Our soldiers were inexorable to the patriot who defended the fruit of his garden, or the honour of his wife or daughter." Where the French armies bivouacked "the scene was such as might have been looked for in the camp of predatory Tartars rather than that of a civilized people." Forced requisitions were not limited to the necessary supplies of the armies. "In rich countries," says M. Blazé, "twenty times the quantity of provisions that it was possible to consume were brought to the camp; the rest was wasted. At each bivouac our detachment left more than enough to subsist a regiment for a fortnight. In some cases the provisions collected were so profuse, and the appetites of the marauders so delicate, that they regaled themselves only with the tongues, the kidneys, and the brains. In the environs of Linge, a village in Flanders, my company was quartered at a farm-house, and the owner, to conciliate them, furnished each man with soup, bouilli, vegetables, bread, roast mutton, a salad, cheese, a bottle of wine, and a small glass of brandy; but they were discontented, being enraged to see the oxen, sheep, poultry and pigeons, quiet in the farm-yard on the faith of treaties; they would have preferred to have fallen on them with sword and musket to slaughter them all; to fritter all away in a single day, and then to proceed in the same manner in the neighbouring villages. Had the host given them roasted angels they would have grumbled; they would have liked to have caught them themselves much better. Such was their spirit of destruction, that if they entered a cellar wherein appeared twenty pipes of wine in imposing and majestic battle array, they would fire a ball at the staves of every one of them, and presently twenty fountains would be playing on all sides, amidst bursts of laughter from the rioters. Had one hundred pipes been in the cellar they would have been broached at once." Their destruction of other property was equally extensive. General Foy says—"our armies, in their passage through a country, destroyed in a few days its whole resources. Where they bivouacked, our soldiers destroyed houses which had stood for half a century, in order to construct, with their materials, those long right-lined villages which were frequently destined but for a day." M. Blazé says that often thirty villages were demolished to furnish materials for a right-line village for a single regiment. M. Labaume's account of French violence and destruction in the calamitous retreat from Moscow is equally full of horrors; the Saxon campaign was no less free of it. Lannes, on the reduction

the sacrifices which Metternich had in vain laboured to obtain at Dresden. These were all now offered to no purpose. It is due to his penetration to say, he appears to have expected that Austria would decide as she

of Saragossa, rifled the church of Nuestra Senora of jewels to the amount of five millions of francs, and appropriated the same to his private benefit. "How many saints of gold and silver, how many pyres and cups," exclaims M. Blazé, "were transformed into ingots, to be afterwards exchanged for hotels in Paris. How many diamonds and rubies, after adorn for ages the pompous ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church, were utterly astonished to find themselves on the bare bosom of an opera dancer. The magnificent pictures which adorned the churches of Spain now adorn the galleries of our generals, and their vacant places are covered by a piece of black serge." Indeed their rapacity was so great, that Loisson carried off all he could lay his hands on, even cambrie shirts, and the little silver ornaments from which the family on whom he had fastened himself furnished the toothpicks demanded for "his excellency's" use. Many French generals, among whom Vandamme and Davoust shone conspicuously, acted even more tyrannically in Germany and the other conquered countries. The lower and more abject the condition of the man had been, the more sumptuously and ostentatiously he required to be treated, and the more fearful and exorbitant were his exactions. "The insatiable cravings of French marshalism and French generalism, are," as general Haug appropriately said at the Tower Hamlets meeting, January, 1852, "but little known and understood in England." Neither were those acts of rapine and robbery limited to the demands of the army and its rapacious generals, but all the valuable works of art were sent away from the conquered countries to Paris; and often large sums of money were levied on the inhabitants for the exchequer of Paris. Suchet, on the capture of Valencia, levied a contribution of fifteen millions of francs for the same purpose. Davoust subjected the city of Hamburg to a contribution of forty-eight millions of francs, and Buonaparte, in his Italian campaigns, remitted many hundred millions, having in the first of those campaigns sent fifty millions for that purpose, and in his treaty of peace with the pope, he exacted thirty-six millions, in addition to former contributions. Even the tombs were rifled of their valuable appendages. In a word, seldom, if ever, has war, under the most barbarous aggressions, been carried on in its fearful visitations to the excess it was by the French armies in the wars of the consulate and the empire. Town after town, and village after village, were pillaged and burnt, and the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, often wantonly massacred, being either shot, sabred, or hung on the trees by the road-side. Suchet's barbarity was excessive. In almost every town he sacked, every house reverberated with shrieks of



KÖNIGSTEIN.
IN THE OCCUPATION OF THE FRENCH

had done. Apprehensive of an attack from the mountains of Bohemia, behind which her armies were assembling, he had established an entrenched camp at Pirna, and thrown a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Kœnigstein. Early in August he had assembled 250,000 men in Saxony and Silesia. At Leipsic there were 60,000 under Oudinot; at Loewenberg, Goldberg, Bautzau, and various places on the frontier of Silesia, 100,000 were collected, to be commanded

horror, every hearth reeked with blood from the acts of his savage troops. The dreadful tragedy performed by Murat at Madrid, is thus described in the *Memoirs of a Voltigeur in the French Service*:—"It is with grief I speak it, but truth compels me to acknowledge that every conceivable atrocity, marked the conduct of the French soldiery on this dreadful occasion. The troops took deadly vengeance, sparing neither age nor sex: the child and the adult, the male and the female, were cut down and pierced alike, by the edge of the sabre or the point of the bayonet. Even the penitent at the altar found no protection from the soldiers' mad vengeance; and the unhappy individuals confined by sickness to the wards of the hospitals, were torn from their beds and inhumanly lacerated. One of our grenadiers encountering a young woman, holding an infant in one hand, and brandishing a poniard in the other, stunned the mother with the butt-end of his musket, and impaled the child on the bayonet. To consummate the horrors of the dreadful scene, which took place on this occasion, the matron and the virgin were the victims of the most brutal and unbridled lust." Massena's advance and retreat in the Portuguese campaign—Junôt and Loisson's acts in Portugal—Suchet and Augereau's atrocities in the east of Spain—and those of Soult in the north of Portugal, in Catalonia, Murcia, Granada, Andalusia, and the vale of Placencia, exceed the most savage and ruthless atrocities that the annals of war exhibit. In the invasion of Portugal by Massena, the foraging detachments had orders to bring in all girls and women between twelve and thirty years of age, for the use of the soldiery. A correspondent of the *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxv., says, that when the French marshal retreated from before the lines of Torres Vedras, he "saw with his own eyes, between forty and fifty of those unhappy creatures in a state of disease, famine, and insanity beyond all conception." Their vengeance and cruelty extended even to the brute creation. When the English army closed on the rear of the fugitives, often the appalling scene occurred of numbers of mangled carcasses of both sexes; and of horses, mules, asses, and oxen, employed in the conveyance of the artillery, ammunition, and stores, as they became exhausted, were hamstrung, and left to perish from famine. Except by Dorsenne, Monçon, Jourdan, Macdonald, Marmont, Brune, Mortier, Trayôt, Brennier, Charlot, and a few others, those acts of demoniac atrocity were sanctioned and enjoined by the French generals, in consequence of the standing order of Buonaparte. As an ingenious annalist (Alison, *History of Europe*) has said, "in the course of the Peninsular war, it was the peculiar and characteristic disgrace of the French, that the atrocious and revolting proceedings of the troops were not only permitted, but enjoined by the French

by Macdonald. In addition to these may be enumerated 50,000 in Lusatia, 20,000 with St. Cyr, stationed to observe the mountains of Bohemia, while in Dresden, Buonaparte appeared himself with his guard, amounting to about 30,000 men. Besides these his operations were aided by an army in Italy, commanded by Beauharnois, and 25,000 Bavarians formed an army of reserve under general Wrede. The allies possessed a force of 200,000 men, ready for action.

commanders in their general orders emanating from head-quarters." Soult, in his provinces, ordered all the villages to be delivered to the flames, and all the patriot bands to be considered as armed banditti. Augereau ordered the same species of force to be hung by the side of the highway, without any form of process. Suchet's conduct towards the Catalans was equally savage and atrocious. Bessières (proclamation, June 5th, 1811) ordered that the clergy, alcades, curés, and justices of every village should be responsible for the furnishing and the exact payment of the requisitions, and that every village not executing the orders, and furnishing the supplies, should be delivered over to military execution; and that fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, and nephews, should be responsible for the conduct of their relatives, and shot without any form of trial.—(Belmar, *Journeaux des Sièges dans la Péninsule*.) It has been well said, that as yet England, happily, knows little or nothing of the horrors and miseries of war, the massacres and burnings, the pillage and rapine, the violation of women and children, and the other horrors, miseries, and atrocities that are perpetrated, unchecked and with impunity, by the soldiery of foreign armies. These and the like enormities and dreadful visitations of war have never been experienced by the people of England in modern times; but let them recollect, that they will have to endure them, in the most frightful and aggravated form, should the sacred soil of England be polluted and profaned by the footsteps of a foreign foe. If we wish the salvation of our property from rapine, our wives and daughters from violation, our children from slaughter; if we wish to preserve our virtue and happiness undestroyed, and our national feelings and honour uninsulted, let us take counsel from the preceding notices of French lust, rapine, and cruelty. Those narratives, be it remembered, are not founded on English testimony; for, to the discredit of the English military writers, they are studiously silent on the subject, or endeavour to extenuate or cast a veil over the hideously cruel and criminal acts; and in this respect, the author of *The War in the Peninsula* stands pre-eminent; but on French works of high authority, and whose authors being men of honourable birth and high mental attainments, felt that their country had been dishonoured, and its arms tarnished, by those acts. Besides the preceding brief sketch, to those who wish to know the full measure of French atrocity and French outrage in the conquered countries of Europe during the wars of "The Consulate and the Empire," among many other trustworthy publications upon the subject, the perusal of a work entitled *Galli in Hispania; seu Napoleonis Rapacitatis Descriptio*, is recommended.

Of these 80,000 were Russians and Prussians, and 120,000 Austrians, commanded by Schwartzberg, who was named commander-in-chief of the army of the allies; a distinction which, it was supposed, his talents and experience entitled him to claim. The army of Silesia, under Blucher, defended the frontier of that country, and consisted of 80,000 Russians and Prussians, being half of the original invading army. The crown-prince of Sweden was nearer the gates of Berlin with an army of 90,000 men, 60,000 Prussians, and 30,000 Swedes;—30,000 Russians, Prussians, and insurgent Germans under general Walmoden, were on foot in the duchy of Mecklenberg. Hiller watched Beauharnois with 30,000 Austrians, and the prince of Reuss, with 25,000 men, watched a force of the same amount under the Bavarian general, Wrede.

The allies had arranged between themselves, to prevent their auxiliary corps from being defeated in detail, not to accept battle when proffered by the enemy, but to retreat and decoy as far as possible in pursuit, while the grand army advanced from the mountain passes of Bohemia on Dresden, and intercepted the enemy's communications. Blucher, to whom the protection of Berlin was entrusted, advanced in great force against the armies of Macdonald and Ney, who were on the Silesian frontier, menacing that capital. Immediately (15th August) on receipt of information of this movement, Buonaparte marched with the guards and Lautour Maubourg's cuirassiers to the assistance of his generals. Blucher, faithful to his engagement, retreated across the Kutzbach, and established himself in a position on the river Nisse, near Jauer, so as to cover Berlin. In these operations the forces of each side had sustained a diminution of 6,000 men, though no general engagement had taken place, only mere skirmishes. The grand allied army availing themselves of the denuded state of Dresden, descended from the Bohemian passes, and advanced towards that capital. On the approach of the allies, St. Cyr, who was posted, with 30,000 men, in the entrenched camp at Pirna, to protect the passes leading from the Bohemian mountains to Dresden, threw himself into that capital for its defence. By the 25th of August the allies had surrounded the place with 120,000 men and 500 cannon. The assault was postponed till the following day, to give time for the arrival of Klenau's corps from Freyberg, to take their place in

the line. They bivouacked on the neighbouring heights. Thus, in this early stage of the campaign, did Schwartzberg prove his incompetency in command, as Buonaparte justly observed. Had he been sufficiently active in his operations, he would have cut off the enemy from his pivot of operations, and possessed himself of the key to the line of his communications with Paris.

On receipt of the news of this masterly manœuvre of the allies, Buonaparte, leaving to Macdonald the control of the army destined to act in Silesia, hurried forward (August 21st) with the guards and cuirassiers towards Dresden.

About four o'clock of the 26th, at the signal of three guns fired from head-quarters, 100 guns in the front line opened a tremendous fire on the devoted town; and bombs and cannon-balls fell on all sides over its whole extent. At the same moment six heavy columns, each preceded by fifty pieces of artillery, advanced to the embrasures of the redoubts. Immediately a storm of fire issued from the works; to which the allied batteries on the semicircle of heights about the town replied with a hurricane of projectiles. The devoted town was quickly enveloped in smoke and flame. The Mozinski redoubt was stormed by the Austrians under Colloredo, and the Prussians under Kleist drove the enemy out of the Grosse Garten, and approached close to the barrier of the suburb on that side; already the hatchets of the pioneers resounded at the gate of Plauen, and the barrier Dippolderwalde. All thought that a surrender was inevitable; when suddenly columns were seen rushing forward at the charging pace from the right side of the Elbe, the suburb of Friedrichstadt being the only part of the circuit of the town not yet enveloped by the enemy; and sweeping over its bridges, marched through the city, and halted on the western side at those avenues, from which it was designed they should debouch upon the enemy. At this instant (half-past six o'clock) the gates of Plauen and Pirna were thrown open, and dense masses of the newly-arrived troops, furiously rushing out, formed in line opposite to the besiegers. The allies being quickly driven from the lodgments they had made, drew off their troops, and bivouacked for the night on the heights around the walls. The French established themselves for the night from the barrier of Pirna to the suburb of Fried-

richstadt. The loss of the allies in the assault and battle had been 6,000 men. They now arranged their formidable masses in the form of a semicircle on the heights around the walls of the city, from the Elbe above the suburb of Pirna, to the foot of the slopes of Wolfnitz, near Priestnitz. Torrents of rain fell incessantly during the night. Amidst thick mist and incessant rain, the battle recommenced on the following morning. Shrouded by the fog, Murat,* with 12,000 cuirassiers, stole round the rear of Victor's corps, and posted his force close to the extreme of the Austrian left, almost perpendicular to their line, in the space left for Klenau's corps to complete the line. During the contest between the hostile infantry, he suddenly burst out of the mist on the flank and rear of the astonished Austrians, who in a few minutes were cut to pieces, or taken, to the number of 12,000. No sooner was Napoleon made aware, by the advancing cannonade on his right, that Murat's attack had proved successful, than he gave orders for his left to advance against Wittgenstein, while the action in the centre was still confined to a distant cannonade. Ney had concentrated the four divisions of the Young Guard between the Gross Garten and the Elbe, and with them and Kellerman's dragoons he immediately made a vigorous attack upon the enemy. He was received by the Russians with their wonted steadiness. The villages of Seidnitz and Gross Dobritz were gallantly defended, against an overwhelming superiority of force, by general de Roth; and when he could no longer make them good, he retreated in good order to the main body of Wittgenstein's men, placed in the rear behind Rieck. Jomini seeing Ney far advanced along the Elbe, and showing his flank to the allied centre, counselled the emperor Alexander to move forward Kleist, Milaradowitch, Colorado, and the masses of the centre which had not yet been engaged, and assail his columns in flank, by Strehlen: a movement which promised the most important results, and would probably have balanced the success of Murat on the left. Alexander at once appreciated the importance of this movement, and Kleist and Milaradowitch were already in motion to execute it; but to support them, and fill up

the chasm in the line occasioned by their descending the hills to the right, it was necessary that Barclay de Tolly, with the Russian reserve, should advance to the front. Barclay, however, did not move: the signal made for that purpose, was at first not seen from the mist, and subsequently disregarded; and before the order could be renewed by an officer, a dreadful catastrophe had occurred, which in a great measure determined the allies to retreat.

Moreau, who had with equal energy and ability discharged the important duties devolved upon him in the council of the allies ever since the campaign reopened, was in earnest conversation with the emperor Alexander about this very advance of Barclay's, when a cannon-shot from the French batteries in the centre almost carried off both his legs, the ball passing through the body of his horse. This melancholy event excited a very deep sensation at the allied head-quarters, and for a time averted Alexander's attention at the most critical moment of the action. The interest which it awakened was enhanced by the extraordinary heroism which the wounded general evinced under an excess of pain which might well have shaken any man's fortitude. He never uttered a groan while carried to the rear, with his mangled limbs hanging by the skin; and when laid on the table of the cottage into which he was carried to suffer amputation, he called for a cigar, which he smoked with the utmost tranquillity. He bore the painful operation with the same firmness which had distinguished his whole demeanour since his wound; and when the retreat commenced, he was transported in a litter to Laun, where at the end of five days fever supervened, and he expired with the same stoicism as he had lived, but without giving the slightest trace of religious impression. † Discouraged by this catastrophe, and the severe loss already sustained, Schwartzenberg, at a council of war, which was held at the allied head-quarters, decided for a retreat, contrary to the opinion of the czar, the king of Prussia, and their principal generals, who, as the whole centre and the reserves had not been engaged, were for continuing the battle. A retreat, however, was resolved on; and though Klenau had come up with his corps in the night of the 27th, it was begun on the following day, in three columns. The command of the rear-guard was entrusted to Wittgenstein; and Oster-

* Murat had again made his peace with the emperor, and had joined the French army on the 17th of August.

† Alison's *History of Europe*.

man, who, with a division of Russian guards and cuirassiers, had been posted so as to oppose Vandamme on the side of Pirna, was ordered to fall back towards Peterswalde, for the purpose of covering the retreat of the allies.

The retreat of the allies was directed towards Toplitz; and, as the principal roads were closed, Murat being established on the western road to Bohemia, by Freyberg, and Vandamme with 30,000 men blocking up that by Peterswalde, near the mountains of Bohemia, they were obliged to be content with the difficult and broken roads and narrow passes. All were hurrying to Toplitz, in order to concentrate on the only road practicable for artillery, by which they could hope to reach Prague. Disorder became extreme. Baggage and ammunition-waggons were lost at every step; and in the pursuit of the fleeing columns, Murat, St. Cyr, and Mortier captured above 2,000 prisoners.

Osterman, in his march to Peterswalde, for the purpose of covering the retreat of the allied army to Toplitz, and protecting the immense stores collected there until their arrival, was intercepted by Vandamme, who, descending from the heights of Peterswalde, beyond Pirna, on which he was posted, threw his force on the line of Osterman's march. The Russian general forced his passage through his opponents, and reached the plain between Culm and Toplitz. The French pursued, when Osterman faced round and made a resolute and inflexible defence. Being reinforced on the following day (August 30th) by some of the retreating columns, Vandamme's troops being soon overpowered, retreated, under cover of the night, to the heights upon Culm. At day-break of the following morning (August 31st) he renewed the attack, but his troops being quickly thrown into confusion, he formed his force into a column, the cavalry in front, under Corbineau, the artillery in the centre, and the infantry in the flanks and rear; and began his retreat. At this moment, Kleist's corps, that had evaded the pursuit of St. Cyr, appeared on the crest of the ridge of the Peterswalde heights, which Vandamme's retreating columns were preparing to ascend. The Prussians fearing the French were intending to intercept their flight, determined to force their way through them to Toplitz; the French, on the other hand, seeing their passage intercepted, formed the same conclusions as the Prussians had done. The Prussians, therefore,

breaking their ranks, rushed down the steep; while the French, in similar disorder, ascended it with a bravery of despair that supplied the advantage of ground. A scene of confusion ensued. All became a mass of confusion; the Prussian generals finding themselves in the centre of the French, and the French officers in the centre of the Prussians. But fresh columns of the retreating Russians coming up, Vandamme, with 7,000 men, 60 guns, 2 eagles, and 300 ammunition waggons, were captured. Corbineau, with 12,000 men, dispersing through the woods and wilds, and throwing away their arms, escaped over the mountains to Peterswalde. The total loss of the French in the two days exceeded 18,000 men, while that of the allies in the same period did not exceed 5,000. The loss of the allies in the two battles of Dresden had been 25,000 in killed and wounded, 13,000 prisoners, 26 cannon, 18 standards, and 130 caissons. The loss of the French was about 14,000 men. On the first day of the battle of Dresden, the Tyrtæus of modern Germany, the poet Theodor Körner, having received a ball in his breast, fell with his carbine in his hand, in the midst of a band of German students. Only a few hours before the battle began, he had composed his spirit-stirring dirge to his sword. During the continuance of the armistice of Pleswitz, while Lutzow's corps, to which Körner was attached, was returning to Silesia, it was perfidiously attacked by the French general, Fourrier, at Ketzig, near Zeitz, in Saxony, and nearly cut to pieces. Before the attack commenced, Körner advanced to the French general to assure him that they were relying on the faith of the armistice. The perfidious barbarian leader exclaiming—"The armistice is for all the world except you," cut him down before he had time to draw his sword. The poet's comrades rushing in, raised him, weltering in his blood, and conveyed him to a cottage until he was removed to Leipsic.

The other pursuing French corps d'armée, fearful of committing themselves as Vandamme had done, halted on arriving at the verge of the Bohemian mountains; Murat at Sayda, Marmont at Zimmeldez, and St. Cyr at Liebenaa. The head-quarters of the czar remained at Toplitz. And the splendour of the victory at Dresden was not only obscured by the defeat at Culm, but other reverses rapidly followed.

When Buonaparte, on the 21st of Au-

gust, at the time of his departure to Dresden, transferred the command of the army of Silesia, amounting to 80,000 men, to Macdonald, his instructions to that marshal were to concentrate his troops, and march towards Blucher, who was in position in front of Jauer, so as to be in a situation to give his aid to the grand army at Dresden; but if attacked by superior forces to retire to the entrenched camp at Dresden. But Macdonald believing that the Prussian general was about to retreat in the direction of Breslau, marched, on the morning of the 26th, to attack him. At the same moment, Blucher being informed of Buonaparte's departure for Dresden, broke up from his position to resume the offensive. By this coincidence, the Prussian general was descending the river Kutzbach, while the French marshal was ascending it with the intention of attacking him in his position at Jauer. At two o'clock in the afternoon the hostile armies were in sight of each other; but the heavy rain, accompanied with thick mist, which had fallen the whole day, contributed to conceal the movements of the opposing armies.

The encounter took place on the plains which extend between Whalstadt and the Kutzbach. Blucher having his cavalry all in front, and ready for action, and observing the enemy unprepared, their forces not being yet concentrated, gave the signal for attack. The French cavalry, unable to resist, were driven headlong back, and Sacken's infantry coming up at the instant, charged the unprotected infantry of Ney's corps with the bayonet, and drove them headlong over the precipices into the Kutzbach and Wütbende Neisse. Souham's corps advancing to their assistance, met a similar fate. Lauriston, who commanded on the right, ascertaining the disaster which had befallen the left and centre, fell back, towards night, on those parts of the army which had not been engaged. Next day Blucher followed up his success, and on the following day crossed the Kutzbach, and drove the enemy back on all points towards the Bober. In the course of the pursuit, Puthed's division of Lauriston's corps, which had been despatched by a circuit to menace the rear of the allies, and harass their retreat, which had been deemed by the French marshal as inevitable, was driven into the Bober; 18,000 prisoners, 103 pieces of artillery, two eagles, 230 caissons, and several hundred ammunition-waggons, were the trophies of this victory.

The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was 7,000 men; that of the allies 4,000.

At the same time that orders were issued to Macdonald to march against Blucher, Oudinot was directed to advance against Berlin, and open the campaign in the quarter where Bernadotte maintained his position for the protection of that capital. On the very day of the receipt of his orders, Oudinot began his march, with an army consisting of 80,000 men. On the approach of the enemy, Bernadotte concentrated his forces, and prepared for battle. Early on the morning of the 23rd, the battle of Gross-Beeren was begun. In the early part of the day, the French had the advantage, but towards twilight it preponderated in favour of the allies, whose trophies were 1,500 prisoners, eighteen cannon, and a large quantity of baggage. On the 25th, the fortified town of Luckau, garrisoned by 1,000 men, surrendered; and on the following day, Girard, who had issued with 5,000 men from Magdeburg, to co-operate with Oudinot, was defeated at Leibnitz with the loss of 1,400 prisoners, and six pieces of cannon.

Undiscouraged by the reverses in Bohemia, Silesia, and Prussia, Ney was appointed to the command of the northern army, with strict injunctions to place his eagles on the walls of Berlin. Accordingly he assumed the command of Oudinot's army, which was lying under the walls of Wittenberg; and on the 5th September, moved forward against Bernadotte. On the evening of the same day the armies came in sight of each other. On the morning of the 6th, the battle of Dennewitz began. The contest had endured with the most vehement resolution nearly the whole day. The Prussian army, consisting of only 45,000 combatants, a great portion of whom were landwehrs, had maintained the conflict with heroic resolution against the French, who numbered 70,000 sabres and bayonets. At this moment Bernadotte with the Swedes and Russians, composing nearly one-half the allied army, appeared in order of battle, and proceeded to the attack, preceded by 150 pieces of cannon. Disorder and vacillation soon became visible in the enemy's line. Orders for a retreat were given at all points; the retreat soon became a flight. At length the whole army became a mass of fugitives. In the confusion the 7th corps, composed chiefly of Saxons, came over to the allies. The loss of the enemy on the field of battle, and the retreat to Torgau, exceeded 13,000 men, of

whom one-half were prisoners. The trophies were forty-three pieces of artillery, seventeen caissons, three eagles, and 6,000 stand of arms thrown away by the fugitives to accelerate their flight. The loss sustained by the allies was 6,000 men.

After having deputed to Ney his commission to plant the imperial eagles on the towers of Berlin, Buonaparte left Dresden with the imperial guard and cuirassiers on the 3rd of September, in the hopes of fetching a blow at Blucher; and on the 4th, joining Macdonald's corps at Hochkirk, immediately resumed operations against the Prussian general, and early in the forenoon came in contact with the advanced guard on the road to Gorlitz. Blucher, according to the system agreed on by the allies at Trachenberg, immediately fell back. The French army bivouacked for the night around Hochkirk, and on the following morning resumed the pursuit. At this moment news being received that the grand allied army was marching upon Dresden, leaving Marmont with his corps at Hoyerswerda, Buonaparte immediately countermarched the guards and cuirassiers to Dresden.

Wittgenstein was already (September 6th) possessed of Pirna; the main body of the Russian army was concentrating in the environs of Culm and Toplitz, and the Austrians were in the passes of Altenberg, Fürstenwolde, and Peterswalde. On the 7th, Buonaparte advancing against Wittgenstein, he retreated through the passes of Erzgebirge to Peterswalde, fearful of one of those sudden strokes of inspiration, when his opponent seemed almost to dictate to fate. Thither Buonaparte pursued him; but when he viewed the difficult defiles of the valley of Culm, and recalled to his mind the calamity of Vandamme, he determined to retrace his steps to Dresden, which he reentered on the 12th. No sooner had he retreated than Wittgenstein advanced towards Nellendorf, and attacking Dumonceau's division, posted on the summit of Erzgebirge, forced it back to Peterswalde, with the loss of 1,500 men; and St. Cyr was compelled to withdraw his whole corps to Gieshübel. Buonaparte hurried with his guards and cuirassiers to the assistance of his lieutenant; on his approach the allies fell back into the Bohemian plains; on the 17th a partial descent was made into the plain; but the column was so roughly handled, that they lost 1,200 slain, as many prisoners, three guns, and one eagle; this rebuff, with

a glance at the scene of Vandamme's catastrophe, suggested the policy of a retrograde march on Dresden. On September 9th, a triple treaty of alliance between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, was ratified at Toplitz, in which all parties agreed to furnish contingents of 150,000 men each; and on the 3rd of October a preliminary treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Austria was signed at the same place.

On his return to Dresden, Buonaparte received the alarming news, that Bernadotte was preparing to cross the Elbe; and that Blucher had advanced to the right bank of that river, and was in occupation of Bautzen. After a few hours' rest, he crossed the Elbe with his guards and cuirassiers; but as soon as he reached the advanced posts of his veteran enemy, at Hartau, he found him like the phantom knight of the poet, no substantial body against which he could direct his blows; the Prussian field-marshal, in obedience to his orders, calmly retreating before him. As soon, however, as the Prussian general reached a favourable position, he offered battle, which, after the French troops had remained under arms for several hours, was declined. Buonaparte deeming himself too weak to hazard an action, returned next day (September 24th) to Dresden.

During these operations the French suffered considerable loss from the partisan warfare of some of the leaders of the allies. Platoff and Thielman had defeated, at Altenburg, September 28th, Lefebvre Desnouettes, in command of 8,000 chasseurs-à-cheval and cavalry of the guard, with the loss of 1,500 prisoners, and five guns; and Chernicheff, on September 30th, had, with 3,000 cossacks, entered Cassel, the capital of Jerome Buonaparte's kingdom of Westphalia, and carried off in triumph the stores of the arsenal, his kingship's horses and carriages, and an immense store of booty. Soon after this event, more than one Westphalian regiment took the first opportunity of passing over from their fugitive monarch, who had precipitately decamped from his capital without firing a shot, to the ranks of German freedom. On the 27th, a Saxon battalion had passed over to Bernadotte from the camp of Ney.

Affairs were now in that condition, that change of position, and alteration in the line of action, were imperatively necessary on the part of the French. Famine, contagion, and mortality beset the army. The troops, worn out with incessantly harassing marches and privations, were in the last



LEIPZIG.
IN THE OCCUPATION OF THE ALLIED POWERS

MEETING OF THE EMPERORS OF AUSTRIA & RUSSIA
AT THE TOWN HALL.

stage of destitution. Though the average mortality in the hospitals was 200 daily, 12,000 — “the remains of 60,000, who had entered the hospitals since the opening of the campaign” (Buonaparte’s admission to St. Cyr)—wretched beings were heaped together there, labouring under the effects of typhus fever of the most malignant kind. The distribution of rations of meat had become rare; those of bread were reduced to one-half; and the surrounding country was entirely exhausted by the triple scourge of quartering, pillage, and contribution. So great had been the diminution of the effective force of the French army, which, at the termination of the armistice had amounted to 360,000 men, that now it was less than 200,000.

The arrival of Bennigsen’s reinforcement, nearly 60,000 strong, at Toplitz, on the 1st of October, was the signal for the recommencement of hostilities. Blucher, with 65,000 men, crossed the Elbe on the 3rd of October, and at the same time Bernadotte transferred his army over that river, and entered into communication with the Silesian army. Simultaneously with this movement, the grand allied army, under Schwartzberg, were advancing from the Erzgebirge mountains towards Leipsic, by Marienberg and Chemnitz. Buonaparte leaving St. Cyr, with 30,000 men, in Dresden, with

orders to defend it to the last extremity, and giving orders “to carry off all the cattle from the woods, and destroy the fruit trees on the right bank of the Elbe,” marched from that city on the 7th with the imperial guard and cavalry, and Macdonald and Marmont’s corps, and forming a junction with Oudinot, Bertrand, and Regnier’s divisions, under Ney, in the vicinity of Torgau, meditated an advance on Berlin, and thus transfer the war into the Prussian territory, at the same time rallying to his standard the beleaguered garrisons on the Oder and Elbe, containing 80,000 men. After fruitlessly exhausting several days in altercations with his generals on the impolicy of the measure, he determined to face about, and march towards the Rhine. In the mean time, all the disposable French forces had been ordered to concentrate at Leipsic, whither the whole of the allied forces were converging. Already, a considerable number of the 280,000 conscripts voted by the senate, in consequence of the application of the regent, Marie Louise, on the 7th of October, when she appeared in the legislative chamber, and pronounced the discourse prepared by her husband for the demand, had reached the frontiers, and been speedily incorporated with the various divisions of the grand army.

BATTLE OF LEIPSIC.

On the evening of the 15th October, Buonaparte having made his preparations, and surveyed the ground on which the allied army was being arranged, issued his orders to the different generals for the disposition of their respective corps, and then reconnoitring every outpost in person, distributed the eagles to those regiments that had not received those military emblems. The colours being presented, in the presence of the whole line, and military mass performed, the young soldiers, kneeling, swore that they would never abandon them, Buonaparte, at the same moment, exclaiming—“Swear that you will die rather than see France dishonoured!” “We swear!” was the universal response. On this day a brilliant cavalry skirmish between Prussian cuirassiers, commanded by Patlen, and six regiments of French cuirassiers, recently arrived from

Spain, under Murat, terminated in the defeat of the French cavalry, and Murat was so closely pursued, that he was nearly taken. Lindenau, through which ran the Mark-Ranstadt road, by which the only line of retreat to the Rhine, if necessary, must be effected, was occupied by Bertrand.

The night of the 15th passed in watchful silence, except by a midnight discharge of three rockets, emitting brilliant trains of white light, which ascended from the south of Leipsic, over the position of Schwartzberg; and they were immediately answered by four rockets of a deep red colour, from the northern horizon, marking the position of Blucher, and intimating that all was in readiness for a combined attack on the enemy early on the morrow.

The armies on each side consisted of two distinct bodies; one of each on the southern

side of the town, and one of each on the northern side. That on the southern side consisted of 110,000 men, of whom 1,800 were cavalry, under the immediate command of Buonaparte; that on the northern, posted at Möckhem, consisted of 45,000 infantry, and 3,000 cavalry, under Ney. The artillery of both armies consisted of 720 pieces of cannon. The allied army on the south, on the plain of Wachau, under Schwartzberg, consisted of 143,000 men, of whom 25,000 were cavalry, with 620 guns; that on the north, under Blücher, consisted of 56,000 effective men, with 156 guns. Blücher's colleague, Bernadotte, had not yet come up; a backwardness which had been visible in his conduct both at Gross-Beeren and Dennewitz, marked the whole of his conduct. His hope, with which the emperor Alexander had at one time amused him, of succeeding to the crown of France, did not incline him to push matters to an extremity, lest he should lose the favourable opinion of the French people, and his ambitious views be thus frustrated. At nine o'clock, on the discharge of three guns from the centre of Schwartzberg's army, the allied forces advanced against the French line in heavy columns, under cover of two hundred pieces of artillery. Confusion was occasioned in the French right; but in the centre the attack was not equally successful. Six times did the allies attack the villages of Wachau and Liebertnolkwitz, and six times were they repulsed. The battle had now lasted three hours, when Buonaparte ordered an attack on the allied centre, which, unable to resist the furious onset, under the murderous fire of 150 cannon, gave way. Buonaparte, deeming the battle gained, sent word to the king of Saxony in Leipzig of his supposed success; and enjoined him to cause all the church bells in the city, and adjoining villages, to be rung, to announce his victory. But at this imminent moment of danger, the czar, by advice of Jomini, ordering up his guards and reserves to the menaced point, and these troops being joined by the Austrian reserve under Nostitz, who had been placed in a position by Schwartzberg where they could not be brought before into action, restored the battle in that quarter. But though this extreme danger was averted in the centre to the west of Wachau, more imminent danger threatened the allies on the east of that village; Murat, at the head of 4,000 cuirassers of the guard, had borne

down on the flank of the allied right, and thundering through the gap they had made in the line, pushed on as far as Magdeberg, a village in their rear. To provide for the danger, the czar ordered up the red cossacks of the guard; and Barclay de Tolly's heavy cavalry, who bearing down on the hostile squadrons, instantly drove them back to their own lines, with the loss of twenty-four guns.

The crisis of the battle on this side Leipzig was not passed; but Buonaparte resolved to make one more effort for victory. About six o'clock he advanced against the village of Gossa, and captured it; but after it had been repeatedly taken and retaken, he was at last driven out of it by the Prussian division of Pirsch. Late in the evening Meerfeldt, in his endeavour to join the main army, being suddenly assailed by a division of the old guard and Poniatowsky, was made prisoner, with a whole battalion of his force. He was immediately brought into Buonaparte's presence. In an early part of the day Bertrand had been dislodged from Ländebau, but on receipt of Buonaparte's order to retake it at all hazards, after a desperate struggle he regained its possession. While the battle was raging on the western side of the city, the strife of war was equally rife at Mockern, on its north-west. Blücher, in conformity with the concerted plan of operations, put himself in motion at daybreak from his position in front of Halle, but did not come up with the enemy till the action had begun between the hostile armies on the northern side of Leipzig. After a most sanguinary conflict, in which Mockern was five times taken and retaken, and the villages of Gross and Klein Widderritzsch had been furiously thrice assailed, and as often bravely defended, Ney was driven back in confusion over the Partha, with the loss of 4,000 killed and wounded, 2,000 prisoners, twenty guns, and an eagle. In the course of the night, the cossacks, by surprise, captured an additional thirty cannon. Mortier's loss in killed and wounded was 6,000. The battle, which had been fiercely contested, continued to rage till nightfall, when the bloody work ceased, as if by mutual consent. Three cannon-shot, fired as a signal to the more distant points, intimated that the conflict was ended for the time, and the armies bivouacked in each other's presence, in the very positions they occupied the night before.

No sooner had the firing ceased, than

Buonaparte summoned Meerfeldt into his presence. Meerfeldt had been the person who, on the part of the emperor of Austria, had, after the battle of Austerlitz, solicited the armistice of Leoben. Through his agency, Buonaparte determined to appeal to the sentiments of affection which the emperor of Austria might be supposed to entertain for his daughter and grandchild. With many kind expressions, he dismissed him, on his parole, to the Austrian headquarters, "stored with every imaginable argument that could be urged against continuing the Russian alliance." "I seek only to repose in the shadow of peace," said the machiavellian diplomatist; "I am willing to make great sacrifices for this end. Adieu, general!" said he; "when on my behalf you shall speak of an armistice to the two emperors, I doubt not the voice that strikes their ears will be eloquent indeed in recollections." Meerfeldt had gone out like the messenger from the ark; and long and anxiously did Buonaparte expect his return. But he was the raven envoy, and brought back no olive branch. Buonaparte did not receive an answer till he had recrossed the Rhine.

The 17th passed without any actual hostilities; Buonaparte waiting for the result of his proposals, the allies the arrival of Bennigsen and Bernadotte. In the course of the day, Buonaparte contracted his circuit of operations, ranging his army considerably nearer to Leipsic, and on more favourable ground, of which Probstsheyda was the central point. His reserves from Düben had come up; and the Saxons, under Regnier, had joined Ney on the Partha. Schwartzberg, who had been reinforced by Bennigsen's reserve from Poland on his side, remedied his faulty dispositions, and made the requisite arrangements for pressing on the French columns on all sides of the narrow circle into which they had retired. Bernadotte had also effected a junction with Blücher. The allied army now amounted to 280,000 combatants, with nearly 1,400 guns.

At length the morning of the 18th dawned, and the folly of the cant of "Napoleon's star" and "destiny," with which the minds of men had suffered themselves to be beguiled, proved to be the juggle of the mountebank. Buonaparte was stationed on an eminence called Thornberg, which commanded a prospect of the whole field. Masses of infantry and cavalry were drawn up behind the villages, which

were to relieve their defenders with fresh troops as occasion might require; batteries of cannon were ranged in their front and in their flanks; and every patch of wooded ground which afforded the least shelter was filled with tirailleurs. The allied columns with rapid strides approached from every point. The battle was joined on all sides, and renewed with tenfold more vigour than had been the case on the 16th. A furious cannonade thundered along the hostile lines. On the external range of heights and villages, which had been so desperately defended on the 16th, the allies found no opposition but that of the outposts. The allies driving the Poles, under Poniatowski, and Augereau's corps, posted on the banks of the Elster before them, directed their principal efforts against the villages of Connowitz and Probstsheyda. Four times was the last-mentioned village, which formed the salient angle of the position of the French around Leipsic furiously assaulted; and four times was it recovered by its gallant defenders. Macdonald, at the village of Stoetteritz, on the left, was equally successful in resisting the repeated assaults of an overwhelming force. About this period of the battle, the Wurtemberg brigade of cavalry, under Hormann, passed over to the allies. Schwartzberg now receiving information of the decisive success which had attended Blücher and Bernadotte's attack on Ney, to save the fearful loss of life with which a continuance of the attack on the villages would be attended, retired his columns to the numerous hollows to save them from the destructive effect of the enemy's batteries; arranged his artillery, consisting of 800 pieces, in the form of a semicircle, of two leagues in length; and for the remainder of the day kept up an incessant fire on the enemy's columns as they showed themselves. The French batteries, from 500 pieces, replied with equal spirit though with diminished effect. "For four terrible hours" did this dreadful scene continue, until nightfall closed the conflict.

On the north side of Leipsic, the arrival of Bernadotte enabled Blücher to push the advantages he had gained on the 16th with irresistible effect. In the very commencement of the action, a brigade of Saxon cavalry and two brigades of infantry, with their artillery, passed over to the allies, and immediately turned their pieces against the ranks of their former comrades. By this defection Ney was compelled to contract his

line of defence, and fall back on Schönfeld, which forms almost one of the northern suburbs of Leipsic. By arrangement, the allies now pressed forward on all sides to encircle the enemy, and force them back at the point of the bayonet into the suburbs of Leipsic. Five times did the Russians penetrate Schönfeld, and five times they were driven back by the French. At length it was carried, and remained in the hands of the Russians; 4,000 of its assailants, and an equal number of its defenders, lying dead, or weltering in their blood, in its streets.

The French being now driven close under the walls of Leipsic, the battle ceased at all points; and three distinct cannon-shot discharged from end to end the line, again announced the general termination of the conflict, when the field was left to the slain and the wounded.

Buonaparte being now informed by Sorbier and Dulauloy, the commanders of the artillery, that there only remained about 16,000 cartridges to serve the guns, a number scarcely sufficient to support a hot fire for two hours, saw that his position was untenable; dispositions were, therefore, made for a retreat. Towards evening, the carriages and baggage of the army began to defile by Lindenau towards Weissenfels. The troops and Buonaparte left their bivouac at eight o'clock, and in the course of the night retreated by the defiles of Lindenau towards Erfurth. The king of Saxony was left in Leipsic to make his terms with the allies. The defence of the suburbs was entrusted to Macdonald and Poniatowski, in order to cover, as a rear-guard, the retreat of the army.

No sooner were the allies aware of the retreat of the French, than they pressed forward. In the suburbs they encountered a stern and desperate resistance. At this moment, the bridge of Lindenau being blown up, the rear-guard took to flight, and precipitating themselves into the river, the greater part perished in the deep and muddy stream; Macdonald, with difficulty, reached the opposite bank, but Poniatowski perished in the water. The means of escape being cut off by the destruction of the bridge, 15,000 troops and 22 generals were taken, besides 23,000 sick and wounded in the hospitals. During the three days' battle, the French had lost 30,000 prisoners and 21 generals, besides the killed and wounded, 250 pieces of cannon, 900 cha-

riots and ammunition waggons, and an incalculable quantity of baggage. That of the allies, during the same period, had been 1,800 officers, and 45,000 privates in killed and wounded. On the entrance of the allied sovereigns into Leipsic, general Bertrand, the French commandant of the city, surrendered his sword. The king of Saxony was sent prisoner to Berlin, under a guard of Cossacks. Bavaria, on the 8th of October, acceded to the Grand Alliance.

Buonaparte was now on his retreat towards Erfurth, with the shattered and disorganized remnant of his army. Pillage and rapine became universal. So great was the disorder, that the bonds of discipline, even in the guard itself, were relaxed. On the 23rd of October he reached that city. Almost all the German troops in his army had now withdrawn themselves, and had in most cases joined the allies. Several of the Polish regiments had also passed over to the allies. But the 600 infantry, and 1,500 cavalry of that nation, which now remained in his service, when the offer was made them to depart, unanimously agreed, that they would escort him safely beyond the Rhine, reserving their right then to leave his standard. At Erfurth, Murat left for his own dominions.

Already the allies were pressing on the rear of the fugitive columns. Sacken's cavalry had made 2,000 prisoners; and Blucher, at the passage of the Unstrut at Friedberg, had, after a sharp conflict, overthrown the rear-guard, with the loss of 1,000 prisoners, eighteen guns, and a large quantity of ammunition and baggage. The grand allied army had pursued through the Thuringian forest, but so rapid was the retreat of the enemy, that the task of pursuit was entrusted to the Cossacks under Platoff, Chernicheff, and other leaders. So harassing and destructive were the retreat and pursuit now, that the roads were strewn, and the ditches on either side filled with the bodies of men and horses who had perished from the effects of fatigue and famine. With the exception of frost and snow, the fleeing host resembled that of the dismal retreat from Moscow.

On the 25th Buonaparte, after a halt of two days, left Erfurth, amid weather as tempestuous as his fortunes, closely followed by the Cossack hordes of Platoff, Chernicheff, Orloff, &c. A fresh evil now threatened him. The Bavarian army, under Wrede, amounting to 45,000 men, so lately his allies, with



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MAYENCE.
IN THE OCCUPATION OF THE FRENCH
ON THEIR RETREAT FROM LEIPZIG.

a strong auxiliary force of Austrians, were hurrying from the banks of the Inn, and had reached Wurtzburg on the Maine, with the design of throwing themselves between the French army and the frontier of France, and had taken up a position at Hanau for this purpose; and as his troops were stationed across the great road, the retreat of the French army to Mayence was entirely intercepted.

On the 30th, Buonaparte came in sight of his opponents, and at 11 o'clock the battle commenced. For four hours the French army was unable to force its passage, but at length the cuirassiers and artillery of the guard opened a passage, and Wrede withdrew under the protection of the cannon of Hanau. As the rear-guard, under Mortier, was still at Gelnhäusen, on the other side of the forest, Marmont remained on the banks, to cover his passage, which was effected on the 31st. The loss of the French in these contests was 7,000, that of the allies 10,000, of whom 4,000 were prisoners. The road to Frankfort from the field of battle was strewn with the wreck and relics of the French army; so precipitate had been its retreat. On the 1st of November, Buonaparte entered Frankfort; on the 2nd he reached Mayence; and on the 4th he departed for Paris, where he arrived on the 9th.

The fate of the garrisons, amounting to 180,000 men, in the fortresses of Dresden, Hamburg, Dantzic, Magdeburg, Torgau, &c., on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, was now sealed. On the 11th of November, Dresden, with St. Cyr, and 35,000 men, capitulated. Stettin, on the 21st, with 8,000 men, surrendered; and here the Prussians regained possession of 350 pieces of cannon. On the 29th, Rapp surrendered Dantzic, with 25,000 troops. In December, Zamosc, Torgau, and Modlin, surrendered, on the 22nd, 25th, and 26th. At the conclusion of the year, Hamburg, Magdeburg, Wittenberg, Custring, Glogau, Erfurth, and Wurtzburg, were the only fortresses remaining in the hands of the French beyond the Rhine. Nine days after the battle of Leipsic, Jerome Buonaparte abandoned his kingdom of Westphalia, and precipitately fled to Dusseldorf, where he crossed the Rhine. On the 6th of November, the grand duchy of Berg united its arms to the common standards of Germany, and at the same time Hanover returned to its allegiance to the king of England. On the 15th of December an armistice was

concluded with Denmark, which terminated in a treaty, signed in the beginning of the following year, by virtue of which Denmark joined the Grand Alliance.

The accession of Bavaria to the Grand Alliance, on the eve of the battle of Leipsic, was followed by that of all the lesser states which formed the Confederation of the Rhine. By virtue of the convention signed at Leipsic, and the treaties concluded at Frankfort, November 18th and 24th, they agreed to furnish contributions for the maintenance of the common cause, equal to the gross revenue of their respective dominions; and contingents of troops, one-half to consist of the line, the other of landwehr, double that which had been previously furnished to the confederation.

In Italy affairs were little better; the usurper's power there was rapidly melting away from his grasp. Eugene Beauharnois,—who, in the beginning of the campaign, had been dispatched to oppose marshal Hiller, sent by the allies, after Austria had joined the Grand Alliance, to recover possession of the Lombard and Venetian states,—not being able to maintain himself against the Austrian general, received overtures from the allies, and sent a plenipotentiary to Châtillon to attend to his pretensions to his Italian dominions. Though Murat had manifested, at the time of his separation from his brother-in-law at Frankfort, the highest professions of fidelity and attachment, he secretly opened a negotiation with Metternich, proffering to enter into the coalition against Buonaparte, provided he were guaranteed his Neapolitan dominions. A treaty being concluded with him to that effect early in January of the following year, on the 19th of that month he entered Rome at the head of 20,000 men, denouncing his brother-in-law in this proclamation:—"Soldiers! as long as I could believe that the emperor Napoleon combated for peace and the happiness of France, I fought by his side; but now it is no longer possible to give credit to that illusion. The emperor breathes nothing but war. I would betray the interests of my native country, of my present dominions, and of yourselves, if I did not at once separate my arms from his, to join them to those of the powerful allies, whose magnanimous intentions are to re-establish the independence of nations, and the dignity of thrones. Soldiers! there are two banners in Europe; on the one are inscribed religion, morality, justice, law,

peace, and happiness; on the other, persecution, artifice, violence, tyranny, war, and mourning to all nations." Even the princess Eliza, Buonaparte's sister, showed no very overpowering reluctance to lend a hand in the overthrow of the falling colossus, could she but "save her beautiful palaccio Pitti."

A general insurrection in Holland came also to augment the embarrassments, and dislocate what remained of the subjugated countries. Among the Dutch, as with the Germans, numerous secret societies had for some time been formed for the purpose of availing themselves of the first opportunity to throw off the galling yoke of their oppressor, and which was particularly oppressive to them as a commercial nation, in consequence of the maintenance of the continental system. No sooner did the news reach them of the retreat from Leipsic, than Amsterdam, the Hague, Rotterdam, Leyden, and the other chief towns, hoisted the ancient national flag, and mounted the orange cockade (November 14th), amid loud and enthusiastic cries of "Orange boven" (Up with the orange). With the exception of Bergenop-Zoom, and a few of the southern frontier fortresses, the French troops speedily quitted the country. Strong bodies of Russians and Prussians, and an English force, amounting to 6,000 men, under general Graham, took possession of Holland, in the name of the Stadtholder, the prince of Orange, who, on the 27th of November, landed from London, at Schevelin, whence he proceeded to the Hague.

Meanwhile, the allies were advancing towards the Rhine; but before resuming hostilities, they resolved again to offer peace to Buonaparte.

The agent employed on the occasion was the baron de St. Aignan, a French diplomatist of reputation, at the time ambassador of France at the court of Weimar, and who had been made prisoner in the course of the advance of the allies to the Rhine. Five days (November 9th) subsequent to their arrival at Frankfort, they dispatched the baron to Paris with a private note from the emperor of Austria to his daughter Marie Louise, and a diplomatic note from the whole of the allied sovereigns addressed to Buonaparte, in which they assured him of their willingness to make peace on these terms: "that France was to be restricted to its natural limits between the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; that Spain should

be restored to its ancient dynasty; and that the independence of Italy and Germany should be secured, under princes of their native families." At the same time it was declared, that England would recognise every principle of commerce and navigation to which France had any right to pretend. To these propositions the French government appearing to consent, Manheim, on the right bank of the Rhine, was specified as the seat of negotiation. At the same time the allies published the following proclamation to show the amicable views with which they were actuated.

"The allied powers, desirous of obtaining a general peace on a solid foundation, promulgate, in the face of the world, the principles which are the basis and guide of their conduct, their wishes, and their determinations. They do not make war on France, but on that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and France, the emperor Napoleon has long exercised beyond the limits of France. They desire that it should be powerful and happy; that commerce should revive, and the arts flourish; that its territory should preserve an extent unknown under its ancient kings; because the French power, great and strong, is in Europe one of the fundamental bases of the solid edifice; because a great people can only be tranquil so long as they are happy; because a brave nation is not to be regarded as overthrown, because in its turn it has experienced reverses in an obstinate and bloody struggle, in which it has combated with its accustomed valour. But the allied powers wish themselves also to be happy and tranquil; they wish a state of peace which, by a wise division of power, by a just equilibrium, may hereafter preserve their people from the calamities, without number, which for twenty years have oppressed Europe. They will not lay down their arms before they have attained that great and beneficent result; they will not lay them down till the political state of Europe is anew secured, till the immutable principles of justice have resumed their ascendant over vain pretensions, and till the sanctity of treaties has at length secured a real peace to Europe." Though Buonaparte's reply to these proposals for a general pacification, contained in a letter from Caulaincourt to Metternich, dated December 2nd, professed his acquiescence in the principle which should rest the proposed pacification on the independence of the

PRUSSIA



The Illustrations by J. Selmer & Engraved by R. Fisher

The Map Drawn & Engraved by J. Baynes

states of Europe, so that neither one nor the other should in future arrogate sovereignty or supremacy in any form whatever; it is evident, from the delays he unnecessarily interposed, that he was not sincere, and that he was desirous of merely gaining time for completing his defensive preparations, and to postpone settling the negotiations until he could ascertain how the chamber of deputies, who were summoned to meet on the 19th of December, were disposed to coincide with his views of prosecuting the war, and aiding him in his measures.

When Buonaparte arrived in Paris on the 9th of November, after his disastrous defeat at Leipsic, and the results of the Saxon campaign were publicly known, universal despondency took possession of the minds of the Parisians. The stocks, the thermometer of public opinion in that capital, and, indeed, throughout France, sunk so alarmingly, that it was found necessary to resort to official statements of their price, in order to prevent an universal panic.

To avert the dangers which now threatened France, vigorous measures were necessary. In an extraordinary council of state, consisting of Buonaparte and the two secretaries of state, Talleyrand and Molé, a dictatorship was created; and as the first display of his dictatorial power, Buonaparte, at his sole will, doubled the taxes. He then demanded a new conscription of 300,000 men, to be levied on those who had escaped the conscription of the former years, from 1803 downwards, and who had been considered as exempted from the service.* To give colour to his demand—"Wellington," said he, "has entered the south; the Russians menace the northern frontier; the Prussians, Austrians, and Bavarians threaten the east. Shame! Wellington is in France; and we have not risen in a mass to drive him back. I demand of France 300,000 men; but I must have grown men—not these conscript boys, to encumber my hospitals, and die of fatigue upon the highways. Councillors! there must be an impulse given—all must march—you are fathers of families, the heads of the nation; it is for you to set the example." The levy required was granted. In little more than two months

from the opening of the Saxon campaign, above 600,000 men had been demanded for the disastrous encounters on the Elbe and the Pyrenees, and so dreadfully destructive of life had those campaigns been, that little more than a fraction of those unhappy men were in life; and even of the wretched remnant that had reached the left bank of the Rhine, and who had taken refuge in the fortified towns, such was the effect of the pestilential epidemic, typhus fever, engendered by their sufferings and privations, that the atmosphere was insupportable from the noxious odour arising from the exhalations of the multitude of dead bodies that had received imperfect sepulture; and the waters of the Rhine, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, were polluted by the corpses which were consigned from the vast charnel-houses, which the fortresses on their banks had become. In several weeks, at Mayence, the mortality exceeded 500 daily. Disastrous, however, as affairs were, his servile and obsequious senators waited on Buonaparte, five days after his return to Paris, with an address of felicitation; and, to the disgrace of science, Lacépède, the naturalist, who was the spokesman, made not the slightest allusion to the hundreds of thousands of his fellow-beings who had but just been slaughtered, and had perished of disease and want on the plains of Germany, but congratulated his august sovereign on having surmounted all his difficulties "in fighting for peace." But all Frenchmen were not of this servile and sycophantic nature. Though the legislative body had been for a length of time as tame and obsequious as the senate, there were some fiery and impatient spirits in it who remembered the days of the republic, and who could despise the imperial decree that made them a dumb legislature. The ravages of the conscription, the increase of the public taxes, and the necessity of bearing the insupportable expenditure of their emperor's endless wars, had created a spirit of general discontent, and in many quarters disaffection, throughout the nation. Lord Wellington had, with his usual prescience and sagacity, long foretold that when Buonaparte was compelled to draw his resources for his

* The usual price of a substitute was between £400 and £500, English currency; the last conscription had doubled that sum, and in some cases £1,200 were given. Families of respectability often sacrificed their whole property, the savings of a long lifetime, to provide substitutes for their sons. No sooner

had the conscript joined the army, than he was deemed numbered with the dead by his friends and relations, so dreadful were the ravages of the service. So little value was attached to the life of a conscript, that they obtained the soubriquet, or nick-name, of "chair-à-cannon,"—"cannon-food."

profligate wars from France herself, the French population would be soon cured of their epidemic of glory, and sick of their imperial empiric prescriber. "War must be with him," said the English general, in a letter dated January, 1812, to baron Constant, an officer attached to the staff of the Prince of Orange, "a financial resource. * * * I have great hopes, however, that this resource is beginning to fail; and I think there are symptoms of a sense in France, either that war is not so productive as it was, or that nations who have still something to lose may resist, as those of the Peninsula have, in which case the expense of collecting this resource becomes larger than its produce."* So long as the national vanity was flattered with the scenes of dazzling victories that attended their standards, the expense of wars supported by the countries in which they were carried on, the French exchequer replenished with the war contributions, and the museums of Paris embellished with the rifled works of art of other countries, the French people could, with a happy and accommodating facility, reconcile themselves to the slaughter of their sons and relations, and their immolation on the altar of insatiable ambition and universal aggression on the rights, the liberties, and the happiness of other nations. The universal language of France, and sovereign balm to outraged nature, was "nos enfans sont morts sur les champs de la victoire et pour la gloire de la France;" but when defeat, reverse, and disgrace quickened their feelings, the war became odious in their sight, and their note of complaint was—"nos moyens, nos frères, nos enfans, sont sacrifiés à l'ambition d'un tyran." Their discontent arose so high that couplets, defamatory of their "beloved emperor" were circulated, and affixed to the pedestal of the column of Austerlitz, which was surmounted with his statue; one of these was characteristic of the violence of public feeling—

"Tyran! juché sur cette chaise,
Si le sang que tu fis verser,
Pouvait tenir en cette place,
Tu le boirais sans te baisser."†

The chamber of deputies, as the legislative body, which had been summoned to assemble on the 19th of December, now met; and notwithstanding every effort had been

* Gurwood's *Despatches*.

† Tyrant! if the blood which thou hast shed were collected together in this square, it would reach thy lips, so that thou mightest drink it without stooping thy head.

made to shape them to the views of Buonaparte, it soon appeared that the spirit of discontent and despair that prevailed in almost every part of France, animated a large party in that assembly. They appointed a committee to draw up a report on the state of the nation, and to whom the documents connected with the negotiations which had been opened with the allies should be submitted. Among the members of the chamber, who had a character for independence, was Lainé, a deputy of the Gironde, who was appointed president of this committee. Their report, drawn up by him, was presented to the chamber on the 28th, and was expressive of a desire for peace, consistent with the honour and welfare of France. "While the government will take the most effective means for the safety of the country, his majesty," said the inditer of the report, "should be entreated to maintain and enforce the entire and constant execution of the laws which ensure to the French citizens the rights of liberty, property, and security, and to the nation the free exercise of its political privileges." * * * "Let us attempt no dissimulation," said its high-minded author; "our evils are at their height; the country is menaced on the frontiers at all points; commerce is annihilated; agriculture languishes; industry is expiring; there is no Frenchman that has not in his family or his fortune some cruel wound to heal. The facts are notorious, and can never be sufficiently brought into view. Agriculture, for the last five years, has gained nothing; it barely exists; and the fruit of its toil is annually dissipated by the treasury, which unceasingly devours everything to gratify the cravings of ruined and famished armies. The conscription has become, for all France, a frightful scourge, because it has always been carried into execution with the utmost rigour. For the last three years the harvest of death has been reaped three times a year! a barbarous war, without an object, swallows up the youth, torn from their education, from agriculture, commerce, and the arts. Have the tears of mothers, and the blood of generations, thus become the patrimony of kings? It is fit that nations should have a moment's breathing-time; the period has arrived when they should cease to tear out each other's entrails."

The reading of this report conjured up a perfect storm in the chamber. It was so long since the words liberty and political

rights had been heard within its walls, that the courtiers started as if high treason had been spoken in their presence. The president, Regnier, interrupted the report. "Orator," said the nominee of Napoleon, "what you say is unconstitutional——" Lainé boldly answered the president with—"Sir—what? there is nothing unconstitutional here but your presence." A majority of the chamber voted that the report should be printed. Buonaparte immediately ordered the printing to be stopped, and the sheets thrown off to be seized. On the 31st he summoned the council of state, in which he dissolved the legislative body, and ordered their doors to be closed. At a grand court levée at the Tuilleries on the following day, for the purpose of wishing "the emperor a happy new year," among the members assembled was a deputation of the *corps législatif*, whom Buonaparte, as soon as they approached him, thus addressed:—"I have prohibited the printing of your address, because it is seditious. Gentlemen, you had it in your power to do much good, but you have done nothing but mischief. Eleven-twelfths of you are good men, the rest are factious, and are rebels. What do you hope for by putting yourselves in opposition to me? To gain possession of the power of the state? What are your views? Are you the representatives of the people? No! I am the representative—you are hot-headed fools, desirous of anarchy like the Girondists, whom such opinions led to the scaffold. M. Lainé is a conspirator, an agent of England: I will keep my eye on M. Lainé: he is a bad man. Be gone to your homes. Even if I had done wrong, you ought not to have reproached

me with it thus publicly. People do not wash their dirty linen before the world. To conclude, France has more need of me than I of France."

Special commissioners were now sent down to all the departments to arouse the energies of the inhabitants, and induce them to take up arms; and where invasion was threatened, to effect a levy *en masse*—180,000 national guards and urban cohorts were ordered to be embodied to garrison the towns and fortresses. By the treaty of Valençay, Ferdinand was liberated from his confinement, and restored to the crown of Spain, in hopes of detaching the Spaniards from their alliance with England, and enabling Buonaparte to unite Suchet's forces in Catalonia with his new levies in the interior of France; or, as Buonaparte expressed himself in his holograph letter to that person, to prevent "the English from exciting anarchy and Jacobinism in Spain and establishing a republic." The pope was also removed from his confinement at Fontainebleau to Terason, in the south of France. At this time Bourbon royalism began to display itself in La Vendée and Provence. In the end of December, the Swiss cantons annulled the constitution introduced by Buonaparte, introduced by his act of mediation; and the allies at the same time made a solemn declaration not to lay down their arms till the independence of the Swiss confederacy was secured.

The grand army under Schwartzberg crossed the Rhine on the night of the 20th of December, between Schaffhausen and Bâle. The Prussian army, under Blücher, effected the passage on the 31st at Mannheim, Kaub, and Coblenz.

THE ALLIED ANGLO-SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE SECOND CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE.

A.D. 1814

THE year 1814 dawned auspiciously on captive Europe, and promised its liberation from thralldom and servitude. Wellington and his gallant comrades were established on the south-western frontier of France; and the heroic Prussians, Austrians, and Rus-

sians, under the command of Blücher and the incompetent Schwartzberg, had crossed the Rhine, the boundary of "the sacred territory" on the north-eastern frontier.

Brilliant and unparelled, under circumstances so discouraging, and means so

limited, as had been the achievements of the commander-in-chief of the allied Anglo-Spanish and Portuguese armies, and conducive as they had been to the general interests and welfare of Europe, his difficulties and embarrassments, political and financial, and the opposition to his measures, seemed to multiply, and become more inveterate in the midst of his triumphs and services. And those difficulties, and embarrassments, and oppositions, originated not only from the ignorant and imbecile Peninsular governments, and their generals and local authorities, but even from the members of the government of his own country—men who, as it has been sarcastically but justly said, “were at one minute urging progress beyond reason, at another ready to change lightly what they had proposed ignorantly;” who could rebuke their gifted and uniformly successful general for devising means to replenish his military chest, and provide supplies for his army, by his wise and provident provisions for opening the French ports, and regulating their commerce; who could remonstrate with him on the impossibility of supplying the maximum expenditure of £100,000 per month for the whole maintenance of the large force under his command, while they could reconcile their notions of patriotic duty to the subsidizing of foreigners to the extent of eleven millions sterling, in the course of the very year in which they were refusing supplies to the upholder of their country’s honour, and the interests of the great European community the means of carrying on the contest. These facts, though startling, are true, and appear from the Wellington despatches and correspondence, in which the complaints are frequent of the neglect and ill-usage of the army under the command of their writer.

In a letter to lord Bathurst, dated St. Jean de Luz, 8th January, 1814,—“It is incontestable,” says the upright and high-minded Wellington, “that this army, and all its departments, and the Portuguese and Spanish army, are at this moment paralyzed for want of money. Since the month of January, 1813, the arrear of pay to the army has increased from an arrear for five to an arrear for six months, and is now growing to one for seven months. The debt is immense in all parts of the country; and his majesty’s engagements to the Portuguese and Spanish governments are not performed. The hire of some of the mules

attending this army has not been paid for twenty-six months; we are in debt in all parts of Spain, and are becoming so in France; and the price of all commodities is increasing, as might be expected, in proportion to the delay in paying for them, the difficulty in getting payment at all, and the consequent want of credit in all the departments of the British army.

“Very lately I was obliged to prevail on marshal Beresford to send me back 50,000 dollars of the 200,000 sent from Lisbon, as the subsidy for the Portuguese government, in order to keep the Spaniards together; and after all I have not been able to give them the whole of this money. In order to keep the British cavalry from perishing, it was necessary to allot 10,000 dollars of the money to pay for their supplies.”

Again; in a letter to the same effect, bearing date the 27th of the same month, he says—“We are short of £18,000 for the last month’s pay to the troops; and there is not a shilling in any of the military chests. I yesterday wanted to send off a courier to general W. Clinton in Catalonia, and the money for his expenses was borrowed from those who happened to have a little to lend.”

Again; in a letter dated St. Jean de Luz, 4th February, 1814, to colonel Bunbury, the under secretary of state, who had been sent to protest against the monthly expenditure of £100,000; adverting to lord Bathurst’s disapprobation of the means which he had adopted to raise money for the maintenance of the troops, namely, the licences granted to French vessels to import merchandise into the ports which he had declared free, in hopes of drawing money and supplies from France for the maintenance of the army, by interesting the French merchants—a measure by which he sacrificed his personal interest to that of the public, and thus deprived himself of much prize money that he would otherwise have been entitled to; but this clashed with the prize-money pretensions of lord Keith, who commanded the fleet, of which Collier’s squadron in the Guipuscoan coast formed a detached portion:—“I am afraid,” said the patriot general, “that the government are not aware of, and do not feel, the difficulties in which we are at all times for want of money. * * * You will be able to inform lord Bathurst on the state in which you found us, and in which we were to the last moment of your being here.”

To the proposal of the ministry—a mea-

sure to which they were instigated by the allied sovereigns, and in which they were urging him to push his operations with more vigour in France—his rebuke contained in the letter dated 21st of December, 1813, and which appears at page 117 *ante*, of this work, was a cutting rebuke of their ignorance and presumption. His exposition of the evils endured by the army, and the facilities afforded the enemy of obtaining supplies by the default of sufficient naval assistance on the coast of Guipuscoa, which are also stated at page 118 *ante*, of this work, are proofs of the negligence and incompetency of the administration of the time, and their culpability in not affording him the requisite co-operation. The following quotation, already stated in the preceding pages, is an admirable specimen of refined ironical application of the adage, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*:—“In military operations, there are some things that cannot be done; one of these is to move troops in this country during or immediately after a violent fall of rain.”

To the other measures to which the ministry were also urged by the allied sovereigns, particularly the czar, for transporting the Peninsular army by sea to the Netherlands, and causing it to form the right wing of the grand allied Russian, Prussian, and Austrian army,—in a letter dated St. Jean de Luz, 10th January, 1814, he replied—“If it should be the opinion of England, or of the allies, that it is most desirable, notwithstanding all the disadvantages attending the removal of this army to Holland, that it should go there, I am ready to comply.” See also his observations in the letter addressed to lord Bathurst, before mentioned at page 117, *ante*. And in a letter dated from the same place, and on the 8th of the same month, according to the wish expressed by government, he wrote—“I am prepared in every respect, excepting with money, to push the enemy to the Garonne during the winter; and I am convinced that the greatest advantage to the cause would result from such an operation; but I cannot move at all. * * * There is not a shilling to pay for anything that the country could afford, and our credit is already gone in this country.”

The impolicy of the proposal of the ministry to replace his seasoned and veteran battalions with the levies from the militia regiments, for which they had obtained an act of parliament, and their withdrawal of 2,000 of those men who, able and willing to

plant their colours wherever the general listed, but who were sacrificed in the ill-fated attempt on Bergen-op-Zoom, is admirably elucidated in a letter containing this passage:—“I beg colonel Bunbury to remind lord Bathurst that the 2,000 veteran soldiers whom he will take away from the army under the proposed arrangement, are of more use than the 4,000 he proposes to send me, or even than 6,000. I beg particularly to state to his lordship the state in which he saw the 32nd regiment passing through this town to the rear. All the really sick in the army are the recruits.”*

The conduct of his allies was equally culpable. The Spanish government and the local authorities threw every available impediment in the way of his operations. The *xefe politico*, and the official authorities of Santander, affecting great alarm lest by the establishment of the principal hospital of the British army at that port, the yellow fever might be introduced into the country, placed the hospitals in quarantine; and the *xefe politico* of Guipuscoa, the man who had given breath to the libel of the destruction of St. Sebastian by the English, directed that all vessels proceeding from that port to other ports on the coast of that province, should be liable to sanitary regulations. Thus, as Santander was the only port on the Guipuscoan coast sufficiently capacious to serve as a general rendezvous for vessels bringing stores for the army, and, consequently, all had to proceed thither, to wait for orders for the removal to the other small harbours more in the vicinity of the troops, the harsh regulations of the *xefe politico* placed the supplies of the army in quarantine, and the cargoes when they reached those harbours, had to perform quarantine for having touched at Santander. In a letter to his brother, Sir Henry Wellesley, dated St. Jean de Luz, 14th January, 1814, the English general exclaims—“It will appear extraordinary to the world, that wounded British soldiers, without arms and legs, after having rendered such services to the Spanish nation, should be obliged to go to England to look for hospitals; and while refused the benefits of their own hospitals [to obviate inconvenience to the inhabitants, portable wooden houses had been brought

* Memorandum per colonel Bunbury, dated St. Jean-de-Luz, 1st February, 1814. See also the letters addressed to his royal highness the duke of York and lord Bathurst, dated St. Jean-de-Luz, 15th December, 1813.

from England for the reception of the sick and wounded] in Santander, should be put in a state of quarantine in that town. It is impossible I can any longer expose our establishments to the capricious treatment they have met with at Santander." To the magistrates of Fonterabia, who had made complaints against receiving the wounded, the following cutting reply was sent:—

"St. Jean de Luz, ce 11 Janvier, 1814.

"Messieurs,—Il faut des hâbitaux pour les soldats blessés et malades; et je suis sûr que ceux qui ont été sauvés par leur bravoure ne desireront pas qu'on les laisse mourir dans les champs. Dans l'hiver il est nécessaire de mettre les chevaux de l'artillerie et de la cavalerie à l'abri du mauvais temps, sans quoi ils seraient perdus, et si leur service manquait à l'armée au moment critique, il pourrait que la ville qui se plaint à présent de l'inconvénient de leur donner un abri en eut à souffrir un plus grand, que serait d'avoir encore dans ces foyers l'ennemi que y à été si long temps.

"El Ayuntamiento de Fuenterrabia."

Though the Spanish generals and troops paid an apparent sullen obedience to lord Wellington's orders, their outrages were still occasionally committed. In a letter written to marshal Beresford, on the 7th of February, he thus denounces their outrages—"Their conduct is terrible: I have done everything in my power by severity and fair means hitherto without success. * * * The truth is, the officers will not discipline their troops, and the generals will not give themselves any trouble about the matter, and rather encourage indiscipline." He expressed much apprehension of the evil consequences. The mischief he anticipated was already in operation. The population of the Vals de Bidarry and de Baygorry, in the mountainous districts at the foot of the Pyrenees, were armed, and had commenced a partisan warfare under the guidance of one of the principal men of the Basques, by name Etcheverry; and Soult despatched general Harispe to organize a system of guerilla warfare. To repress the rising, the following proclamation was issued in the Basque and French languages, in which the Basque peasantry were required to join the French standard openly, or remain at home in peace; at the same time it was announced to them by the English officers in their district, that if the order was not obeyed, their villages would be fired, and such as might be taken in arms should be hanged as banditti.

Proclamation, No. 11.

"Aux Habitans de Bidarry et Baygorry.

"La conduite du peuple des villages de Bidarry et Baygorry m'a fait la plus grande peine; elle est différente de celle de tous les autres habitans du pays, et ils n'ont pas le droit de faire ce qu'ils font. S'ils veulent faire la guerre, qu'ils aillent se mettre dans les rangs des armées; mais je ne permettrai pas qu'ils fassent impunément tour-à-tour le rôle d'habitant paisible et celui de soldat. S'ils restent tranquilles chez eux, personne ne les molesterá; ils seront, au contraire, protégés comme le reste des habitans du pays que les armées occupent. Ils doivent savoir que j'ai en tout rempli les engagements que j'ai pris, envers le pays; mais je les prévien que, s'ils préfèrent me faire la guerre, ils doivent se faire soldats et abandonner leurs foyers; ils ne peuvent pas continuer dans ces villages. "WELLINGTON.

"Au quartier-général, ce 28 Jan. 1814."

Translation.

"To the inhabitants of Bidarry and Baygorry.

"The conduct of the people of the villages of Bidarry and Baygorry has given me the greatest pain; it differs from that of all the other inhabitants of the country, and they have no right to act as they have acted. If they wish to make war, let them join the ranks of the army; but I will not permit them with impunity to act alternately the part of peaceable inhabitants and of soldiers. If they remain quietly in their houses, nobody shall molest them; but, on the contrary, they shall be protected like the inhabitants of other places occupied by my troops. They must know that I have performed all the engagements I made to the country; but I warn them, that if they persist in making war, they must join the enemy's ranks, and become soldiers; they must not remain in the villages.

"WELLINGTON.

"Head-quarters, Jan. 28th, 1814."

What a contrast is this humane and manly proclamation to the savage announcements of "the great and magnanimous Napoleon" and his myrmidons, Soult, Massena, Augereau, and Bessières in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Tyrol. To prevent the continuance of the partisan warfare, the English general desired his officers to inform the Basque peasantry, that if any further outrages continued, he would treat them as the French had acted towards the inhabitants in Spain and Portugal.

The Basque peasantry, after the issue of

the proclamation, preserved a strict neutrality during the remainder of the war; and in consequence of the oppressive exactions imposed on them by Soult, and the outrages of the French troops, they brought all their portable property within the British lines for protection. "The English general's policy, and the good discipline he maintains," said one of the commissioners* sent into the departments to excite the population to arm themselves, "does us more harm than ten battles. Every peasant wishes to be under his protection." At the passage of the Adour, the peasantry voluntarily offered to repair the roads for the passage of the artillery, without wishing for remuneration.

Another cause of uneasiness to the English general at this time was Buonaparte's machinations and intrigues with Ferdinand VII., captive in the chateau of Valençay. As Napoleon's object, independent of his producing a rupture between the English and the Spanish nation, was to procure the liberation of the French prisoners in Spain, and the French forces in Catalonia and Valencia to assist him in his approaching operations in the interior of France; the English general transmitted orders to the Spanish government and generals, that Suchet's forces must be considered as prisoners of war. In his letters, dated St. Jean de Luz, 10th January, 1814, to marshal Beresford; 13th January, to his brother, sir Henry Wellesley, and 27th January to general W. Clinton, he complains that not only Copons, but the Spanish military people about himself, though they had a notion of the treaty of Valençay, were quite silent about it; that he had repeated intelligence from the French of some act of treachery meditated by the Spaniards; and that several prisoners of that nation had come from Bayonne to circulate reports of peace, and charges against the English. And it was for these reasons that he counselled the English ministry to be ready to withdraw the English army, and to demand the possession of St. Sebastian, to protect their embarkation, if necessary.

The arrival of the duc d'Angoulême, as the representative of the Bourbon interest, under the assumed name of the comte de Pradel, at head-quarters, in the early part of February, afforded an opportunity for the display of the sagacious and well-poised mind and high political morality of the Eng-

* Pellot's *Guerre des Pyrénées*.

lish general. As a congress was sitting at Châtillon-sur-Seine, for the purpose of considering terms for a general pacification, and the allies had expressed no wish to have the Bourbons restored, he considered it would be unwise and ungenerous to precipitate the partisans of that house into a premature outbreak, and then leave them to the vengeance of their enemy. And even when marshal Beresford marched upon Bordeaux, his instructions to him were: "If they should ask you for your consent to proclaim Louis XVIII., to hoist the white standard, &c., you will state that the British nation and its allies wish well to Louis XVIII., and as long as the public peace is preserved where our troops are stationed, we shall not interfere to prevent that party from doing what may be deemed just for its interest; nay, further, that I am prepared to assist any party that may show itself inclined to aid us in getting the better of Buonaparte. That the object of the allies, however, in the war, and above all in entering France, is, as is stated in my proclamation, *peace*; and that it is well known the allies are now engaged in negotiating a treaty of peace with Buonaparte. That however I might be inclined to aid and support any set of people against Buonaparte while at war, I could give them no further aid when peace should be concluded; and I beg the inhabitants will weigh this matter well before they raise a standard against the government of Buonaparte, and involve themselves in hostilities. If, however, notwithstanding this warning, the town should think proper to hoist the white standard, and should proclaim Louis XVIII., or adopt any other measure of that description, you will not oppose them; and you will arrange with the authorities the means of drawing, without loss of time, all the arms, ammunition, &c., which are at Dax, which you will deliver to them. If the municipality should state that they will not proclaim Louis XVIII. without your orders, you will decline to give such orders for the reasons above stated." And to the mayor of St. Séver, who had applied to him for instructions to guide his proceedings, he replied: "I have not interfered in any way in what has happened at Bordeaux, and if the department of the Landes, or any town of the department, chooses to acknowledge the house of Bourbon, I shall not oppose it, but I cannot enjoin to the individuals or the authorities of those districts which, by the operations of the war, have fallen under my order,

to take a step which must commit them personally, because, if peace should be made, I must cease to give them that assistance which I could afford them under existing circumstances." And yet, while adopting this noble line of conduct, and consulting the interests of all parties, Soult and Gazan issued a proclamation, accusing him of fomenting revolt and civil war in France, and seeking to obtain, by means of intestine faction, those advantages which he could not gain by the sword.

Money was now so scarce, that a Spanish dollar was equivalent to eight shillings British currency; and as the troops were paid in British money, and the French population had indicated considerable reluctance to receive it in exchange for their commodities; to prevent the consequent embarrassment, facilitate the currency, and obviate the difficulties which might arise from the circulation of the foreign coin, all the coiners and die-sinkers in the army were ordered to be sought out. The English general established a secret mint, and con-

verted the foreign coin into Napoleons, marking the recoined pieces with a private stamp, carefully preserving their just fineness and weight, in order that, when peace should be established, the French government might be enabled to call them in again for recoinage.

In so destitute a condition were the troops at this time, that the great-coats of the British soldiers for 1813, were not ready for delivery in January, 1814. The consequence was, that the soldiers had to brave the winter half naked, first on the snowy mountains of the Pyrenees, then in the more chilly damp of the low country about Bayonne. And this was not the only evil arising to the public service from this negligence. The clothing for the year 1813, not having arrived till the end of 1814, when the troops were in advance, many of the best regiments were, as there was no means of land carriage, obliged to return to the coast, to receive and fit it from the stores; and the critical and hardly-contested battle of Orthes was fought without them.

THE PASSAGE OF THE ADOUR, AND THE PREPARATORY OPERATIONS.

SINCE the passage of the Nive and the battles in front of Bayonne, the only hostile encounters between the contending armies, had been some trifling skirmishes between the Basque peasantry under Harispe, and Mina's troops, and a few affairs of outposts and cavalry skirmishes between the allies and the French on the Upper Nive, in the Joyeuse, and the Arreau.

The weather had been very inclement for some time; heavy rain, and cold and piercing winds having been prevalent. The low grounds on the deep clayey soil of Béarn were flooded by the overflowing of the rivers, and the continual fall of rain, so that the roads were impassable. The country was little better than a vast quagmire, and very difficult for military operations,

* Soult's effective troops in the field, after deducting the garrison of Bayonne and other forts which he was obliged to defend, did not exceed 40,000 men; and a considerable part of this force was composed of conscripts, who, though disciplined, were not yet inured to war, and could not be relied upon, either to withstand the fatigues or confront the dangers of serious warfare in the campaign. On the other hand, the Anglo-Portuguese force, by the *Morning State* on February 13th, when the advance commenced, amounted to 70,000 men, of whom 10,000 were cavalry, and the Spaniards were 30,000

abounding with strong positions, and intersected by numerous rivers, which run in concentric courses from the Pyrenees to the Adour.

During this cessation of hostility, Soult had received a large accession of conscripts, chiefly of the levy of the latest organization, particularly that granted to the regent, Marie Louise; but he sustained the loss of two divisions of infantry, and one of cavalry, who marched to take the field under Buonaparte, in the centre of France. Lord Wellington also received a reinforcement of 5,000 men; and the whole cavalry, which had been posted, for want of forage, on the banks of the Ebro, were at the same time brought up to those of the Adour.* During that interval, also, the allied commander-

more: in all 100,000, with 140 pieces of cannon—a prodigious force to be collected at one point, under the command of a single general; and, considering the discipline and spirit of the troops, and the talents and experience of their chief, the most formidable army which had ever been put forth by the power of England. This inequality of numbers, however, was to a great extent counterbalanced by the advantage of Soult's situation, with the now powerful and fully armed garrison of Bayonne, at the confluence of the Nive and Adour, to protect his right.

—*Alison.*

in-chief was vigorously preparing for the prosecution of the campaign. He had secretly collected in the harbour of Socoa, forty large-decked sailing-boats, called *chasse-marées*, for the purpose of effecting the passage of the Adour, of from fifteen to thirty tons burthen, laden with materials for constructing a flexible boom and a bridge, between the mouth of the river and Bayonne, which are nearly three miles distant from each other.

Scarcely had the new year commenced, than the French, collecting a considerable force about the Gave d'Oleron, drove in the cavalry pickets between the Joyeuse and the Bidouse, and turning the right of Buchan's Portuguese brigade, on the heights of La Costa, established two divisions of infantry on that height, and on La Bastide, stationing the remainder of their army on the Bidouse and the Gave. Immediately the brigade of guards and the German legion were advanced to the outposts of Barouillet, and took up the ground of the fifth division, which was moved to the next position, and this change took place from post to post, until a succession of reliefs had taken place along the whole line; by which manœuvre three divisions were at liberty for the defence of the point threatened. An attack was made on the 6th, on the French advanced position, from which they were quickly dislodged, when the allied troops returned to their former position.

The weather still continuing inclement, another interval of repose took place; but on the 12th of February, a frost intervening, the roads became hard and passable. The commander-in-chief now determined to resume active operations against the enemy, and endeavoured to force him to quit his fortified camp in front of Bayonne. This he determined to accomplish by two measures. The first was to establish a bridge across the Adour, between the mouth of the river and Bayonne. By the adoption of this measure he avoided the difficulties which would present themselves to the movements of the army by its right, obstructed as it was by so many rivers, and he would also obtain possession of the only road on which he could depend for his communication with Spain and its seaports, as also with St. Jean de Luz, there being no highway practicable for this purpose in winter, except that which led direct to Bayonne. To mask his design from the enemy, leaving his own left wing to observe Bayonne, he determined to threaten the enemy's left

wing with his own right, consisting of Hill's corps, and turn it by the courses of the rivers at the foot of the Pyrenees; while Beresford, with the allied centre, menaced the enemy's centre. By this manœuvre, if his left, which was under Hope, succeeded in forcing the passage of the river, he hoped to cut off Soult from Bayonne, and drive him towards the upper Garonne. Accordingly, at daybreak of the 14th, Hill advanced, with 20,000 men, against Harispe, who was posted at Hellette. After a slight combat, Harispe fell back, and being joined by Paris's division, took post in front of Garris, on the heights of Montagne, determined to dispute Hill's further advance. The day was on the wane. At the moment, Wellington was riding up from St. Jean de Luz, and though only the 2nd division (Stewart's), and Morillo's Spaniards were at his immediate disposal, he immediately determined to commence the attack, hoping to be able to cut off the enemy's retreat by the bridge of St. Palais. The British division was therefore advanced to the attack in front, while Morillo's corps was directed to march on St. Palais as rapidly as possible. The position of the contending hosts was on two parallel ridges, separated by a ravine, beyond the extremity of which stands St. Palais. Wellington ordered the 39th and the 28th regiments to commence the attack, observing with concise energy—"You must take the hill before dark." The expression was eagerly caught up by the attacking troops. British soldiers are peculiarly sensitive to brief and pithy sentences, energetic thought and expression being the peculiar characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. It is a species of eloquence they best understand, and most readily heed. Plunging into the ravine, the 39th, followed closely by the 28th in support, rapidly ascended the crest of the ridge, upon which 4,000 Frenchmen were posted. No sooner was the crest gained, than the brave assailants formed into line and charged the enemy, who took to flight; but discovering the paucity of their opponents, they returned to the charge. The contest was fierce and bloody. Twice the enemy were driven back, and twice they returned to the charge. Darkness had already shrouded distant objects; still the strife continued with desperate obstinacy, volleys being delivered at pistol range, and bayonet charges repeatedly made. At length darkness closed the desperate scene, and the enemy fled towards St. Palais, leaving the

field in possession of the conquerors, with the loss of 300 men in killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners, with 10 officers. The loss of the allies during the contest was 230 men. In consequence of the sluggish march of the Spaniards, the enemy gained the bridge of St. Palais, and in the night crossed the Bidouse, destroying all the bridges behind them. As soon as the bridges were restored, Hill continuing the pursuit, on the 16th drove the enemy across the Gave de Mauléon. While the allied left were thus driving the enemy, the centre, under Beresford, advanced against the French centre, under Clausel, who immediately fell back across the rivers Joyeuse, Bidouse, and the Gave de Mauléon, in succession, behind the last-mentioned of which he took a strong position. At this time, the castle of Jaca, which commands the pass in that quarter of the Pyrenees, into Aragon, surrendered. The pursuit being continued, on the night of the 17th the French retired across the Gave d'Oleron, and took up a strong position on the ridge of Sauveterre, where Soult concentrated his forces, covering the road that leads to Orthes, and destroying all the bridges on the Adour not within the neighbourhood of Bayonne. Here the pursuing army was brought to a stand, till their pontoon train arrived to enable them to pass the Gave d'Oleron. Immediately that Harispe had been cut off from St. Jean Pied-de-Port, by his retreat from Hellette, that town was blockaded by Mina's Spaniards.

While these operations were going on on the allied right, Hope with the left, consisting of two British divisions (1st and 5th), two Spanish divisions, Aylmer's British and three brigades of Portuguese, and Vandeleur's cavalry, amounting to 28,000 men, prepared to put his orders into execution, for effecting the passage of the Adour. Accordingly, at one o'clock of the morning of the 23rd, leaving instructions to keep up a lively fire on the enemy's camp, to divert his attention, he marched from his cantonments, to direct and support the operation,—an operation for skilfulness of design and boldness of operation hardly less eminent than the passage of the Douro. The first division, consisting of the second brigade of guards, and two companies of the 95th rifles, and part of the corps of rocketeers, with a brigade of eighteen-pounders, under major-general Stopford, marched in the deepest silence along the skirts of the French outposts, and before day-break reached the sand-hills that border

the coasts from the neighbourhood of Biarritz to the mouth of the Adour, the space between which and the entrenched camp is almost covered by a pine forest, called the Bois de Bayonne. A detachment of the German legion, accompanied by a train of pontoon boats, and a troop of horse artillery, followed; while the first brigade of guards under colonel Maitland, advanced through the Bois de Bayonne, dragging along the heavy iron guns, that had been taken at the battles of the Nivelle and Nive, to the site of the Balise Orientale. The artillery was then placed in battery on the bank of the river. But the bridge flotilla, which had put to sea from Socoa, on the 22nd, not having arrived off the bar on account of contrary and baffling winds, sir John Hope determined to commence passing the river. Sixty of the guards were rowed across in a pontoon; and a raft being formed with four jolly-boats and five pontoons, and a hawser having been stretched across the river, so as to secure its stability, major-general Stopford, commanding 600 guards, two companies of the 95th rifles, and a part of the rocket brigade, passed over in presence of a picket of observation of the enemy. Immediately two columns of the enemy advanced to oppose them, with a great display of spirit, their drums beating the *pas de charge*; Stopford prepared to receive them; and when they were within twenty yards of his force, he gave orders to the rocketeers "to let fly at them." When the serpent-like missiles began to hiss, and hop, and jump, and rush among their ranks, the elated Frenchmen quickly made the best of their way back to the citadel, leaving behind them a number of killed and wounded. The troops and artillery continued to pass during the whole night, and by noon of the following day, the whole of the first division, with a squadron of hussars, had crossed.

On the morning of the 25th, the flotilla, protected by admiral Penrose, with the Porcupine frigate, the Lyra brig, and five gunboats, appeared off the mouth of the river; and it being then high water, stood for the bar in single file; the wind was fair, and the weather clear and brilliant, but a long heavy swell from the Bay of Biscay, threw with prodigious fury, a violent surf on the bar. Nowise daunted, the boats of the men-of-war dashed into the raging surf. The shores were crowded with the troops, in breathless anxiety for the fate of the leading vessel; for in the course of that morning,

two of the men-of-war's launches had been swamped, and seven lives lost. The boat that led the way, having on board the commander of the flotilla and the principal pilot, was upset, and many of the crew were drowned. Several other boats which followed, and their crews, were swallowed up by the raging element. The larger craft then stood off, to wait the chance of the next tide.

To facilitate another attempt, a pilot was landed to the south-west of the estuary, that he might erect a signal, consisting of a halberd, with a handkerchief attached to its top, in place of the signal-staff, known by the name of the *Balise Orientale*, which marked the line of navigation for vessels to steer by, in making for the mouth of the river, but which had been removed by the enemy. On that point the *chasse-marées* boldly steered when the tide again served, the way being led by the master's-mate of the *Lyra*, but his bark was lost, and the whole of its crew drowned. Others then followed, but in a moment they whirled round, went down, and the painful sight presented itself, of their crews struggling for life in the midst of the boiling waters, the poor fellows perishing within a few yards of their friends and the spectators on the shore, who in vain made every effort to assist them. Such was the force and fury of the surge, that though many of the wrecked men succeeded, by buffeting the waves, in getting a footing on the beach, the receding waves carried them back into the raging waters. At length, towards evening, lieutenant Cheyne, of the *Woodlark*, caught the channel or line of navigation, and passed. The wind having at that moment somewhat fallen, and the surge in consequence abated, about thirty-four of the flotilla passed, and reached the point designed for the bridge, where they were anchored head and stern upon the line chosen, which was about 800 feet in length, and on the following morning a strong bridge was constructed, and reported passable. Above it a boom chain was laid across the river, to resist the current in both directions, and protect the bridge from the enemy's flotilla of gun-boats and armed corvettes stationed higher up the stream; and above this again the gun-boats were stationed to check those of the enemy, should they make any attempt on the bridge. The troops and artillery now filed over the structure, and the investment of the citadel and works on the right

bank of the river took place, and the enemy was driven within his advanced line, though a vigorous opposition was made, in which the allies lost 500 men. The place was now closely blockaded, and the troops in reserve, as well as the advanced posts, were held in constant readiness, both night and day, to stand to their arms.

While this important operation was in execution, Wellington ordered the light and 6th divisions to break up from the blockade of Bayonne, and march to strengthen the right wing, which he had joined. On the 23rd the pontoons having arrived, he made so strong a demonstration, with Beresford's command, consisting of the 4th and 7th divisions and Vivian's brigade, on the left of the Gave, in the front of the line on which Soult now rested, that while the attention of that marshal was wholly engaged by the movements on his front, and by which he was forced to retire within his tête-de-pont at Peyreborade, Hill crossed the Gave d'Oleron at Villenave, on the following day, without opposition. The 3rd and light divisions passed the Gave at the same spot, and the 6th, under Clinton, between Montfort and Laas. Soult's position being now turned, he hastily abandoned his ground, and retreated to Orthes, taking up a formidable position in an entrenched camp behind the Gave de Pau.

The initial movements of the second and last campaign of the Peninsular army were detailed by its leader in the following despatch, dated St. Jean de Luz, 9th January, 1813, addressed to the English secretary of state.

"The enemy collected a considerable force, on the Gave d'Oleron, in the beginning of the week; and on the 3rd instant, drove in the cavalry pickets between the Joyeuse and Bidouse rivers, and attacked the post of major-general Buchan's Portuguese brigade, on the Joyeuse, near La Bastide, and those of the 3rd division in Boulac. They turned the right of major-general Buchan's brigade on the height of La Coste, and obliged him to retire towards Briscous, and they established two divisions of infantry on the height and in La Bastide, with the remainder of the army on the Bidouse and the Gave. Our centre and right were immediately concentrated, and prepared to move; and, having reconnoitred the enemy on the 4th, I intended to have attacked him on the 5th, but was obliged to defer the attack till the 6th, owing to the badness of the weather, and the swell-

ing of the rivulets. The attack was made on that day by the 3rd and 4th divisions, under the command of lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton, and lieutenant-general sir Lowry Cole, supported by major-general Buchan's Portuguese brigade of general Le Cor's division, and the cavalry under the command of major-general Fane; and the enemy were forthwith dislodged without loss on our side; and our posts replaced where they had been. I then ordered the troops to return to their cantonments, as the weather had again rendered all operations impossible for the moment, and the roads were in such a state, that it had become scarcely practicable to support the troops

at the distance they now are from the sea-coast. The enemy have considerably reduced their force in Bayonne, with which place they keep their communication by a coast line along the right of the Adour. I entertain but little doubt that I could obtain possession of the entrenched camp at Bayonne; but it is so near the works of the town, that I doubt my being able to hold it, unless I could lay siege to the town; for which operation, in the existing state of the weather, I am not prepared. In the meantime, the enemy have, for the third time since the battle of Vitoria, received very large reinforcements."

BATTLE OF ORTHES.

SOULT had retreated to a strong position at Orthes, in order to afford time for covering the evacuation of his magazines at Aire and Mont de Marsan, and to keep open his communication with the Pyrenees, thus affording the facility of being joined by the detachments from Suchet's army, as also of that marshal himself with his field army, should he, in virtue of the treaty of Valencay, and his arrangements with Ferdinand's emissaries, retire from Catalonia and Valencia.

The position the French marshal had taken up was very strong. It extended about one mile in length along a range of tabular heights, the right of which terminated on a steep and bold hill, covered in front by the village of St. Boës. The left rested on the town of Orthes, which is situated on the side of an eminence, and commands the bridge and passage of the river at that point; while the centre sweeps back in the form of an arc. Three divisions, under D'Erlon, occupied the centre; Reille, with two divisions and Paris's brigade, occupied the right; and the left was defended by two divisions, under Clausel. A reserve of two divisions of infantry was drawn up on an elevated and commanding height on the main road to Sault de Navaillies, and the cavalry, under P. Soult, was posted on the low grounds in front of Orthes. The French army numbered 40,000 men, 32,000 of whom were veteran troops, and 40 guns.

The allied army came in front of the French position on the 26th. The English

general having carefully reconnoitred it, thus arranged his order of attack. Beresford, with the left wing, consisting of the 4th and 7th divisions, Vasconcellos's Portuguese brigade, and Vivian's British cavalry brigade, were ordered to attack the valleys of Boës, and having carried it, to assault the hill above it; Picton, with the 3rd and 6th division, supported by Somerset's brigade, was to attack the centre and left; and Hill, with the 2nd and Le Cor's Portuguese brigades, supported by Fane's heavy cavalry, was to pass the river at the ford of Souars, about two miles above the bridge of Orthes, to turn the enemy's flank, and taking him in rear, cut off his retreat. Wellington, with his staff, took post on a conical isolated hill, surmounted by the mouldering remains of a Roman camp, directly opposite the hill upon which Soult and his staff stood. The light division was posted behind Wellington's hill, and served as well to connect Beresford and Picton's columns, between which a fearful gap intervened, from the nature of the ground, as a reserve to aid either column, as necessity might require.

From daylight of the 27th, a partial fusilade had been kept up by the light troops, occasionally varied with the deeper booming of artillery; but about nine o'clock A.M. battle was joined. Cole, with the 4th division, made a vigorous assault on the village of St. Boës; at the same time, the 4th division, supported by the 6th, advanced to attack the height occupied by the French left and centre. Immediately that Ross

had carried the village, Beresford advanced to the attack of the two lines of the enemy, posted on the hill above Boës; but the approach to that part of the enemy's position lying along a narrow tongue of land, bordered by deep ravines on each side, the deployment of his force was impossible. While hedged in in this cramped position, a heavy battery of field artillery swept the assailing column diagonally with withering effect; while in front, and from the hollows on both flanks, the advancing troops were severely galled by musketry; still the gallant 4th struggled gallantly, though in vain, to reach the heights; but they maintained their ground until Vasconcellos's Portuguese brigade broke in confusion, ran in upon their ranks, and so disordered them, that it was with difficulty the retreat was covered by the timely support of Bernard's brigade of the light division. St. Boës was now repeatedly recovered and lost. "Five times breaking through the scattered houses did Ross carry his battle into the wider space beyond; yet ever as the troops issued forth, the French guns from the open hills smote them in front, and the reserved battery on the Dax road swept through them with grape from flank to flank; at the same moment the enemy's supporting masses rushed forwards with a wasting fire, and lapping the flanks with skirmishers, which poured along the ravines on either hand, forced the shattered columns back into the village.* Nor were the allies less unfortunate in the centre. A small detachment, which Picton had extended to his left, as it neared the summit of the central hill, was driven down with the loss of several prisoners.

The crisis was now urgent. As it seemed impossible to force the enemy's right wing on its right without unduly extending the allied line, a direct front attack on his centre was determined. Orders were therefore immediately dispatched to Picton to advance with the 3rd and 6th divisions, to Bernard's brigade of the light division, and to the 7th division, which had been hitherto in reserve, to move up to the support of Ross (the 7th inclining to their left); the whole mass to advance against the enemy's line at the angle formed on the height by the union of the right wing and the centre of the enemy, and break that part of the line. The 52nd regiment led the way, through a deep morass which separated the hill on which Wellington stood from the enemy's position, "sink-

* Napier.

† *Idem.*

ing in mud and water at every step, above the knees, in some places nearly up to the waist; but still pressing forward with that stern resolution which was to be expected from the veterans of the light division—soldiers that had never yet met their match on the field."† The rest of the troops of each column closely followed. As soon as the crest of the position was gained, in a moment the face of the battle was changed. This movement was decisive of the issue of the day; contesting each point as they retreated, the enemy, after a very severe struggle, was forced to give way. The allied artillery materially contributed to this important victory. Having gained the summit of a knoll which commanded the entire position of the enemy's centre, so dreadful a havoc was made among the hostile reserve, that a body of the French 21st hussars dashed forward to seize it, galloping round the hill; but though they drove back one of the supporting battalions, they were so roughly handled by the 42nd Highlanders that few of them escaped. During these operations, Wellington rode into the thickest of the fight, galloping from point to point, where his presence was most needed; addressing a few words of encouragement to each regiment as he passed along. While this furious contest was going on in front, Hill had effected the passage of the river above Orthes, and pushed forward his command in a line of march parallel to that by which Soult must retire his beaten army to gain the bridge of Sault de Navailles.

Soult's retreat from the field of battle was slow and leisurely; he fell back by echellons of divisions, each division covering the movements of its predecessor, and holding in succession the different positions which the ground they crossed presented; the rear-guard constantly facing about, and presenting an obstinate resistance wherever the intervention of a ridge afforded a favourable opportunity of making a stand. When, however, he perceived Hill's parallel movement on his right flank, he hurried the march of his columns to gain the bridge of Sault de Navailles, lest his retreat should be cut off. So fearful were the French of being intercepted, that they threw away their arms, knapsacks, and haversacks, and in a fearful state passed the bridge like a scared flock of fleeing sheep. Had not the broken nature of the ground prevented the pursuit, few of them would have escaped. Even disadvantageous as it was for the operations

of cavalry, the horsemen of Cotton and Somerset intercepted them near the bridge, and sabred about 300, taking as many prisoners. The 7th hussars intercepted 2,000 in an enclosed field, who immediately threw down their arms; but in the confusion they escaped. The pursuit ceased at Sault de Navailles, when night closed on the victors and the vanquished. During the battle, lord Wellington was struck by a ball, which drove the pommel of his sword against his side, so as occasion severe confusion.*

The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded, was about 4,000. That of the victors, 237 killed, 1,923 wounded, and 73 missing. The trophies of the conquerors were 2,000 prisoners, and twelve cannon.

Soult, with his usual regard for truth, maintained that he was the victor. "But," as the author of the *Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns* well observes, "not all the bravado of all the Gascons, close to whose frontier the fight occurred, and into whose territory the fugitives were pursued, could convert this signal reverse into a seeming triumph. Nevertheless Soult attempted it in his proclamation, and in it told his soldiers that the allied loss was much more considerable than theirs, and that they were to consider the battle of Orthes as an advantage gained, although the ground had been lost."

The victor's despatch to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, of this important and hard-contested battle, is of deep and exciting interest. The French fought with the most desperate though unavailing valour; so desperate and enthusiastically confident were they at one time of eventual success, that Soult is said to have exultingly struck his thigh, exclaiming, "I have him at last." Vain hope! oft-repeated lessons should have taught him to think otherwise of his consummate opponent and his invincible comrades.

"St. Séver, 1st March, 1814.

"The movements of the right of the army,

* The description of the ball and the locality of the wound have been differently stated. Some say that it was a musket-ball, others a grape-shot. The wound is said by some to have been on the hip, by one officer that it was in the leg. The following communication will perhaps decide the point:—"About three o'clock in the afternoon, when the 7th hussars were gallantly driving the French before them, lord George Lennox rode up to sir William Vernon, who was then commanding the leading squadron of the regiment, to ask for a surgeon, as the duke was wounded; I immediately accompanied

which I detailed to your lordship in my last despatch, were intended to divert the enemy's attention from the preparations of St. Jean de Luz and Passages, for the passage of the Adour below Bayonne, and to induce the enemy to move his force to his left, in which objects they succeeded completely; but upon my return to St. Jean de Luz, on the 19th, I found the weather so unfavourable at sea, and so uncertain, that I determined to push forward my operations on the right; notwithstanding, that I had still the Gave d'Oleron, the Gave de Pau, and the Adour to pass.

"Accordingly, I returned to Garris on the 21st, and ordered the 6th and light divisions to break up from the blockade of Bayonne; and general Don Manuel Freyre to close up the cantonments of his corps towards Irun, and to be prepared to move when the left of the army should cross the Adour. I found the pontoons collected at Garris, and they were moved forward on the following days to and across the Gave de Mauleon, and the troops of the centre of the army arrived. On the 24th, lieutenant-general sir R. Hill passed the Gave d'Oleron at Villenave, with the light, 2nd, and Portuguese divisions, under the command of major-general baron C. Alten, lieutenant-general sir W. Stewart, and mariscal de Campo Le Cor; while lieutenant-general sir H. Clinton passed with the 6th division between Monfort and Laas; and lieutenant-general sir T. Picton made demonstrations, with the 3rd division, of an intention to attack the enemy's position at the bridge of Sauveterre, which induced the enemy to blow up the bridge. Mariscal de Campo don P. Morillo drove in the enemy's posts near Navarreins, and blockaded that place. Marshal sir W. Beresford likewise, who, since the movement of sir R. Hill on the 14th and 15th, had remained with the 4th and 7th divisions, and colonel Vivian's brigade, in observation on the Lower Bidouse, attacked the enemy on the 23rd in their fortified posts at Hastings and Oeyregave, him to a rising ground, where I found the duke dismounted. On examining his wound, I found it was caused by a spent ball striking him on the hip, breaking the skin, and causing his great pain; having dressed him, I assisted him to mount his horse. I had then a similar service to perform to general Alava, who had been struck at the same time, on the opposite hip, by a spent ball.—J. MOFFITT, M.D., staff-surgeon 1st class, half-pay, formerly in the 7th hussars.—8, Otranto-place, Sandy Cove, Dalkey, Dublin, 5th March, 1853.

on the left of the Gave de Pau, and obliged them to retire within the tête-de-pont at Peyrehorade.

"Immediately after the passage of the Gave d'Oleron was effected, sir R. Hill and sir H. Clinton moved towards Orthes and the great road leading from Sauveterre to that town; and the enemy retired in the night from Sauveterre across the Gave de Pau, and assembled their army near Orthes on the 25th, having destroyed all the bridges on the river. The right, and right of the centre of the army assembled opposite Orthes, lieutenant-general sir S. Cotton, with Lord E. Somerset's brigade of cavalry, and the 3rd division, under lieutenant-general sir T. Picton, were near the destroyed bridge of Berenx; and field-marshal sir W. Beresford, with the 4th and 7th divisions, under lieutenant-general sir L. Cole and major-general Walker, and colonel Vivian's brigade, towards the junction of the Gave de Pau with the Gave d'Oleron. The troops opposed to the marshal having moved on the 25th, he crossed the Gave de Pau below the junction of the Gave d'Oleron on the morning of the 26th, and moved along the high road from Peyrehorade towards Orthes, on the enemy's right. As he approached, lieutenant-general sir S. Cotton crossed with the cavalry, and lieutenant-general sir T. Picton with the 3rd division, below the bridge of Berenx; and I moved the 6th and light divisions to the same point; and lieutenant-general sir R. Hill occupied the heights opposite Orthes and the high road leading to Sauveterre. The 6th and light divisions crossed in the morning of the 27th at daylight, and we found the enemy in a strong position near Orthes, with his right on a height on the high road to Dax, and occupying the village of St. Boés, and his left on the heights above Orthes and that town, and opposing the passage of the river by sir R. Hill.

"The course of the heights on which the enemy had placed his army necessarily retired his centre, while the strength of the position gave extraordinary advantages to the flanks. I ordered marshal sir W. Beresford to turn and attack the enemy's right with the 4th division under lieutenant-general sir L. Cole, and the 7th division under major-general Walker and colonel Vivian's brigade of cavalry; while lieutenant-general sir T. Picton should move along the great road leading from Peyrehorade to Orthes, and attack the heights on which the enemy's

centre and left stood, with the 3rd and 6th divisions under lieutenant-general sir H. Clinton, supported by sir S. Cotton, with lord E. Somerset's brigade of cavalry. Major-general baron C. Alten, with the light division, kept the communication, and was in reserve between these two attacks. I likewise desired lieutenant-general sir R. Hill to cross the Gave, and to turn and attack the enemy's left.

"Marshal sir W. Beresford carried the village of St. Boés with the 4th division, under the command of lieutenant-general sir L. Cole, after an obstinate resistance by the enemy; but the ground was so narrow that the troops could not deploy to attack the heights, notwithstanding the repeated attempts of major-general Ross' and brigadier-general Vasconcellos' Portuguese brigade; and it was impossible to turn them by the enemy's right without an excessive extension of our line. I therefore so far altered the plan of the action as to order the immediate advance of the 3rd and 6th divisions, and I moved forward colonel Barnard's brigade of the light division to attack the left of the height on which the enemy's right stood.

"This attack, led by the 52nd regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Colborne, and supported on their right by major-general Brisbane's and colonel Keane's brigades of the 3rd division, and by simultaneous attacks on the left by major-general Anson's brigade of the 4th division, and on the right by lieutenant-general sir T. Picton, with the remainder of the 3rd division and the 6th division, under lieutenant-general sir H. Clinton, dislodged the enemy from the heights, and gave us the victory. In the mean time, lieutenant-general sir R. Hill had forced the passage of the Gave above Orthes, and seeing the state of the action he moved immediately, with the 2nd division of infantry, under lieutenant-general sir W. Stewart and major-general Fane's brigade of cavalry, direct for the great road from Orthes to St. Sever, thus keeping upon the enemy's left.

"The enemy retired at first in admirable order, taking every advantage of the numerous good positions which the country afforded him. The losses, however, which he sustained in the continued attacks of our troops, and the danger with which he was threatened by lieutenant-general sir R. Hill's movement, soon accelerated his movements, and the retreat at last became a

flight, and the troops were in the utmost confusion. Lieutenant-general sir S. Cotton took advantage of the only opportunity which offered to charge with major-general lord E. Somerset's brigade, in the neighbourhood of Sault de Navailles, where the enemy had been driven from the high road by lieutenant-general sir R. Hill. The 7th hussars distinguished themselves upon this occasion, and made many prisoners.

"We continued the pursuit till it was dusk; and I halted the army in the neighbourhood of Sault de Navailles. I cannot estimate the extent of the enemy's loss; we have taken six pieces of cannon and a great many prisoners, the numbers I cannot at present report. The whole country is covered with their dead. The army was in the utmost confusion when I last saw it passing the heights near Sault de Navailles, and many soldiers had thrown away their arms. The desertion has since been immense. We followed the enemy on the following day to this place; and we this day passed the Adour. Marshal sir W. Beresford marched with the light division and general Vivian's brigade upon Mont de Marsan, where he has taken a very large magazine of provisions. Lieutenant-general sir R. Hill has moved upon Aire, and the advanced posts of the centre are at Cazères.

"The enemy are apparently retiring upon Agen, and have left open the direct road towards Bordeaux. While the operations of which I have above given the report were carrying on on the right of the army, lieutenant-general sir J. Hope, in concert with rear-admiral Penrose, availed himself of an opportunity which offered on the 23rd of February to cross the Adour below Bayonne, and to take possession of both banks of the river at its mouth. The vessels destined to form the bridge could not get in till the 24th, when the difficult, and at this season of the year, dangerous, operation of bringing

them in was effected with a degree of gallantry and skill seldom equalled.

"The enemy, conceiving that the means of crossing the river which lieutenant-general sir J. Hope had at his command, viz., rafts made of pontoons, had not enabled him to cross a large force in the course of the 23rd, attacked the corps which he had sent over on that evening. This corps consisted of 600 men of the 2nd brigade of guards, under the command of major-general the hon. E. Stopford, who repulsed the enemy immediately. The rocket brigade was of great use upon this occasion. Three of the enemy's gun-boats were destroyed this day; and a frigate lying in the Adour received considerable damage from the fire of a battery of 18-pounders, and was obliged to go higher up the river to the neighbourhood of the bridge. Lieutenant-general Sir J. Hope invested the citadel of Bayonne on the 25th; and lieutenant-general don M. Freyre moved forward with the 4th Spanish army, in consequence of directions which I had left for him.

"On the 27th, the bridge having been completed, lieutenant-general sir J. Hope deemed it expedient to invest the citadel of Bayonne more closely than he had done before; and he attacked the village of St. Etienne, which he carried, having taken a gun and some prisoners from the enemy, and his posts are now within 900 yards of the outworks of the place. The result of the operations which I have detailed to your lordship is, that Bayonne, St. Jean Pied-de-Port, and Navarreins, are invested; and the army, having passed the Adour, are in possession of all the great communications across that river, after having beaten the enemy, and taken their magazines. I have ordered forward the Spanish troops, under general Freyre, and the heavy British cavalry and artillery, and the Portuguese artillery."

OPERATIONS FROM THE BATTLE OF ORTHES TO THE BATTLE OF TOULOUSE.

In the course of the night following his defeat at Orthes, Soult, crossing the Luy de Bèarn at Sault de Navailles, retreated to Hagetman, where he was joined by the garrison of Dax and two battalions of conscripts. Then dividing his force into two corps, he detached one to cover the evacuation of his magazines and artillery force at

Aire, while the other advanced to St. Sever, to be reorganised. Early on the following morning, after the battle, the allies advanced in pursuit, marching in three columns, with the hope of enveloping the fleeing foe. Unfortunately, only the centre column, whose march lay over a paved road, arrived at St. Sever at the appointed time, the

march of the flank columns having been retarded by the state of the roads, and thus the enemy gained time to escape to Agen. Wellington then prepared to possess himself of the enemy's magazines at Mont de Marsan, the principal town in the department of the Landes, and at Aire. Beresford was detached across the Adour for the accomplishment of the first purpose with the 2nd division, De Costa's Portuguese brigade, a brigade of cavalry, and a battery of horse artillery; and general Hill advanced by the left bank of that river towards Aire. On the 2nd of March Hill came up to the enemy, consisting of Villatte's and Harispe's divisions, under Clausel, who were drawn up in position upon a strong ridge of hills, about two miles in advance of that town, and covering the road to it, with their right appuying on the Adour. Hill immediately commenced the attack, the 2nd division under Stewart advancing by the road against the enemy's right flank; and De Costa's Portuguese brigade ascending the heights on their centre. The British division won the point they assailed; but the Portuguese brigade, though they gallantly gained the height, were so stoutly resisted, that their formation was broken, and they would have been driven back in confusion, had not Barnes's brigade, consisting of the 50th and 92nd regiments, advanced to their assistance. The enemy were then driven off the field; but rapidly rallying on their reserves, they returned to the charge, and continued the fight with the most vehement obstinacy, until Byng's brigade of the 2nd division, which had been hitherto in reserve, being brought forward, the enemy, after an obstinate resistance, abandoned the position and the town, and hastily crossed the Adour in great disorder, throwing away their arms, and leaving above 100 prisoners and the magazines in the hands of the allies. Before Wellington made arrangements for the renewal of the attack, darkness came on, and Clausel made a rapid retreat under its cover. The loss of the allies in killed and wounded was about 150; that of the enemy was not ascertained.

The weather becoming again unfavourable, the Adour and its tributary streams were so swollen by the heavy fall of rain on the night of the 1st of March, that the pontoon bridges over that river were unavailable, on account of the swell and rapidity of the stream, and therefore the intercommunica-

tion of the army on both sides of the river was interrupted. A halt was on this account made at St. Sever, where, on account of the heavy requisitions imposed on those districts for the supply of the French army, and the depredations and outrages of the French soldiery—(though those depredations were not aggravated by that fiendish cruelty which had characterized the French soldiery in Spain and Portugal)—practised on the peasantry, had become so intolerable as to render them hostile to the Buonaparte government, and in favour of the Bourbon family. Already demonstrations had been made in their behalf at Bordeaux.

At this time a deputation was sent by the loyalists at Toulouse, to the duc d'Angoulême, then at St. Jean de Luz, expressive of their attachment, and eager desire for the restoration of the Bourbons. In consequence of these indications of averseness to the existing government, the duke repaired to lord Wellington's headquarters, where he was met by a deputation from the mayor and citizens of Bordeaux, inviting his presence, and assuring the allied commander-in-chief, that a British force would be received there as friends. As the road to that city was now open, Beresford was, on the 8th, directed to march, with the 4th and 7th divisions, and Vivian's brigade of cavalry, from Mont de Marsan on Bordeaux, which he reached on the 12th; when the entire population, headed by the civil authorities, came out to meet him as their deliverer, assuring him, that "if he was about to enter Bordeaux as a conqueror, he might command the keys; but if he came in the name of the king of France, and his ally the king of England, they would be joyfully presented to him." The marshal replied, he was ordered to occupy and protect the city; when the mayor exclaiming, "Vive le Roy!" both he and the assembled multitude mounted the white cockade; and immediately the royal flag was displayed from the steeple of St. Michael's. This proceeding was entirely the impulse of the Bordelais themselves; the instructions of lord Wellington to Beresford having been (see page 153 *ante*), that he should recommend the inhabitants to weigh well their proceedings, lest they should be exposed to Buonaparte's vengeance, in case the congress assembled at Châtillon-sur-Seine should agree that peace should be made with him. On the approach of Beresford, Cornudet, the commissioner

extraordinary to that department, set fire, with his own hand, to the frigates on the stocks; and d'Huilhier, the military commandant of the town, crossed to the right bank of the Garonne, and took possession of the fortress of Blaye, and other strong posts on that river. Irritated at this event, Soult, in his usual impassibility of character, and in the spirit of one who served a tyrant in his schemes of iniquitous ambition, published his angry and defamatory proclamation, mentioned at page 154 *ante*.

The English commander-in-chief had invariably deprecated any premature declaration of the people of France against the existing government, apprehensive of the fearful consequences in which it might involve the parties who might engage in it. In a letter, dated "à Arriverette, ce 25 Fevrier, 1814," he says, "Je suis toujours convaincu cependant qu'il est dans les intérêts de la famille de votre altesse royale de ne pas d'avancer l'opinion publique, ni de la presser."—(I am still convinced that it is for the interests of your royal highness' family, neither to anticipate public opinion nor to press it.)—In convertible language, do not precipitate any movement, lest you implicate the safety of your devoted friends, and diminish the chance of your own success. When he had ascertained that the Bourbon cause made very little progress, and that the duc d'Angoulême sanctioned the address of the mayor and authorities, and even reported that it had the approbation of the allied commander-in-chief, that great and humane man then deemed it time, and imperative on his part, to exert himself to obviate its pernicious tendency. For this purpose he addressed the following admirable and spirited letter, dated "Seysse, 29th March, 1814," to the duke:—

"I am much concerned to find that the statement which I had repeatedly the honour of making to your royal highness of the principles on which I was determined to act in regard to the cause of your royal highness' family in France, had made so little impression on your royal highness' mind, as that your royal highness did not perceive, till you had read my letter of the 16th, that the proclamation of the mayor of Bordeaux was not consistent with what I had declared to your royal highness. This circumstance renders caution on my part more than ever necessary. I am not acting as an individual; I am at the head of the army, and the confidential agent of three independent nations;

and supposing that as an individual I could submit to have my views and intentions in such a case misrepresented, as the general of the allied army I cannot.

"I enclose to your royal highness a copy of a paper given, I believe, by your royal highness to lieutenant-general the earl of Dalhousie, which shows the consequences of those misrepresentations. I occupied Bordeaux with a detachment of the army in the course of my operations, and certain persons in the city of Bordeaux, contrary to my advice and opinion, thought proper to proclaim king Louis XVIII. These persons have made no exertion whatever; they have not subscribed a shilling for the support of the cause, and they have not raised a single soldier; and then, because I do not extend the posts of the army under my command beyond what I think proper and convenient, and their properties and families are exposed, not on account of their exertions in the cause (for they have made none), but on account of their premature declaration contrary to my advice, I am to be blamed, and, in a manner, called to account. My experience of revolutionary wars taught me what I had to expect, and induced me to warn your royal highness not to be in a hurry. I beg your royal highness to tell the writer of this paper, and all such persons, that no power on earth shall induce me to depart from what I conceive to be my duty towards the sovereigns whom I am serving; and that I will not risk even a company of infantry to save properties and families, placed in a state of danger, contrary to my advice and opinion. In reply to your royal highness' letter of the 24th inst., and upon the whole of this subject, I have to state that I earnestly hope your royal highness will shape your conduct, and your royal highness' counselors will advise you to draw your proclamations and declarations in such manner, as that I may not be under the necessity of declaring, by proclamation, what my opinions and principles have invariably been, and what I have repeatedly declared to your royal highness.

"1st. I consider your royal highness free to act exactly as your royal highness may think proper, without consulting my opinion in any manner. All that I ask is, that neither my name, nor the name, nor the authority of the allied governments, may be adduced, more particularly when I am not consulted, or, if consulted, when I have given my opinion against the measure adopted.

"2nd. I told your royal highness that, if any great town or extensive district should declare itself in favour of your royal highness' family, I would interfere in no manner with the government of that town or district; and that, if there was a general declaration throughout the country in favour of your house, I should deliver into your hands the government of the whole country which should have been overrun by our armies. The fact is, that the declaration even at Bordeaux is not unanimous; that the spirit has not spread elsewhere, not even into La Vendée, nor in any part that I know of occupied by the army. The events in my contemplation, therefore, have not occurred; and I should be guilty of a gross breach of my duty to the allied sovereigns, and of cruelty to the inhabitants of the country, if I were to deliver them over to your royal highness prematurely or contrary to their inclinations.

"I have never interfered in any manner with the government of the town of Bordeaux; and I recommend it to your royal highness to withdraw M. de Carrère from the department des Landes. I wish that it had not been necessary for me to write as I did to M. de Tholozé; and it will be very disagreeable to me to take any step which shall mark more strongly a want of understanding between your royal highness and me; but I cannot allow the honour and character of the allied sovereigns, or my own, to be doubted even for a moment.

"3rd. I entertain no doubt whatever, that when once there is any declaration in favour of the cause of your royal highness' family, it is important that it should be general; and I sincerely wish it was so. But I can interfere in no manner to produce this general declaration; nay, more, I must, as an honest man, acquaint all those who shall talk to me upon the subject with the state of affairs between the allies and the existing government of France, as I have done to this moment.

"I do not recollect any particular conversation between M. de Viel Castel and me in relation to Pau, excepting to the purport and on the principles above recited. It is not in my power, under existing circumstances, to make your royal highness the advance of money you desire; and indeed, after what has passed, I doubt whether I do not exceed the line of my duty in affording your cause any countenance or support whatever. In answer to the note enclosed by your royal

highness, drawn by your royal highness' council in the name of your royal highness, it appears to me to be written in the same erroneous view with the proclamation of the mayor of Bordeaux.

"The object of the note is to show that I am bound to support the operations of your royal highness' government by the military power of the army, because your royal highness entered the country with the army, and I have been the passive spectator of the declaration of a part of the city of Bordeaux in favour of your royal highness' family. If I am to be bound by such means to employ the army in this manner, it is still more incumbent upon me, than it was before, to be cautious as to the degree of encouragement (and to speak plainly, permission) I shall give to the measures taken by your royal highness' adherents, to induce the people in any district occupied by the army to declare in your royal highness' favour. I must say, also, that it is a curious demand to make upon me, who, in any light, can only be considered as an ally, to furnish troops to support the operations of your royal highness' civil government; when I ought to have a right to expect military assistance from your royal highness against the common enemy.

"In answer to this note I must tell your royal highness that, until I shall see a general and free declaration of the people in favour of your royal highness' family, such as I know they are disposed and pant for an opportunity to make, I will not give the assistance of the troops under my command to support any system of taxation or of civil government which your royal highness may attempt to establish; and I hope your royal highness will not attempt to establish such a system beyond Bordeaux. In regard to the notes upon tobacco, salt, and colonial produce, I will consider of them, and will give your royal highness an answer by an early opportunity."

While head-quarters were at St. Sever, orders to supply the place of the troops despatched to Bordeaux with Beresford, were despatched (March 4th) to Freyre to join the main army, by the Port de Landes, with two divisions (8,000 men) of the Andalusian reserves, from Irun; as also to Ponsonby's heavy brigade of cavalry, which had wintered on the banks of the Ebro; and to general William Clinton, to break up the army on the eastern coast of Spain, as soon as he should ascertain that Suchet had

marched with his field army from Catalonia, and having shipped the Sicilian part of his force to lord William Bentinck in that island, advance with the British and German portion by Saragossa, Pamplona, and St. Jean-de-Luz, and effectuate a junction with the main army. The order transmitted to Freyre contained the emphatic injunction, "Maintain the strictest discipline, or we are lost!" But soon was the just and magnanimous Wellington to find that his humane injunction was violated. In the course of their march, those licentious troops had been guilty of so great violence and outrage, that Wellington was overwhelmed with complaints from all quarters, and symptoms of a partisan warfare again begun to be indicated. The English general immediately addressed the following letter to Freyre, dated St. Sever, 5th March, 1814:—

"I am concerned to have to inform your excellency, that I receive from all quarters complaints of the conduct of the troops under the command of your excellency; and I beg to draw your serious attention to the following observations. However France may be reduced, there is no doubt that the army which I am enabled to lead into the country is not sufficiently strong to make any progress if the inhabitants should take part in the war against us. What has occurred in the last six years in the Peninsula should be an example to all military men on this point, and should induce them to take especial care to endeavour to conciliate the country which is the seat of war, by preserving the most strict discipline among the troops, by mitigating as much as possible the evils which are inseparable from war, and by that demeanour in the officers in particular towards the inhabitants which will show them that they at least do not encourage the evils which they suffer from the soldiers, and will afford the inhabitants some hope that the evils will be redressed, and will be of short duration. All soldiers are inclined to plunder, and can be prevented only by the constant attention and exertion of the officers; and I earnestly entreat you to urge those of the army under your command to attend to these circumstances. It will be highly disgraceful to the Spanish army, if the conduct complained

of should be continued; and I anxiously hope that, as I have taken measures to provide for the regular pay and food of the officers and troops, the most energetic measures will be adopted to prevent these constant complaints.

[The letter then states the regulations adapted to suppress all excess.]

"To these considerations I beg leave to add an observation, the truth of which I have learned from long experience, namely, that no reliance can be placed on the conduct of troops in action with the enemy who have been accustomed to plunder; and that those officers alone can expect to derive honour in the day of battle from the conduct of the troops under their command, who shall have forced them, by their attention and exertions, to behave as good soldiers ought, in their cantonments, their quarters, and their camps."

Some British troops having about this time plundered the villages and rifled the people, were enforced to make restitution of the property and payment for the articles they had consumed. The peasantry in one place having killed one soldier and wounded another in their defence, on complaint made, the wounded man was ordered to be hung.

Soult now deeming Wellington's army* inferior to his own, on account of the draught under Beresford for the occupation of Bordeaux, advanced, March 13th, from Lambege to Conchez and Vielle on the right flank of the allies, and driving in the pickets and outposts, made demonstration to attack at Aire, Hill's corps; but on that general being joined by two divisions, despatched to his assistance by lord Wellington, the French marshal thinking from appearances that he would be attacked on the morrow, he drew off his forces in the night of the following day to their original position.

Head-quarters were now fixed at Aire, and the army was in position on both sides of the Adour. Beresford was ordered to join with the 4th and 7th divisions, and Vivian's cavalry brigade, leaving the 7th division and a few squadrons of Vandeleur's cavalry, which had joined Beresford on his march to Bordeaux, to watch that city, and reduce the forts commanding the navigation of the Garonne, so as to enable the British

* Soult's army consisted of 31,000 sabres and bayonets, and 38 guns; the allies, of 27,000 combatants and 38 guns. The allied army at the battle of Orthes had but 27,000 infantry and cavalry in line, and 40 guns; the allied force having been diminished

by the large draughts necessary to blockade Bayonne, St. Jean Pied-de-Port, and Navarreins. Since the battle of Orthes it had received some small reinforcements, which brought it up to its complement at the time of that battle.

squadron, under admiral Primrose, to enter that river.

On the 27th, Primrose, with the *Egmont*, *Andromache*, and *Belle Poule* frigates, and some smaller vessels, entered the Garonne without loss from the fire of the forts and batteries at its mouth, and chasing the *Regulus* line-of-battle ship, three brigs of war, and some *chasse-marées* as high as the shoal of Talmont, the French squadron took shelter under the batteries on each side of Talmont; the English squadron anchoring outside the shoal. On April 2nd, Primrose attacked the flotilla of fifteen armed vessels coming from Blaye to join the French squadron, and carried off or destroyed the whole. Preparations were then made for attacking the hostile squadron, but in the course of the night the enemy set fire to the whole of it. Fort de Blaye, however, still prevented the navigation of the river. The usual co-operation being thus secured, while the admiral prepared to act against that fort, Dalhousie crossed the Garonne above Bordeaux with 3,000 men, and sending his cavalry over the Dordogne, intercepted the communication of l'Huilhier and Decaen, the last mentioned of whom was organizing an army in the Gironde, and had already collected 1,000 infantry, and all the national guards, custom-house officers, and *gens-d'armes* of five departments. Repassing the Dordogne, he advanced against l'Huilhier, who was posted at Etaulier with 1,200 infantry, and 300 cavalry, but the French general was no sooner attacked than he took to flight, with the loss of about 300 privates, and thirty officers.

The allied army now halted to give time for the junction of Freyre's Andalusian reserve, and the heavy cavalry under Ponsonby. The junction being effected on the 16th and 17th, the army moved forward on both banks of the Adour, and on the 19th marched in two columns on Vic Bigorre; the right moving by Lambege, the left by Maubourget. Soult immediately retreated, leaving d'Erlon, with two divisions, strongly posted in the vineyards surrounding that town, and extending for the distance of several miles, to cover his retreat; but after a brilliant combat, the enemy was dislodged by the light companies of the 3rd division, and a Portuguese brigade. The loss of the allies was about 250 men; that of the French was not ascertained.

On the morning of the 20th, the French were found in position near Tarbes, posted

on some favourable heights, with their left resting on Tarbes, and their right extending in the direction of Rabastens. Lord Wellington immediately directed Hill's command and the 3rd division to advance on the left flank of the enemy, and the 6th division, supported by two brigades of cavalry, to turn their right flank, while the light division assailed them in front. They were quickly driven to a second range of heights, covering the road to Tarbes. The fight was fierce and violent in the streets of Tarbes; the French supposing their opponents, from their dark green uniform, to be Portuguese, allowed them to approach to the very muzzles of their muskets before they took to flight. While arrangements were being made for dislodging them from their new position, darkness came on, and Soult made a rapid retreat by St. Guadens on Toulouse. The loss of the allies was 100 men; that of the French was not known.

On the 22nd Fane came up with the enemy's rear-guard at St. Guadens; when two squadrons of the 13th dragoons falling upon four squadrons of the enemy, drove them headlong through the town; and on their reforming beyond it, they were again discomfited, and pursued for two miles, leaving many killed and wounded, and 100 prisoners. The loss of the 13th was only six. "In this skirmish the veteran major Doherty was seen charging between his two sons, at the head of the leading squadron."*

In the course of Soult's retreat across the plains of Gers, lord Wellington wishing to ascertain the force with which the enemy held a wooded height, commanding the great road, and all who had attempted its reconnoissance having been prevented approaching near enough for the purpose by the fire of a cloud of skirmishers; at last an officer (Captain Light) overcame the difficulty. "He rode forward as if he would force his way through the French skirmishers; but when in the wood dropped his reins, and leaned back as if badly wounded; his horse appeared to canter wildly along the front of the enemy's light troops, and they, thinking him mortally hurt, ceased their fire, and took no further notice. He thus passed undisturbed through the wood to the other side of the hill, where there were no skirmishers; ascending to the open summit above, he put spurs to his horse, and galloped along the French main-line, counting their

* Napier.

regiments as he passed. His sudden appearance, his blue undress, his daring confidence, and his speed, made the French doubt if he was an enemy, and a few shots only were discharged; while he, dashing down the opposite declivity, broke from the rear to the very skirmishers whose fire he had at first assayed in front. Reaching the spot where lord Wellington stood, he told him there were but five battalions on the hill."*

This stage of the history seems to present a favourable opportunity of detailing the episodical operations of the close of the Anglo-Sicilian army on the eastern coast of Spain, without embarrassing the current of the narrative, or occasioning any harsh or violent disruption in its equable flow. Since the retreat of the Anglo-Sicilian force in September of the last year, the war had lingered on the eastern coast of Spain, and both sides had remained in a state of total inactivity, on account of their weakness. About the middle of January of this year, however, Clinton, in concert with Copons, arranged to surprise the enemy's cantonments at Molinos del Rey, and the adjoining villages, on the Lobrogat. The enterprise failed because Copons, without making any communication to the English general, instead of sending Manso and his brigade, as had been arranged, chose to go himself, and set off two hours later than had been agreed on, and finally appeared on the right flank of the enemy, instead of on the rear, which Manso was to have done. The consequence was, that the French, instead of being taken by surprise, were enabled to effect their retreat over the Lobrogat by the stone bridge. Had the original plan, that Manso should post himself on the strong ground in the rear of Molinos del Rey, close to the only road by which the enemy could retire, while Clinton attacked them in front, been adhered to, the whole must have surrendered. Suchet now concentrated his field army around Gerona, preparatory to his withdrawal of them into France, and at the same time sent secret instructions to the blockaded garrisons in his rear to make their escape the best way they could, and join him near Figueras. French dominion in this quarter of Spain was now to sustain a severe blow. A Spanish officer, by name Van Halen, of Flemish descent, who had passed from the Spanish service into that of Joseph's, and

* Napier.

had held a commission in his body-guard, and was subsequently aid-de-camp to Suchet, having possessed himself of that marshal's seal and cypher, namely, the insertion of a slender light-coloured hair into the cyphered paper, determined to make his court to the Spanish government, and get restored to the service by betraying Suchet. Accordingly he, in conjunction with baron d'Erolles, drew up orders addressed in that marshal's name to the governors of all the towns held by the French in the rear of the allies, directing them to evacuate the fortresses, and march towards him at Barcelona, in order to return to France. Possession of Lerida, Mesquienza, and Mouzon, was obtained by this manœuvre. The garrisons evacuating those fortresses, on reaching the defiles at Mantriell, were suddenly surrounded. Two thousand six hundred men, with two generals, five guns, and a rich military chest, immediately capitulated. The same stratagem was attempted on the garrison of Tortosa, but its governor escaped the artifice by a wary test, and thus preserved his own fortress and that of Murviedro in subjection to Buonaparte.

Barcelona still continued closely blockaded. A sally made by Habert, the governor, on the 23rd of February, was repulsed with great loss; and on the 18th of April, long after peace had been concluded at Paris, he made another effort to cut his way through the blockading force, but was again repulsed, with the loss of 800 men to the besiegers. Santona, on the Biscayan coast, the only place that had remained in the enemy's power in that part of Spain, had capitulated in the early part of April.

Buonaparte being now very solicitous to obtain the co-operation of the French troops in Catalonia and Valencia, in his pending operations against the allies in the centre of France, liberated Ferdinand unconditionally, and sent him in conveyance to the Spanish frontier. At Perpignan the imbecile specimen of royalty was met by Suchet, and there promised the French marshal that every facility should be given to the French troops, both the field army and the blockaded garrisons, to cross the frontier; and in this design the Spanish general, Copons, co-operated. But as it was necessary, in the existing state of affairs, to obtain the assent of the cortes, that body referred the matter to lord Wellington, who, though Suchet detained Ferdinand and his brother, the infante

don Carlos, at Figueras, as hostages for the safety of the blockaded French garrison, refused to allow of any capitulation with the enemy's troops in Spain, except on the condition of their becoming prisoners of war, observing, that they were not to be trusted; and referred to the recent compact made with the garrison of Jaca, by which that garrison was to return to France under an engagement not to serve for one year, unless previously exchanged, but which the French, as usual, had violated.

Suchet, hoping that the presence of his precious hostage in Madrid would tend to incline the cortes to listen to his agreement for the return of the blockaded garrisons to France, liberated him. An arrangement was therefore made with Copons for his reception. Being conducted by the French marshal to the Fluvia, where the Catalan and the French armies were ranged in order of battle on each bank, he was delivered over to his own subjects, and became once more king of Spain. After that event, Suchet, blowing up the fortifications of Olat, Palamos, &c., passed the Pyrenees; and on the 14th of April, Clinton, according to his instructions received from lord Wellington in the early part of March, despatching the Italians, Calabrese, and Sicilian part of his force to lord William Bentinck in Sicily, proceeded with the British and German troops to join the main army under lord Wellington. The last French force, that of the garrison of Barcelona, under Habert, in Spain, marched on the 28th of May to France.

No sooner had "El Amado" (the beloved one) set his foot on the soil of Spain, than he began to plot with the priests, the overthrow of the Spanish constitution, and the infliction of punishment on those who merited his deepest gratitude and the thanks of their country.

It was the earnest desire of the driveling bigot to indicate his attachment to the domination of the priests. For this purpose, he first visited all the nunneries in Valencia, and then attended an evening *Te Deum* in the cathedral, performed by the light of 20,000 tapers; after which, he and the infantes adored a chalice of legendary reputation which is highly venerated there: he then issued his manifesto, dated "Valencia, 4th of May." But Ferdinand was not the only recreant. Priests and nobles, soldiers and generals, and the lower classes of all kinds, expressed a wish for the restoration of the old despotism, and the inqui-

sition. The constitutional stone, erected on the Plaza Mayor, or great square, of most of the large towns, bearing the words *Plaza de la Constitucion*, was taken down, and one bearing the words *Real Plaza de Fernando VII.* was substituted. The word *liberty* became execrated. At Madrid, the word appeared in large bronze letters over the entrance of the hall of the cortes. The people set up ladders, forced out letter by letter from the stone, and as each letter was thrown into the street, the spectators approved the act with shouts of exultation. They collected as many of the journals of the cortes, and of the papers and pamphlets of the *liberales*, as they could; formed a procession, in which the religious fraternities, and the priests regular and secular, took the lead; piled the papers up in one of the public squares, and sacrificed them there as a political *auto-da-fé*; after which, high mass was performed, and *Te Deum* sung, as a thanksgiving for their triumph!*

On May 4th Ferdinand dissolved the cortes, and denounced all those who should oppose his manifesto as traitors. On reaching Madrid (13th of May) he proscribed the members of the regency, abolished the liberty of the press, and restored the inquisition. Within one short week of his reaching the capital, the dungeons of Madrid were crammed with the patriots who had conduced, by their courage and devotion, to his restoration. Fines, confiscation, imprisonment, and condemnation to the galleys were the lot of the *liberales*, or the promoters of liberal and enlightened principles. The venerable admiral, Valdez, was sentenced to be imprisoned in the castle of Alicante for ten years, and then to be confined at Ceuta. Garcia Herreros, formerly minister of grace and justice, was to serve eight years in chains in the garrison of Gomera, a rock on the coast of Barbary. The patriotic, eloquent, and learned Arguelles, was condemned to serve as a common soldier in the sentenced regiment stationed at Ceuta. Quintane, who, by his eloquent and patriotic writings, had contributed more than any other person to excite and sustain the national spirit, was immured in a dungeon, where he died. By the instigation of those fiends in human form, the priests, a law was made, ordaining all who should conspire to establish any other religion than the "catholic, apostolic, Roman religion" should suffer death as traitors. Such was "the

* Southey.

wretch" who had been "the libellous son in the palace, a plotting traitor at Aranguez, a dastard at Bayonne, an effeminate, superstitious, fawning slave at Valençay;"* "a wretch without one redeeming virtue;" whose obtuse intellect could not appreciate, and selfishness could not feel, the generous devotion, the noble sacrifices, the exalted patriotism of those who had the misfortune to be misnominated his subjects. Never did one of "the Lord's anointed"(!) afford so powerful a confirmation, and so instructive a comment of scriptural axiomatic truth—

"not to put faith in princes." But when will men "learn wisdom, and possess understanding?" When kings and priests lose sight of the real object of their mission—the public welfare—they have ever been an incubus and a drag-weight on society, and it is only by the progress of the human mind, and the enlightenment of the great mass of the people, that the misgovernment of such narrow-minded bigots as Ferdinand, who wiled away the tedium of his captivity under Buonaparte by *embroidering a petticoat for the Virgin Mary!* can be counteracted.

THE BATTLE OF TOULOUSE.

TOULOUSE,† the capital of Languedoc, stands on the right bank of the Garonne, and covers a space of ground about two miles in length from north to south, and its breadth from east to west is one mile and a quarter. It is surrounded by a considerable extent of suburb, or faubourg, under various names, as St. Cyprien, St. Etienne, St. Michael, &c. The faubourg of St. Cyprien stands on the left bank of the river, is connected with the town by a stone bridge, and is flanked on each side by the Garonne.

The city is surrounded on three sides, at the distance of three-quarters of a mile, by a water-channel, consisting of the Garonne and the canal of Languedoc, the latter entering the former about two miles below the city. The river protects the whole western side, and the canal covers it on the east and the north. On the south or fourth side, an open space extends from the Garonne to the canal, but can be approached only by roads impassable by artillery; besides, it is commanded by the heights of Mont Rave. To the east of the canal runs a range of bold and rugged heights, about two miles in length, called Mont Rave, extending along the open space between the canal and the river Ers. The plateau Calvinet is situated in the centre of the Mont Rave, the plateau St. Sypière on its right, and the hill or knoll La Pujada on its left. This Mont was defended by five redoubts (fortified by bastions fronted with ditches

full of water), and fortified houses, connected by lines of entrenchment which mutually flanked each other, and swept with their fire the entire front of the position, while they connected the flanks of the position with the defences of the town. Behind Mont Rave, at the distance of eight hundred yards, stand the hills of Sacarin and Cambon. The faubourg of St. Cyprien, which was surrounded like the city itself, with a high substantial wall, was fortified by strong field-works in front of its wall. The whole of this formidable position had been long in progress of being fortified, and for the last seventeen days since his retreat from Tarbes, the French marshal employed the whole of the army, and all the male population in the town and its neighbourhood in completing the fortifications. Thus the enemy had a triple line of entrenchments. If the ridge should be carried, the interior line of the canal, with its fortified bridge, houses, and suburbs, and within it again, the third line, consisting of the walls of the city, afforded him a retreat and protection. The width and rapidity of the Garonne completed the security of his position, and increased the difficulties of the assailants.

When Soult retreated from Tarbes, the allied army pursued in three columns; Beresford, with the left, taking the great road by Auch, Hill, with the right, that of St. Guadens; the centre moving, under the personal direction of the commander-in-church is the reputed work of St. Luke. The Dominicans in their church exhibit the body of St. Thomas Aquinas, authenticated by himself in ghostly person, and brought to that city, after numerous adventures, with 10,000 lighted tapers, and 150,000 people in procession.

* Napier.

† In the estimation of "good Catholics," Toulouse is held in high consideration for its religious edifices. Among these the cathedral is pre-eminent. That venerable building has the boasted good fortune of possessing the bodies of seven apostles. The Dorado

chief, by Gallan, Isle du Dodon, and St. Lys: but on account of having to transport with them a heavy pontoon train, and all the necessary stores, they did not reach the banks of the Garonne till the 27th.

Lord Wellington, on reconnoitring the enemy's position, determined to assail it by crossing the river. On the 28th he gave orders to lay down a pontoon bridge at Portet, a village situated about six miles above Toulouse; but when the sheer-line was stretched across the water-surface, the width was ascertained to be twenty-six yards more than the pontoon would cover; consequently the attempt was abandoned.

On the 31st a favourable place, near Penaguel, about one mile higher up, of a practicable width, having been discovered, Hill, with two divisions, Morillo's Spaniards, Fane's cavalry, and an artillery and rocket brigade, crossed the river, seized the bridge over the Arrière at Cintegebelle, with the intention of assailing the enemy on the southern front of the town; but finding the roads impassable, was obliged to retrograde, repassing the river on the night of April 1st.

The nature of the ground thus compelling the commander-in-chief to abandon his first intentions, he now determined to bridge the river below Toulouse, and attack the front of the enemy's position. On the 4th of April a pontoon bridge was laid down across a bend or loop of the river, about a league from Grenade, which is fifteen miles distant from Toulouse. The bridge was finished in four hours. A few men having been sent over in boats to take possession of the wood on the opposite bank, the passage began, the cavalry crossing in single files, the infantry by threes, while the bands played gaily "The Grenadier's March," and "The Downfall of Paris." The morning being bright and beautiful, the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages had collected to view the exciting spectacle. The peasants even volunteered their aid, and assisted in dragging the guns of the horse artillery up the banks.

A battery of thirty guns was now erected on the left bank of the river; and under the protection of its flanking fire, the 4th and 6th divisions, and three brigades of cavalry (Somerset's, Ponsonby's, and Vivian's), under the command of Beresford, effected the passage of the river, and the cavalry being pushed forward, captured a large herd of bullocks destined for the French army.

But just as Freyre's Spanish corps and the light division were preparing to follow, the river suddenly rose—an occurrence occasioned by the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees—to so dangerous a height, that it became necessary to take up the platform; and as the rain had set in heavily in the course of the night, several of the pontoons were swamped, so that it was necessary, on the following day, to take up the whole, to prevent its being carried away by the violence of the current. Thus the army was divided, without the possibility of rendering assistance to Beresford's portion of it, should he be attacked. Lord Wellington immediately crossed over in a boat, and drew up the troops in the strongest position the ground afforded, with their left resting on the Ers, and their right on the Garonne; and recrossing the river, he placed some artillery on its left bank so as to rake the front of Beresford's command. During this interval of anxious suspense, lord Wellington apprehending that Soult would soon be reinforced by Suchet's field army, amounting to 14,000 men, and probably by that (amounting also to 20,000 men) of the blockaded garrisons of Catalonia, should they be liberated by virtue of the treaty of Valençay; and deeming the British force under his command, which was greatly reduced in number by the necessity of carrying on unconnected operations in various quarters (namely, in blockading Pamplona, St. Jean Pied-de-Port, Navarriens, &c.), inadequate to make head against the superior numbers which might be brought against it; he addressed the following letter, dated Grenade, April, 7th to lord Bathurst:—"I beg leave again to draw your lordship's attention to the state of this army, particularly to that most important branch of it, the British infantry. Your lordship has been informed what troops are employed at Bayonne, and what at Bordeaux; and you will see what remains to be opposed to the united armies of marshals Soult and Suchet, if the garrisons [alluding to those of Catalonia] should be set free.

"Adverting to the state in which the army took the field in May last, to the number of actions in which it has been engaged, and to the small reinforcements it has received, it is matter of astonishment that it should now be so strong. But there are limits to the numbers with which this army can contend, and I am convinced your lordship would not wish to see the safety and honour

of this handful of brave men depend on the doubtful exertion and discipline of an undue proportion of Spanish troops. * * * * The reserve in Holland may doubtless be more important to the national interest than that in this country, but I hope it will be considered that that which is most important of all is, not to lose the brave army which has struggled through its difficulties for nearly six years." Be it observed, that this letter was written only one week before the war was ended; affording a clear demonstration of the culpable inattention of the ministry in maintaining the efficiency of the army, and enabling its general to avail himself of those opportunities that presented themselves of taking advantage of the enemy.

On the 8th, the river having sufficiently subsided for the pontoons to be laid down again, in the course of the night of that day, the bridge was carried across about a league higher up the river, near Ausonne, so as to afford that ready communication that might be necessary between the main army and Hill in the progress of the operations. Morillo's Spaniards, with the Portuguese artillery, crossed on the 9th, under the immediate command of the allied commander-in-chief, and were followed, early on the 10th, by the 3rd and light divisions. In the course of their advance towards Toulouse, the 18th hussars, by a bold and rapid movement, drove back the cavalry under the command of P. Soult through the village of Croix d'Orade, slew and wounded many, took 100 prisoners, and pursued them so closely, that they had not time to destroy the bridge over the Ers, the only one that had been left standing, and the possession of which was indispensably necessary to the proposed attack of the enemy's position on Mont Rave.

The signal for the commencement of the battle was given at seven o'clock of the morning of the 10th (Easter Sunday), at the moment the church bells of the distant villages were calling the peasantry to matins and early mass, and the roofs and steeples of Toulouse being at the same time covered with spectators. Immediately the whole of the allied army was in motion. The dispositions of attack were: Beresford, with the 4th and 6th divisions and three brigades of cavalry (Somerset's, Ponsonby's, and Vivian's), was directed to cross the Ers at the bridge of Croix d'Orade, and having driven the enemy from the village of Montblanc, to proceed along the left bank

of the Ers till he gained the enemy's right, when he was to form line and move to the attack of that flank. The Spaniards, under Freyre, supported by Ponsonby's cavalry, were to make a simultaneous attack on the left of the position, and when they had gained the mountain crest, to push forward then upon the heights, to effect a junction with Beresford. The 3rd and light divisions were to observe the enemy in the suburbs of St. Etienne, near the canal, and to attract his attention by threatening the fortified bridge which leads across it. Vivian's brigade of cavalry, under Arentschild, were to watch the French horse on both banks of the Ers; Hill, with the 2nd division and Le Cor's Portuguese division, was to confine the enemy within his entrenchments on the left of the Garonne; and the remainder of the cavalry was stationed at different points along the line, to check the movement of the enemy's cavalry.

The heights on the left of the enemy's position, called La Pujade, were occupied by two divisions of infantry, having in their front a brigade of cavalry. The plateau of Mont Calvint, on the right centre, was held by one division of infantry; and the heights of Montandran, on the extreme right, were held by one brigade of infantry, with a strong body of cavalry in their front, on the road to Bordes. Heavy columns of reserve were posted in rear of the entire range of the heights. The canal, from the rear of La Pujade to its junction with the Garonne, was guarded by strong bodies of infantry; the faubourg of St. Cyprien, and that of St. Etienne, on the eastern side, by another, and various posts in the different faubourg and on the walls were defended by reserve conscripts and national or urban guards.

The light and 3rd divisions of the British having driven the enemy's advanced posts to the fortified positions, Beresford and Freyre simultaneously pushed forward by the Alby road, and crossed the Ers by the bridge of Croix d'Orade. Beresford, with his troops in three parallel open columns, diverging to the left, attacked and carried the village of Montblanc. Then continuing his march up the river in the same order, over difficult and marshy ground, in a line parallel to the whole of the enemy's position, and under a fearfully destructive and raking fire from their batteries, immediately that he had gained the point opposite the extreme right of the enemy's

position, he wheeled up his columns, and advanced in line to the attack.

As soon as Beresford's troops were ready to advance, Freyre formed his infantry in front of Croix d'Orade, in two lines of attack, with Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry formed in his rear as a reserve, and a battery of Portuguese artillery to cover his movements. He boldly crossed the valley which intervened between his troops and the enemy's position, and drove the French cavalry brigade, in front of their position, before him; but as they closed upon the enemy's position, his troops were exposed to so deadly a fire of grape, that they lost their formation, and during the confusion, the French, leaping out of their retrenchments, drove them down the hill with great slaughter, and pursued them to the bridge over the Ers, when a brigade (the 1st Portuguese caçadores) of the light division advancing to their relief, checked the hot pursuit of the foe, and rallied the fugitives.* Lord Wellington, too, the moment he saw them giving way, galloped to the spot, and rallied a small body of them, at an important point, in person.

Picton, on his side, had not been more fortunate, but here the attack had not failed from want of courage, but from an excess of daring. That officer had been directed to make a feint attack on the Jumeau canal bridge, nearest to the Garonne, which he converted into a real assault, hoping, if he succeeded, that he would be able to check the progress of the French in their pursuit of the fleeing Spaniards from the height of La Pujade. He accordingly pushed on to the edge of the counterscarp of the redoubt which defended the bridge of Jumeau; but when he approached he found it protected by a ditch six feet deep, and as many broad. Though they had no scaling ladders with them, his brave division, nowise daunted, jumped into the ditch, and tried, by climbing on one another's shoulders, to reach the top of the wall; but in vain: the attempt was impracticable, and he was obliged to draw off with the loss of 400 men and officers.

While these discomfitures had befallen

* One author says, "That they broke into a thousand parties in their headlong flight, and turning tail, it was who should be first away from the unpleasant doings. I am told," says he, "that Lord Wellington wondered whether the Pyrenees would bring them up again." According to another anecdote, the scene of the scared runaways drew the ironical remark from the English general, "That he had seen many curious sights, but never before saw

Freyre on the left, and Picton at the bridge of Jumeau, Beresford, on the right, was eminently successful; the enemy's position in that quarter of the field was in his possession. Nothing could resist the steady gallantry with which the 6th division, under Clinton, advanced up the steep and difficult heights of Mont Calvinet, commanded the whole way by the enemy's artillery; they carried the redoubts, St. Syprière, which covered and protected that hill, and established themselves in the enemy's position; though Harispe, who commanded that point, had been reinforced by the troops whom the repulse of the Spaniards at La Pujade had set at liberty. At the same time the 4th division, under Cole, forcing their way up the heights on the enemy's extreme right, established themselves on the left of the 6th division. Hill, at the same time, had driven the enemy from their exterior works in front of St. Cyprien, within the walls of the suburb, and made such demonstrations as kept them in fear of a powerful attack on that quarter.

Soult, now thrown on his defence, reformed his broken right wing, and took up a new line of defence, extending from Pont des Demoiselles on his right to the redoubts on the plateau of Calvinet on the left, the remainder of his line preserving its original ground opposite Freyre.

It was now noon, and Beresford having brought up his guns, which, on account of the badness of the roads, he had left at Montblanc, that his march might not be delayed, renewed the battle. He marched along the ridge at the head of his divisions, the 4th and 6th, while the Spanish troops made a corresponding movement, but with little or no effect. The 6th division led, the 4th followed, and simultaneously advanced against the enemy's redoubts in line; Soult hoping, by a sudden and weighty assault on the 6th, both in front and flank, to overpower it before the 4th could come into action, pushed forward Clausel's and Taupin's divisions against the front of the 6th, while Leseur's brigade and Berton's cavalry were to fall upon its flank.

ten thousand men running a race!" The solicitation of Freyre, who, with the usual presumption of his countrymen, imagining that his troops were invincible, and that "no soldiers not born Spanish can beat Spaniards," at the time of the arrangement of the battle, that his countrymen might lead the attack, must have added additional mortification to Spanish vanity.

The struggle was fierce and bloody. A volley was exchanged, when Lambert's brigade of the 6th, and Anson's of the 4th, rushed forward with levelled bayonets, and an appalling shout. It seemed as if the hostile lines must the next moment be locked together in the bayonet's bloody embrace. But the hearts of the French failing them, they fled in confusion. As soon as the smoke cleared off, the whole British force marched forward, Pack's brigade of the 6th, consisting of the 42nd, the 71st, the 79th, and 92nd Highland regiments, being in front, and the 42nd leading. The enemy, panic-struck, fled in consternation, and the whole position, with the redoubts of Columbette and Calvinet, together with the fortifications, were won at the point of the bayonet, and the enemy sought shelter within the works of Sacarin and Cambon. The 42nd established themselves in the first-mentioned redoubt.

A desperate attempt was now made by the enemy from the canal to regain these works. As they advanced in great force, the English, observing their approach, planted their colours on the parapets in defiance. A sanguinary struggle ensued. The enemy was driven from Calvinet with great loss, but they succeeded in recapturing Columbette, but not until the gallant 42nd had lost four-fifths of their numbers. The other highland regiments rushing to their aid, recovered the redoubt. About four o'clock Soult, finding all his efforts fruitless, withdrew his force behind the canal, holding the advanced fortified works of Sacarin and Gambon, leaving the victors in possession of the whole range of heights looking down on Toulouse. The light cavalry were now detached to occupy the Montpellier road, the only issue from the town that now remained to the enemy practicable for artillery and carriages. To lord Wellington's summons to surrender the town, Soult's reply was, that he would bury himself under its ruins. In the course of the night all the enemy's posts were withdrawn within the retrenched line behind the canal.

The whole of the 11th was employed in bringing up ammunition from the dépôts of Aire and Orthes, on the other side of the Garonne. The want of ammunition until the stores arrived was so great, that the troops were employed to collect the shot from the field of battle at a fixed price. The renewal of the attack of the enemy was fixed at daylight of the 12th. Though some heavy

guns were discharged from the ramparts by the enemy, not a shot was directed against the town, in consideration for the safety of the inhabitants. In the night of the 11th Soult, who, fearing to be shut up in the town, as he perceived indications of that intention, works having been commenced across the roads leading to his lines, and the allies advancing nearer to the place, abandoned Toulouse, defiling his corps within range of the allied artillery, and by a forced march of twenty-two miles reached Villefranche, and ultimately fell back by Castelnaudry to Carcassonne. About noon of the 12th Wellington entered Toulouse in triumph, and was welcomed with loud expressions of joy and gratitude. The populace hailed him as their deliverer, amidst shouts of "*Vivent les Anglais! vivent nos libérateurs.*" The municipality, accompanied by the adjoints of the mayor—the mayor himself having decamped with Soult—went out to meet him, and presented the following address:—

"L'adjoit du maire de la ville de Toulouse à son excellence le marquis de Wellington.

"Ce 12 Avril, 1814.

"Monseigneur—Au nom du peuple de Toulouse, que celle heureuse circonstance nous fait doublement apprécier le bonheur de représenter, nous vous supplions à faire agréer à notre cher roi Louis XVIII. les hommages d'amour et de respect que vingt ans de souffrance n'ont fait qu'accroître, de recevoir en son nom la clef de sa bonne ville, et d'agréer, monseigneur, la reconnaissance sans bornes que votre conduite grande, généreuse, et sans exemple dans l'histoire, vous a acquise."

(Translation.)

In the name of the people of Toulouse, which this happy circumstance makes us deeply feel the honour of representing, we entreat you to convey to our dear king, Louis XVIII., the homage of love and respect which twenty years of suffering have only increased, to receive in his name the key of this great city, and to accept, sir, the unbounded gratitude that your conduct, great, generous, and unparalleled in history, has inspired us.

The allied commander-in-chief replied:—

"A Toulouse, ce 12 Avril, 1814.

"Messieurs,—En entrant dans votre ville il faut que je vous rappelle que j'ai envahi la France à la tête des armées alliées de sa majesté le roi d'Espagne et de leurs altesses royales le prince régent d'Angleterre et le

prince régent de Portugal, en conséquence de la guerre injuste que le gouvernement actuel de la France a faite à ces puissances, et des succès militaires de ces mêmes armées. L'objet des gouvernemens que j'ai l'honneur de servir a toujours été la paix; une paix fondée sur l'indépendance de leurs états respectifs, et de toutes les puissances de l'Europe; et j'ai toute raison de croire que les ambassadeurs de ces augustes souverains sont à présent engagés, de concert avec leurs alliés du nord de l'Europe, à Châtillon-sur-Seine, à négocier une telle paix, s'il est possible de l'atteindre avec le gouvernement actuel de la France. Je vois que la ville de Toulouse, comme beaucoup d'autres villes de la France, contient des personnes qui désirent suivre l'exemple de Bordeaux, de secouer le joug sous lequel la France a souffert pendant tant d'années, et d'aider à la restauration de la maison légitime des Bourbons, sous le gouvernement de laquelle la France a prospéré pendant plusieurs siècles. C'est à eux à décider si, d'après ce que je viens de leur annoncer, et ce que j'avais fait annoncer à la ville de Bordeaux, avant que d'y laisser entrer les troupes, ils veulent se déclarer. S'ils le font il sera de mon devoir de les considérer comme alliés, et de leur donner tous les secours en mon pouvoir, tant que la guerre durera. Mais il est également de mon devoir de leur faire savoir que, si la paix se fait avec le gouvernement actuel de la France, il ne sera plus en mon pouvoir de leur donner secours ou assistance quelconque.

"J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

"WELLINGTON.

"La municipalité de Toulouse."

(Translation.)

Gentlemen,—In entering your city, it is necessary that I should remind you, that I have entered France, at the head of the allied armies of the king of Spain, and of their royal highnesses the prince regent of England, and the prince regent of Portugal, in consequence of the unjust war which the present government of France has made on those powers, and of the military successes of these armies.

The objects of the governments I have the honour to serve, has always been peace—a peace founded on the independence of their respective states, and of that of all the powers of Europe; and I have every reason to believe, that the ambassadors of these august sovereigns are at present engaged, in concert with their allies of the north of Europe, at Châtillon-sur-Seine, in nego-

tiating such a peace, if it be possible to attain it, with the present government of France.

I perceive that the city of Toulouse, like many other cities of France, contains individuals who wish to follow the example of Bordeaux, in throwing off the yoke under which France has suffered during no many years, and in assisting to restore the legitimate house of Bourbon, under whose government France prospered during many centuries. It is for them to decide if, after what I have announced to them, and which I had also announced to the city of Bordeaux, before I allowed the allied troops to enter it, they will declare in favour of the Bourbons. If they do so, it will be my duty to view them as allies, and give them all the succour in my power while the war continues; but it is equally my duty to apprize them, that if peace should be made with the present government of France, it will be no longer in my power to give them any succour or assistance.

About five o'clock of the evening of the 12th, colonel Cooke and colonel St. Simon arrived from Paris at Wellington's headquarters; the first sent by the British minister, sir Charles Stewart, the ambassador to the court of Berlin, and who was then with the king of Prussia in Paris; the second by the provisional government of France, with dispatches announcing the abdication of Buonaparte, and the restoration of Louis XVIII. When the intelligence was announced in the theatre between the pieces, a clamour of applause burst out, and the orchestra struck up "Vive Henri Quatrième!"—the man on whose name the Bourbons have ever been content to draw for popularity. The following incident, mentioned in Larpen's recently published volume, has a peculiar interest as connected with this event:—"Just as we were sitting down to dinner—about forty of us—general Freyre and several Spaniards, general Picton and baron Alten, and the principal French officers, in came Cooke with the dispatches. The whole was out directly; champagne went round, and after dinner lord Wellington gave 'Louis XVIII.,' which was very cordially received with three times three, and white cockades were sent to wear at the theatre in the evening. In the interim, however, general Alava got up, and with great warmth gave lord Wellington's health, as 'el liberador del Espagna!' Every one jumped up, and there was a sort

of general exclamation from all the foreigners—French, Spanish, Portuguese, Germans, and all—*el liberador d'Espagna! liberador de Portugal! le liberateur le la France! le liberateur de l'Europe!* And this was followed, not by a regular three times three, but a cheering all in confusion for nearly ten minutes. Lord Wellington bowed, confused, and immediately called for coffee."

When the communication of the events that had occurred at Paris was made known to Soult, he refused to give in his adherence to the provisional government, and requested an armistice till he could receive orders from Buonaparte. Wellington refused to comply with this proposal, observing that it was useless to expect official advice from a government no longer in existence, and that St. Simon's mission to him (Soult) was a sufficient authentication of the transactions that had taken place.

As the object of Soult's proposition was to gain time to enable Buonaparte to protract the struggle, Wellington, on the 16th, put the army in motion, to compel the French marshal either to send in his adhesion, or to commence operations. In the mean time, Soult had received an official communication from Berthier, the chief of Buonaparte's staff, of his master's abdication, and Louis XVIII's accession. Gazan was therefore deputed, on the 17th, to enter into a convention with Wellington, which convention was ratified on the 18th, and a line of demarcation, namely, the limits of the department of the Haute-Garonne, with the departments of the Arrège, Aude, and Tarn, specified to be observed by the allied and French armies, until peace was ratified by the contending powers.

The loss of the allies in the celebrated battle of Toulouse had been considerable. That of the French, according to their own accounts, was little more than 3,000; but it is almost unnecessary to say that no credence is to be placed on their returns. The trophies of the allies were 1 gun taken on the field, 8 in the town, 1,600 wounded, 3 generals, and a large quantity of stores. Three points attending this battle, namely, the pretension of Soult to having obtained the victory; secondly, the accusation that Wellington's return of killed and wounded was not true; and, thirdly, that his army was greatly inferior in numbers to that of Soult—require to be cleared up.

The following acknowledgments of Soult

are decisive of his pretensions, though a monument has been erected on the site of the battle by his vain-glorious countrymen, and the French government contributed one thousand francs towards defraying the expense of the mendacious and braggart claim.

On the 7th of April, Soult writes to Suchet, "The maintenance of Toulouse, which contains the military establishments of all kinds, is of the last importance. I am determined to defend it whatever may happen."* On the very day of the battle, he says again to his brother marshal, "The battle which I announced to you has taken place to-day. It has been most murderous. The enemy suffered horribly, but have succeeded in establishing themselves in the position which I had occupied on the right of Toulouse. I do not think I can remain long in Toulouse. It may even happen that I may have to fight my way out." Again on the morning of the 11th, he tells Suchet that, "As I told you in my letter of yesterday, I find myself under the necessity of retiring from Toulouse, and I am even afraid of being forced to fight for a passage by Baziège, where the enemy has sent a column to cut me off from that communication. To-morrow I shall take a position at Villefranche, for I hope the enemy will not be able to prevent my passing. Thence I shall make for Castelnau. If I shall be able to stop there I shall do so; if not, I shall take a position at Carcassonne."† "In the battle of Toulouse," says the duke of Wellington himself, in a memorandum written in May, 1838, "the allies carried, after a most desperate struggle, the key of the fortified position of the French army, the most important point in it, according to the opinion of marshal Soult, the commander-in-chief of the allies, and every officer concerned on either side. They held undisturbed possession of this position. From their ground they could, by their fire, prevent the occupation of the remainder of the position of their enemy. The possession of it gave them the means, of which advantage was taken, to cut off the retreat of their enemy; and their advanced troops were actually, on the night of the 11th, on the ground over which marshal Soult was under the necessity of passing on the same night in his retreat." Many French writers have recorded their opinions to the same effect. Vaudoncourt (*L'Histoire des Campagnes de*

* Suchet's Correspondence.

† *Ibid.*

1814 et 1815), a writer not very favourably disposed to speak in too glowing terms of Wellington, says, "The battle of Toulouse was, beyond all question, lost by the duke of Dalmatia." Bignon is of the same opinion; also adding that the abandonment of Toulouse was an evidence of defeat. And even the partial and prejudiced historian of *The Consulate and the Empire*, is at last obliged to avow that "it is no longer of use to deny" Wellington's title as victor on that occasion. The most obstreperous of the claimants in behalf of Soult is Coumara, in his *Précis Historique de la Bataille de Toulouse*.

The second accusation is best answered by reference to *The Morning Star*; according to which the allied force, on the 10th of April, the morning of the battle, was—4th division (Cole's), 4,613; 6th (H. Clinton's), 4,877; 3rd (Picton's), 3,924; light division (Alten's), 3,709; 2nd division (Stewart's), 5,990; Le Cor's Portuguese, 3,307=26,420 rank and file, bayonets; officers, sergeants, &c., 2,872—total infantry, 29,292: artillery, 6,832; cavalry, 3,600=39,724 British and Portuguese; Spaniards, 12,000. Total, 51,724.

The French effective force, according to Koch, was—infantry, 30,000; cavalry, 3,000; Travot's reserve, 4,000=37,000; artillery and drivers, 1,480. Total, 38,480; besides the national or urban guards, and the recently levied conscripts who manned the ramparts. The allies had 64 pieces of artillery, the French 80, of very large calibre.

The truth of Wellington's return will appear from the following observations. The casualties of a British army after a battle are collected in returns, by the sergeants of companies, under the direction of and signed by the officers commanding them, accounting for all the men of the company, absent or present. The regimental returns made from those of companies, as well as those of the brigades and divisions, are transmitted to head-quarters, and from them the general return is made out and signed by the adjutant-general, and laid before the general commanding the forces. They are transmitted to the secretary of state, and published in the *London Gazette*, recapitulating the loss of each battalion. The returns of killed and wounded in the battle of Toulouse, and those of all others printed in the *Gazettes*, have since been compared with the returns signed by the adjutant-general, of which they are correct copies. No officer in command of a British army would venture

to garble or alter a return. The loss so returned generally exceeds the actual loss, the officers and soldiers being interested, as their claims to pensions and rewards depend on their names being included in the returns. This explanation is here given to refute the assertion of general Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, charging the duke of Wellington with modifying the returns of killed and wounded.*

Other French authors assert that the allied army sustained a much larger loss than that detailed in the dispatch. Vaudoncourt says it was at least 10,000. Coumara is of opinion that it amounted to 17,000 killed, and 15,000 wounded. But the credit to be attached to that gentleman's opinion is best ascertained by his statement, that the 79th highland regiment sustained a loss of 600 men, and that, too, from only two companies of the 115th regiment of the line, in the carrying and the recovery of St. Augustine; whereas that regiment, at the time of the battle, had only 414 rank and file present on the field.

The operations and result of this sanguinary and fiercely-contested battle, the closing scene and consummation of the six years' glorious and protracted Peninsular warfare, was officially reported to the secretary of state for foreign affairs by its victor, in the following dispatch, dated—

"Toulouse, 12th of April, 1814.—I have the pleasure to inform your lordship that I entered this town this morning, which the enemy evacuated during the night, retiring by the road of Carcassone. The continued fall of rain and the state of the river prevented me from laying the bridge till the morning of the 8th, when the Spanish corps and the Portuguese artillery, under the immediate orders of lieutenant-general Don M. Freyre, and the head-quarters, crossed the Garonne. We immediately moved forward to the neighbourhood of the town, and the 18th hussars, under the immediate command of colonel Vivian, had an opportunity of making a most gallant attack upon a superior body of the enemy's cavalry, which they drove through the village of Croix-d'Orade, took about one hundred prisoners, and gave us possession of an important bridge over the river Ers, by which it was necessary to pass, in order to attack the enemy's position. * * * * The town of Toulouse is surrounded on three sides by the canal of Languedoc and the Garonne. On the left of that river, the suburb, which

* *Gurwood's Wellington Despatches.*

the enemy had fortified with strong field-works in front of the ancient wall, formed a good tête-de-pont. They had likewise formed a tête-de-pont at each bridge of the canal, which was besides defended by the fire, in some places, of musketry, and in all of artillery from the ancient wall of the town. Beyond the canal to the eastward, and between that and the river Ers, is a height which extends as far as Montaudran, and over which pass all the approaches to the canal and town to the eastward, which it defends; and the enemy, in addition to the têtes-de-pont on the bridges of the canal, had fortified this height with five redoubts, connected by lines of entrenchments, and had, with extraordinary diligence, made every preparation for defence. They had likewise broken all the bridges over the Ers within our reach by which the right of their position could be approached. The roads, however, from the Arrière to Toulouse being impracticable for cavalry or artillery, and nearly so for infantry, as reported in my despatch to your lordship of the 1st instant, I had no alternative, excepting to attack the enemy in this formidable position. It was necessary to move the pontoon-bridge higher up the Garonne, in order to shorten the communication with lieutenant-general sir R. Hill's corps, as soon as the Spanish corps had passed; and this operation was not effected till so late an hour on the 9th, as to induce me to defer the attack till the following morning. The plan, according to which I determined to attack the enemy, was for marshal sir W. Beresford, who was on the right of the Ers with the 4th and 6th divisions, to cross that river at the bridge of Croix-d'Orade, to gain possession of Montblanc, and to march up the left of the Ers to turn the enemy's right, while lieutenant-general Don M. Freyre, with the Spanish corps under his command, supported by the British cavalry, should attack the front. Lieutenant-general sir S. Cotton was to follow the marshal's movement with major-general lord E. Somerset's brigade of hussars; and colonel Vivian's brigade, under the command of colonel Arentschildt, was to observe the movements of the enemy's cavalry on both banks of the Ers beyond our left. The third and light divisions, under the command of lieutenant-general sir T. Picton and major-general C. Baron Alten, and the brigade of German cavalry, were to observe the enemy on the lower part of the canal, and to draw their

attention to that quarter by threatening the têtes-de-pont, while lieutenant-general sir R. Hill was to do the same on the suburb on the left of the Garonne.

"Marshal sir W. Beresford crossed the Ers, and formed his corps in three columns of lines in the village of Croix-d'Orade, the 4th division leading, with which he immediately carried Montblanc. He then moved up the Ers in the same order, over most difficult ground, in a direction parallel to the enemy's fortified position; and as soon as he reached the point at which he turned it, he formed his lines and moved to the attack. During these operations, lieutenant-general Don M. Freyre moved along the left of the Ers to the front of Croix-d'Orade, where he formed his corps in two lines, with a reserve on a height in front of the left of the enemy's position, on which height the Portuguese artillery was placed, and major-general Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry in reserve in the rear. As soon as formed, and that it was seen that marshal sir W. Beresford was ready, lieutenant-general Don M. Freyre moved forward to the attack. The troops marched in good order, under a very heavy fire of musketry and artillery, and showed great spirit, the general and all his staff being at their head, and the two lines were soon lodged under some banks immediately under the enemy's entrenchments, the reserve and Portuguese artillery and British cavalry continuing on the height on which the troops had first formed. The enemy, however, repulsed the movement of the right of general Freyre's line round their left flank, and having followed up their success, and turned our right by both sides of the high road leading from Toulouse to Croix-d'Orade, they soon compelled the whole corps to retire. It gave me great satisfaction to see that, although they suffered considerably in retiring, the troops rallied again as soon as the light division, which was immediately on their right, moved up; and I cannot sufficiently applaud the exertions of lieutenant-general Don M. Freyre, the officers of the staff of the 4th Spanish army, and of the officers of the general staff, to rally and form them again. Lieutenant-general Mendizabal, who was in the field as a volunteer, general Ezpeleta, and several officers and chiefs of corps, were wounded upon this occasion; but general Mendizabal continued in the field. The regiment *de Tiradores de Cantabria*, under the command of colonel Leon de Sicilia, kept its position, under the

enemy's entrenchments, until I ordered it to retire.

"In the mean time, marshal sir W. Beresford, with the 4th division, under the command of lieutenant-general sir L. Cole, and the 6th division, under the command of lieutenant-general sir H. Clinton, attacked and carried the heights on the enemy's right, and the redoubt which covered and protected that flank; and he lodged those troops on the same height with the enemy, who were, however, still in possession of four redoubts, and of the entrenchments and fortified houses. The badness of the roads had induced the marshal to leave his artillery in the village of Montblanc, and some time elapsed before it could be brought to him, and before lieutenant-general Don M. Freyre's corps could be re-formed and brought back to the attack. As soon as this was effected, the marshal continued his movement along the ridge, and carried, with general Pack's brigade of the 6th division, the two principal redoubts and fortified houses in the enemy's centre. The enemy made a desperate effort from the canal to regain these redoubts, but they were repulsed with considerable loss; and the 6th division continuing its movements along the ridge of the height, and the Spanish troops continuing a corresponding movement upon the front, the enemy were driven from the two redoubts and entrenchments on the left, and the whole range of heights were in our possession. We did not gain this advantage, without severe loss, particularly in the brave 6th division. Lieutenant-colonel Coghlan, of the 61st, an officer of great merit and promise, was unfortunately killed in the attack of the heights. Major-general Pack was wounded, but was enabled to remain in the field; and colonel Douglas, of the 8th Portuguese regiment, lost his leg, and I am afraid that I shall be deprived for a considerable time of his assistance. The 36th, 42nd, 79th, and 61st, lost considerable numbers, and were highly distinguished throughout the day. * * * * The 4th division, although exposed on their march

along the enemy's front to a galling fire, were not so much engaged as the 6th, and did not suffer so much, but they conducted themselves with their usual gallantry. * * * The ground not having admitted of the operations of the cavalry, they had no opportunity of charging.

"While the operations above detailed were going on, on the left of the army, lieutenant-general sir R. Hill drove the enemy from their exterior works in the suburb, on the left of the Garonne, within the ancient wall. Lieutenant-general sir T. Picton likewise, with the 3rd division, drove the enemy within the tête-de-pont on the bridge of the canal nearest to the Garonne; but the troops having made an effort to carry it, they were repulsed, and some loss was sustained. Major Brisbane was wounded, but I hope not so as to deprive me for any length of time of his assistance; and lieutenant-colonel Forbes, of the 45th, an officer of great merit, was killed. The army being thus established on three sides of Toulouse, I immediately detached our light cavalry to cut off the communication, by the only road practicable for carriages which remained to the enemy, till I should be enabled to make arrangements to establish the troops between the canal and the Garonne. The enemy, however, retired last night, leaving in our hands general Harispe, general Baurot, general St. Hilaire, and 1,600 prisoners. One piece of cannon was taken on the field of battle, and others, and large quantities of stores of all descriptions, in the town.

"Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the army under the command of field-marshal the marquis of Wellington, K.B., at the battle of Toulouse, April 10, 1814:—

	Officers.	Sergeants.	Rank & File.	Total Loss.
Killed	31	21	543	595
Wounded	248	123	3,675	4,046
Missing	3	0	15	18

The above loss as under:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
British	312	1,795	17
Spanish	205	1,722	1
Portuguese	78	529	0
Horses	62	59	2"

SORTIE OF BAYONNE.

BAYONNE, as has been before stated,* was invested on the 22nd of February by the left wing of the army under sir John Hope.

* *Ante*, p. 162.

It was not, however, lord Wellington's intention to subject the inhabitants to the calamities of a siege, as he felt satisfied that by his successes against the enemy in the

field, the fortress must necessarily fall into his hands. Neither siege guns nor stores were on the ground to tempt a sortie. Hope, up to the 7th of April, had with the utmost zeal and diligence proceeded in the investment of the place, but hearing about this time rumours of the events at Paris, he somewhat relaxed his labours. The brutal and savage Thouvenot, the governor, who had sprung from the filth of the revolution, and who, "in ninety-nine out of every hundred French books relating to the war, is applauded to the skies, as a brave and honourable man, and a true patriot," determined to avail himself of the relaxation of vigilance which the reputed news of the abdication of Buonaparte occasioned on the part of the besieging force.

On the 13th, sir John Hope having received advice of that event, caused the news to be communicated to the officers of the French advanced pickets and outposts, not deeming it proper to make an official communication to the governor of an event which had not been officially communicated to himself; the reply given was, the besiegers should learn something on this subject before long. French revenge was now busy at work to close the war with *éclat*, by the performance of a savage outrage, by which they hoped to inflict a signal injury on the English with but little loss to themselves.

Between the hours of two and three o'clock in the morning of the 14th, while the investing force was chiefly buried in sleep, the French, in great strength (3,000 men), rallied from the citadel, and slaughtering the pickets and outposts, rushed on the entrenched village of St. Etienne, putting all to the sword whom they encountered in their course. The allies sustained considerable loss before the troops could be got under arms, and in formation. Hope, hastening to the scene of action, was wounded, and his horse being shot under him, he fell into the hands of the enemy. But as the day began to dawn, the reserve brigades of guards, consisting of the Coldstream, and a battalion of the 3rd, under general Howard, rushed forward, and drove the enemy back into the citadel with great slaughter, when the posts of the besiegers were re-established. The loss of the allies in this untoward affair, was 133 killed, 457 wounded, and 236 prisoners; that of the enemy above 900 men. In the confused conflict that had taken place, as the direction of the range of the enemy's guns was, on

account of the darkness, guided merely by the flashes of the musketry, their shot and shell went at random through the hostile hosts, smashing as many of their own people as they struck of their opponents. The conduct of Thouvenot on this occasion cannot be too strongly reprobated. It was utterly useless as a military manœuvre. No object was or could have been gained by it; but much blood was idly wasted by the sanguinary disposition of a savage, who was a disgrace to the name of soldier. Thouvenot in a few hours was as completely inclosed again, as he was before the sally, his loss exceeded that inflicted on his enemy, and many of his casualties were caused by the indiscriminate fire of his own guns.

Macfarlane says, "Thouvenot's conduct was throughout, that of a savage. The capture of sir John Hope, and the knowledge that he was very severely, if not mortally, wounded, carried affliction to the bosom of every man who had been serving under him. Major-general C. Colville, who succeeded to the command, sent a flag of truce to request that Hope's friend, colonel Macdonald, might be admitted to the fortress to see him, and carry him assistance. Thouvenot had the brutality to refuse this request, and another which was made after it."

The convention which had been entered into by Wellington prevented serious hostilities being renewed on the Lower Garonne. Lord Dalhousie, who had succeeded to the command of the British force at Bordeaux, crossed the river on the 4th of April, to attack a considerable force which Napoleon had collected on the other side. The combat was soon decided, the French, about 2,000 strong, fled on the first onset, and the British cavalry charging, made 300 prisoners; admiral Primrose at the same time ascended the river, and in spite of the batteries at its mouth, burned the whole flotilla at Castillon; thus before the war ceased, the whole line of the Garonne, from Toulouse to the sea, with the intermediate country from thence to the Pyrennees had, with the exception of the fortress of Bayonne, been wrested from the French.

On the 20th, sir John Hope received official notice of the restoration of Louis XVIII.; and on the 27th, Soult ordered Thouvenot to surcease hostilities. And thus the great drama of the Peninsular War concluded in the tragical episode above stated—a catastrophe which threw a gloom over its glorious termination.

THE SECOND CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE BY THE ALLIED RUSSIANS,
GERMANS, ETC.

A.D. 1814.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, aware that his last game for empire was on the eve of being played, evoked all the energies and resources of his powerful and capacious mind to ensure the possibility of success. Besides endeavouring to conciliate the people of France by exaggerated statements of his means and resources, and depreciating those of his opponents, he used every effort to bring forward a force adequate to the defence of the country, and corresponding to the ideas he wished should be entertained of the "Great Nation." As already stated in a preceding page, a levy was required of 300,000 men; but the consumption of human life in the Moscow, Peninsular, and Saxon campaigns had been so enormous, that it was necessary to extend it to youths who had not acquired the legal age of nineteen to twenty-one, and retrospectively to those who had passed the ordeal of the conscription for the last ten years; namely, from the present year to 1803. To furnish the means of supporting the war, the public treasury was replenished by a duplication of the taxes.* Fearful as he was of democratic excitement, the liberty-and-equality days of the "Reign of Terror," and the pikes of the Faubourg St. Antoine, he issued a decree, on the 8th of January, 1814, for the calling out and reorganisation of the national guard of Paris; but took especial care that it should be composed of as many as possible of the employés of government the court trades-people, and such as depended on the existing government. On January 20th, for the administration of the government during his absence, he appointed his wife, Marie Louise, regent, and, on the following day, associated with her his brother Joseph, as lieutenant-general of the empire. On the 23rd (Sunday), he convoked an assembly of the principal officers of the national guard at the Tuilleries, where he appeared among them with his wife and infant son; and, advancing into the middle

of the circle, with the child in his arms, and presenting him to them as their future sovereign, he said—"Gentlemen, I am about to set out for the army: I entrust to you what I hold dearest in the world—my wife and my son. Let there be no political divisions: let the respect for property, the maintenance of order, and, above all, the love of France, animate every bosom. I do not disguise that, in the course of the military operations that are to ensue, the enemy may approach to Paris: it will only be an affair of a few days; before they are past, I will be on their flanks and rear, and annihilate them who have dared to violate our country." On the 25th, full of melancholy presages, he set out for the army; and in the course of the afternoon reached Châlons-sur-Marne, where the head-quarters of the army were established. On this town the French troops were converging; they consisted of between seventy and eighty thousand soldiers who had been posted along the line of the Rhine, the conscripts, and the garrisons in the interior: the fortresses being occupied by national guards, or levies from Paris and the southern and western provinces, who had not yet acquired sufficient military consistency to make them available in the field. The main allied army, under Schwartzberg, pressing through the plains of Burgundy, was advancing on Troyes; and the Silesian army, under Blücher, had reached St. Dizier, and was rapidly extending to the left in communication with the main army. On January 14th, Denmark had acceded to the grand alliance, agreeing to the cession of Norway to Sweden, in exchange for the duchy of Pomerania, and the island of Rugen.

The advance of the allied armies had been rapid and triumphant. As the frontier above Basle, where the Rhine divides France from Switzerland, is more accessible than the frontier from Basle to Mayence, which is covered by a triple row of fortresses, Schwartzberg, on the 21st, entered the Swiss territory, and crossed the Rhine with the grand army—(consisting of nearly 200,000 men; namely, the Russian, Prussian, and

* Or, more specifically, the land, window, and door tax was increased one third, the personal tax on moveables was doubled, and three-fifths were added to the excise duties and that on salt.

Austrian guards; the Austrian corps of Bubna, Lichtenstein, and Giulay; and the Bavarians, Wirtemburghers, and other German confederates),—at five different points, and advanced in as many columns or general divisions, on Langres, which he reached and took possession of on the 17th of January, 1814. The Silesian army, under Blucher, consisting of six corps—two Prussian, under D'Yorck and Kleist; two Russian, under Langeron and Sacken; and two German confederates—amounted to about 130,000 men, of whom 50,000 were Russians, and 40,000 Prussian conscripts; and, having passed the Rhine on the 31st, had pushed forward to St. Dizier. The third army, co-operating in the invasion of France, commanded by Bernadotte, the crown prince of Sweden, consisted of about 170,000 men, composed of the Russian corps of Winzingerode, the Prussian of Bulow, the German confederates, 20,000 Swedes, and 9,000 English, under sir Thomas Graham, who had returned to England after the passage of the Bidassoa. Besides these, were the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian reserves, and the Prussian Landwehr, to the amount of above 230,000 men, either assembling or blockading the fortresses on the Elbe, the Oder, the Moselle, the Meuse, &c. To oppose this mighty force, Napoleon Buonaparte had only, of the 1,260,000 men, obtained from the successive conscriptions since the 1st of September, 1812, and of the 800,000 who were enrolled around his banners at the commencement of the same period, scarcely 250,000 surviving, so fatally destructive had been his wars in Russia, Spain, Portugal, and Saxony. But of this force, not more than 75,000 infantry, and 15,000 cavalry, could be readily brought into line to oppose the shock of above 300,000 allies, who could be immediately

assembled for action. The line of invasion of the allied army was, as before said, to invade France through the Jura mountains from Basle, and advance to Langres, a place, in a strategical point of view, of great importance, as several roads there intersect each other from the south-east and eastern frontiers. The Silesian army was to push forward into Champagne, and be ready to form a junction, on the 26th, with the grand army, between Arcis and Troyes. The army of the north of Germany, under Bernadotte, was to act on the north-eastern frontier of France, and co-operate in the conquest of Holland and Flanders. The results of these operations were, that Langres and Dijon were surrendered to Schwartzberg; Nancy, Brienne, and St. Dizier, to Blucher; Juliers, Liege, and Namur, had been evacuated on the approach of that part of the army of the north, commanded by Winzingerode; and Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, blockaded by Bulow, supported by Graham. Thus, in less than one month, had one-third of the French empire, and its resources, fallen into the possession of the allies. But the movements of the crown prince were so dilatory, from a desire not to incur the odium of the French people, and thus disappoint his views of succeeding to the crown of France, that it was necessary for lord Castlereagh to declare that the English subsidy would be withheld from him, unless he co-operated heartily in the common cause. The temporizing policy of the cabinet of Vienna in postponing the adoption of active measures against the common enemy, on account of the solicitude of the emperor of Austria to preserve the French sceptre in the hands of his daughter and her descendants; and the tardy movements of its sluggish and pedantic general, Schwartzberg, were also changed by the same threat.

BATTLES OF BRIENNE AND LA ROTHIERE.

HAVING concentrated the converging columns under Ney, Marmont, Macdonald, and Victor, Napoleon Buonaparte advanced to Vitry. His advanced guard met and routed the leading cossacks of Blucher's army, and thus regained possession of St. Dizier. On the morning of the 29th he came in front of Brienne,—“the scene in which he had acquired the rudiments of that skill in the military art with which he had almost

prostrated the world, and had ended in placing it in array against him,”—driving in the enemy's outposts and cavalry, a shower of bombs and shells were immediately discharged on the devoted town, which reduced to ashes a considerable portion of its buildings. The contest continued with great fury until nightfall. But the French, in the course of the night, bursting into the village, the Prussian field-marshal withdrew his

whole force to a strong position at Trannes, in the rear of Brienne, on the road to Bar-sur-Aube. The loss on each side in the contest was about 3,000 men.

On the 30th the grand army marched to Trannes to reinforce Blucher, to whom orders were given to commence battle on the 1st of February. The morning was dark and gloomy, and the wind drove forward the heavy showers of snow that fell, so that nothing was visible until about one o'clock, when the sky cleared, and the French army appeared drawn up in order of battle opposite to that of the allies. The Prussian general immediately attacked the enemy at four points, simultaneously assaulting the villages of La Rothière, La Giberie, Chaumeuil, and Dionville. The three first-mentioned points were carried; but Oudinot, coming up about nightfall with two fresh divisions, Buonaparte, in person, made a general attack on La Rothière, and recovered possession of that village; but after a resolute defence it was again repossessed by the allies. At midnight, the allies having carried Dionville, after a sixth assault, and being in possession of the whole battle-ground, the French retreated across the Aube, with the loss of 6,000 men, one-sixth of whom were prisoners, and seventy-three guns. On the following morning the retreat was continued in confusion to Troyes, the fleeing host being pursued, though very dilatorily, by the Bavarians. To add to the discomfiture of the enemy, above 6,000 conscripts, discouraged by the hardships which they had undergone, deserted during the retreat.

Austrian diplomacy, actuated by matrimonial influence; and the difficulty of obtaining provisions and forage for so large a force, induced a council of war, held by the allies at the castle of Brienne, on February 2nd, to resolve that the two allied armies should separate, and act on different lines of operation; that Blucher, with the army of Silesia, should advance on Paris by the course of the Marne, while Schwartzberg, with the grand army, should descend on that capital by that of the Seine.

No sooner was Buonaparte informed of the impolitic separation of the allied armies, than he, with admirable promptitude, determined to take advantage of the error. In order to disguise his intention, he sent (February 5th) a small division on Bar-la-Seine, for the purpose of alarming Schwartzberg with an attack on his right wing,

while he marched against Blucher. The Austrian general thinking that his opponent was about to move with his whole force in that direction—a movement which would have been most favourable for the allies, as it would have left the road to Paris open and undefended—terrified by the fear that his left flank might be turned or forced, moved his chief strength in that direction; thus both suspending his meditated march on the Seine, and increasing the distance between the grand army and that of Silesia. Buonaparte having deceived Schwartzberg by this successful feint, determined to move from Troyes, leaving Victor and Oudinot to resist the Austrians, while he marched against Blucher—so humble an opinion did he entertain of the pedantic military pretensions of “the incompetent” Austrian leader, as he had termed him, from his exploits at the battle of Dresden. Still further to facilitate his purpose and increase his force, he descended the Seine, to effect a junction with the veteran troops that had been withdrawn from Soult’s command, and were advancing from Paris. Early, therefore, on the morning of the 6th he broke up from Troyes, and on the evening of that day he reached Nogent, where the wished-for junction was effected. Schwartzberg being relieved from the presence of his dreaded foe, immediately transferred his head-quarters to Troyes. During these operations, the ranks of the French army were greatly thinned by the numerous desertions of the conscripts; but the loss was repaired by the various bodies of the same species of force hurried forward from the depôts in the interior, and by the divisions of Leval and Boyer de Rubeval, which were coming up from the army of the Pyrenees.

Buonaparte prepared to perform one of the most difficult feats of stratagetics, that of accomplishing the destruction of an enemy, by a perpendicular march and attack on his flanks. This performance has been termed *The Expedition of the Marne*.

Blucher, in the execution of his instructions to advance on Chalons-sur-Marne, wished to cut off Macdonald’s corps, which was encumbered with the grand park of artillery belonging to the French army, consisting of one hundred guns; to compass his design, Blucher ordered D’York to pursue the French marshal, while Sacken moved on Montmirail, followed at the distance of a day’s march by Olsoofief, who was ordered to take post at Champaubert;

Blucher himself remained with a small force at Virtus, with the intention, when his corps had effected a junction, to fall on Macdonald's force; and, having annihilated

it, push forward for Paris. The Prussian but little apprehended the misfortune which was awaiting him by the masterly strategy of Buonaparte.

BATTLES OF CHAMPAUBERT, MONTMIRAIL, AND VAUCHAMPS.

BUONAPARTE, who was at Nogent, about thirty miles' distance from Blucher, broke up his quarters, and, on the following day, moving over almost impassable cross roads, advanced on Champaubert, with about 45,000 men, and came unawares on Olsoofief's corps, consisting of 5,000; attacking them in front and both flanks, they were, after astubborn resistance, put to the rout; Olsoofief, and many of his men were taken prisoners. In this disastrous affair, the loss of the Russians in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was 3,000 men, with twelve guns; that of the French, 600 men. In the march of the *Expedition of the Marne*, the French soldiers were so discouraged by the accumulation of difficulties to which they were exposed, that they pillaged the people of the country to such a degree as to excite universal execration. Buonaparte, after having carefully shut his eyes to those excesses, when he heard that his mother's chateau, at Nogent, had been plundered and destroyed, issued a proclamation (February 8th) declaring, that in future, the generals and officers should be responsible for the conduct of their troops. The whole French force, which had, on the eve of the battle, been augmented by reinforcements to 50,000 men, was now interposed between the advanced guard, under Sacken, and the main body, under Blucher.

At the moment of the attack on Olsoofief, at Champaubert, Sacken had reached La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, on his advance to Paris; but on hearing the report of that general's guns, he counter-marched on Montmirail, either to assist him or rejoin Blucher. On reaching that village (February 11th), he found it in occupation of the enemy. A battle immediately ensued, and lasted with undecisive success, until Mortier came up with the old guard, the cuirassiers, and the guard of honour, when the allies were compelled to retreat with the loss of 3,000 men, in killed and wounded, and 1,000 prisoners, besides nine guns. The loss of the French was 1,000 men. On the following day, the

French cavalry, in their pursuit, coming up with the Prussian general, Horn, who was stationed with twenty-four squadrons, to check the enemy, lost in the combat 1,000 prisoners, and the same number in killed and wounded, besides six pieces of artillery. While these disastrous events were befalling the centre and van of the Silesian army, the rear, under Blucher, who was ignorant of the extent of Olsoofief and Sacken's calamity, and the amount of the enemy's force that had occasioned it, was remaining stationary at Virtus, incapable of moving forward on account of the inadequacy of his force; but when joined by the corps of Kleist and Kaptsevitch, and the fugitives from Champaubert and Montmirail, to the extent of 20,000 men, to retrieve the recent misfortune, he immediately advanced to Etoges and Chateau-Thierry, at the last-mentioned of which places Buonaparte was posted. The hostile armies (February 14th) met at the village of Vauchamps. As soon as the combatants came in sight of each other, the allied vanguard being thrown into disorder, the main body scarcely began to form themselves into squares, before they were surrounded by a host of cavalry. The charge of the enemy was repulsed by a well-sustained rolling fire, but one square was broken and captured. A retreat became necessary. The infantry, who were immediately thrown into squares, and protected by the artillery, commenced retrograding by alternate divisions; those squares which were first in motion to the rear, being protected by the fire of the others, then standing fast, and covering them with theirs, while they retired in turn; and as the country over which the retreat was to be conducted is flat and open to a great extent, with a chaussée or high road intersecting it, the artillery retired by that road, firing incessantly on its pursuers, as it receded, while the infantry, in squares, marched abreast of it on the fields on both of its sides. In vain the French cavalry and cuirassiers, though so numerous as to be able to assail the lengthened column

simultaneously on both its flanks and rear, essayed to make an impression on the impenetrable wall of steel; wherever their artillery made a chasm in the serried ranks, or the fall of the killed and wounded presented an opening, these noble veterans, by instant closing to the centre, preserved their array unbroken. Thus heroically contesting every foot of their fearful march, the allies reached Champaubert; but no sooner were they within a short distance of Etoges, than the apparition of 7,000 cavalry presented itself, drawn up in battle array, on an eminence, across the road, and which had headed the allies by making a circuit round the first-mentioned village. Without a moment's hesitation, wearied and exhausted column of the allies, though assailed at the same time on both flanks by the pursuing enemy, broke its way through the opposing host at the point of the bayonet, and arrived at midnight at Bergeres. On the evening of the 15th, the fatigued and bleeding sol-

diers reached Chalons, and breaking down the bridge over the river Marne, found repose under its protection. In this terrible contest, the loss of the allies was 7,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, the last of whom amounted to 2,500; that of the French was 1,200 men. The allied prisoners and captured banners were sent express to Paris, and paraded through the streets in triumph; but in the midst of their exultation, the elated Parisians were thrown into great alarm by the report that Cossacks and other tribes of wild and savage aspect, a kind of Asiatic ogres in Parisian estimation, to whom popular credulity imputed a taste for the flesh of children and nuns, had appeared in the neighbourhood of Nangis and Fontainebleau, on the road to Paris. These symptoms of approaching danger arose from the grand army of the allies having taken, at the point of the bayonet, Nogent and Montereau, and had advanced the headquarters of the monarchs to Pont-sur-Seine.

CONSTERNATION AT PARIS.

It has been already stated that when Buonaparte evacuated Troyes, on the 7th of February, that town was in a few days occupied by the grand army; but Schwartzberg, in obedience to the tardy and indecisive character of the cabinet of Vienna, and its interested policy—which was to avoid precipitating measures against Buonaparte, till the chance of securing the French throne to his descendants was perfectly hopeless—instead of pushing military operations down the banks of the Seine, and thus co-operating with the army of Silesia, put his army into cantonments, and merely sent forward the corps of Wittgenstein and Wrede to follow Oudinot and Victor in their retreat down the right bank, or eastern side of that river, and who had been left there by Buonaparte, when he evacuated Troyes, to watch the motions of the allies. But the czar expressing disapprobation at this suspension of active operations against the enemy, Schwartzberg, on the 11th, broke up his cantonments. The capture of Nogent, Pont-sur-Seine, Provins, Montereau, Nemours, Montargis, Auxerre, and the palace and forest of Fontainebleau were the results. Paris was in consternation; and the peasants of the vast plain of La Brie, in

their hurried flight to the capital, magnified the approaching danger, reporting that 200,000 Calmucks and Tartars were hurrying forwards to sack and lay waste Paris. In the midst of this consternation, news came that Buonaparte was at hand to retard the progress of the enemy.

On the day following the battle of Vauchamps, he marched on Meaux, and on the next day (February 16th), moved on the village of Grugnes, by the chaussée of Fontenoy, through the forest of Brie. Here he effected a junction with Victor and Oudinot, who were retreating before the allied grand army; and, in the course of the night and in the following morning, was joined by about 20,000 veteran troops drawn from Spain. By day-break of the following morning, the French were in motion at all points. Pahlen's corps forming Wittgenstein's advanced guard, consisting of 3,000 infantry, and 1,800 cavalry, was assailed at Morant, and, in his retreat towards Nangis, was utterly overthrown, with the loss of 2,100 prisoners, 900 killed and wounded, eleven cannon, and forty caissons. At the same moment Victor drove the Bavarian division under Wrede, to the very gates of Montereau, with the loss of 2,500 men.

RE-UNION OF THE ALLIED ARMIES.

THE allied sovereigns, alarmed at these disasters, and the near approach of their terrible and indefatigable enemy, of which they were apprised on the evening of the 17th, immediately convened a council of war, and adopted the resolution of reuniting the army of Silesia with that of the grand army, in the direction of Troyes. For this purpose Blucher was ordered to incline to his left to effectuate the junction, and the different corps of the grand army to fall back on Troyes. And for the purpose of gaining time, a flag of truce, with a letter from Schwartzberg, was despatched to Buonaparte, stating the surprise of the allied sovereigns at his offensive movements, as they had given orders to their plenipotentiaries at Châtillon to sign the preliminaries of peace, on the terms which had been assented to by Caulaincourt. This proposal remained unnoticed till the evening of the 22nd, and instead of being sent to Schwartzberg, the answer was addressed exclusively to the emperor of Austria, with the hope of detaching him from the coalition. Perceiving the intention, and satisfied that Buonaparte had no inclination for peace, it was at first resolved by the allies to return no reply; but the desire of gaining time for bringing up the reserves of the grand army, as also for the union of the army of the north of Germany under Bulow and Winzingerode, with that of Silesia, determined them to accept the offer of a suspension of hostilities. A negotiation was therefore entered into for treating respecting the line of demarcation during the suspension of hostilities.

In the intermediate time between receiving the allied proposal and his answer, Buonaparte had been actively employed in his military operations. On February 18th he advanced against Montereau, and after a desperate contest, gained possession of that place; drove the allies, under the prince of Wirtemberg and the Austrian general Bianchi, across the Seine, with the loss of 3,000 in killed and wounded, 2,000 prisoners, six cannon, and four standards. The loss of the French was 3,000 in killed and wounded.

Nor was this the only operation during that interval. Blucher, having reorganized his shattered forces, and having been joined by

Langeron's division of the army of the north, moved forward to Mery, a town situated on the Seine, to the north-east of Troyes, the appointed place of junction between the Silesian and the grand army, and to which place they had retreated; after having repassed the Seine at all points, and evacuated Fontainebleau, Nemours, Nogent, Montargis, &c. Here (February 21st,) with the object of preventing his junction with the grand army, Blucher was attacked by Buonaparte; who, after a desperate attempt to carry the town and bridge, was repulsed, and the Prussian general remained in the possession of Mery, with nearly 50,000 men in his ranks, and a train of 300 pieces of cannon.

On the evening of the same day that Blucher had been attacked at Mery, the grand army reached its appointed place of rendezvous, in front of Troyes. On the second day, after the conflict at Montereau, Buonaparte had put his army in pursuit of Schwartzberg; and on the 22nd was in front of the grand army in its position at Troyes. A council of war was now held (February 23rd), and Blucher urged the fulfilment of the original purpose of offering battle in this position. But the cabinet of Vienna, and their incompetent general, in opposition to the opinions of the czar and Blucher, were of opinion, that a retreat as far as the line between Nancy and Langres was indispensable for their safety. The retreat was accordingly commenced in the night, under the bombardment of the French. Troyes was abandoned on the following day; and at the same time a flag of truce was despatched to Buonaparte, accompanied by a laudatory letter from the Austrian emperor, in answer to the letter received six days before, with a proposal for an armistice. In the course of the evening a conciliatory answer was returned. Plenipotentiaries were appointed to conclude the armistice; and Lusigny was fixed on as the place for the conference.

On the 24th, the French were in possession of Troyes, when the sick and wounded left behind by the allies, were dragged out of their beds and hurried to the capital to grace the conqueror's triumphs. An immediate inquiry was instituted to ascertain such of the inhabitants as had favoured

the allies, or declared in behalf of the Bourbon dynasty. A M. Goualt having made himself conspicuous, was arrested, and being forthwith brought before a military commission, was sentenced to be executed, with a placard affixed on his back, bearing the words — "Traitor to his country!" At eleven o'clock of the same night, he was brought out to execution, and died with heroic firmness. At the same time a violent decree promulgated the penalty of death against all who should wear the decoration of the Bourbons, and on all emigrants who should join the allies.

On the 25th, a council of war assembled at Bar-sur-Aube, at which were present, among other persons, the allied sovereigns and the English envoy, lord Castlereagh, to arrange the plan of the future campaign. There it was agreed that "the grand army should retreat to Langres, and there uniting with the Austrian reserves, accept battle; and that the army of Silesia should forthwith march to the Marne, where it was to be joined by the corps of Winzingerode, Bulow, and Woronzow, and immediately advance on Paris.* At the same council it was determined that a new army, to be called *The Army of the South*, should be organized out of the German and Austrian reserves, and be combined with Bianchi's corps, for the purpose of protecting the flank and rear of the grand army from any attack by Augereau, who was posted at Lyons. The council had entertained much difficulty in coming to a decision as to the attaching Winzingerode, Bulow, and Woronzow's corps to the Silesian army lest it should displease Bernadotte, under whose command these corps were; and the objection would have prevailed had not lord Castlereagh declared, that England would withhold the monthly subsidies payable to the crown prince till he consented to the arrangement.

Immediately on the breaking up of the council, the armies prepared to proceed to their respective destinations; the Silesian army followed by a powerful force of the French army; and the allied grand army, by Oudinot and Macdonald's corps. As Blucher descended both banks of the Marne, the corps of Marmont and Mortier fled before him, and Winzingerode's corps advanced to effectuate a junction with him. Paris being again in danger, Buonaparte quitted

Troyes on the 27th, to concentrate his forces against his inveterate and indefatigable opponent.

This period of the operations of the hostile armies in the interior of France, the retreat of the allied grand army to Langres, and the march of the Silesian army towards the Marne, presents a favourable opportunity of detailing the movements of the auxiliary armies on the frontiers; which, though operating at a distance, had a direct influence on the results of the war, as they tended to assist and promote the operations of the armies in the interior, and to cripple the enemy's means of defence. And here a digression relative to the miseries sustained by the peaceful inhabitants of the country which formed the theatre of this sanguinary contest, may not be misplaced.

The soldiers of both sides, driven to desperation by hardships, privation, and severity of the weather, became reckless and pitiless; and straggling from their columns in all directions, committed every species of excess on the inhabitants. These evils are mentioned in the bulletins of Buonaparte, and in the general orders of Schwartzenberg. The peasants, with their wives and children, fled to caves, quarries, and roads, where the latter were starved to death by the inclemency of the season, and want of sustenance; and the former, collecting into small bodies, increased the terrors of war, by pillaging the convoys of both armies, attacking small parties of all nations, and cutting off the sick, the wounded, and the stragglers. The repeated advance and retreat of the contending parties, exasperated those evils. Every fresh band of plunderers that arrived was savagely eager for spoil, in proportion as the gleanings became scarce. In the words of Scripture, "what the locust left was devoured by the palmer worm" — what escaped the Baskirs, the Kirgas, and Croats of the Wolga, and Caspian and Turkish frontier, was seized by the half-clad and half-starved, conscripts of Buonaparte, whom want, hardship, and an embittered spirit, rendered as careless of the ties of country and language as the others were indifferent to the general claims of humanity. The towns and villages, which were the scenes of actual conflict, were frequently burnt to the ground; and this, not only in the course of the actions of importance, but in consequence of the innumerable skirmishes fought at different points, which had no influence whatever on the issue of

* Schwartzenberg's General Orders, February 26th, 1814.

the campaign, but which increased incalculably the distress of the invaded country, by extending the terrors of battle, with fire, famine, and slaughter for its accompaniments, into the most remote and sequestered districts. The woods afforded no concealment; the churches no sanctuary; even the grave itself gave no cover to the relics of mortality. The villages were everywhere burnt; the farms wasted and pillaged; the abodes of men, and all that belongs to peaceful industry and domestic comfort, desolated and destroyed. Wolves, and other savage animals, increased fearfully in the districts

which had been laid waste by human hands, with ferocity congenial to their own. Thus were the evils, which France had unsparingly inflicted on Spain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and almost every European nation, terribly retaliated within a few leagues of its own metropolis; and such were the consequences of a system which, assuming military force for its sole principle and law, taught the united nations of Europe to repel its aggression by means yet more formidable in extent than those which had been used in supporting them. Such are the just retributions of violence and injustice.*

OPERATIONS OF THE AUXILIARY ARMIES ON THE FRONTIERS.

THE concurrent operations of the auxiliary armies on the frontiers were those in Italy, those in Holland and Flanders, and those on the south-eastern frontier.

The defence of Italy had been entrusted by Buonaparte to his son-in-law, Eugene Beauharnais, whom he had appointed his viceroy of that kingdom; but he was deprived of the means of fulfilling his trust, by the defection of Murat, who had married Buonaparte's sister Caroline, as detailed in a previous part of this work.†

On the defection of Murat, and his occupation of the Roman states, Eugene Beauharnais, who, after the indecisive battle of Roverbello, with the Austrian general Bellegarde, had retired to the line of the Po, and took post there with 36,000 men, in observation of that general, fell back behind the Mincio. On February 8th, the day on which Murat commenced active war against Buonaparte, a battle, one of the most singular contests in the annals of history, was fought on the banks of this river, between the Austrian army and that of Eugene Beauharnais, the rear-guard of one army engaging the vanguard of the other. In this encounter, the loss in killed and wounded on each side was 3,000; but Beauharnais took 1,500 prisoners, and retained his position on the Mincio, on which he made a precarious stand to the end of the war. Tuscany was immediately evacuated by the French, Verona surrendered to the Austrians on the 14th, Ancona to Murat, on the 16th; and on the 20th, Pisa, Leghorn, Florence, Lucca, St. Angelo, and Civita Vecchia were

delivered up to the allies. The cessation of French influence in Italy, and their speedy expulsion from that peninsula, were indicated on all sides. Counter-revolutionary movements in some of the cantons of Switzerland and on the mountains of Savoy, further presaged the overthrow of French power and domination.

These reverses contributed also to thwart the measures which Buonaparte meditated for the recovery of the southern frontier of France. At the time of the eruption of the allied grand army through Switzerland, for the purpose of invading France, an Austrian corps, under Bubna, having taken possession of Geneva, advanced against Lyons on the very day (January 14th, 1814) on which Augereau arrived from Paris to take the command of that city. The French marshal having collected all the disposable troops he was able, was now in a condition to contend with the enemy. Active hostilities were immediately commenced on both sides of the Rhone. Buonaparte's instructions to Augereau were to threaten the flanks and rear of the allied grand army, while he assailed it in front. To counteract this design, the allies organised *The Army of the South*, before-mentioned, and put it in motion under Bianchi, to effect a junction with Bubna's corps. After various minor operations during the end of February and the beginning of March, the hostile armies came in collision on the 20th of March, at Limonet, where, after a desperate contest, the French army was overthrown with the loss of 2,000 men, and

* Scott.

† Page 145, ante.

twenty-four cannon. At midnight, Auge-reau abandoned Lyons, which was occupied on the next day by the allies, who, besides large quantities of military stores, found in it 24,000 rounds of cannon-ball.

To complete the narrative of the extinction of French domination in Italy, it remains to state the operations of the Anglo-Sicilian force under lord William Bentinck.

The object of that force, amounting to 7,000 men, was to threaten that portion of the maritime coast of Italy subject to French dominion, and capture Genoa. For this purpose the expedition set sail from Palermo, in Italy, and arrived, on the eighth of March, off Leghorn, of which they immediately possessed themselves; the French garrison having, in virtue of the convention entered into with Murat, been transported to the north of France. Bentinck being soon after joined by the Sicilian and Calabrian force, transported from the eastern coast of Spain, on the 29th marched against Genoa; and, on his march, encountering at Sestri a body of French, amounting to 6,000 men, on the 8th of April, he routed them with great loss, and appeared, on the 16th of that month, before Genoa. On the day following, he attacked the enemy, and though they were strongly posted upon almost inaccessible ridges in front of that city, supported by forts and formidable external works, he compelled them to retire within the town. Immediately preparations were made for establishing breaching batteries, and carrying the place by assault, when terms of capitulation were proposed by the governor, and, on the following day, the place was in the possession of the allies. Preparations were then made for the final expulsion of the French, but the capitulation of Paris, and the abdication of Napoleon, prevented the necessity of putting them into execution. In the first week of May, in consequence of that event, the French troops repassed the Alps, and the Italian peninsula was finally liberated from French domination.

The operations of the allied armies in Holland, Flanders, and the north of Germany, equally occasioned the loss to France and French interest, of those portions of its aggressive and unrighteous conquests.

While opposed in front, and threatened on his flanks, Buonaparte was about to be assailed in his rear. Bernadotte, having terminated his contest with Denmark, and succeeded in his designs on Norway, advanced towards the Rhine; and on the

10th of February reached Cologne, with the design of assisting in clearing Belgium of the French, and then entering France in that direction, in support of the Silesian army. Meanwhile (February 9th) Bois-le-Duc had surrendered to Bulow, and Avennes to Chernicheff. On the 12th, Soissons, was stormed by the last-mentioned Russian general; but on account of the disasters that had befallen the army of Silesia at the battles of Champaubert, Montmirail, and Vauchamps, was evacuated on the very day that important conquest had been won.

After the expulsion of the French from Holland—which had taken place in the middle of December, 1813—the only fortresses of any consequence, in which the tri-coloured flag waved in Austrian Flanders, were Bergen-op-Zoom, Antwerp, Ypres, Condé, and Mauberge. For the reduction of these fortresses, an English division 6,000 strong, under Sir Thomas Graham, who had resigned his command in Spain immediately after his victorious passage of the Bidassoa, landed from England in South Beveland, on the 7th of October, 1813, and concerted measures to act with Bulow, who, with his corps, had crossed the canal and advanced towards Antwerp. On the 13th of January, 1814, the two allied generals advancing against Antwerp, made a combined attack on Merxhem, a village near that city, and drove the enemy out of that place into Antwerp, with a loss of 1,000 men, in killed and wounded; the allies suffering nearly an equal loss. On the 27th, Antwerp was invested; and on the next morning, mortar batteries having been constructed behind the dykes of St. Ferdinand, a fire was opened on the great fleet of shipping stationed there. But, from the admirable precautions of the governor, the stern republican Carnot, and admiral Missiessy, the bombardment was rendered ineffectual; and after having been kept up for three days, was discontinued for want of ammunition. The siege now was converted into a blockade. Bulow receiving orders to march into France to co-operate in the operations about being put into execution against Buonaparte, Graham's force being inadequate to continue the siege, not amounting to half the complement of the garrison, retired to the frontiers of Holland.

After his retreat from Antwerp, Graham, unwilling to remain inactive, determined to attempt its capture, in a nocturnal assault of Bergen-op-Zoom, a fortress distant fifteen

miles from Antwerp; celebrated for the strength of its fortifications, but hazardous to hostile approach, on account of its series of mines and subterraneous works. To accomplish his purpose, the English general, on the night of the 8th of March, appropriated 3,900 of his force; 3,300 being distributed into four columns of attack on as many respective points, and the remaining 600 to make a false or feint attack on the Steenberg gate, for diverting the attention of the garrison from the points of real attack. The assault appeared to be so successful, the assailants being in possession of fourteen of the sixteen points of the place, that the detachment designed to make the feint attack on the Steenberg gate retired to their cantonments. But in the course of the night, many of the British troops, benumbed with the excessive cold, broke into the spirit-shops adjoining their positions, and became intoxicated; and as day dawned, the French observing the weakness of their antagonists, and that one-third of them were separated by the water-gate at the port—which is divided from the body of the town

by internal walls, though both are included in the external ramparts—from the remaining two-thirds, immediately attacked the detachment at the water-gate, and driving them into a low position, where they were assailed by a raking concentric fire from two faces of the ramparts, forced them to lay down their arms; then attacking the force on the Antwerp bastions, compelled them, in like manner, after a stubborn contest, to surrender. The British sustained a loss of 900 in killed and wounded, besides 1,800 who surrendered. The cause of the disastrous failure was, that the assaulting force was not supported.* From this time, Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom continued to be blockaded. But a succession of reverses attended the French. Brussels was evacuated on February 3rd. Gorcum surrendered on the following day. Custringen fell, with its garrison of 3,000 men, on the 30th of March. On April 10th, Glogau, with a garrison of the same number, capitulated. Wursburg and Erfurth, with garrisons of 1,500 and 2,000 men, surrendered on the 21st of March and the 2nd of April; and in

* Such was the termination of this extraordinary assault; doubly memorable, both from the circumstance that one of the strongest fortresses in the world had its ramparts carried by storm, when the governor was aware of the enemy's intention and prepared to repel it, without any approaches, or attempt to breach the walls, by an assaulting force of no greater strength than the garrison; and from the still more marvellous result, that this assaulting column, victorious on the ramparts, was in the end obliged to lay down its arms to an equal force of the enemy, but in possession of the guns of the place. It excited, accordingly, a vivid interest in the mind of Napoleon, who frequently recurred to it, both at Elba and St. Helena. He admitted that Graham's plan was both daring and well conceived; and imputed the failure of the enterprise to the energy of the French governor, the courage of his troops, and the want of due support to the attacking columns. In truth, the slightest consideration must be sufficient to show, that it is to the last circumstance that the failure of this nobly-conceived and gallant enterprise is to be ascribed. The English general had at his command 9,000 British or German troops, of whom not more than 4,000, at the utmost, were engaged in the assault. If a reserve of 2,000 had been stationed near the walls, and advanced rapidly to the support of their comrades the moment the ramparts of the Antwerp gate were taken, not a doubt can exist that the town must have fallen. Nay, if the troops who retired from the feigned attack on the Steenberg gate had been sent round to the support of Skerret and Gore by the water gate, of which the latter had possession, it is probable the enterprise would have been crowned with success. Of the ease with which fresh troops from without might have effected an entrance, even without blowing open that gate, we have decisive evi-

dence in the fact, that Morrice's whole division, at one in the morning, ascended by lord Proby's ladders, and formed on the summit without the loss of a man. But why was not a petard or a field-piece brought up, when the British were in possession of that gate, to blow it open, as has so often been done with such success in India? These considerations show, that the hero of Barossa, the gallant veteran who had first planted the British standards on the soil of France, inured to a long course of triumphs, was, on this occasion, inspired with an undue contempt for his enemies, and forgot the first rule of tactics, that of having a reserve at hand, and vigorously advancing it to support the columns which had gained decisive success. On the other hand, the highest praise is due to the resolution and skill of the French governor, and to the intrepidity of his troops, who, undismayed by reverses which in general crush a garrison, found in their own energy the means of obviating them, and converting incipient disaster into ultimate victory. The conduct of both to the prisoners taken, and the readiness with which they agreed to and observed an armistice for burying the dead, proves that in this, as in all other cases, humanity is closely allied to the warlike virtues. From the whole events of this extraordinary assault, the young soldier may take a model of the highest daring and skill in designing an enterprise; of the most undaunted resolution and energy in repelling it; and impress the momentous truth on his mind, that the best-conceived attacks may often in the end miscarry, by want of prudence and foresight in executing them, or an undue contempt of the enemy against whom they are directed; and that, even in circumstances apparently hopeless, vigour and resolution will sometimes retrieve the most formidable disasters.—(Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. x., p. 281.)

consequence of the capitulation of Paris, Wevil, and Bois-le-Duc, with their garrisons of 10,000 and 18,000 men, surrendered in the beginning of May; and in the end of the same month, the pillaged and woe-struck city of Dantzic, which was threatened with the combined horrors of plague, pestilence, and famine, opened its

gates; when its garrison of 13,000 men, and 3,000 sick and wounded, marched towards France, under the merciless and marauding Davoust; after each party, both the besieged and the besiegers had lost more than 4,000 men in the fierce and bloody combats that had occurred during its protracted siege.

BREAKING-UP OF THE CONGRESS AT CHATILLON—RESUMPTION OF MILITARY OPERATIONS.—BATTLES OF CRAONNE AND LAON.

DURING the occurrence of the transactions just narrated, the memorable congress at Châtillon, which had opened on the 3rd of February, was holding its sitting. After much dexterous fencing and evasion on the part of Buonaparte and his plenipotentiary, Caulaincourt, to protract the proceedings, in hopes that the current of events would be favourable in their behalf, the ultimatum of the allies was, among other stipulations, expressed and secret, that France should be reduced to its limits as they stood prior to 1792; France ceding the whole of its conquests made since that period to their former owners. Buonaparte's counter-project, made through the agency of his plenipotentiary, Caulaincourt, was, among other stipulations, that he should keep possession of Antwerp and Flanders, and that the Rhine should be the boundary of the French empire; that the Ionian Islands should be annexed to Italy, and both settled on his son-in-law, Eugene Beauharnais; and that the sovereignty of Lucca and Piombino should be secured to his sister Eliza. The allies refusing to accede to these conditions, the treaty of Chaumont was entered into, March 1st, whereby the contracting parties, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England, agreed, among other conditions, to maintain each 150,000 men in the field; and that to provide for their maintenance, England should pay an annual subsidy of five millions sterling, to be equally divided between the continental powers, and maintain her own contingent herself; but should England prefer to furnish her contingent, or any part of it in foreign troops, she should pay £20 sterling for every foot-soldier, and £30 for every horseman. The consummation of this treaty was, in effect, a declaration of all further procrastination of hostilities; but to afford Buonaparte the opportunity of indi-

cating a pacific disposition, the congress continued to sit during three weeks after its ratification.

While the negotiation was pending at Châtillon, military operations were in full activity between the hostile armies. Bulow and Winzingerode were advancing from the frontiers of Belgium, in order to effect a junction with Blucher, who was now advanced almost to Meaux, the place of rendezvous, driving the united corps of Marmont and Mortier before him. Immediately that Buonaparte received information, that Paris was menaced, he broke up, as has been already stated, from Troyes, and marched on Arcis-sur-Aube and Sezanne, with the hopes of making a lateral attack on the flank of the Prussian field-marshal to reap the consequences of that at Champaubert. Blucher receiving intelligence of this movement, marched in the direction of Soissons, to effect a position with Bulow and Winzingerode, before he gave battle to Buonaparte.

As soon as Buonaparte's departure from Troyes was known at the allied headquarters, the king of Prussia, alarmed for the safety of the Silesian army, pressed the resumption of active operations by the grand army, in the hope of withdrawing part of the French force directed against Blucher. The corps of Wittgenstein and Wrede were, on the 27th of February, accordingly put in motion against Oudinot, who was posted opposite Bar-sur-Aube. The action was maintained with great spirit and resolution by both sides. Kellerman's dragoons, which had just joined from Spain, in a furious charge routed the Russian hussars, and occasioned much disorder in the allied centre, until the Russian batteries compelled them to recoil. Wrede's corps now coming into action, Oudinot, finding his force inadequate to contend with the increased power of his

antagonists, retreated, having sustained a loss of 3,000 men; of whom 500 were prisoners. The loss of the allies was 2,000, but they obtained possession of Bar-sur-Aube.

This success encouraged the slow and pedantic Austrian commander-in-chief to make an attempt to recover Troyes. Accordingly, on the 3rd of March, he moved against Macdonald and Oudinot's corps, amounting to 35,000 men, of whom about 9,000 were cavalry, and who were posted upon the elevated plateau of Laubrisseil in front of Troyes. The battle had not long begun before the extreme left of the French, seeing that they were turned, began to retreat, when Paylen's cuirassiers rushing forward, instantly broke two battalions, and pushing forward, captured the greater part of a park of artillery entering Troyes; but several of those guns were recovered by St. Germain's dragoons, who checked Paylen's troops in their career. Heavy masses of the allied infantry now coming up, the French, fearful of being turned by both flanks, retreated into Troyes, having sustained a loss of 2,000 men, of whom 1,500 were prisoners. The loss of the allies did not exceed 800. Troyes capitulated next day, and the allies were once more in possession of the capital of Champagne.

Buonaparte was in rapid pursuit of Blucher, hoping that his retreat would be retarded by the garrison of Soissons, as the only bridge over the Aisne, which was then flooded by the thaw, was at Soissons; but when he reached the heights above La Fête-sous-Jourre, he had the mortification of seeing the rear-guard of the Silesian army disappearing in the distance on the other side of the Marne, in the direction of Soissons, and that all the bridges on that river had been broken down. Blucher was in rapid march to effectuate a junction with the corps of Bulow and Winzingerode, who were advancing to Dietchy, the place of rendezvous; but in their march had, on March 2nd, obtained possession of Soissons, by acting on the fears of the governor. On the 3rd, Blucher appeared under its walls; and on the following day passed the Aisne, and effected a junction with Bulow and Winzingerode, at the very moment when Marmont and Macdonald's corps were pressing on his rear-guard, and that Buonaparte had hoped to have turned his flank and forced on him a disadvantageous action. The Silesian army being now increased,

Blucher determined to wait for the enemy and give battle on the favourable position of the plateau of Craonne, which is adjacent to the highway from Soissons to Laon, about one mile and a-half in length and half a mile in breadth; bounded on either side by steep slopes, difficult of ascent to infantry, and impracticable for cavalry and artillery. Here was posted Winzingerode's infantry; to Bulow's corps was assigned the duty of protecting Laon, for the purpose of covering the communications of the army, and keeping open a passage in the event of disaster; and 6,000 men were appointed to the defence of Soissons.

As soon as Buonaparte had effected the passage of the Marne and the Aisne, he ordered Soissons to be assaulted and carried by storm. The attack was made at seven o'clock of the 5th of March; but after being continued with the greatest resolution on both sides during the whole day, the French drew off, with the loss of 1,500 men.

Foiled in turning the right flank of the allied position, a direct attack was ordered to be made on the plateau in front. At nine o'clock of the morning of the 7th, Victor, at the head of the infantry of the guard, preceded by 100 pieces of artillery, advanced to the plateau. The Russian cannon, consisting of sixty guns, opened with destructive effect. The attacking columns, after having sustained a severe loss, were obliged to retire. Ney's corps then advanced to the attack; and being supported by Victor's, who had re-formed themselves, after four hours' desperate contest, the allies fell back to Laon. The loss of the allies was 6,000 in killed and wounded; that of the French, 8,000. No prisoners, cannon, standards, or other trophy of victory, were made by either side. The force of the allies in this battle did not exceed 27,000, that of Buonaparte was 40,000. In this battle, the regiment of Shirvan thrice forced their passage, with fixed bayonets, through the French cavalry, by whom they were surrounded, carrying with them all their officers who had been killed or wounded.

On the following day, Blucher massed his troops round Laon, which is situated on a plateau of a conical hill, extending about a league in length, and three-quarters of a mile in breadth. On the slopes of this declivity, and in the neighbouring villages, the allied army was posted. On the evening of the 8th, the whole army was concentrated in the vicinity of the city. On the

9th, Buonaparte, availing himself of a mist pushed his columns of attack to the very foot of the eminence upon which Laon is situated. After a long and stubborn contest, the French were repulsed all along the line. Each side bivouacked on the field of battle. In the dead of the night, and in perfect silence, a nocturnal attack was made on Marmont's troops, who, taken by surprise, took to headlong flight, leaving forty cannon, 131 caissons, 2,500 prisoners, and a large number of killed and wounded in the possession of their assailants. On the receipt of the intelligence of this disaster, Buonaparte, instead of retreating, stood firm, and commenced an attack on the enemy's position next morning; but after having endured a severe loss, withdrew his forces at all points; having sustained, in his various attacks, the loss of 6,000 men, and forty-six pieces of cannon; while that of the allies was not more than 4,000. In the course of the retreat of the beaten army, the villages, farm-yards, and granaries of their own countrymen were set on fire, so reckless was the fury of the lawless and devastating bands.

In consequence of the abandonment of Soissons by the Russian garrison, after the battle of Craonne Buonaparte directed his retreat to that town, the possession of which, in a strategical point of view, is of

* The taking of the town of Rheims was one of the most brilliant exploits of this campaign; and a peculiar interest attaches to it as being the *last town Napoleon ever took*. We therefore present a detailed account of this action, as narrated by Alison. Rheims having been taken by general St. Preist, by which Blucher's communications with the grand army were established, and the right flank of Napoleon threatened—"He had no sooner heard of it, accordingly, than he gave orders for the whole army, with the exception of Mortier's corps, which was left for the defence of Soissons, to defile to the right on the road for Rheims. With such expedition did they march, that on the evening of the same day on which they set out from Soissons, the advanced guards appeared before the walls of Rheims. The Prussian videttes could hardly believe their own eyes when the increasing numbers of the enemy showed that a serious attack was intended; and, notwithstanding repeated warnings sent to St. Preist, he persisted in declaring it was only a few light troops that were appearing, and could not be brought to credit that the army so recently defeated at Laon was already in a condition to resume offensive operations. At length, at four o'clock, the cries of the troops and well-known grenadier caps of the old guard, announced that the emperor himself was on the field; and then, as well he might, the Russian general hastily began to take measures for his defence. The nearest regiments, without orders, or any regular array, hurried off to the threatened point; the French, skilfully feigning

primary consideration during a campaign in this quarter. While halting here, he received intelligence that Rheims had been captured by a Russian corps under St. Preist; he marched against that general, who, in a vain confidence of his military genius, though his force was only 14,000 men, moved out of the town against his enemy. In a few minutes, three battalions were made prisoners, and the remainder of his force fled in headlong confusion into the town. The loss of the allies was 1,000 killed and wounded, 2,500 prisoners, eleven cannon, and 100 caissons; that of the French about 800. The regiment of Riazan performed here the same exploit as that of Shirvan had done at the battle of Laon. Forming itself into square, it repulsed the repeated attacks of an enormous mass of cavalry, and pressing through a forest of sabres with the bayonet, bore their bleeding and dying colonel in their arms into the town.*

While halting at Rheims, Buonaparte was joined by 6,000 men, brought up from Flanders, under the Dutch general, Jansen; and while there, he considered his condition so desperate, that he was obliged, with his own hand, to condemn and stigmatise the organised system of cruelty and injustice, with which he had upheld his power. "He issued two proclamations from Fismès,

to be outnumbered, ceased firing and fell back, and for a short time all was quiet. St. Preist was confirmed, by this circumstance, in the belief that it was only a partizan division which was before him, or, at most, the beaten corps of Marmont, for which he conceived himself fully a match; and even on being assured by a prisoner that Napoleon was with the troops, he said—"He will not step over 14,000 men; you need not ask which way to retire; there will be no retreat." Shortly after Napoleon arrived; and after looking on the town for a short time, dryly observed—"The ladies of Rheims will soon have a bad quarter of an hour"—and gave orders for an immediate attack. The allies by this time had almost entirely assembled in front of the town, and occupied a position in two lines, guarding the approaches to it; the right resting on the river Vele, the left extending to the Basse-Muire; the reserves on the plateau of St. Genevieve in the suburbs, where twenty-four pieces of cannon were planted. These preparations seemed to prognosticate a vigorous defence; but the promptitude and force of Napoleon's attack rendered them of very little avail. Eight thousand horse, supported by thirty pieces of horse artillery, were directed at once against the Russian left, to which St. Preist had hardly any cavalry to oppose; in a few minutes three Prussian battalions were surrounded and made prisoners. At the same time Marmont, supported by the guards of honour and cavalry of the guard, advanced by the high road, direct upon the enemy's centre. The

by the first of which he not only authorised, but enjoined every Frenchman to take up arms, and fall on the flanks and rear of the invading armies; while, by the second, the penalties of treason were denounced against every mayor or public functionary who should not stimulate, to the utmost of his power, the prescribed insurrectionary movements on the part of the people. Thus he adopted the very same measures of defence which he had so often denounced in his enemies; and, for obeying which, he had, in mere revenge, spilled so much noble and heroic blood." The guerilla warfare to which he now called the French, and which, of course, led to severe and sanguinary proclamations, in reprisal, by the allied generals, was no other than the very system for pursuing which he had, in the outset of his career, shot the magistrates and principal citizens of Pavia in cold blood, and gave up their city to pillage; and to repress which, he had sanctioned the bloody and savage proclamations of Soult and Augereau, denouncing the punishment of death against any Spanish peasant found in arms in defence of his country; and the still more inhuman and savage decree of Bessières affixing the same penalty to the people, not soldiers, taken in arms; but also against the "fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, and nephews, of all individuals, who

Russian general, upon this, perceiving that he was immensely overmatched, gave orders for the first line to fall back on the second; and, at the same time, the battery of twenty-four guns withdrew towards the rear. Hardly were these movements commenced, when he himself was wounded in the shoulder by a ball: this event discouraged the troops; and the retiring columns, aware of their danger from the great masses which were everywhere pressing after them, fell into disorder, and hastened with more speed than was consistent with discipline into the town. Owing to the narrowness of the bridge and streets, the columns got entangled at every step, and in less than a quarter of an hour became a mere mob; while the French infantry and cavalry, with loud shouts, were pressing on their rear. Such was the scene of horror and confusion which soon ensued, that it appeared impossible for any part of the corps to escape; and none in all probability would have done so but for the steadiness of the regiment of Riazan, which, under its heroic colonel, count Seobelof, formed square on the field of battle, and not only repulsed the repeated attacks of an enormous mass of cavalry at the entrance of the town, and gave time for a large part of the corps to defile in the rear, but itself pierced through the forest of sabres with the bayonet, bearing their bleeding and dying general in their arms. General Emmanuel now took the command; and the most vigorous efforts were made at the entrance of the town, by disposing the troops in the houses which adjoined it; and so

had quitted their domiciles, and did not inhabit the villages occupied by the French."* Preparations for arranging a force of this description, and arming the peasantry, had been in progress for some time. Trusty agents, having orders concealed in the sheaths of their knives, the collars of their dogs, and other unlikely places for such deposits, had been despatched to the various officers, official and military, to use their exertions for the purpose. When taken by the allies they were executed, in imitation of the conduct of the French in similar circumstances.

Buonaparte, during his halt at Rheims, hearing of the loss of the battle of Bar-sur-Aube, the retreat of Macdonald and Oudinot beyond the Seine, and that the allied grand army had forced the passage of the Seine at Nogent, and that their light cavalry had, on the 14th, appeared at Fontainebleau and Nemours; fearful for the safety of Paris, on the 16th, despatched secret orders to his brother Joseph to remove his wife Marie Louise and her son, with the public treasure and that in the cellars of the Tuilleries, to the other side of the Loire; and on the following day, leaving Marmont and Mortier with 20,000 men, to oppose Blucher's advance on the capital, he broke up from Rheims with 26,000 men, to effect a junction with Macdonald and Oudi-

obstinate was the resistance which they presented, that for above three hours the French were kept at bay. Towards midnight, however, it was discovered that the enemy, by fording the Vele, had got round the town, and therefore the whole troops in it were withdrawn, some on the road to Chalons, others on that to Laon, while the defence of the gate was entrusted to a non-commissioned officer of the 33rd light infantry, with 200 men. This little band of heroes kept their ground to the last, and were found by the officer sent to withdraw them, dividing their few remaining cartridges, and encouraging each other to hold out even till death. When they received orders to retire, they did so in perfect order, as the evacuation was completed; and they fortunately effected their retreat in the darkness, without being made prisoners. Napoleon then made his entry into the town at one o'clock in the morning by torchlight, amidst the acclamations of his troops, and enthusiastic cheers of the inhabitants, who gave vent to the general transport in a spontaneous illumination. In this brilliant affair, the French took 2,500 prisoners, 11 guns, and 100 caissons; and the total loss of the allies was 3,500, while the emperor Napoleon was only weakened by 800 men; a wonderful achievement to have been effected by a worn-out army, after nearly two months' incessant marching and fighting, and two days after a disastrous defeat; but more memorable still, by one circumstance, which gives it a peculiar interest—it was the LAST TOWN NAPOLEON EVER TOOK. * Alison.

not, who had 35,000 men under their command, to drive Schwartzberg across the Seine.

When the approach of their dreaded enemy was heard at the allied headquarters, all was consternation. In a council held at midnight of the 18th, Schwartzberg recommended a retreat behind the line of the Aube; but the Czar opposed the measure, and lord Castlereagh presuming that a retreat behind the Aube would be a preface to one behind the Rhine, announced that as soon as the proposed retreat commenced, the subsidies of England would cease to be paid to the allies. This *argumentum ad crumenam* had its desired effect. It was determined to resume offensive operations, and, to ensure success, to diminish the distance between the grand and the Silesian

armies, and thus prevent a repetition of the disasters of Montmirail and Montereau. With this view, the allies determined to descend the Aube, and uniting the armies at Arcis, offer battle to Buonaparte, and if he refused to accept it, to march on Paris. An influencing motive to this measure was the arrival of the Polignacs at head-quarters, who brought encouraging accounts of the progress of the royalists in the metropolis, and the arrangements which were in active operation for uniting the interests of the Bourbons with those of all who were averse to the existing government. Talleyraud was at the head of the conspiracy, and all were ready to embrace the first opportunity of declaring their sentiments as soon as the progress of the allies would justify the exhibition.

BATTLE OF ARCIS-SUR-AUBE.

ON the 18th March the French army bivouacked at Fere-Champenoise, and, on the 19th, a junction was effected with Macdonald and Oudinot's corps, near Plancy. Schwartzberg, in the mean time, had concentrated his forces between Arcis and Plancy, with the intention of opposing the enemy in his attempt to pass the Aube. Buonaparte, being thus disappointed in his intention of falling on the rear of the allies, in their projected march to Paris, determined to threaten their communications with the Rhine. For this purpose, he remounted the course of the Aube by its right bank, and, on the morning of the 20th, reached Arcis, which the allies had evacuated on his approach. He immediately crossed the Aube, and observing a few squadrons of cavalry, apparently a reconnoitring party, he ordered them to be pursued; in an instant the head of the enemy's columns were observed converging on all sides towards Arcis, driving the French horse before them. Fresh squadrons were brought up by each side, and a serious cavalry action ensued; but the French were driven back in confusion to the bridge, and thus prevented their infantry debouching from the town to support them. Buonaparte, being on the other side, rode forward to the entrance of the bridge, and drawing his sword, exclaimed, "Let me see which of you will pass before me." The flight was immediately arrested, and the fugitives returning to the charge, supported by a division of infantry,

the allied cavalry was driven back. The battle raged with the utmost fury and violence during the whole day, and was continued by the light of burning houses, the flames of the villages of Arcis and Grand Torey, and the flash of the hostile artillery, until it died away by the mutual exhaustion of the combatants. Both sides bivouacked on the field of battle, each party anticipating a successful result to their gallant exertions on the morrow. At the dawn of the succeeding day, the hostile armies stood confronting each other; the allies in line, the French in a semicircle round Arcis, on the very ground which they had occupied the preceding day. Until one o'clock in the afternoon, each host stood motionless, not a gun or a voice was heard; the infantry standing at ease with their arms grounded, the cavalry with the bridles over the horsemen's arms, the slow matches burning at the guns in front of each hostile line,—an occurrence unparalleled in military annals—but, at that hour, symptoms of retreat were indicated by the French—cannon and carriages were observed defiling to the rear; but no obstruction was offered to the movement until three o'clock, when the allied line moved forward preceded by one hundred pieces of artillery; but a large portion of the French army had already crossed the Aube, and the rear-guard under Macdonald made so stout a resistance, that it was dark before the allies could reach Arcis. A desperate conflict then en-

sued in the streets, but the French rear-guard effected their escape, and broke down an arch of the bridge, to prohibit the passage of the allies. During the whole night, so powerful a cannonade was kept up from the opposite bank, that it was impossible to restore the broken arch. On the following morning, the French army was far advanced in its retreat to Vitry. The loss of each side was about 4,000 men; but in that of the enemy were 800 prisoners, and six pieces of artillery.*

Buonaparte was now preparing to put into operation one of those designs, with which erratic, but splendid genius often inspires its possessor, and enables him to overcome his difficulties, and resume a course of renewed brilliancy.

Instead of countermarching on Chalons, whence he had advanced on Arcis, or retrograding for the defence of Paris, he marched eastward on St. Dizier, and towards the Rhine, determined to operate on the rear of the allies, and threaten their communications. Well knowing the feverish anxiety of the Austrians—one of the inherent imbecilities in their military tactics—on any approach of flank movements, he thought that this manœuvre would divert the allies from their forward march to Paris, and induce them to follow him. Two other causes powerfully conduced to influence him to adopt this course of manœuvre. The first was to get close to the frontier fortresses, to enable him to withdraw their garrisons for the reinforcement of his shattered army; the second was to give countenance to the warlike peasantry of Alsace and Franche-Compte, who were greatly irritated by the pillage committed on them by the allied troops. In the execution of this plan, he marched on Vitry, and as soon (March 22nd) as he was in its front, he summoned it to surrender, but the governor refusing to comply, he, next day, having passed the Marne over a bridge of rafts, reached St. Dizier, extending his wings in all directions, when Caulaincourt

* The letter which Buonaparte addressed to his wife, Marie Louisa, relative to this battle, and which was intercepted on the second day after the event, were other evidences wanting, affords no slight means of showing the impolicy of placing credence on French reports of success, and amount of loss. The document ran thus:—"My love! I have been for some days constantly on horseback; on the 20th I took Arcis-sur-Aube. The enemy attacked me there at eight o'clock in the evening; I beat him the same evening—I took two guns, and re-

brought him intelligence of the dissolution of the congress of Châtillon, and the consequent frustration of his hopes of a favourable reception of his project of accommodation of the dispute between himself and the allies. He was now in the rear of his enemies, and on their principal line of communication.

While the allies were in conjecture and wonderment as to the course and object of their terrible foe's eccentric movement, which was at variance with all the accredited rules and notions of routine warfare, the capture of the despatches containing the letter to Marie Louisa, mentioned in the note to this page, tended to solve the enigma which had so sorely alarmed them. At the same moment, advice was received from Pahlen, that Blucher, having re-organised his army after the battles of Craonne and Laon, had advanced to Rheims and Epernay, and was in occupation of Chalons. Immediately their advance to Paris was decided on, and the following arrangements made to execute the design.

The grand army was to march through Fere Champenoise, and the Silesian army from Chalons, were to advance to Meaux, from which place the united armies were to march on Paris. A column of 10,000 cavalry, under Winzingerode and Chernicheff, with forty-six pieces of artillery, were dispatched to hang on Buonaparte's march, to obstruct his communications with the country he had left, intercept couriers from Paris, or information respecting the movements of the allied armies, and to present, on all occasions, a front which might impress him with the belief, that their corps formed the vanguard of the grand army. Giulay was left in guard of the bridge at Arcis, and general Ducca, supported by the prince of Hesse Homberg's army, stationed at Lyons, was left on the Aube, with a division of Austrians, for the purpose of defending the depôts, keeping open the communications, and guarding the person of the emperor of Austria, who declined approaching Paris in an hostile atti-

took two. The next day, the enemy's army put itself in battle array, to protect the march of its columns on Brienne, and Bar-sur-Aube; and I resolved to approach the Marne and its environs, in order to drive them further from Paris, by approaching my own fortified places. This evening I shall be at St. Dizier. Farewell, my love! Embrace my son." When a man could thus deceive his wife, can there be any cause of surprise that he deceived others, whom it was not only his interest, but policy to deceive?

tude, while it was under the nominal government of his daughter. At daybreak of the 24th of March, the grand army began its march from Vitry, whither it had moved on Buonaparte's retreat from Arcis. Meanwhile the Russian and Prussian light

troops scoured the woods, intercepted, near Sommepeuy, a convoy of artillery and ammunition belonging to Buonaparte's rear-guard, and captured the whole, together with the escort, and several important despatches from Napoleon's head quarters.

CAMPAIGN OF PARIS.

WHEN Blucher received the welcome order to march on Paris he was, as just said, at Chalons, having driven the corps of Marmont and Mortier, which had been left by Buonaparte to observe his motions, over the Marne. The French marshals, in obedience to orders received from Buonaparte to form a junction with him at Vitry, for the purpose of his acting on the rear of the allies, retreated to Fere-Champenoise, whither they were pursued; but when, about day-break of the 25th, they reached the vicinity of that place, the apparition of the vanguard of the grand army presented itself to their vision, and at the same moment that vanguard observed a large column of infantry, advancing chequer-wise and by intervals, followed and repeatedly charged by several squadrons of cavalry, who were soon recognised as belonging to the Silesian army. The French force amounted to 22,000 men, of whom nearly 5,000 were cavalry just arrived from Spain, with eighty-four guns; that of the allies was 20,000 cavalry (the infantry had not yet got up), with 128 guns. The French immediately formed themselves into squares, but at length falling into confusion, horse, foot, and artillery rushed, panic-struck, towards Fere-Champenoise, losing about 50 guns and a large number of caissons, besides a great number of killed and wounded. The approach of night saved them from total ruin.

And this was not the only discomfiture the French were to experience on that day. Just as the sun was setting, the czar and the king of Prussia, in their advance with the allied infantry, observed a column of French, about 5,000 in number, having in convoy a large quantity of provisions and ammunition, on the right, moving for Fere-Champenoise. At first they were supposed to be part of Blucher's army, but they were a column of conscripts and national guards under general Pauthod. These young soldiers immediately formed themselves into square,

with the convoy in the centre, and long and bravely resisted the allied cavalry. The czar, admiring the gallantry of the little band, sent forward his aide-de-camp, Rapatel, whom "he had adopted as a legacy from Moreau," to explain to them the futility of resistance; but he was shot dead on the spot while delivering his message of peace. The artillery now opened on every side on the devoted band, and at the moment after a general charge of cavalry was made on it. The cavalry rushing in at the openings, 3,000 of the heroic combatants fell on the field of battle before the thought of surrender was entertained. In these contests at Fere-Champenoise, the loss of the French had been 8,000 men and eighty guns, while that of the allies did not exceed 2,500. The French, who love to indulge in the marvellous, say that the shot which struck Rapatel came from the company in which his brother served; but, probably, the story is about as apocryphal as Buonaparte's, that St. Preist was shot from the same cannon at Rheims as that from which the ball issued which killed Moreau at Leipsic.

The road to Paris was now laid open. Leaving a corps of 30,000 men, under Wrede and Sacken, on the line of the Marne, as a covering army, for opposing any attempt that Buonaparte might make for the relief of the metropolis, or annoying the rear of the allies, the grand army marched at four o'clock of the morning of the 26th, on the direct road through Sezanne to Paris, while Blucher, from Vertus, advanced on Montmirail, and from Etoges on La Ferté-Gaucher; thus threatening Paris along all its north-eastern quarter. On the 27th a junction of both armies, the grand and the Silesian, was effected at Meaux, and on the 28th they, with their convoys, crossed to the right bank of the river. Macdonald and Mortier rapidly hurried through Guignes and Melun, towards the metropolis.

To prevent violence and marauding, the

czar addressed a proclamation to his army (circular order, 26th March, 1814), enjoining the strictest discipline, and forbidding any supplies to be obtained for the troops but through the medium of the mayors. He also addressed a circular to the commanders of the corps of the other nations, entreating them to enforce the strictest subordination among their troops. Before the promulgation of these orders, crowds of peasants, in great trepidation, were seen fleeing with their half-naked, half-starved families, their horses and cattle, and whatever of their household goods were easily portable, they knew not whither, before an enemy whose barbarous rapacity had been magnified by exaggerated reports. But the wise and humane proclamation and circular of the czar, which were extensively circulated, tended to allay the terror and confusion, and incline the peasantry to remain in their dwellings in a quiet and peaceable manner.

It was far otherwise in the capital. Fear and consternation were depicted in every countenance; pillage, slaughter, and devastation stared every man in the face; visions of French massacre, violence, and spoliation committed in all the conquered countries, haunted every man's eyes, disturbed every man's thoughts. The executive took every possible means to allay the terror and inspire confidence. The government employés, and the police, with their ten thousand spies, were active in their endeavours to infuse hope and spirit into the Parisian population. *Affiches*, or placards, were distributed and posted in every direction, to excite the public mind to the defence of the capital. One, dated the 29th of March, stated that the object of the allies was pillage and destruction, and that, after having sacked and set fire to all quarters of the city, it was their intention to send off the élite of its workmen, its artisans, and its artists, to the depths of Russia, to people their deserts of Siberia. All the records of the high police having been destroyed, the regent, Marie Louise, and her infant son, with all the state ministers and officers, the crown jewels and the treasure, were sent off, under a strong guard, to Blois, on the other side of the Loire; and Joseph Buonaparte issued a proclamation, calling on the Parisians to defend their capital, their riches, their wives and children, and all that was dear to them; declaring that he would bury himself under the ruins of their beloved city, rather than submit or take to flight. On the Sunday

preceding the assault he reviewed the garrison, consisting of 8,000 men, under general Girard, and about 30,000 national guards, commanded by Hulin, the governor of the city. The divisions of Marmont and Mortier were kept outside the walls, being in too dilapidated a state to be paraded before the people of Paris.

The allies were now within one march of Paris, at the sight of which all their fatigues and wants were forgotten; only one feeling, that of enthusiasm and effacing the remembrance of the dishonour which the enemy had inflicted on their respective countries, actuated every breast. The last night they had bivouacked at Bondy, the first post station from Paris.

Paris, on the north-eastern frontier, the part designed to be assailed, is strongly defensible, being covered by a ridge of hills, or heights, running on the northern bank of the Seine, and distinguished by the various names of Clichy, Romainville, Belle Ville, Montmartre, and the plateau of Chaumont, taking their names from the several villages which occupy them. Montmartre is a conical hill, of considerable height. This steep ridge environs the city on the eastern side, rising abruptly from the extensive plain of St. Denis, and sinking suddenly on the eastern quarter of the town, which it seems to screen, as if with a natural bulwark. The southern extremity of the ridge, which rests on the wood of Vincennes, extends southward to the banks of the river Marne. In advance of these heights is the village of Pantin, situated on the high road from Bondy. The approach to the gates of the capital over the plain of St. Denis are enfiladed by the fire of the batteries on the heights, and renders all access impossible till these are carried. The heights being covered with groves, orchards, vineyards, and gardens, afford a great facility for their defence by irregular levies. On the possession of those heights the capital depended for its sole defence, for the brick wall by which the barriers on the principal roads were connected were of no avail in a military point of view. Therefore, if the possession of the heights was lost, the city was at the mercy of the captors, as the range of bombs from Montmartre and Chaumont extended to its very centre.

At daybreak of the morning of the 30th the allies advanced to the assault, which was to be general along the whole line of defence they intended to attack.



The Chapel of Vincennes.

BATTLE OF PARIS.

THE prince royal of Wirtemberg was to attack the extreme right of the enemy, on the wood of Vincennes, drive them from the banks of the Marne and the village of Charenton, and then turn the heights of Belleville on the right. The Russian general Raieffsky, making a flank movement from the high-road to Meaux, was to attack in front the heights of Belleville and Romainville, and the villages which gave name to them. The Russian and Prussian body-guards had charge to attack the centre of enemy, posted upon the canal de l'Ouercq, the reserves of which occupied Montmartre. The Silesian army was to assail the left of the French line, so as to turn and carry Montmartre from the north-east. The third division of the allied army, and a strong body of cavalry, were kept in reserve.

The enemy's plan of defence was:—The extreme right of the French force occupied the wood of Vincennes, and the village of Charenton on the Marne, and was supported by the troops stationed on the heights of Belleville, Romainville, and on the Butte de Chaumont, which composed the right wing. Their centre occupied the line formed by the half-finished canal de l'Ouercq, was defended by the village of La Villette, and a strong redoubt on the farm of Rouvroi, mounted with eighteen heavy guns, and by the powerful artillery planted in the rear, on the heights of Montmartre. The left wing was thrown back from the village Monceaux, near the south-western extremity of the heights, and prolonged itself to that of Neuilly, on the Seine, which was strongly occupied by the extreme left of the army. Thus, with the right extremity of the army resting on the river Marne, and the left on the Seine, the enemy occupied a semicircular line, which could not be turned; the greater part of which was posted upon heights of extreme steepness, and defended by artillery, disposed with the utmost science and judgment.

On their appearance before the city, the allies issued the following proclamation:—

“Inhabitants of Paris! The allied armies are under your walls. The object of their march to the capital of France, is founded on the hope of a sincere and durable pacification with her. For twenty years Europe has been deluged with blood and tears. Every

attempt to put an end to these calamities has proved vain; for this reason, that in the very government which oppresses you, there has been found an insurmountable obstacle to peace. Who among you is not convinced of this truth? The allied sovereigns desire to find in France a beneficent government, which shall strengthen her alliance with all nations; and, therefore, in the present circumstances, it is the duty of Paris to hasten the general pacification. We await the expression of your opinion, with a degree of impatience proportioned to the mighty consequences which must result from your determination. Declare it; and you shall at once find defenders in the armies standing before your walls. Parisians! the state of France, the proceedings of the inhabitants of Bordeaux, the peaceable occupation of Lyons, and the real sentiments of your countrymen, are known to you. In these examples you will find the end of war and domestic discord: it is to be found no where else. The preservation of your city and of tranquillity, shall be the object of the prudent measures which the allies will not fail to take, in concert with such of your authorities as enjoy the general confidence. Troops shall not be quartered on you. Such are the sentiments with which Europe, arrayed before your walls, now addresses you. Hasten to justify her confidence in your patriotism and prudence.” This proclamation, with two successive flags of truce, and a proposal for the capitulation of Paris, were dispatched to the French advanced posts; but both were refused admittance.

On the 30th of March, the *générale* beat at two o'clock in the morning in all parts of the city. The garrison and the national guard immediately assembled at their respective points of rendezvous. The barriers of St. Denis and St. Vincennes, the outlets of Paris, corresponding with the two extremities of the line of defence, the heights of Montmartre, the Boulevards, and all the streets leading into them on the north and east, were filled with crowds of anxious spectators, desirous of witnessing the issue of the mighty contest, which was, as they supposed, either to deliver them over to violence, massacre, and spoliation, or to preserve the inviolability of “the Great Nation,” and secure

its power of aggression and pillage on the other sections of the great family of mankind. Precisely as the clock in the church of St. Denis struck five, dark and dense masses of infantry and cavalry were seen marching forward on the road to Meaux. Raieffsky, supported by Barclay de Tolly's reserves, advanced against the French centre. Presently the rattle of musketry, and the booming of cannon, were heard in all directions. As prince Eugene of Wirtemberg issued from the village of Pantin, Marmont, convinced of his error of having omitted to occupy it, marched forward, and encountering the allies, on an eminence a little in advance of Pantin, drove them, after a furious contest, through the village, and took possession of it. Instantly the Russian grenadiers rallied, and recovered possession of the post; but with the loss of 1,500 men. Then, pushing forward, they dislodged the enemy from the heights of Pantin and Romainville. It was now eight o'clock, and neither had Blucher arrived to attack Montmartre, nor the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg, supported by Giulay's Austrians, to threaten the Barrière du Trone. The front attack on the heights was therefore suspended until the operations on the other points would permit it to be resumed with less loss than if an immediate attempt should be made. The light troops were therefore withdrawn, and again formed in rank to wait the renewal of the assault.

About eleven o'clock, the Silesian army advanced by the road of Clichy, in two columns, one towards La Villette, the other in the direction of Neuilly. Both wings being now in a line, the suspended assault was renewed, and a general attack ordered on the whole line of defence. Cost what it might, Langeron's orders were to carry Montmartre. A grand assault was made, and at all points was successful; the assailants, after a stubborn and bloody contest, being established on the whole defence of the enemy, who were driven back upon the city. The only point that still held out was Montmartre; but as Langeron was already at its foot preparing to storm it, a flag of truce appeared, to request a cessation of hostilities, in order to arrange at once the terms for the capitulation of Paris. This request was readily acceded to by the allies, on condition that Montmartre and all the positions without the gates were surrendered to them. The proposition for the armistice came from Joseph Buonaparte, through the medium of

Marmont, and immediately that he had so commissioned the French marshal, "he took to his heels," together with his brothers, and the whole "kith and kin of the imperial brood," across the Loire; though he had promised the confiding Parisians to die with them in defence of the capital.

The terms of the capitulation were not finally adjusted until three o'clock in the morning. The discussion was conducted on the part of the French by colonels Fabvier and Denis, on that of the allies by Nesselrode and Orloff. Paris was to be protected, its monuments entrusted to the care of the national guard, and private property preserved sacred. The marshals with their troops were to retire to any part of France they chose, but they were to evacuate Paris at seven on the same day; the whole public arsenals and magazines were to be surrendered in the state in which they were when the capitulation was concluded; and that the wounded and stragglers found after ten o'clock in the morning should be considered prisoners of war.

Thus ended the assault on Paris, after a bloody and stubborn defence, in which its defenders, whether regular troops, national guards, or the gallant youths of the Polytechnic School, who served the batteries, and were boys of the age of twelve to sixteen years, covered themselves with unfading glory in the annals of historic fame; they lost 4,500 of their gallant band; while the allies lost 9,093 of their unconquerable host. The trophies of the allies were, 1,000 prisoners, 2 standards, and nearly 100 pieces of artillery.

Though the battle had been fought and won, which was to reduce lawless aggression to submission, and once more to give peace to agitated Europe, the embers of contestive commotion were yet smouldering within the walls of Paris among the various political parties. "While the mass of the inhabitants were at rest, exhausted by the fatigues and anxieties of the day, many secret conclaves, on different principles and with different intentions, were held in the city on the night after the assault. Some of these yet endeavoured to reorganise the means of resistance, and some to find out, what modern philosophy has called a *mezzo-termine*, some third expedient, between the risk of standing by Napoleon, and that of recalling the banished family."*

One party was for establishing a regency, under Marie Louise, with the succession to

* Scott.

the throne of Buonaparte's infant son; and of this party, the cunning old constitution-monger, Fouché, was the prime agitator, who boasted that he would thus "breathe new life into the carcase of the defunct Revolution." The ex-bishop of Autun, the wily and far-sighted Talleyrand (now arch-chancellor of the empire), aided by the Abbé de Pradt, the archbishop of Malines, and other intriguing priests, were the heads and agitators of the advocates for royalism and the restoration of the Bourbons. At this critical moment, the celebrated pamphlet of M. de Chateaubriand, entitled *De Buonaparte et des Bourbons* (Buonaparte and the Bourbons) appeared, but was now privately printed; Madame de Chateaubriand having hitherto concealed it in her bosom, to protect it from the argus eyes of the prying police and their ten thousand retainers. This eloquent production was not only an appeal to the affections of the French people, on behalf of their ancient and long-exiled race of kings, but was admirably adapted to ensure their prejudices in behalf of the cause which it advocated.

A royalist committee had long secretly existed in Paris, as did also many throughout the provinces, especially in the south of France. In that of the metropolis, the names of Rohan, Rochefoucault, Fitzjames, Montmorency, and Noailles were prominent. As soon as it was known that the capitulation had been agreed to, they, in the course of the night after the battle, despatched a deputation to the allied sovereigns to ascertain their intentions respecting the Bourbon family; and received for answer, that if there was a sufficient public declaration in favour of that dynasty, they would acknowledge their right to the throne. Encouraged by this declaration, they, on the following morning, raised the royal standard on the Place de Louis Quinze in the metropolis; and a M. de Vauvenoux, with five associates, mounting the white cockade, rode through the neighbouring streets and the Boulevards, exclaiming, "Vive le Roi," and distributing on all sides white cockades, lilies, and other emblems of loyalty to their exiled princes. The princess of Leon, the viscountesses Chateaubriand and Choiseul, and other ladies of rank, joined the procession, distributing the colours of their party, and tearing their dresses to make white cockades, when they had exhausted their personal magazines of the prepared stock. At first, from the lips of none save those who had engaged in the

perilous experiment, did the rallying cry of "Vive le Roi" emanate; no one durst echo back a cry apparently beset with fearful consequences to its utterers. At length, however, some of the better class of the bourgeoisie began to catch the flame, and, in some instances, pickets of the national guards, displaced the tri-coloured for the white cockade; yet their voices were far from unanimous, and opposite parties met and skirmished together; and in some cases the royalists were seized by the police.

In the mean time the friends and supporters of the imperial government had not been idle. The conduct of the lower classes, a large portion of whom were connected with the police, or under the control and in the pay of the existing government, had, during the battle on the heights, assumed an alarming character. For a time they had listened to and viewed, with a sort of stupefied terror, the crash of musketry, the boom of cannon, and the clash of swords in the fight; beheld the wounded and fugitives crowd in at the barriers, and gazed in useless wonder on the hurried march of troops moving out in haste to reinforce the lines. But now, the numerous crowds that thronged the Boulevards, and particularly in the streets near the Palais-Royal, assumed a more active appearance. Those degraded members of the community, whose slavish labour is only relieved by coarse debauchery, invisible for the most part to the decent classes of society, but whom periods of public calamity or agitation bring into view, to add to the general confusion and terror, began to emerge from the suburbs and lanes. Most of this banditti and unwholesome part of the population of Paris were, as has just been said, under the influence of Buonaparte's police, both public and secret, and were stimulated by the various arts which his emissaries employed, to excite commotion, disturb the public peace, or watch and fathom the acts and intentions of those who were suspected of hostility to his government and measures. "At one time horsemen galloped through the crowd, entreating them to take arms, and assuring them that Buonaparte had already attacked the rear of the allies. Again, they were told, that the king of Prussia was made prisoner, with a column of ten thousand men. At other times, similar emissaries, announcing that the allies had entered the suburbs, and were sparing neither sex nor age, exhorted the citizens to

shut their shops, and prepare to defend their houses. Many of these deluded men, exhibiting alternately the symptoms of panic-terror, of fury, and of despair, were so excited by the acts of these deluders and instigators, that they demanded arms, of which a few were delivered, until the civic authorities interfered, and prevented a further distribution. Amidst this conflict of jarring passions and attempts to disturb the public peace, the imperturbable and impassive composure of the national guard maintained the tranquillity of the city.* In the midst of all this discrepancy of interest and opinion, the stern and virtuous few who had remained steady to their democratic principles, and who had strenuously combated for liberty and equality—the glorious and inprescriptible rights of man—remained mere observers of passing events, convinced that their countrymen were not prepared for the acceptance of those principles which tend to the development of the physical and intellectual energies of man, and on which universal enlightenment and civilisation are founded.

But the tendency to all discord and contention was diverted by the important and imposing events now about to take place. As soon as the terms of the capitulation were adjusted, which they were at three o'clock of the morning following the day of the battle, the municipal magistrates and the chiefs of the national guard, went to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns at Pantin, to make provision for the preservation of their city, and her public institutions and works of art. When introduced to the czar, which they were at four o'clock of the same morning, they were graciously received by him—"Gentlemen," said he, "I am not the enemy of the French nation; I am only so of a man, whom I once admired and long loved; but who, devoured by ambition, and filled with bad faith, came into the heart of my dominions, and left me no alternative but to seek security for my future safety in the liberation of Europe. The allied sovereigns have come here, neither to conquer nor to rule France, but to learn and support what France deems most suitable for her welfare; and they only await, before undertaking the task, to ascertain in the declared wish of Paris, the probable wish of France." He promised to protect the various national institutions.

At noonday of the 31st, the allied sov-

* Scott.

ereigns entered Paris. Immense crowds thronged the Boulevards—a wide open promenade, under a variety of distinctive names, forming a circuit round the city—to witness the procession. To ensure safety, the Russians had occupied the principal military points. The infantry marched in lengthened columns thirty abreast, the cavalry in fifteen. The cavalry of the guard, preceded by some squadrons of cossacks, headed the cavacade; the rear was closed by the Russian cuirassiers and artillery. All Paris seemed to be assembled, and concentrated into one spot, to view the magnificent spectacle. Unanimous shouts of "Vive l'empereur Alexandre!"—"Vive le Roi de Prusse!"—"Vivent les alliés!"—"Vivent nos liberateurs!"—mingled with the loyal exclamations, "Vive le Roi!"—"Vive Louis XVIII.!"—"Vivent les Bourbons!" resounded on all sides. "Such was the enthusiasm with which the sovereigns were received, as they defiled through the Boulevard de la Madeleine, that the people kissed their boots, their sabres, and the trappings of their horses. 'We have been long expecting you,' said one. 'We should have been here sooner,' was the happy answer of the czar, 'but for the bravery of your troops.'"† The procession lasted several hours, during which 50,000 of the troops of the Silesian and grand army, mingled with long trains of artillery, had filed along the Boulevards. The czar and the king of Prussia halted in the Champs Elysées, and the troops passed in review before them, as they were dismissed to their respective quarters, in the barracks and suburbs of the city.

Immediately that the review was concluded, the czar and the king of Prussia alighted at the hotel of M. Talleyrand, where the principal royalists, and the leading members of the senate were already assembled. In that assembly three points were discussed: 1st, the possibility of a peace with Buonaparte, with sufficient guarantees. 2ndly, the plan of a regency. 3rdly, the restoration of the Bourbons. The third point being adopted, at the urgent recommendation of Talleyrand, a declaration was drawn up, in which the allied sovereigns announced that they would not treat with Buonaparte, or any member of his family; and, at the same time they recommended the conservative senate to appoint a provisional government, and prepare such a constitution as might be fitting for the French people.

† Alison.

This declaration was, through the agency of the post-office, circulated on the following morning over the whole of France. Talleyrand having, in secret, concocted the measure, the senate was soon convened; and, on the 1st of April, proceeded to the dispatch of their delegated duty. Having appointed a provisional government, consisting of Talleyrand, Bournonville, Jaucourt, Dalberg, and the abbé de Montesquieu, they declared, after enumerating all his transgressions—1stly, that Buonaparte had forfeited the throne, and the right of inheritance in his family; and, 2ndly, that the people and army of France were disengaged and free from the oath of fidelity, which they had taken to him and his constitution; and strange to say, this act was done by that body of men, whose members had been so long the tools of his wildest projects, and the echoes of his most despotic decrees; that very body to whom, as he himself said, with equal bitterness and truth, that “a sign from him had always been an order to them, who hastened uniformly to anticipate and exceed his demands!” So over-anxious were some of his former adherents to disclaim and denounce him, that his municipal council of Paris had forestalled M. Talleyrand and his confederate senators in the display of their despicable treachery; having issued, on April 1st, a vehement invective against their former idol, and declared their adherence to Louis XVIII.

The servile and mutable senate having, with railroad speed, executed the task entrusted to them, at half-past nine hurried to the czar, to obtain his sanction of their proceedings, who, complimenting them for their despatch of business, promised them the liberation of the 150,000 French prisoners in his hands. On the day following, by a solemn decree, the plastic-souled body dethroned Napoleon, and absolved the army and people from their oaths. The act of the senate was forthwith adopted by the legislative body, and adhesions rapidly came in. All the public bodies of Paris, and the permanent constituted authorities, vied with one another in invectives against their once-worshipped emperor, whom they had not long before bespattered with all the flowers of Gaulish rhetoric, in extolling the unparalleled blessings of his government. On the 5th of April, Marmont sent in his adhesion. By a decree of the same date, the senate ordered all the emblems and initials which were on the public edifices and monuments,

indicative of the dynasty of their idol, to be immediately effaced; and the fickle mob, who had not long before paid a species of adoration to his busts and monuments, now exercised the most ingenious devices for their insult and defacement: they slung a rope round the neck of his statue on the top of the pillar in the Place Vendôme, but the solidity of the fabric resisted all their efforts to pull it down. Augereau, his old companion-in-arms, and the ready executioner of his cruel behests, thus addressed his soldiers at Valence, on the Rhine, on the 16th of April. “Soldiers! the senate, the just interpreter of the national will, worn out with the despotism of Buonaparte, has pronounced, on the 2nd of April, the dethronement of him and his family. A new dynasty, strong and liberal, descended from our ancient kings, will replace Buonaparte and his despotism. Soldiers! you are absolved from your oaths; you are so by the nation, in which the sovereignty resides; you are still more so, were it necessary, by the abdication of a man, who, after having sacrificed millions to his cruel ambition, has not known how to die as a soldier.” But enough of the odious baseness to which the mean and the selfish can reduce human nature. For the honour of our common nature, let us hope, that it is not all mankind who can be so degenerate.

While these momentous events were in operation at the meeting of the allies, the movements of their feared and terrible enemy were no less active and memorable. Though by his injudicious movement eastward from the neighbourhood of Vitry to St. Dizier, he had promoted the union of the grand and the Silesian armies, he availed himself of every opportunity to thwart his enemies and frustrate their march on the capital.

When informed, on the 25th of March, while at Doulevant, that the allies had attacked the rear of his army under Macdonald, near St. Dizier, concluding that his march to the eastward had drawn the grand army after him, he ordered an attack on their advanced guard; but, learning from the prisoners that he had not been engaged with the grand army, but with a flying column of 10,000 cavalry of Blucher's corps, under Winzingerode, who had been detached towards his rear to screen their motions while advancing to Paris, he proceeded to hasten after the allies before the cannon of Montmartre should be silenced. But as the

direct route to Paris had been totally exhausted of supplies by the repeated marches and countermarches of the contending armies, it was necessary to go round by Troyes to replenish his magazines, and then to retrograde to Doulevant. When he reached this place, he received a small billet in cipher from the post-master-general, La Vallette—the first official communication that had reached him for the last ten days—containing the following information:—"The partizans of the stranger are making head, seconded by secret intrigues. The presence of Napoleon is indispensable, if he desires to prevent his capital from being delivered to the enemy. There is not a moment to be lost." Instantly, a forward march was precipitated.

At the bridge of Doulaucourt, on the banks of the Aube, receiving despatches that an assault on Paris was hourly to be expected, he despatched his aide-de-camp, Dejean, to ride post to Paris, and announce his speedy arrival. He again retrograded on Troyes, which town he reached on the night of the 29th of March. On the 30th, he broke up from Troyes, and hurried in full speed on horseback before his army. When he reached Fontainebleau, he threw himself into a carriage for Paris; and on reaching an inn called "La Cour de France," a few miles from his capital, he received ample proofs in the person of general Belliard and his cavalry, of the fatal intelligence that Paris was in the occupation of the allies. Leaping from his carriage, he exclaimed—"What means this? Why here with your cavalry, Belliard?" When told, he replied—"I will go to Paris. I shall find the national guard there. I will soon put all things right. The army will join me

to-morrow, or the day after. Follow me with your cavalry. Come; we must to Paris: nothing goes right when I am absent: they do nothing but heap up blunder on blunder. That comes of trusting fools and cowards. Miserable wretches that they are; they have neither common sense nor energy. To surrender my capital to the enemy—what poltroons! Joseph run off too—my very brother; and yet he imagines himself capable of conducting an army: and Clarke, a mere piece of routine, gives himself the airs of a great minister; but the one is no better than a —, and the other a —, or a traitor. Come; we must to Paris: and you, Caulaincourt, set off to the allied lines; penetrate to head-quarters; you have full powers: fly! fly!" With much persuasion he was induced to return to Fontainebleau; but, at the same time, ordered Belliard's retiring corps to retrograde, and take a position with Marmont's corps at Essonne.* At this moment the only intervening space between himself and the allied advanced posts was the Seine.

As soon as he reached Fontainebleau, he despatched (March 31st) Caulaincourt to Paris, no longer to negotiate, but to receive such terms as the allies might be inclined to impose on him. But the allies having determined to adhere to their original resolution of not entertaining any treaty with him, the czar informed Caulaincourt that an arrangement for a regency by Marie Louise, as the guardian of her son, might be probably entertained, especially as her father-in-law was favourable to an arrangement of the kind. The abdication of Buonaparte must, however, be a preliminary condition; the czar adding, "tell the emperor he shall be suitably treated."†

* *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Campagne, de 1814*, par General Koch.

† The following account of Caulaincourt's endeavour to reopen a negotiation with the allied powers, presents a striking illustration of the mutability of human grandeur—

"But yesterday the name of Cæsar might have stood against the world—

Now none so poor as do him reverence."

"Caulaincourt, dispatched by Napoleon from the Trois Fontaines de Juvisy, had great difficulty in making his way into Paris, as the barriers were in the hands of the allied soldiers, when, by accident, the carriage of the grand duke Constantine drove up, who, after much entreaty, agreed to put him in the way of seeing the emperor, though without giving him the slightest reason to hope that any alteration of the determinations already taken would be expected. This was on the evening of the 31st of March. He was introduced into the palace of

the Elysée Bourbon at ten at night, but the emperor could not leave the conference of the allied sovereigns at which he assisted. The brilliant lights with which the palace was resplendent: the rapid entry and departure of carriages; the cheers of the Russian guards round the hotel; the prancing and neighing of steeds which drove up to the door; the busy concourse to and fro—reminded him of the days when, in that same palace, Napoleon had with him matured his gigantic plans for the conquest of Russia. What a contrast for the imperial plenipotentiary! Here, worn out with care, devoured with misery, steeped in grief, he awaited with breathless anxiety the approach of the czar, who was to announce the decision of the allied powers on his master's fate. At length, at one in the morning, the emperor appeared, and received him in the kindest manner; but gave him no hopes of any modification of the resolution of the sovereigns. The utmost that he could get him to promise was, that on the day

When Caulaincourt reached Fontainebleau on the night of the 2nd of April, and communicated his mission to his master, Buonaparte indignantly refused to comply with its purport; and on Caulaincourt hinting, that the alternative would be, in the event of his refusal, the restoration of the Bourbons — “re-establish the Bourbons in France!” he exclaimed. “The madmen! They would not be there a year: they are the object of antipathy to nine-tenths of the nation.” * * * “The Bourbons in France! it is absolute madness, and will bring down on the country a host of calamities. * * * What have the Bourbons done for France? what part can they claim in its conquests, its glory, its prosperity? Re-established by the stranger, they must yield everything to their masters; they must bend the knee to them at every turn. They may take advantage of the stupor occasioned by the occupation of the capital to proscribe me and my family; but to make the Bourbons reign in France—never!”

His inclination to resume hostilities now returned with redoubled vigour. On the 4th of April, the troops being drawn up, he rode down the line, and then, returning to its centre, “Soldiers!” said he, “the enemy has gained some marches upon us, and outstripped us at Paris. Some factious men, the emigrants whom I pardoned, have mounted the white cockade, and would compel us to wear it. Since the revolution, France has always been mistress of herself. In a few days I will attack the enemy. I will force him to quit our capital. I rely on you—am I right? [“Yes, yes,” was the universal cry.] Our cockade is tri-colour; before abandoning it we will all perish on the soil of France.” “Yes, yes, hurrah!” was the enthusiastic response of the whole line. On the preceding night orders had been issued to prepare for a forward move-

ment, and measures had been adopted for transferring the head-quarters to Essonne, on the road to Paris. But immediately after the review, news arriving of the dethronement by the senate, Berthier, Ney, Macdonald, Caulaincourt, Oudinot, Bertrand, and others of his generals, remonstrated with him on the futility of resistance; after long debate, he, with great reluctance, took up his pen, and wrote as follows:—“The allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to quit France, and even to relinquish life, for the good of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, from those of the regency in the person of the empress, and from the maintenance of the laws of the empire. Done at our palace of Fontainebleau, 4th of April, 1814.”

Caulaincourt, Macdonald, and Ney, were appointed to be the bearers of this conditional abdication, and commissioners to negotiate with the allies, as to the terms of accommodation to which it might lead.* But before their arrival at Paris, the aspect of affairs had materially changed, and taken a hue very ominous to the hopes and aspirations of Buonaparte. Marmont, the most influential of all the marshals, and Ney, had sent in their adhesion to the provisional government. The intelligence of this untoward event reached Fontainebleau on the very night of the day of the departure of the commissioners on their mission. Buonaparte's anger was excessive, and he gave expression to it in the following order of the day issued next morning: “The emperor thanks the army for the attachment which it has manifested towards him; and chiefly, because it has recognised the great principle that France is to be found in him, and not

following, at the council, he would revert to the question of a regency; intimating, at the same time, that any further hope was inadmissible. At four the emperor retired to rest: he reposed in the bed in which Napoleon formerly slept: Caulaincourt threw himself, in the antechamber, on a sofa on which that great man had, in old times, worked with his secretaries during the day. Unable to sleep, from the recollections with which he was distracted, he arose, and slept for some hours in an arm-chair: when day-light dawned in the morning, he found that it was the very chair on which Napoleon had usually sat, and bore, in all parts, the deep indentations of his penknife. The decision of the sovereigns was then announced by Alexander in these words:—

‘Return unto the emperor Napoleon: tell him faithfully all that has passed here, and as soon as possible come back with an abdication in favour of his son. The emperor Napoleon shall be suitably treated, I give you my word of honour.’”

* While the document was preparing, the three commissioners desired to know what stipulations they were to insist on in Buonaparte's personal behalf. “On none,” he replied; “do what you can to obtain the best terms for France; for myself, I ask nothing.” But it will be soon seen, that this was one of his theatrical exhibitions, for the purpose of deceit, *ad captandam et balitare per ora hominum*—in homely English, to delude and become conspicuous; there was not a particle of sincerity in it.

in the people of the capital. The soldier follows the fortune and the misfortune of his general, his honour is his religion. The duke of Ragusa has not inspired his companions-in-arms with that sentiment; he has passed over to the allies. The emperor cannot approve the condition on which he has taken that step;* he cannot accept life and liberty at the mercy of a subject. The senate has allowed itself to dispose of the government of France; it forgets that it owes to the emperor the power that it has now abused; that it was he who saved a part of its members from the storms of the revolution, drew it from obscurity, and protected it against the hatred of the nation. The senate found, on the articles of the constitution, powers tending to overturn it, without adverting to the fact, that, as the first branch of the state, it took part in those very acts. A sign from me was an order for the senate, which always did more than was desired of it. The senate does not blush to speak of the libels the emperor has published against foreign nations; it forgets that they were drawn up by itself. As long as fortune was favourable to their sovereign, those men were faithful, and not a whisper was heard against the abuses of power. If the emperor despised them, as they now reproach him with having done, the world are enabled to judge whether or not he had reasons for his opinion. He held his dignity from God and the nation, they alone could deprive him of it. He always considered it as a burden; and when he accepted it, it was in the conviction that he alone was able to bear its weight. The happiness of France appeared to be indissolubly wound up with the fortunes of the emperor; now that fortune has decided against him, the will of the nation alone can persuade him to remain on the throne. If he is really the only obstacle to peace, he willingly gives himself

* Marmont, in his adhesion, had stipulated that life and personal freedom should be granted to Buonaparte, and a fitting asylum and provision secured for him.

† In this negotiation Caulaincourt and Macdonald exerted themselves to the utmost in the emperor's behalf. Ney was more flexible; and had, on various occasions, of late, shown that he was getting tired of making sacrifices for his imperial master. On the occasion of Caulaincourt's first return from his mission to the allied powers, Capefigue relates that Ney, in an especial manner, made himself remarkable by the vehemence of his expressions, "as he had always done since Moscow. 'Are we,' he said, 'to sacri-

up the last sacrifice to France.'" This eloquent, scornful, and stinging specimen of perfect composition, while it exhibits the sycophancy, the meanness, and the treachery of the satellites of despotic power, furnishes a proof of Buonaparte's high intellectual endowments. At no period of his career did he exhibit so strong a demonstration of the great qualifications with which nature had gifted him, and the benefits he was calculated to confer on mankind, had he not suffered his head and heart to be overlaid by his ambition.

As has just been said, when Buonaparte's commissioners arrived in the capital, they found affairs had proceeded so far as to render the original proposition of a regency inadmissible; the popular tide had set strongly in favour of the Bourbons; their emblems were everywhere adopted; and the streets resounded with the cry of "Vive le Roi." The allies were consequently influenced by the demonstration, and came to the unanimous resolution of adhering to their original declaration of not negotiating with Buonaparte or any of his family. "A regency with the empress and her son," said the czar, "sounds well, I admit; but Napoleon remains—there is the difficulty. In vain will he promise to remain quiet in the retreat which will be assigned him. You know even better than I his devouring activity, his ambition. Some fine morning he will put himself at the head of the regency, or in its place; then the war will recommence, and all Europe will be on fire. The very dread of such an occurrence will oblige the allies to keep their armies on foot, and thus frustrate all intentions in making peace." This just and cogent reasoning influenced the other allied sovereigns, and the answer was returned to Buonaparte's commissioners, that the establishment of a regency "was too late."†

When the commissioners returned to see everything to one man? Fortune, rank, honour, life itself? It is time to think a little of ourselves, our families, and our interests." In the *Moniteur* of the 7th of April, Ney gave the following account of the failure of the negotiation:—"Yesterday, I came to Paris with the duke of Vicenza and the duke of Tarentum, furnished with full powers from the emperor Napoleon to defend the interests of his dynasty on the throne. An unforeseen event having broken off the negotiations when they promised the happiest results, I saw that, to avoid a civil war to our beloved country, no course remained but to embrace the cause of our ancient kings; and, penetrated with that sentiment I repaired that even-

Fontainebleau, and informed Buonaparte of their unsuccessful mission, he again determined to put himself at the head of the troops who surrounded him and retire beyond the Loire till he could be there joined by the armies of Soult and Suchet, or be able to march to join Angereau or Eugene Beauharnais, he not having yet heard of their discomfiture. But in the course of the ensuing night, a pacific feeling influencing him, he sent for the commissioners, and, to their surprise, demanded what provision had been made for him personally, and how he was to be disposed of? When he was informed that he was to reside as an independent sovereign in Elba, he anxiously inquired for books and charts describing the place, or whether any person could furnish him with information respecting it.

On the following morning, desiring Caulaincourt and Macdonald to come into his presence, he took up his pen, and drew up the following unconditional abdication of the empire:—"The allied powers having declared that the emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the emperor, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces, for himself and his heirs the throne of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, not even of life itself, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France. Done at our palace of Fontainebleau, 6th of April, 1814." "Observe," said he to the commissioners, as he affixed his signature to the document, "it is with a conquering enemy with whom I treat, and not with the provisional government, whom I consider a set of factious traitors." With this momentous document Caulaincourt and Macdonald were despatched to Paris.

On the return of the commissioners to Paris, a treaty was concluded between the allied sovereigns and Buonaparte to the following effect:—"That Buonaparte should renounce all title or pretence to the empire of France and the kingdom of Italy for himself and his descendants. That he was to be recognised as one of the crowned heads of Europe—was to be allowed 400 bodyguards, and a navy on a scale suitable to the limits of his empire, the islet of Elba, and to the emperor Napoleon to declare to him the wish of the French nation. The emperor, aware of the critical situation to which he has reduced France, and of the impossibility of his saving it himself, appeared to resign himself to his fate, and has consented to an absolute resignation, without any restriction."

which was erected into a principality in his favour. That the duchy of Parma and Placentia should be secured to his wife Marie Louise and her son, in full sovereignty. That two millions and a half of francs should be received for him from the revenues of the countries which he ceded, and two millions more inscribed on the great book of France in pensions to his brother and other members of his family. Josephine, his divorced wife, was to receive, yearly, one million of francs secured in the same manner. The furniture of the palaces and the crown jewels were to remain in France, but his family were secured in the possession of all their moveable property.

"Now ensued a scene of baseness never exceeded in any age of the world." He who had been worshipped, by the crawling sycophants who surrounded him, as a god—he whom the vile priesthood in "The Imperial Catechism" had invested with the attributes of the Deity—was deserted by his once fawning and cringing courtiers and dependents, his wicked and unprincipled priesthood, and even by his domestics; they all dropped off, under different pretexts, to give in their adhesion to the Bourbons, and provide for themselves, by their treachery and baseness, in the new world that had commenced at Paris.* The defection included all ranks, castes, and degrees, from Berthier, who shared his bosom's councils, and seldom was absent from his side, to the poor African, the mameluke Rustan, and his private valet, Constant; the former of whom had, for his master's security, slept across the door of his apartment, and acted as his body-guard; the latter had been in his service fourteen years, and been kindly treated and liberally rewarded; but, not content with that reward, he purloined, on his decampment, one hundred thousand francs from his employer. Even his very relations deserted him. His brothers, Joseph, Jerome, and Louis, slipped away to Switzerland; and "Madame Mère," his mother, and his uncle, cardinal Fesch, secured themselves by escaping to Rome. Not one of them indicated the least concern for him to whom they were indebted for all their

* No sooner, says Caulaincourt, was the abdication and the treaty with the allies signed, than "every hour was marked by fresh voids in the emperor's household; one after another, they all slipped away, totally forgetting him to whom they owed everything, but who had no longer anything to give."

pelf, place, and miscalled grandeur.* Marie Louise†—who had been as basely deserted by her courtiers, who had all stolen away, carrying off with them the whole of the treasure that had been brought from Paris—and her son returned to Vienna under the protection of her father. The ill-used Josephine, shortly after her faithless husband's departure for Elba, sickened and died at Malmaison, and was buried on the 3rd of June, at the village of Ruel; a vast number of the lower classes, to whom she had been a beneficent patroness, attending her obsequies.

While the mass of misfortunes with which Buonaparte was overwhelmed at this crisis appears to have reached its consummation, it seems as if fortune had been determined to show that she did not intend to reverse the lot of humanity, even in the case of one who had been so long her favourite, but that she retained the power of repressing the obscure soldier, whom she had raised to be almost king of Europe and the arbiter of the destinies of kings and tyrants, in a degree as humiliating as his exaltation had been splendid. All that three years before seemed inalienable from his person was now reversed. The victor was defeated, the monarch was dethroned, the ransomer of prisoners was in captivity, the general was deserted by his soldiers, the master abandoned by his domestics, the brother parted from his brethren, the husband severed from his wife, and the father torn from his only child—all that could make life covetable vanished from his possession. A Roman would have seen in these accumulated disasters a hint to

* Caulaincourt's account of the desertion of Napoleon by his time-serving courtiers, is exceedingly graphic. "The universal complaint," he says, "was, that his formal abdication was so long of appearing. 'It was high time,' it was said by every one, 'for all this to come to an end; it is absolute childishness to remain any longer in the antechambers of Fontainebleau, when favours are showering down at Paris;' and with that they all set off for the capital. Such was their anxiety to hear of his abdication, that they pursued misfortune even into its last asylum; and every time the door of the emperor's cabinet opened, a crowd of heads were seen peeping in to gain the first hint of the much-longed-for news." No sooner was the abdication and the treaty with the allies signed, than the desertion was universal; every person of note around the emperor, with the single and honourable exceptions of Maret and Caulaincourt, abandoned him: the antechambers of the palace were literally deserted. Berthier even left his benefactor without bidding him adieu! "He was born a courtier," said Napoleon, when he learned

direct his sword's point against his breast; a man of better faith would have turned his eye back on his precedent conduct, and having read, in his misuse of prosperity, the original source of these calamities, would have remained patient and contrite under the consequences of his ambition.‡ But Buonaparte belonged to the Roman school of philosophy. He was now—in the close of his career as in his outset—fond of recurring to the heroes of antiquity, who, in the last moments of departed greatness, had determined not to survive misfortune, but die by their own hand. According to the report of his secretary, baron Fain, he determined to escape from life by the like agency. That gentleman states, that ever since the retreat from Moscow, Buonaparte carried about his person a packet containing a preparation of opium made up by Ivan, his personal surgeon, according to the recipe of that used by Condorcet. On taking leave of Caulaincourt, on the night of the 12th, after a mournful reverie, he said, "My resolution is taken; we must end: I feel it." In the course of the night, his valet-de-chambre, Constant, heard him arise, pour something into a glass of water, and, having drunk it, return to bed. In a short time, sobs and stifled groans being heard, Constant ran to Caulaincourt's chamber and told him that his master was in convulsions, and dying. Caulaincourt, with Bertrand and Maret, quickly repaired to the chamber and summoned Ivan, who recognised the bottle to be the same which he had given him during the Moscow retreat. Caulaincourt, taking the patient's hand, found it quite cold: Buona-

his departure: "you will see my vice-constable mendicating employment from the Bourbons. I feel mortified that men, whom I have raised so high in the eyes of Europe, should sink so low. What have they made of that halo of glory through which they have hitherto been seen by the stranger? What must the sovereigns think of such a termination to all the illustrations of my reign!"

† The cause, perhaps, that his wife had so readily consented to the separation, was the report (a report but too true, and strangely at variance with the "unstained by any private vice" of the eloquent author of the *History of the War in the Peninsula*,—unless that gentleman reckons little peccadillos of the kind in the category of abstract virtues—that, during the short period of his marriage, he had had a dozen mistresses. Those who wish to inform themselves on the subject of sir William Napier's *Josephetic* propensities of Buonaparte, are recommended to consult *Mémoires de Napoleon*, par Constant, his valet-de-chambre.

‡ Scott.

parte, at the same time, opening his eyes, said, "I am about to die; I could no longer endure life: the desertion of my old companions-in-arms has broken my heart." After taking the remedies prescribed, a long stupor ensued, with profuse perspiration and violent spasms. He awoke much exhausted; and, surprised at finding himself still alive, he said, after a few moments' reflection, "Ivan, the dose was not strong enough—fate would not have it so." He arose pale and haggard, but seemed reconciled to undergo his destiny.

The last scene of this mighty drama was now approaching. The day prior to his departure, he desired all his officers to attend him. When assembled, looking around on them, "Gentlemen," said he, "when I remain no longer with you, and when you have another government, it will become you to attach yourselves to it frankly, and serve it as faithfully as you have served me. I request, and even command you to do this; therefore, all who desire leave to go to Paris, have my permission to do so; and those who remain here, will do well to send in their adhesion to the government of the Bourbons." On the day of his departure (April 20th) for Elba, having ordered as many of the old guard as could be collected to be drawn up to receive him, on approaching them he dismounted, and advancing into the middle of them—"Soldiers of my old guard," said he, "I bid you adieu! During twenty years I have ever found you in the path of honour and of glory. In the last days, as in those of our prosperity, you have never ceased to be models of bravery and fidelity. With such men as you, our cause could never have been lost; but the war was interminable: it would have become a civil war, and France must daily have become more unhappy. I have, therefore, sacrificed all our interests to those of our country. I depart; but you remain to serve France. Be faithful to the new sovereign whom France has chosen. Its happiness was my only thought; it will always be the object of my thoughts and wishes. Lament my lot. If I have consented to survive myself, it was because I might contribute to your glory. I am about to write the great deeds we have done together. Adieu, my children! I would I could press you all to my heart; but I will, at least, press your eagle. Bring hither the eagle! [which, pressing to his bosom, he embraced, exclaiming]—Beloved eagle, may the kisses I

bestow on you long reverberate in the hearts of the brave! Adieu, my children; once again, adieu, my old companions-in-arms—surround me once more—adieu!" This eloquent and touching, though Machiavelian address—which is calculated to shoot, like the electric spark, to the heart of the real soldier—was uttered amidst the breathless silence and tearful eyes of the veterans who had, for twenty years, followed him to glory and to conquest. Tearing himself from their embraces and the silent expression of admiration and devotion to his cause and interests, he threw himself into his carriage, which drove off amidst the sobs, tears, and grief of his veteran and devoted soldiers.

To watch and supervise their once dreaded, but now, as they thought, impotent foe, the allies appointed four delegates or commissioners; general Koller, on the part of Austria, general Schouvaloff, on the part of Russia, colonel sir Niel Campbell, on the part of England, and on the part of Prussia, general baron Truchess Waldbourg. Those gentlemen, as also generals Bertrand and Drouet, accompanied him to his little islet kingdom. He received the English with particular expressions of esteem, saying, that he desired to pass to Elba in an English vessel, and was pleased to have the escort of an English officer. "Your nation," said he, "has an elevated character for which I have the highest esteem. I desired to raise the French people to such a pitch of sentiment, but——" He ceased speaking and seemed affected. During the commencement of his journey, he exhibited an affectation of publicity, sending for the public authorities of the towns, and investigating the state and condition of their respective jurisdictions. The cries of "Vive l'Empereur," were frequently heard, while in several places the white cockade and shouts of "Vive le Roi," prevailed. But after passing the city of Lyons, he received proofs of the fickleness of the ignorant and unthinking part of mankind who are actuated by the impulse of the moment, and the arts and delusions of the agents and abettors of existing governmental influence. At Valence, the troops drawn out to receive him, all wore the white cockade, and while proceeding to that town, he accidentally met Angereau. They both descended from their carriages, and walked together in conference, on the road for several minutes. On parting they embraced. But on enter-

ing that town Buonaparte had the mortification of seeing his old associate's proclamation denouncing him as a butcher and a coward, placarded over all the walls of the place.* At Montlimart, he heard the last expressions of regard and esteem. As he approached Provence, he was greeted with execrations and cries of "Perish the tyrant! Down with the butcher of our children!" At Avignon, he saw his statues overthrown, and it was with difficulty he was saved from the popular fury. At Orgon, the mob brought before him his effigy dabbled with blood, and stopped his carriage while they displayed it before his eyes. At Calade, the mob surrounded the inn where the cavalcade had stopped, demanding his head. In fact, the dangers thickened upon him every step he made forwards; and it was only by disguising him as a courier, a domestic, or assuming some humble and unassuming character, wearing the white cockade on his breast, and ordering the servants to smoke and the commissioners to whistle and sing, that the incensed populace might not be aware that there was any person of consequence in the carriage, that he escaped assassination. This treatment seemed to make much impression on him. He even shed tears. When the commissioners came up to the post-house at Aix, they found him in a back room, with his elbows upon his knees, and his hands on his forehead, in profound affliction. When he reached Frejus, on the 27th, he shut himself up in a solitary apartment, until the English frigate, the *Undaunted*, was ready to receive him. On the 28th, he went on board that vessel, under a royal salute; and, during the passage, he had, by his affability, won the esteem and admiration of the whole crew, except the boatswain, Hinton, a tar of the old school, who could never hear his praises, without muttering the expressive and intelligible word "Humbug!" But Hinton relaxed a little of his austerity of judgment when he had to return thanks, in the name of the ship's company, for the present of two hundred louis d'ors, as he then wished "his honour good health, and better

luck the next time." But events proved poor Hinton to be no prophet.

On the 4th of May, the *Undaunted* arrived within sight of Porto Ferrajo, and at two o'clock, P. M., Buonaparte landed, under a royal salute, and proceeding in procession to the Hotel de Ville, was installed in his petty kingdom and his maritime right and dominion over twenty miles of Mediterranean fluid surface.

The epilogue of the memorable drama of aggressive violence and injustice, and of moral retribution and atonement now remains to be recited.

On the 5th of April, Louis XVIII. having been called to the throne by a solemn decree of the conservative senate, the count d'Artois, his brother, on the 9th, made his public entrance into Paris, and was met near the barriers of Pantin, by the marshals of France, with Ney at their head. "Monseigneur!" said Ney, "we have served with zeal a government which commanded us in the name of France; your highness and his majesty will see with what fidelity we will serve our legitimate king." "Messieurs!" replied the count d'Artois, "you have illustrated the French arms; you have carried, even into countries the most remote, the glory of the French name; the king claims your exploits; what has ennobled France can never be strange to him." The procession proceeded to Nôtre Dame, where the court returned thanks for the restoration of his family to their country.

In the mean time, Louis XVIII.,—who, since his expatriation, had been a wanderer in many lands, living for some time at Verona, where he assumed the title of regent of France; then at Blanckenbourg; afterwards at Mittan, in Livonia; subsequently in Prussia; and lastly in England, passing under the name of count de Lille in all these places—was on his way from England to his own country. On the 27th of April, he sailed from Dover, and landing at Calais, made his public entrance into Paris on the 3rd of May. He and his family went in procession to Nôtre Dame, where, giving thanks for their restoration, he proceeded to the Tuilleries, and was rein-

chosen thyself a new master," responded Buonaparte.—"I have no account to render to you on that score," replied Augereau.—"Thou hast no courage," continued Buonaparte.—"It is thou hast none," retorted Augereau, and turned his back, without any mark of respect, on his late master, whom he once worshipped and revered.

* The commissioner Walbourg's version of the interview (*Itinéraire de Buonaparte*) is:—after a few words had been interchanged,—"I hear the proclamation," said Buonaparte: "thou hast betrayed me."—"Sire," replied Augereau, "it is you who have betrayed France and the army, by sacrificing both to a frantic spirit of ambition."—"Thou hast

stated in his power and office as king of France.

By the dethronement of Buonaparte and the replacement of its line of kings, the relative position of that country with the other states of Europe required modification and re-arrangement. This was accomplished by the convention of Paris, concluded April 23rd; and the treaty of Paris, signed by the plenipotentiaries of France on the one part and those of Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia on the other. By the convention, it was provided, that the French troops in Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Low Countries, should evacuate all the fortresses and countries beyond the limits of France as they stood on the 1st of January, 1792; and that the allies should, on their cession, evacuate them with as little delay as possible. The treaty of Paris stipulated, that France should be restored to the boundaries she occupied on the 1st of January, 1792, with the exception of various cessions of small territories, some by France to the neighbouring powers, and others to France, for the purpose of the clearer definition of her boundaries. Those to France were on the side of Germany and the Netherlands; and on that of Savoy, the towns of Chamberry, Annecy, Avignon, and the country of Venaisin and Montbelliard were to be included in its territories. Among the other general provisions of the treaty were: that Germany, Switzerland and Holland were to be independent, the first under the guarantee of the federal union; the second, subject only to its own government; and the third, under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, with an accession of territory. England was to cede the colonies taken from France, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Mauritius, or the Isle of France. France was to be entitled to form commercial establishments in the East Indies, on condition that only the necessary complement of troops should be sent thither requisite for the purpose of police; and her right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, and in the gulf of Labrador were secured to her. Malta, with its dependencies, was secured to Great Britain in perpetuity. From the most cursory glance of the conditions of the treaty, it appears evident, that not only moderation, but a studied delicacy, marked all the proceedings of the allied powers, towards the feelings of the French, which almost savoured of romantic generosity. They

seemed as desirous to disguise their conquest as the French were to unveil their defeat. The treasures of art, their spoils of foreign countries, which practice and policy loudly demanded should be restored to their true owners, were confirmed to the French nation, in order to gratify its vanity and adorn its capital. But the boon of liberating the 150,000 French prisoners from the Russian dungeons, and that, too, before sufficient precautions had been taken to counteract their mischievous propensities, was a display of generosity, not only questionable and romantic, but, as subsequent transactions afforded demonstrative evidence, of the most fatal consequences. Besides these stipulations, it was provided, that the navigation of the Rhine should be free; that the islands of Tobago, St. Lucie, and that part of St. Domingo, which formerly belonged to Spain, should be restored to that power; that two-thirds of the fleet at Antwerp should be restored to the French, and the king of Holland be entitled to the other; but that all vessels, particularly the fleet at Texel, which had fallen into the hands of the allies prior to the amistice of April 23rd, were to belong to Holland.

Besides the treaty of Paris, entered into between the allies and the plenipotentiaries of France, there was a secret treaty, to which the allies alone were parties. The object of this treaty was to provide for the disposal of the immense territories, severed by the treaty of Paris from France, containing 15,360,000 souls within the limits of the French empire, and above 16,000,000 in its external dependencies; and to distribute them among the second-rate states bordering on France, in order to enable them to resist any movement that might be made by that nation, until the more powerful states could come to their assistance. In a subsequent part of this work the three documents just mentioned will be given *in extenso*.

Provision having been made, as it was supposed, for the future peace of Europe, the allies began to prepare for their departure from the scene of their conquests and magnanimous forbearance towards their subdued foes. On the 20th of May, a grand review of the allied troops took place, in and around Paris. On the 5th of July, they left Paris for England, and their armies evacuated the French territories. From the time of the entrance of the allies into Paris to that of their departure, with

“the most profound tranquillity, with the most absolute protection of life and property, even of the most obnoxious of their former enemies, the capital of Napoleon was to be seen occupied by the troops of twenty different nations, whom the oppression of his government had roused to arms from the walls of China to the pillars of Hercules. As if by the wand of a mighty enchanter, all the angry passions, the fierce contentions, which had so long deluged the world with blood, seemed to be stilled; and victors and vanquished sank down side by side into the enjoyment of repose. Beside the veterans of Napoleon's old guard, who still retained, even in the moment of defeat, and when surrounded by the might of foreign powers, their martial and undaunted aspect, were to be seen the superb household troops of Russia and Prussia; the splendid cuirassiers of Austria shone in glittering steel; the iron veterans of Blücher still eyed the troops of France with jealousy, as if their enmity was unappeased even by the conquest of their enemies. The nomad tribes of Asia and the Ukraine were to be seen in every street; groups of Cossack bivouacs lay in the Champs-Élysées; the Bashkirs and Tartars gazed with undisguised avidity, but restrained hands on the gorgeous display of jewellery and dresses which were displayed in the shop windows to attract the notice of the numerous princes and potentates who thronged the metropolis. Every morning the noble columns of the Preobazinsky and Simonefsky guards marched out of the barracks of the Ecole Militaire, to exercise on the Champ de Mars; at noon, reviews of cavalry succeeded, and the earth shook under the thundering charge of the Russian cuirassiers. Often in the evening the allied monarchs were to be seen at the opera, or some of the theatres; and the applause with which they were received, resembled what might have been expected if Napoleon had returned in triumph from the capture of their capitals.”*

On the 4th of May, lord Wellington reached the French capital, whither he had been summoned by lord Castlereagh, to assist in the councils of the allies, and was received by the French and allied monarchs, as well as by the whole population of Paris, with the highest deference and honour.

While at Paris he received instructions from the earl of Liverpool that he had been created an English duke, and that

* Alison.

peerages had been conferred on sir John Hope, sir Thomas Graham, sir Stapleton Cotton, sir Rowland Hill, and sir William Beresford. He left Paris for Toulouse on the 10th. Before setting out for Paris from Toulouse, which he did on the night of the 29th of April, he had addressed the following GENERAL ORDER, dated—

“Toulouse, 16th April, 1814.

“The commander of the forces takes this opportunity of expressing his approbation of the conduct of the army in general since the troops have passed the French frontier, and of returning his thanks to the general officers of the army in particular, and to the officers for the attention they have paid to the discipline of the troops. There have been some exceptions certainly, which the commander of the forces has been obliged to notice, but they are principally among those whose experience of the evils to be apprehended from allowing the troops to ill-treat and plunder the inhabitants, and from want of attention to the orders of the army, is more limited than that of others. The commander of the forces trusts, that the officers of the army are aware of the advantages that have been derived from the good conduct of the troops; and that they will never forget, that it is as much their duty towards their own country and the troops under their command, to prevent them from ill-treating and injuring the people inhabiting the country become the theatre of the operations of the war, as to set them the example of courage and conduct, and to lead, animate, and direct them when opposed to the enemy in the field.—WELLINGTON.”

The position of those powers who had contributed to punish the crimes and confine the ambition of the greatest military despot that had ever trampled on the rights of nations, and the happiness of man was now a proud one: that of England pre-eminently so. The standards of northern Europe had been planted in the squares of Paris; the British flag had waved in the market-places of Bordeaux and Toulouse; and the banners of Spain and Portugal were floating calmly on the plains of northern France.

Such were the brilliant results of England's long and honourable struggle with that stern and tyrannous power which had overshadowed Europe, and by which Britain, as the strong and sacred asylum of liberty, was regarded with intense hatred.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DUKE'S POLITICAL CAREER.

As has been before said, the duke of Wellington, in consequence of sir Charles Stuart's mission to him at Toulouse, with the appointment of ambassador to the court of France, and lord Castlereagh's request of his presence at Paris to aid with his counsel the deliberations relative to the treaty of Paris, he proceeded to the French capital, where he arrived on the 4th of May. While there he was meditating the best means of allaying the animosities which were actuating the various parties and factions in Spain who were infuriated against each other. The *liberales* were ardent in behalf of the democratic constitution of Cadiz; the royalists were in favour of absolutism, or the resuscitation of the old arbitrary monarchy, and had carried their aversion to liberalism and enlightenment to so high a pitch that they had committed to the flames or broken to pieces every symbol of liberty, and had celebrated their destruction by a high mass. The duke, desirous of reconciling the hostile parties, and of disposing them to consult the peace and happiness of their country, determined to visit Madrid. In a letter, dated Paris, 9th May, addressed to lord Liverpool, he says, "I return to the army to-morrow in order to carry into execution the convention with the French government, and the orders of the government for the expedition, [viz., the American expedition, which, from the burning of the public buildings by general Ross at Washington, was disgraceful to British arms.] I purpose to go to Madrid, in order to try whether I cannot prevail on all parties to be more moderate, and to adopt a constitution more likely to be practicable, and to contribute to the peace and happiness of the nation." Again, in a letter dated Toulouse, May 5th, he says, "I arrived here the day before yesterday, and shall set out the day after to-morrow for Madrid. Things are getting on very fast, and the army have already taken different sides; O'Donnell and Elio for the king, the former having issued a very violent proclamation, and Freyre and the prince de Anglona for the constitution. I think, however, I can keep them both quiet; I shall be at Madrid about the 22nd."

The duke quitted Paris on the 10th May for Toulouse, where, remaining four days for the purpose of superintending the march and embarkation of the twelve thousand troops to be transported to North America, he repaired to Madrid, when Ferdinand confirmed all the honours which had been conferred on him by the cortes, and created him captain-general of Spain. While in this capital, in a letter to sir Charles Stewart, dated 25th May, he says, "You will have heard of the extraordinary circumstances here, though, not probably, with surprise. Nothing can be more popular than the king and his measures, as far as they have gone, to the overthrow of the constitution. The imprisonment of the *liberales* is thought by some, I believe, with justice, unnecessary; and it is certainly highly impolitic, but it is liked by the people at large. Since the act of rigour [*i.e.*, his violation of all his solemn promises to adhere to the letter of the constitution] which has placed Ferdinand on the throne, unshackled by the constitution, nothing of any kind has been done either for the formation of a new system, or for any other purpose; as far as I can judge it is not intended to do any thing. I entertain a very favourable opinion of the king, from what I have seen of him, but not of his ministers. I think that they might have managed things better than they have; and as they were, or ought to have been, certain of accomplishing their object, they ought to have chosen a less objectionable mode; and they appear to have been little aware of the nature and difficulties of their situation. I have accomplished my object in coming here; that is, I think there will be no civil war at present, and I purpose to set out on my return on the 5th June." In another letter he says: "of the ministers of Ferdinand, it is quite obvious to me, that unless we can turn them entirely from their schemes, or can attain their objects for them, they will throw themselves into the arms of the French *coute qui coute*; and I am anxious for an early settlement of these points, because we have the ball at our feet, having no French minister here to counteract us, and the

nation, as far as we have anything to say to the matter, being evidently in favour of the alliance with England. But the fact is, that there are no public men in this country who are acquainted either with the interests or the wishes of the country, and they are so slow in their motions that it is impossible to do anything with them.

The duke, finding that the king and his ministers, though they treated him with the utmost courtesy, were but little disposed to listen to his suggestions, adopted the argument of all others most likely to prevail with Spaniards; he assured them that, until they had settled their internal affairs on a liberal basis, the English government would not furnish even the unexpended part of the subsidy for the year, much less afford them any fresh aid, or even permit the raising of money by way of loan in England. This obtained fair promises of amendment. When he came to the discussion of foreign policy he found the Spanish ministers equally untractable. They hinted their hopes, that Spain, by making an alliance offensive and defensive with the restored Bourbon dynasty of France, might resume the position she held among nations in the time of the emperor Charles the Fifth. They even talked of a war with England. To convince them of the mischief and impolicy of their intentions, before quitting Madrid, he addressed the following MEMORANDUM—as distinguished for its sound commercial knowledge, as for its enlightened and liberal political policy—to Ferdinand, to open the eyes of himself and his ministers to the real interests of their country as to its foreign policy.

“The Spanish nation having been engaged for six years in one of the most terrible and disastrous contests by which any nation was ever afflicted, its territory having been entirely occupied by the enemy, the country torn to pieces by internal divisions, its ancient constitution having been destroyed, and vain attempts made to establish a new one; its marine, its commerce, and revenue entirely annihilated; its colonies in a state of rebellion, and nearly lost to the mother country; it becomes a question for serious consideration, what line of policy should be adopted by his majesty upon his happy restoration to his throne and authority.

“In considering this question, I shall lay aside all national partialities and prejudices;

and I shall go so far as to admit what neither his majesty nor the people of Spain will be disposed to admit, that the conduct which Great Britain has held during the war is to be put entirely out of the question; and that his majesty has the right, not only in fact, but in justice, to choose between the lines of policy and alliance which may be offered to his acceptance. The restoration of the ancient government in France is certainly a new feature in the political situation of the whole world; and it is but fair to give due weight to this event in a consideration of the affairs of Spain.

“Spain, like Great Britain, is essentially confined within what may be called its natural limits. His majesty cannot hope to hold a dominion beyond those limits for any length of time, or to possess an influence which the natural strength of his government would not otherwise give him. In the last century, by a particular chain of circumstances, Spain was enabled to establish a part of the royal family in Italy. But, however close the relationship still existing between the reigning house in Spain, and those branches of it, they have been of but little use to Spain in the various wars which have occurred since that period in the last and present centuries. Those powers, like others, have necessarily followed the system which best suited their own interests; and have adhered to Spain only in the instances in which this adhesion was likely to be beneficial to themselves. This is owing to the peninsular situation of Spain, and affords the strongest practical proof how little it suits the interests of Spain to push political objects beyond the boundary of her natural limits. If this were not true, it will be admitted that the first object for every rational government to attend to is the internal interests of the country under its charge; and this object is to be preferred doubly when, as it happens, the state of Europe at the moment renders probable a long peace.

“There is no doubt, then, that the objects of his majesty will be the amelioration of the internal situation of his kingdom, the restoration of its marine, its commerce, and revenue, and the settlement of its colonies. Supposing France, under its new government, to be more capable or better disposed than Great Britain to forward his majesty's objects abroad, which may be doubted, it remains to be seen which of the powers is most likely to forward the objects of his in-

ternal government, and to enable him to restore his monarchy to its ancient splendour. France, like all the other nations of Europe, has suffered considerably by the war, and is now but little capable of giving his majesty the assistance which he requires for the attainment of any of the objects for which assistance is wanted.

“Notwithstanding the restoration of the ancient government in France, this country will not easily forget the injuries which it has received from the French armies; and the unpopularity which will attend an alliance with France, connected, as it probably will be, with a dereliction of the alliance with Great Britain, will greatly increase the difficulties of his Majesty's situation. The revival of the commerce of Spain is an object of the utmost importance, not only for the people, but for the government itself; but there is no doubt that the commerce with the richer country (Great Britain) will be far more profitable than that with the poorer; particularly in those articles in which consist principally the riches of Spain. The cheapness also, and the goodness, in respect to their price, of all the manufactures of Great Britain, are an additional inducement to prefer them, as they will bear on importation larger duties than those of any other country. It must besides be observed that some commercial arrangement with Great Britain is most desirable to Spain; as, till such a one is made, it will be impossible to prevent the contraband trade which is now carried on, so much to the prejudice of that country.

“But the principal object for the attention of the king's government at the present moment is the settlement of the colonies. The only mode of effecting any desirable arrangement is, that the Spanish government should open themselves entirely upon the question, and come to a clear understanding with Great Britain. It may be depended upon that, if Spain is cordially and intimately connected with Great Britain, the British ministers are too well acquainted with the interests of their country to think of risking their connexion with Spain for a little more of the trade to the Spanish colonies in America. They may be of opinion that, under existing circumstances, it is desirable for Spain to alter the nature of her connexion with her colonies, and to hold them as dependent or federated states, rather than as colonies; and they may wish that the king's subjects should participate

in the supposed benefits of this commerce; but they cannot oppose the right which the Spanish government have to make such arrangements upon those points as they may think most beneficial to their own interests; and a good understanding once established, Great Britain will cordially support those arrangements to the utmost of her power.

“But besides those difficulties which must occur in the settlement with the colonies, from the want of a firm alliance and good understanding with the British government on that subject, which may be attributed to his Majesty's subjects, there are others of far greater magnitude, which are to be attributed to the United States. It will not be denied that, in the existing state of the finances of Spain and of her marine, his majesty could not hope to coerce the government of the United States, either to do his majesty justice in regard to parts of his territories in America which they have unjustifiably seized, or to refrain from aiding and abetting the rebellion of his subjects in the colonies. These objects can be effected only by the interference of the British government; and it may be depended upon, that, however interested Great Britain may be to prevent the growth of the power of the United States, the British ministers will not increase the difficulties of their peace with that power by introducing into the negotiations questions on Spanish interests, if there should not be a clear and decided understanding between his majesty and the prince regent on all points, not only regarding America, but Europe; and that they should be quite certain that under no circumstances will Great Britain again see Spain in alliance with her rivals in Europe, or in the ranks of her enemies.

“It appears, then, that all the domestic interests of Spain are most likely to be promoted by a good understanding and cementing the alliance with Great Britain; and the more minutely this part of the subject is viewed, the more clearly will it appear that such understanding is desirable, if not necessary to Spain. The finances of Spain are in the utmost disorder, the revenue is unproductive, if not nearly destroyed, and is, at all events, quite unequal to the expenses. But, before those expenses can even be reduced by the reduction of the military establishments, money must be found to pay the arrears of the army. The various political events which have occurred must have shaken the credit of the Spanish

government; and, even if the government had credit, there is but little money in the country which could be borrowed as a resource. England alone can be looked to for assistance in this respect.

"It cannot be expected, however, that the British government will come forward with the resources of the British nation to aid his majesty, if they are not certain of the line of policy which his majesty will adopt both in America and in Europe; neither will it be in their power to give that aid which every well-wisher of his majesty would wish to see afforded, if his majesty should not at an early period carry into execution his gracious promises made to his subjects in his decree of the 4th of May; and if some steps should not be taken to prove to the world the necessity and justice of the numerous arrests which attended his majesty's restoration to his throne, or for the release of the innocent and the judicial trial of the guilty.

"All nations are interested in these measures, but Great Britain in particular; and the nature of the British constitution, and the necessity which the government are under of guiding their measures in a great degree by the wishes and sentiments of the people, must prevent them from giving aid to his majesty in money, or from giving countenance to the endeavours which may be made to raise money by loan in England, at least till the world shall be convinced by experience of the sincerity of his majesty's professions in regard to his own subjects, and of his desire to unite his interests with those of the British government.

"Great Britain is materially interested in the prosperity and greatness of Spain, and a good understanding and close alliance with Spain is highly important to her; and she will make sacrifices to obtain it: and there is no act of kindness which may not be expected from such an ally. But it cannot be expected from Great Britain, that she will take any steps for the firm establishment of a government which she shall see in a fair way of connecting itself with her rival, and of eventually becoming her enemy; like other nations, she must by prudence and foresight provide for her own interests by other modes, if circumstances should prevent his majesty from connecting himself with Great Britain, as it appears by the reasoning in this memorandum is desirable to him."

Before leaving Madrid, the duke drew up

the following paper on the organization of the Spanish troops, and gave it to the minister at war:—

"To His Excellency the Minister at War, Madrid.—In my dispatch of the 17th March last, I recommended that the infantry should be formed into regiments, each regiment being of two battalions, and each battalion of six companies, of from 100 to 150 men. It would be a more economical arrangement, and would suit better the political situation of Spain and its relations with its colonies, if the Spanish infantry were formed into regiments, each consisting of three, or even four battalions, and each battalion of six companies; the regiment to be commanded by a colonel, and each of the battalions by a lieutenant-colonel or major; and this system might afford the best means of settling the questions about the rank and commissions of the officers adverted to in my dispatch of October or November, written from Vera. The government would then have it in their power to send upon service either one, two, or three battalions of each regiment; keeping at the depôt, for the formation of recruits, one; and those of the others not employed on service would conduct from the depôt to the battalions in the field such of the recruits as might be destined for them."

On the 5th of June, having previously resigned his command of the Spanish armies, the duke quitted Madrid; on the 10th, reached Bordeaux, where he reviewed the English troops, and made arrangements for the evacuation of the French territory, according to the provisions of the treaty of Paris. On the 14th of June, he finally took leave of the army, leaving lord Dalhousie to superintend the embarkation of the infantry, directing, by virtue of arrangements previously entered into with the French minister at war, that the cavalry were to march through France for embarkation at ports in the English channel. Previous to his departure, he addressed the following order of thanks to the troops, which presents a remarkable contrast to the inflated addresses by which Buonaparte flattered and nourished the vanity and passions of the French troops:—

"Adjutant-General's Office,

"Bordeaux, 14th June, 1814.

"G. O.—The commander of the forces being upon the point of returning to England, again takes this opportunity of congratulating the army on the recent events that

have restored peace to their country and to the world. The share which the British army have had in producing those events, and the high character with which the army will quit this country, must be equally satisfactory to every individual belonging to it, as they are to the commander of the forces; and he trusts that the troops will continue the same good conduct to the last. The commander of the forces once more requests the army to accept his thanks.

Although circumstances may alter the relations in which he has stood towards them for some years, so much to his satisfaction, he assures them he will never cease to feel the warmest interest in their welfare and honour; and that he will be at all times happy to be of any service to those to whose conduct, discipline, and gallantry, their country is so much indebted.

“(Signed) E. M. PAKENHAM, A. G.”

THE DUKE'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

EARLY on the morning of the 23rd of June, the duke landed at Dover, and was carried in triumph on the shoulders of the boatmen and other mariners who had assembled on the beach to receive him, to the Ship hotel. On leaving Dover he proceeded direct to London. As his carriage drove over Westminster bridge, and up Parliament-street, he was recognised with shouts of admiration and welcome. After a short interview with his family, he proceeded to Portsmouth, where he was enthusiastically greeted by all classes of people, and received by the prince regent and his guests, the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, with the highest respect.

On the 28th of June, he was introduced into the house of lords, by the dukes of Richmond and Beaufort, and after having taken the oaths, and signed the test-rolls, and his various patents of baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke, had been read, the duke took his seat, when the lord chancellor Eldon arose, and thus addressed him—“My lord duke of Wellington, I have received the commands of this house, which, I am persuaded, has witnessed with infinite satisfaction your grace's personal introduction into this august assembly, to return your grace the thanks and acknowledgments of this house, for your great and eminent services to your king and country. In the execution of these commands, I cannot forbear to call the especial attention of all who hear me to a fact in your grace's life, singular, I believe, in the history of the country, and infinitely honourable to your grace, that you have manifested, upon your first

entrance into this house, your right, under various grants, to all the dignities in the peerage of this realm which the crown can confer. These dignities have been conferred at various periods, but in the short compass of little more than four years, for great public services, occurring in rapid succession, claiming the favour of the crown, influenced by its sense of justice to your grace and the country; and on no one occasion in which the crown has thus rewarded your merits have the houses of parliament been inattentive to your demands upon the gratitude of the country. Upon all such occasions they have offered to your grace their acknowledgments and thanks, the highest honours they could bestow.

“I decline all attempts to state your grace's eminent merits in your military character; to represent those brilliant actions, those illustrious achievements, which have attached immortality to the name of Wellington, and which have given to this country a degree of glory unexampled in the annals of this kingdom. In thus acting, I believe I best consult the feelings which evince your grace's title to the character of a truly great and illustrious man.

“My duty to this house cannot but make me most anxious not to fall short of the expectation which the house may have formed as to the execution of what may have been committed to me on this great occasion; but the most anxious consideration which I have given to the nature of that duty has convinced me that I cannot more effectually do justice to the judgment of the house, than by referring your grace

to the terms and language in which the house has so repeatedly expressed its own sense of the distinguished and consummate wisdom and judgment, the skill and ability, the prompt energy, the indefatigable exertion, the perseverance, the fortitude, and the valour, by which the victories of Vimiero, Talavera, Salamanca, and Vittoria, were achieved; by which the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos were gloriously terminated; by which the deliverance of Portugal was effectuated; by which the ever-memorable establishment of the allied armies on the frontiers of France was accomplished; armies pushing forward, in the glory of victory at Orthes, to the occupation of Bordeaux.

"These achievements, in their immediate consequence infinitely beneficial to the common cause, have, in their final results, secured the peace, prosperity, and glory of this country; whilst your grace's example has animated to great exertions the other nations of Europe—exertions rescuing them from tyranny, and restoring them to independence, by which there has been ultimately established among all the nations of Europe, that balance of power, which, giving sufficient strength to every nation, provides that no nation shall be too strong.

"I presume not to trespass upon the house by representing the personal satisfaction which I have derived from being the honoured instrument of conveying to your grace the acknowledgments and thanks of this house on every occasion on which they have been offered to your grace, or by endeavouring to represent the infinite gratification which I enjoy in thus offering, on the behalf of the house, on this day to your grace in person, those acknowledgments and those thanks. Your grace is now called to aid hereafter, by your wisdom and judgment, the great council of that nation, to the peace, prosperity, and glory of which your grace has already so essentially contributed; and I tender your grace, now taking your seat in this house, in obedience to its commands, the thanks of the house in the words of its resolution:—That the thanks of this house be given to field-marshal the duke of Wellington, on his return from his command abroad, for his eminent and unremitting service to his majesty and to the public."

The duke made the following dignified and modest reply:—"My lords, I have to perform a duty to which I feel myself very

inadequate, to return your lordships my thanks for this fresh mark of your approbation of my conduct and of your favour. I assure your lordships that I am entirely overcome by the honours which have been conferred upon me, and by the favour with which I have been received in this country by the prince regent, by your lordships, and by the public.

"In truth, my lords, when I reflect upon the advantages which I enjoyed in the confidence reposed in me, and the support afforded by the government, and by his royal highness the commander-in-chief, in the cordial assistance which I invariably received upon all occasions from my gallant friends the general officers of the army, who are an honour to their country, the gallantry and discipline of the troops, and in the manner in which I was encouraged and excited to exertion by the protection and gracious favour of the prince, I cannot but consider that, however great the difficulties with which I had to contend, the means to contend with them were equal to overcome them; and I am apprehensive that I shall not be found so deserving of your favour as I wish.

"If, however, my merit is not great, my gratitude is unbounded; and I can only assure your lordships that you will always find me ready to serve his majesty to the utmost of my ability in any capacity in which my services can be at all useful to this great country."

The house of commons having voted the duke £500,000 for his services, also passed a vote of thanks, and appointed a deputation of the members to wait on him with it. The duke signified his desire to wait on the house to return thanks. Permission having been granted, on the 1st of July he went to the house for the purpose, and on his entrance, all the members uncovered, rose, and enthusiastically cheered him, at the same time the speaker invited him to be seated. In a few minutes he rose, and taking off his hat, spoke as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker, I was anxious to be permitted to attend this house, in order to return my thanks in person for the honour they have done me in deputing a committee of their members to congratulate me on my return to this country; and this, after the house had animated my exertions by their applause upon every occasion which appeared to merit their approbation, and after they had filled up the measure of their

favours by conferring upon me, at the recommendation of the prince regent, the noblest gift that any subject had ever received.

"I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous in me to take this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the great efforts made by this house and the country, at a moment of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support the great scale of operations by which the contest was brought to so fortunate a termination. By the wise policy of parliament, the government was enabled to give the necessary support to the operations which were carried on under my direction; and I was encouraged by the confidence reposed in me by his majesty's ministers and by the commander-in-chief, by the gracious favour of his royal highness the prince regent, and by the reliance which I had on the support of my gallant friends, the general officers of the army—and on the bravery of the officers and troops, to carry on the operations in such a manner as to acquire for me those marks of the approbation of this house, for which I have now the honour to make my humble acknowledgments.

"Sir, it is impossible for me to express the gratitude which I feel; I can only assure the house that I shall always be ready to serve his majesty in any capacity in which my services can be deemed useful, with the same zeal for my country which has already acquired for me the approbation of this house."

This speech was received with loud cheers, at the end of which the Speaker, who had sat covered during its delivery, rose, and thus addressed his grace:—

"My lord, since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed; but none without some mark and note of your rising glory. The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless on this day to recount. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children.

"It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause; it has been that generous and lofty spirit which

inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendancy of character which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires.

"For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this house, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments; but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction, that, amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence; and when the will of heaven, and the common destinies of our nature shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name and example as an imperishable monument, exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country amongst the ruling nations of the earth. It now remains only, that we congratulate your grace on the high and important mission on which you are about to proceed; and we doubt not that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain, with equal authority, firmness, and temper, our national honour, and interests in peace."

The ceremony of the day being concluded, the duke withdrew; and all the members rising, uncovered; he was attended to the door of the house by the serjeant-at-arms. After the duke had retired, lord Castlereagh moved, that what the duke had said on returning thanks to the house, together with the speaker's answer, be printed in the votes, which was agreed to *nem. con.*

On the 7th of July, a national thanksgiving was celebrated in St. Paul's, for the restoration of peace. This was attended by the prince regent, accompanied by the whole of the ministers and privy council, the houses of lords and commons, and all the celebrated persons who were then in London. The duke sat on the right hand of the prince regent in the cathedral, with the

sword presented to him by the state before him, and when the procession left the cathedral, the duke rode in the carriage of the prince, again taking his seat on the right of the prince regent.

On the 8th of August he left London as ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary; the mission alluded to in the speaker's address. The object of this mission was chiefly to concert measures with the French government for the total abolition of the slave-trade.

It had been arranged by the English cabinet that the duke should travel by way of the Netherlands, for the purpose of examining the condition of the frontiers, and give his opinion as to the best mode of defending that bulwark to Europe on that side of France, and now occupied by a force of 28,000 men, 15,000 of whom were British and Germans, the rest Hanoverians, Dutch, and Belgian troops, under the command of lord Lynedoch. The duke's report was as follows:—

“Memorandum on the defence of the frontier of the Netherlands.

“Paris, 22nd September, 1814.—The frontier, on which it is the object of this memorandum to suggest the principles on which it should be defended, extends from Liege along the Meuse and the Sambre to Namur and Charleroi, and thence by Mons to Tournay and the sea.

“It is intersected by roads, canals, and rivers, running in all directions from the French territory, and some one or other of the French fortresses opposite to it.

“The face of the country is generally open, and affords no feature upon which reliance can be placed to establish any defence system. With all these advantages, this country must be defended in the best manner that is possible. In the partition which has been made of the different portions of the French territory, which have fallen vacant in consequence of the operations of the last campaign, it has been joined to Holland, not solely with a view to augment the pecuniary resources of that country and its means of raising an army, but to give additional security to its frontier, by placing in the hands of the government of the Dutch provinces those countries which were always deemed essential to their defence; and, from the whole, to form a state on the northern frontier of France which, by its resources, its military strength and situation, should be a bulwark to Europe on

that side. To provide the best defence that can be devised for these provinces, will be not only to perform the condition implied in the acceptance of their government from the allied courts, but it is likewise a duty to their inhabitants. It cannot be expected that the government of the new sovereign should settle, or that the inhabitants should be so industrious as they ought to be, if they should see themselves exposed to be abandoned upon the first appearance of hostilities with their powerful neighbour.

“Whatever may be the difficulty, then, of finding a system for the defence of those provinces, it is obvious that they must be defended. The object is to discover the mode of defending them which shall best secure the end in view, shall be best adapted to the political connexion of these provinces with Holland and other countries, and shall be most consistent with the military establishment and least burdensome to the finances of the Dutch government.

“The Netherlands having been joined with Holland, the connexion between these countries must be kept in view in discussing the system of defence for the frontier of the former; and likewise that it is probable that the disposable armies of Great Britain and Hanover would co-operate in the defence of these provinces.

“The secure communication then with England and the north of Germany is an essential object in any system of defence to be adopted, and, above all, that with Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom, and with the Dutch places in the Lower Meuse and Lower Rhine. The operations of the revolutionary war have tended in some degree to put strong places out of fashion; and an opinion prevails, which has been a good deal confirmed by the operations of the last campaign, that strong places are but little useful, and at all events are not worth the expense which they cost. Much may be urged against these new doctrines as applicable to any theatre of war; but, in respect to that under discussion, it is only necessary to remind those who are to consider and decide upon this subject, that in the war of the revolution the whole of the Austrian Netherlands and the Pays de Liège, from the French frontiers to the Meuse, those very provinces fell into the hands of the enemy in consequence of one unsuccessful battle, of no very great importance in itself, fought near Mons; that the allies regained them with equal rapidity in the following cam-

paign, when they had a superiority of force; and that, very imperfect field-works only having been thrown up at some points during the period of their possession by the allies, the enemy did not find it so easy as they had before, and it required much more time to get possession of the country when the enemy regained the superiority of force in the year 1794, notwithstanding that that superiority was much more commanding than it had been in November, 1792. It cannot be expected that, in the event of the commencement of hostilities, the French should not be superior to the allies in the Netherlands in the first instance; and, unless the country should be in some manner strengthened, the same misfortune as occurred in 1792 must be the consequence.

"The general unpopularity attached to fortifications, their expense, and the difficulty in remedying the defects of the situation of some of the ancient fortresses in the Netherlands, induced me to endeavour to find a situation which, being strongly fortified, might cover the country, and which the enemy would not venture to pass; but I could find no situation which would answer the purpose. First, there is no situation in the country which affords any advantages to be taken up as a fortress, or which covers or protects any extent of country; secondly, there is no situation to which the enemy could not have an easy access both by land and by water, for the artillery and stores necessary to attack it; and, thirdly, there is no single situation in the country which, if fortified, the enemy might not pass without risk, as, in case of being defeated and obliged to retire, he could not fail to find innumerable roads which would lead him to some one or other of the strong places on the French frontier. The construction of such a place, therefore, might be attended by the most serious consequences to the allies, while it could, under any circumstances, be of but little detriment to the French.

"It is obvious then that the country must be forfeited upon the old principle; and, considering by whom it was fortified formerly, the local advantages of the sites of some of the old fortifications, and that in many instances they present the means of inundating the country, upon which it must in a great degree depend for its defence, and the expense to be saved by adhering to the old plans in almost all, I am inclined to recommend that the old situations should

in every instance be adhered to, and the old sites, with the modern improvements in the flanks, should in almost every instance be followed.

"By the adoption of the system above recommended, it will be observed that all the principal objects to be attended to are secured. The right of the line, from the Scheldt to the sea, will be made so strong, as, with the aid of inundation, to be quite secure, even though left entirely to its garrisons; and it must be observed that, owing to the great command of water in this part, the expense of the works to be constructed, and the time they will take, will be much diminished. The disposable army, then, having its communications with Holland secured by the strength of the right of the line, and by Antwerp, will be applicable entirely to the defence of the left.

"I do not consider that, in a memorandum of this description, it is desirable, nor in the cursory view which I have taken of the Netherlands can it be expected, that I should point out the positions to be taken by the disposable armies, which can be allotted for their defence. Those which I should point out would be good or bad, according to the strength with which they should be occupied, according to that of the enemy; and, supposing the enemy to be on the offensive, according to his plan of attack. The same reasoning applies to the fortification of positions beforehand, for armies to occupy eventually. The fortification of these positions cannot be a secret, and, in a country such as these provinces, no position can be taken with an army which is not liable to be turned, and which would not be turned if the works on it were to be previously constructed.

"There are, however, good positions for an army at La Trinité, and at Renaix, behind Tournay; another between Tournay and Mons, on the high grounds about Blaton: there are many good positions about Mons; the course of the Haine, from Binch towards Mons, would afford some good ones; about Nivelles, and between that and Binch, there are many advantageous positions; and the entrance of the *forêt de Soignies* [here the battle of Waterloo was fought] by the high road which leads to Brussels from Binch, Charleroi, and Namur, would, if worked upon, afford others.

"Having given my opinion upon the general principle on which these provinces

should be defended, I proceed to point out the mode in which preparations should be made to carry into execution what I have proposed, if it is approved of, and the mode in which the work should be executed. First, I recommend that a committee of British, and another of Dutch engineers, should be appointed to go to each of the places above pointed out to be fortified, and that they should form detailed plans, with sections, &c., of the works to be executed, with estimates of the expense to be incurred, and a *mémoire raisonné* upon each fortification, pointing out the garrison required for its defence, and their reasons for thinking such garrison 'necessary.'

"Secondly; with this information the sovereign prince of the Netherlands will have it in his power to select such of the plans as he may think proper, and to employ those officers for the execution of whose plans and estimates he may approve.

"Thirdly; in the execution, all the earth-work should be completed without loss of time. The foundations of the revêtements in masonry are perfect in almost every one of the fortresses which I viewed; and the rubbish should be cleared from the revêtements and ditches, and the works should be raised to the requisite height in earth, leaving room for the revêtement in masonry to be completed, as the materials may be collected, and circumstances may afford opportunities.

WELLINGTON."

The duke having given instructions for providing for the naked and defenceless condition of Belgium, on the side of France, proceeded to Paris, to enter on his duties as ambassador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary to that court. On the 24th of August, he was presented to Louis XVIII., delivered his credentials, and took up his residence in that city.

As I have already said, the chief object of the duke's mission to the court of France was to negotiate for the abolition of the slave, but such were the prejudices and want of proper information of all classes on the subject, and such the opposition of the Parisian press to the abolition, from hostile motives to England, and their exasperation of the French multitude against

those whom they considered to have principally contributed to their humiliation and the detraction of their military renown, that after months of fruitless negotiation, the matter remained in *statu quo*, in which it had commenced. To the disgrace of English capitalists, during the very time of the negotiation, ships were daily fitting out at Nantes and Bordeaux, with the aid of British capital, to carry on the slave trade on the coast of Africa.

The other principal subject of the duke's negotiation were—1st, the adjustment of the French frontiers; 2nd, the grant of compensation for the English property which had been confiscated in France by the French government since the revolution; 3rd, repayment to the bank of Hamburg, of the specie which had been violently taken from it by Buonaparte. But in both the second and third points, he found that the French disposition to repayment or restitution, was most adverse; to adopt his own words, "experience proved that no reasoning would have the effect of inducing the French government to do justice to others in affairs of finance." On the renunciation, however, by the English government of all claim to the balance due for the support of the French prisoners in England during the war, the French government paid £2,000,000 sterling, as the indemnification for the English property which had been confiscated.

On the 24th of January, the duke left Paris for the purpose of attending the congress assembled at Vienna, in the place of Lord Castlereagh, whose presence was required in Parliament, to support the government on the subject of the income tax. The object of the congress was to discuss and adjust the claims of the several European states, the outlines of whose political power had been traced by the Treaty of Paris. The congress had been opened in October, 1814; but, as yet, on account of the encroaching claims of the Czar and the king of Prussia, but little progress had been made in the objects for which it had been assembled. An event, however, now happened, which brought the rapacity of these personages amenable to reason and justice.

THE ELBAN EMPEROR IN HIS LILLIPUTIAN EMPIRE.

Buonaparte's islet empire of Elba was an island opposite the coast of Tuscany, about sixty miles in circumference. Its chief productions are wine, cloves, fruit, maize, and iron; the annual produce of the latter being 500,000 francs. When informed of the amount of this part of his revenue, and reminded that he had conferred it on the legion of honour, "Where was my head," said he, "when I gave such a grant? But I have made many foolish decrees of that kind." When he first took possession of his Elban empire, he busily employed himself in planning alterations and improvements in it. For this purpose he made a circuit of its boundaries, and traversed it in all directions, always preceded by two couriers well armed, and whom he instructed to examine every suspicious spot in their progress, so great was his fear of assassination.* When in these excursions any of the peasants kneeled and prostrated themselves before him he indicated much disgust, and imputed the humiliating degree of debasement the act implied to the pernicious domination and influence of the priests over their conduct and understanding.

Within the contracted limits of his Lilliputian kingdom he assumed all the state and outward circumstance of imperial pretension. He had a body-guard of 700 infantry and 80 cavalry. His navy consisted of four armed vessels, and seventeen belonging to the service of the miners. He displayed a national flag, having a red bend dexter on a white field, the bend bearing three bees. In the interior of his palace, though its furniture and accommodation were meaner, by far, than those of an English gentleman of ordinary rank, and that the complement of its officers did not exceed thirty-five persons, he kept up the titles and affected the rank proper to an imperial court. To dignify his capital, having discovered that the ancient name of Porto Fer-

rajo was *Cosmopoli* (i.e. the City of Como), he commanded it to be called *Cosmopoli*, or the City of all Nations. Among the first acts of his power, was despatching an expedition of thirty of his guards to possess themselves of an uninhabited island, called *Rianosa*, which had been left desolate on account of the frequent descents of the Barbary corsairs. The revenue of the little empire did not exceed 300,000 francs, but his expenditure exceeded 1,000,000. The deficiency occasioning him much embarrassment—for it does not appear that he ever received a single remittance of the annual revenue of 2,500,000 francs secured to him by the sixth article of the Treaty of Paris, and registered on the Great Book of France—to raise the necessary supplies he commanded his subjects to pay up, in the month of June, the contributions of the last year. This produced petitions, and in some cases insurrection, in resistance to the tax-gatherers. To bring the insurgent peasantry of his imperial islet to subjection, the Elban potentate quartered his troops on them, to be supported, free of cost, till the contributions should be paid up. To mask his designs and lull asleep the vigilance of the commissioners, he professed to be perfectly resigned to his fate; often spoke of himself as a man politically defunct, and that his intention was to devote himself exclusively to science and literature. For the purpose of corrupting and seducing the French soldiery, frequent furloughs were granted to his body-guard, under the pretence of leave to visit their friends in France. After the end of May, the only commissioner remaining in Elba was sir Niel Campbell; the Russian and Prussian commissioners having taken their leave at Fréjus, and Kohler in the middle of May. On the 26th of that month, Cambrone landed with the volunteers of the old guard, and shortly after Buonaparte's mother Letitia, and his sister Pauline joined him.

* Among the causes of this fear was the neighbourhood of Brulart, the governor of Corsica. That Chouan chief had been one of those who laid down their arms on Buonaparte's assuming the consulate, and had been permitted to return to Paris. A friend of Brulart's still more obnoxious than himself, was desirous to return from England, to which he had emigrated. He applied to Buonaparte, through Brulart, who was directed by Buonaparte

to encourage his friend to come over. Immediately on his landing in France, he was seized and executed. Brulart fled to England in grief and rage, at being made the means of decoying his friend to death. In the height of his resentment, he wrote a letter to the insidious assassin, threatening him with death by his hand. This menace haunted Buonaparte's recollection, when he found that Brulart was so near a neighbour.

THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBON DYNASTY ON THE FRENCH THRONE.

WHEN the conservative senate—at one time the sycophants and parasites of Buonaparte, at another his slanderers and betrayers—called the Bourbons to the throne of France, they framed a decree, by virtue of which they “called to the throne Louis Stanislaus Xavier, brother of the last king,” on condition of his accepting a constitution of their framing; and at the same time they declared the senate hereditary, and confirmed to themselves, and their heirs for ever, the rank, honours, and emoluments which, during Buonaparte’s rule, they enjoyed only for life.

The king refused to acknowledge the right of the senate, either to dictate the terms on which he should ascend the throne (his “own right, by hereditary descent, and to which he had never forfeited his claim”), or to engross, as their own exclusive property, the endowments which had been granted to their order by Buonaparte. He, therefore, assumed the crown as the lineal and true representative of him by whom it was last worn; and issued his own constitutional charter, as a concession which the spirit and condition of the French people demanded, and which would be acceptable to the warmest friends of civil liberty. A commission was accordingly appointed to frame a constitution. The principal points of that constitution or charter, which contained the substantial elements and principles of a free constitution and which had adopted, in all points of a general and national tendency, the principles proposed in the rejected constitutional act of the senate, were:—that the public burdens should be borne equally by all classes in proportion to their fortune; universal liberty of conscience and worship were revived, but only the ministers of the Romish church were to be supported by the state; the liberty of the press was established, but under certain restraints; the responsibility of the ministers of the crown was recognised; the promulgation of the laws was the province of the king alone; and he was entrusted with the right of making all the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state. Trial by jury was

established; the code Napoleon was to be continued as the ordinary law of France; the conscription was to be abolished, but the legion of honour retained. This charter or constitution was announced, on the 4th of June, to both the senate and the legislative body. It bore date, like that of Charles the Second on his re-accession to the throne of England, as if no interruption had taken place in consequence of the revolution and the intrusion of Buonaparte: it was dated “in the year of grace, 1814, in the 19th year of our reign.”

As it has been well said, it was comparatively an easy task to frame a constitution which might check and balance the conflicting powers of the revolution; the real difficulty was to reconcile the conflicting interests, calm the furious passions, and provide for the destitute multitudes which its termination had left in France. Besides, as another philosophic historian observes, the restoration of the Bourbons on the throne in 1814, was an event which took place under circumstances so uncommon as to excite extravagant expectations of national felicity; expectations which, like a premature and profuse display of blossom, diminished the chance of the fruit ripening, and exasperated the disappointment of over-sanguine hopes. The concurrence of these causes tended to sap and undermine the restoration, and eventually to render it abortive. In general, the cause of the difficulties was the selfishness of those who wished to possess themselves of the appointments and influence of the monarchy, but who found their extravagant expectations disappointed; in particular, the preconceived prejudices of the king, his wish to revive the religious superstition and the influence and domination of the priests over the conduct and understanding of a people, who gloried in having liberated the mind of regenerated France from the grovelling and debasing craft and delusion of priestism and its pernicious errors and fallacies. The dissensions in the royal councils also tended to promote and foster the public discontent and dissatisfaction; and to so great an extent had these dissensions arisen, that it

required all the finesse and influence of Talleyrand and Fouché to procure the proclamation of the king by the senate before its conditions had been formally recognised. The injudicious remark of the chancellor, M. d'Ambray, in his speech at the time (June 4th) of the promulgation of the charter, in the presence of the king and the peers and deputies, that "the king was in full possession of his hereditary rights," awakened many recollections, and alarmed many fears not conducive to the interests of Louis XVIII., and the stability of his reign.

Among the principal causes of discontent and dislike of the royal government, the primary was, the fears and apprehensions of the holders of the national domains and of the confiscated property of the emigrants—a large portion of the community, amounting to between nine and ten millions. Those persons were in constant dread that the original proprietors would induce the government to invalidate the titles of the then holders. A petty riot concerning precedence, which had arisen in the parish church of Durnac, between the seigneur of the parish and the mayor of the commune, conduced to promote the alarm. The mayor brought the affair before the chamber of deputies by a violent petition, in which he generalised his complaint against the whole body of emigrants, whom he accused of desiring to place themselves above the constituted authorities, and to treat France as a conquered country. The chamber (20th November, 1814) treated the language of the petition as calumnious, and the squabble as unworthy of their notice. But the debate called forth expressions which intimated a suspicion that there existed a dark and secret system, which tended to sow the seeds of discord and anarchy among the citizens, and to resuscitate pretensions incompatible with the laws.

But the most formidable and influencing cause of discontent prevailed in the army. That section of the community, seeing its importance on the wane, and its power of obtaining requisitions from provinces and plunder of cities gone, were adverse to the Bourbon dynasty. The abolition of the tri-coloured standard and cockade of the revolution, and the substitution of the white flag and cockade of the monarchy, was also a source of burning anger to the whole army, and an alienation of its affection, as a reflection on the transcendent glories and recollections of the many fields of fame con-

nected with them. Though the order of the Legion of Honour had been kept up, the restoration of the ancient orders, particularly that of St. Louis, was by no means acceptable to the French army. Indeed, in the vanity of military glory and ascendancy the whole nation participated, as it had been intimately connected with national aggrandisement, and exemption from national burdens for the maintenance of its military establishments. The injudicious appointment of general Dupont as minister at war, reminded the army of the humiliation of Baylen, and was considered as an insult to the warlike assumptions of "the Great Nation." The discontent was greatly increased by the presence of the 150,000 prisoners of war, who had been liberated from the Russian prisons, as also the large numbers from the English hulks, and the prisons of Prussia and Spain, who were burning with a desire of avenging the dishonour of their defeat and captivity.

The revival, by the new government, of the mummeries of Popish superstition and ceremonial, brought to recollection the obnoxious traditions of the monarchy, the odious domination and influence of priests, their vices and immorality, their cupidity and deception, in robbing families, by inclining the weak-minded and superstitious to bequeath their property to the church, and "pious uses," and, of course, operated injuriously to the royal cause and interests. Impudent priests added to this distrust and jealousy, by their denunciations against those who held church-lands, and by refusing to grant them absolution, unless they made restitution or compensation for them. This distrust spread far wider than among the actual holders of the national domains and the forfeited property of the emigrants. For if they were threatened with the resumption of property which they had acquired under the authority of the existing government for the time, it was probable that "*the divine right* of the clergy to a tithe of the produce of the earth" would be next brought forward. The refusal of the rite of sepulture to Mademoiselle Rancour, an actress of irreproachable conduct, occasioned, about the same time, no very favourable opinion of a government that exerted its influence to revive all the hateful abominations of jesuitism and priestcraft. In the estimation of all thoughtful, and sound and right-minded men, this, above all other causes, produced disaffection to the Bourbon

government; though no doubt it met with the approval and hearty consent of all priests, bigots, impostors, and fanatics;—unhappily for the lot of humanity, the vilest superstitions, the most grovelling notions of religious faith and practice, have had their adherents and devotees in all ages of the world, and in all countries on the face of the earth.

The levy of the severely pressing excise tax, termed *les droits réunis*, which Monsieur (the count d'Artois) on his entering Paris had promised should be abolished—but which the accumulated embarrassments and impoverished exchequer* to which the French king succeeded, prevented being put into execution—increased the discontent of his subjects. On ascending the throne the king had engaged himself to pay all the responsibilities which the state had contracted under the imperial régime. At the time of his accession, eight months' arrears of pay were due to the army, and ten months to the commissaries and civil administrators. "So excessive had been the taxations, so enormous the requisitions in kind, during the last two years of Napoleon's reign, that the provinces, which had been the seat of war, were almost wholly unable to bear any taxation; and such the general exhaustion of the country, that the arrears of the two last years had reached the enormous amount of 1,308,000,000 francs, of which only 759,000,000 francs were deemed recoverable."† The French king's appeal to the breeches-pockets of his subjects was therefore not very likely to ensure their devotion to him.

These were the exciting causes of discontent; and that discontent soon assumed the phase and form of disaffection. The temporary enthusiasm indicated in favour of the Bourbons now faded into indifference and aversion; and, in proportion as these feelings became prevalent in the mutable and fickle French breast, the horror of their once-idolized Buonaparte's ambitious and tyrannical disposition, of his insatiable immolation of their children and relatives

for the furtherance of his ambitious projects, gave way to the recollection of his active, energetic, and enterprising qualities in the elevation and aggrandisement of *la Belle France*, by the desolation of all other countries.

Various affiliations and points of rendezvous were now arranged to recruit for partisans. Paris was the centre of the conspiracy; but its ramifications extended throughout France. In the capital, several houses were appointed as places of rendezvous. Clubs were formed in the chief provincial towns. Regular correspondences were established between them and the capital; and it is averred that the correspondence was carried on, by means of Lavalette's agency, through the royal post-office, contained in letters sealed with the king's seal, and despatched by public messengers, wearing his livery. At the places of rendezvous, toasts were given and songs sung, allusive to Buonaparte's glories, his regretted absence, and his desired return. To express their hopes that this event would take place in the spring, the conspirators adopted for their symbol a violet, which they wore to indicate their affiliation; and they designated Buonaparte by the name of corporal Violet. Violet rings were worn by both sexes; the women were decked with ribbons of that colour. Adherents to the conspiracy were recruited for on all hands. The civil and military public functionaries and *employées*—the courtiers, prefects, clerks, commissaries,—both those in the mother country, as well as those who had been fastened on the provinces beyond the Alps and the Rhine—and whose present means and future hopes, were cut off by the restoration, being, of course, disobliged and discontented men, were ready and willing adherents. "Ex-generals, whose laurels had faded with the republic; ex-ministers and functionaries, whose appointments and influences had not survived the downfall of the directory; men of letters, who hoped to rule the state by means of proclamations and journals; and

* A report on the state of the public finances made at this time by the Abbé de Montesquieu, affords an instructive lesson of Buonaparte's system of deceptive policy. Annual expositions of national receipt and expenditure had been periodically published since he had assumed the reins of government, which were, to outward appearance, unchallengeably accurate; and, as they seemed to balance one another, afforded the fair prospect that the revenues of the state being realised, the expenses could not fall into arrears. But, in reality, a number of extraordinary

expenses were withheld from the public view, while the produce of the taxes was over-estimated. Thus the two budgets of 1812 and 1813, on close examination, exhibited a deficit of upwards of three hundred and twelve millions of livres. Buonaparte was not ignorant of this fact, but concealed it from the eyes of the nation, in hopes of replacing it by foreign tribute levied on the conquered and oppressed countries, in the course of his unprincipled aggressive wars.

† Alison.

philosophers, to whose vanity or enthusiasm abstract principles of unattainable liberty and undeniable equality, were dearer than all the oceans of blood and extent of guilt and misery, which they had already cost, and were likely again to occasion." were also not averse to engage in a cause in which they expected to reap profit, place, or power. The immediate family connections, favourites, ministers, the monied partizans of Buonaparte, and the ladies of his court—among whom were those who rejoiced in the cant nicknames of the duchess of Bassano, the duchess of Montebello, the duchess of St. Leu—as Hortensia Beauharnais called herself after her separation from Louis Buonaparte—angry at the insignificance to which they were reduced by the restoration of the Bourbons, and the resuscitation of that respect sillily and slavishly paid by the mass of mankind to antiquated genealogy and ancestry; the profane and irreverent application of those terms and appellations which, by reason of the poverty of language, we assign to the Deity, to the most worthless and contemptible of mankind, the falsely termed "*Great!*" and "*Noble!*"—and all the idle nicknamery of nobility, lent to those restless and aspiring spirits, the activity which money and the habit of political intrigue communicates. Many of the fair intrigantes not only devoted their jewels, but also had recourse to the purses of their husbands and lovers, to promote the restoration of their idol. Carnot's* factious memorial, made public in December, 1814, and which was circulated with the most untiring assiduity, contributed in no trifling degree to promote the undertaking of the conspirators: small carts traversing the boulevards for its sale and distribution. Even the tribunals of justice aided the cause; the Cour d'Instruction refusing to confirm the bill of indictment that had been framed by the ministers of the crown, for the suppression of the obnoxious publication.

The narrative has now arrived at an epoch memorable in the annals of diplomacy, selfishness, delusion, breach of promise, and the falsification of all the hopes and aspirations of the brave and noble-hearted populations of the various allied states, who had taken up arms to defend themselves against the aggressions, and to resist the violence and spoliation of Buonaparte and his armies—

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA — THE HOLY ALLIANCE! as it was, with a strange perversion of language, denominated — an epoch memorable for the instructive lesson it read, and the exhibition it afforded of the sense of moral obligation, the disinterestedness of regal and imperial power, which, "in the very moment of its triumph, was intent on defrauding the people, by whose valour and suffering and sacrifices it had conquered, of the only reward they demanded—just government." The ravenous cupidity and heartless disregard of the dreadful slaughter of their fellow-creatures that must have attended the attempt to enforce their projects of grasping Poland and Saxony, by "the magnanimous," "the disinterested" Alexander, of flippant and shallow-minded scribblers, and his regal confederate, the king of Prussia, prove that they were actuated by similar motives of ambition, aggression, and sacrifice of human life as Buonaparte was, notwithstanding all their professions of abomination of his culpability.

The congress of Vienna commenced September 25th, 1815, and was attended by the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Denmark, Wirttemberg, and numerous other German princes, and their representative ministers. Talleyrand was the representative of the interests of France, and lord Castlereagh and the duke of Wellington those of England. The plenipotentiaries of the kings of Bavaria, Saxony, Denmark, Sicily, Holland; of Murat, king of Naples, of Eugene Beauharnais, and of the Swiss and Genoese republics, though not admitted to the conferences, were in attendance. The committee, to whom the questions which should be brought before the congress were to be submitted, were the ministers of the four allied powers, and those of France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Rome. The territories (*i.e.*, territories bordering on Germany, Belgium, and Italy) over which the congress assumed the jurisdiction of disposal, contained nearly thirty-two millions of souls. Those which had been adjudicated, by virtue of the treaty of Paris, to France beyond her limits, in 1792, contained nearly half a million.

In conformity with the secret articles of the Treaty of Paris, that Belgium or the Netherlands, and Holland should form a united kingdom, the union took place under the title of

* Carnot had been one of the members of the Committee of Public Safety during the Reign of Terror, for whose "measures no language affords

epithets of sufficient horror," through which they originally rose to power, and by which they maintained it.

the Kingdom of the Netherlands (the emperor of Austria having previously renounced all claim to that portion of Europe known by the title of the Low Countries, the Netherlands, or Flanders). This kingdom was assigned to the house of Nassau, or the Stadtholder, as the head of that house was termed. At the same time, Holland ceded to Great Britain the Cape of Good Hope and the South American settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; Great Britain restoring to the same power her important conquests of the islands of Java and Sumatra, the former a colony which had been so flourishing since its possession by the English, that it promised soon to yield a larger surplus revenue than the whole of the Anglo-Indian possessions. Sweden and Norway were united, the king of Denmark receiving, in compensation for the cession of Norway, a considerable portion of Pomerania. Lombardy was restored to Austria; Savoy or the Genoese republic to Piedmont; and Hanover, augmented with a considerable part of Westphalia, to the king of England. The confederacy of the Nineteen Swiss cantons was augmented by the three additional ones of the Vallais, Geneva, and its territory, and the principality of Neuchâtel. The lesser states of Germany were united with the larger ones in a great league or confederacy, directed by a diet, and bound to afford mutual assistance to one another when hostilely attacked. But the kingdoms of Poland, Saxony, and Naples, were not subjects of so easy an arrangement; the two former were a bone of contention, for the possession of which "the magnanimous and disinterested Alexander" and his royal confederate, the king of Prussia, displayed as insatiable an ambition, and as ungovernable an appetite for robbery and spoliation, as Buonaparte ever did in his most lawless measures. The Prussian minister declared, that as Prussia had conquered Saxony, it would retain its possession. The czar's claim of Poland was equally righteous.

The conflicting claims of Murat and of that branch of the Bourbon family who had been displaced by his usurpation, was the cause of much diversity of opinion among the members of the congress. Talleyrand was of opinion that the allowing the existence of Murat's sovereignty was dangerous to the future peace of Europe; but the czar, piqued at the opposition of the French plenipotentiary to his designs on Poland, and those of his Prussian confederate on

Saxony, openly espoused his pretensions. Lord Castlereagh, on the behalf of England, announced to the congress, that Great Britain could not entertain Murat's pretensions. The czar carried his spleen against the French king so far, for joining in the opposition to his views on Poland, that he accused him of ingratitude, and hinted the unfitness of the elder branch of the Bourbons for the throne. But what spiteful and unseemly act is not a diademed despot capable of?

Alexander was loud in his demands for the cession of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw to Russia. Prussia was as modest in her claim of the whole kingdom of Saxony. To the opposition offered to their unrighteous views by the ministers of France, Austria, and England, namely, Talleyrand, Metternich, and Castlereagh, the czar referred to the presence of his army of 300,000 men in Poland, under the command of his brother, the grand duke Constantine, and ready to advance at a moment's notice; and, as it was on its return to Russia, instructions were dispatched to it to halt until further orders were received; and Prussia, to support its declaration, armed its whole contingents. To thwart the designs of their faithless and grasping Russian and Prussian allies, Austria, France, and England prepared themselves. Austria immediately put her armies in Galicia on the war-footing; France was invited to suspend the disarming of her forces; and England despatched all her disposable forces to Belgium; and at the same time the three powers entered into a secret treaty of alliance, dated "Vienna, 3rd of February, 1815," whereby they contracted to act in concert, for the purpose of carrying into effect the treaty of Paris, "in conformity with the principles of justice and equity." In this treaty the kings of Hanover, Bavaria, and Piedmont concurred. Thus, in the midst of a congress professedly assembled for the pacification of Europe, and which was profanely and covinously designated "*The Holy Alliance*," a million of armed men were retained round the banners of its respective members, ready for mutual slaughter, and to spread afresh the calamities and desolations of war and destruction throughout Europe; and all, too, to afford the opportunity to two lawless and grasping men to satiate their wicked and mischievous ambition; and thus demonstrate to the world, that all their professions of justice, moderation, and christian feeling and practice, had been false and hollow. But such

are kings and emperors, and such they ever will be until just and free and responsible government is the lot of man.

In the midst of the cabals of "the magnanimous" plotters for the possession of Poland and Saxony, the astounding news—*Buonaparte had secretly left Elba*, reached Vienna on the night of the 7th of March, and fell like a thunderbolt amidst the congress-dancers assembled in the imperial ball-room* of that city. Fear and consternation accomplished with the czar and the king of Prussia what reason and justice had failed to do. No longer was dissension prevalent among the members of the congress; but they all agreed to the necessity of adopting vigorous measures to provide against the danger. The moment it was known that he had landed in France, a cabinet council was held, (March 13th), in which the ministers of the eight allied powers, in conjunction with those of France, signed the following declaration, by which they denounced Buonaparte an outlaw, and delivered him over to public vengeance (la vindicte publique):—

"Déclaration des Puissances qui ont signé le Traité de Paris réunies au Congrès de Vienne, sur l'évasion de Buonaparte.

"A Vienne, ce 13 Mars, 1815.

"Les Puissances qui ont signé le Traité de Paris, réunies en Congrès à Vienne, informées de l'évasion de Napoléon Buonaparte, et de son entrée à main armée en France, doivent à leur propre dignité et à l'intérêt de l'ordre social une déclaration solennelle des sentimens que cet événement leur a fait éprouver.

"En rompant ainsi la convention qui l'avait établi à l'isle d'Elbe, Buonaparte détruit le seul titre légal auquel son existence se trouvait attachée. En reparoissant en France, avec des projets de troubles et de bouleversemens, il s'est privé lui-même de la protection des lois, et a manifesté, à la face de l'univers, qu'il ne saurait y avoir ni paix ni trêve avec lui.

"Et quoiqu'intimement persuadés, que la France entière, se ralliant autour de son Souverain légitime, sera incessamment rentrer dans le néant cette dernière tentative d'un délire criminel et impuissant, tous les

* The intelligence of Buonaparte's escape first reached the Duke of Wellington through the medium of Lord Burghersh. On the 14th, the duke forwarded a French passport, signed by Talleyrand, to sir Henry Hardinge, to watch Buonaparte's progress; but, before those instructions reached Hardinge, Buonaparte had been joined by Ney and the whole army, and was in possession of Paris.

Souverains de l'Europe, animés des mêmes sentimens et guidés par les mêmes principes, déclarent, que si, contre tout calcul, il pouvait résulter de cet événement un danger réel quelconque, ils seraient prêts à donner au Roi de France et à la nation Française, ou à tout autre gouvernement attaqué, dès que la demande en serait formée, les secours nécessaires pour rétablir tranquillité publique, et à faire cause commune contre tous ceux qui entreprendraient de la compromettre.

"Les Puissances déclarent en conséquence que Napoléon Buonaparte s'est placé hors des relations civiles et sociales, et que, comme ennemi et perturbateur du repos du monde, il s'est livré à la vindicte† publique.

"Elles déclarent en même tems que fermement résolues de maintenir intact le Traité de Paris, du 30 Mai, 1814, et les dispositions sanctionnées par ce traité, et celles qu'elles ont arrêtées ou qu'elles arrêteront encore pour le compléter et le consolider, elles emploieront tous leurs moyens et réuniront tous leurs efforts pour que la paix générale, objet des vœux de l'Europe et but constant de leurs travaux, ne soit pas troublée de nouveau, et pour la garantir de tout attentat qui menacerait de replonger les peuples dans les désordres et les malheurs des révolutions."

(Translation.)

"The powers which signed the treaty of Paris, reassembled in congress at Vienna, informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entry with an armed force into France, owe it to their own dignity and the interest of nations to make a solemn announcement of their sentiments on the occasion. In breaking, after this manner, the convention which had established him in the isle of Elba, Buonaparte has destroyed the sole legal title to which his political existence is attached. By re-appearing in France with projects of trouble and overthrow, he has not less deprived himself of the protection of the laws, and made it evident, in the face of the universe, that there can no longer be either peace or truce with him. * * * The powers, therefore, declare that Buonaparte has placed himself out of the pale of civil and moral relations, and that,

† The word *la vindicte* occasioned much reprehension among liberal-minded persons. The duke of Wellington endeavoured to modify its meaning by interpreting it *justice*; but it is to be regretted that a high-minded soldier should have been reduced to the level of a crafty priest or a quibbling pettifogger, in order to justify the lawless and vindictive passions of low-minded and revengeful men.

as the general enemy and disturber of the world, he is abandoned to public justice. They declare, at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain untouched the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, they will employ the whole means at their disposal to secure the preservation of general peace, the object of all their efforts; and, although firmly persuaded that the whole of France will combine to crush this last mad attempt of criminal ambition, yet, if it should prove otherwise, they declare that they are ready to unite all their efforts, and exert all the powers at their disposal, to give the king of France all necessary assistance, and make common cause against all those who shall compromise the public tranquillity."

Immediately, Russia, Austria, and Prussia put their immense armies on the war-footing, and prepared to take the field. Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and the Swiss cantons who began to arm themselves. England exerted its utmost energies in expediting troops to Flanders, and raising

levies in Hanover. In fact, Chateaubriand's playful saying was verified, that "were the cocked hat and surtout of Napoleon placed on a pole on the shores of Brest, Europe would run to arms from one end to the other." The imminent peril with which the advent of their dreaded enemy threatened them, soon sobered the senses of the czar and the king of Prussia respecting their wholesale claims of Poland and Saxony. The one was content with the duchy of Warsaw, and even readily consented that its viceroy should be surrounded by Polish soldiers, Polish uniforms, Polish ministers, and Polish institutions. The maw of the Prussian regal specimen of humble and subdued aspirations was quite satisfied with less than a third of Saxony; the remaining portion—except a tract of territory containing about half a million of souls, which was appended to Hanover—of that state was left in the possession of its sovereign. The Holy Alliance Masque being now concluded, its various members returned to their respective countries to prepare for the impending contest.

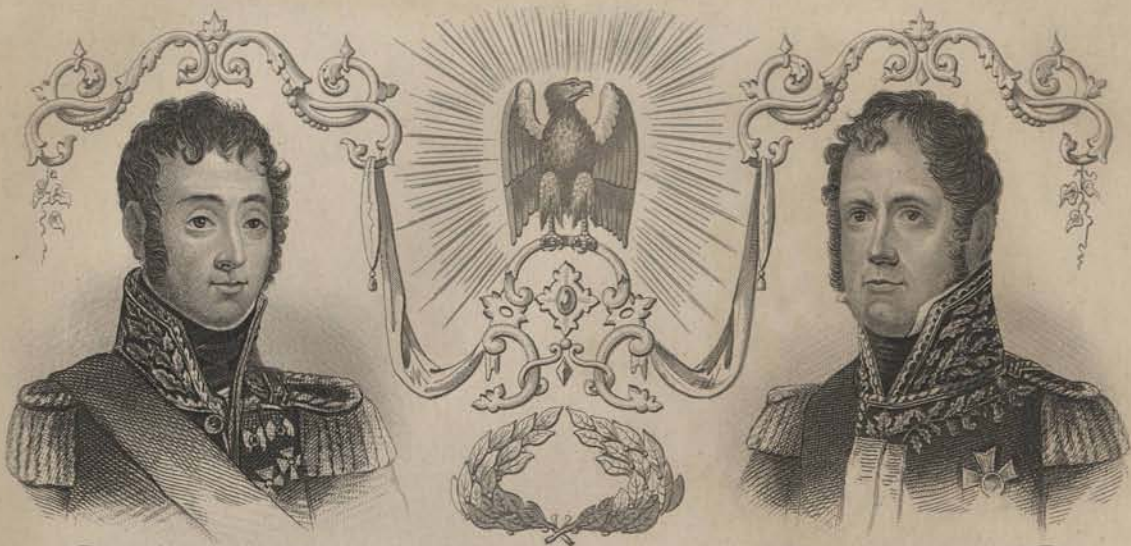
THE INVASION OF FRANCE BY BUONAPARTE, AND HIS RESUMPTION OF IMPERIAL POWER.

AN extensive plan had been organized for the escape of Buonaparte from Elba. It had been arranged with Murat—who was disposed to join the conspiracy from despair of having the throne of Naples secured to him by the allies in virtue of the treaty* concluded 11th January, 1814, between him and the emperor of Austria—that, as soon as Buonaparte made a descent on the coast of Provence, he would advance to the Po, and proclaim Italian unity and independence. Among the subordinate conditions of the conspiracy was the interception and seizure of the king of France and the royal family on their retreat, by the troops under l'Allemand, in the north-east of France.

Though Buonaparte had for some time assumed the airs of inaccessible and im-

perial state, yet his conduct towards sir Neil Campbell was so conciliatory, and apparently communicative, that that officer made frequent visits to his friends at Florence and Leghorn, not apprehending that his charge meditated an outbreak yet. On the 26th of February, the very day of Buonaparte's escape, Campbell suspecting, from the arrival of three feluccas from Naples in the port of Ferrajo, some design in contemplation, in a letter to lord Castlereagh, dated Leghorn, 26th February, 1815, intimated his suspicion of the intended escape, stating, "he (Buonaparte) will go himself probably a day or two before them with Drouet, in the *Caroline*, and the place of disembarkation will be Gaeta, on the coast of Naples, or Civita Vecchia, if Murat has previously advanced to Rome." Fearful of this event, Campbell returned from Leghorn in the British cruiser the *Partridge*. As the vessel approached Porto Ferrajo, the appearance of the national guard on the batteries, instead of the crested grenadiers of the impe-

* In that treaty, Francis recognised the sovereignty of Murat to those states which had belonged to his sister's husband, Ferdinand, on condition that Murat supported him with an army of 70,000 men, in recovering Lombardy and Piedmont.



MASSENA.

NEY.



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.



MURAT.



KLEBER.

rial guard, at once revealed to the British resident what had happened. When he landed, he found the mother and sister of Buonaparte in a well-assumed agony of anxiety about his fate, of whom they affected to know nothing, except that he had steered towards the coast of Barbary. Campbell regaining his vessel, set sail in pursuit of the fugitive. But it was too late; he only obtained a distant sight of the flotilla, after Buonaparte and his forces had landed.

All the necessary preparations having been made for his expedition, on Sunday, the 26th February, his mother and sister gave a grand ball to the principal persons of the island, at which Buonaparte was present. An embargo was immediately laid on all the shipping in the ports of Elba; and secret orders were dispatched to the troops to hold themselves in readiness for embarkation on the quay. As soon as Buonaparte joined them, the embarkation began. By dark the flotilla, consisting of the *Inconstant* brig, and six smaller vessels, were under weigh, having on board 400 of the old guard, 200 light infantry, 100 Polish light cavalry, and a battalion of flankers, in all about 1,200 men, under the command of Cambrone, "a desperate uneducated ruffian," who had served in Egypt as a drummer. Buonaparte, Bertrand, and Drouet, with the old guard, were on board the brig. The wind having fallen in the course of the night, the flotilla at daybreak was only six leagues' distance from Elba. In the course of the day, the flotilla coming within hail of the *Zephyr* French brig, when asked by its captain if they had come from Elba, and how Buonaparte was, was answered, "Il se porte à merveille." On entering the gulf of Juan (March 5th) Buonaparte having read his proclamation announcing his intentions, the troops mounted the tri-coloured cockade, throwing the white ones into the sea, and immediately disembarked at Cannes, a small sea-port, not far from Fréjus. The whole force bivouacked for the night on the beach. On the following morning the bivouack breaking up, a detachment was sent to Antibes to summon it to surrender; but the governor of that fortress arrested the party. Foiled in this attempt, the little band of adventurers began their march on the road by Gap to Grenoble. On approaching Grenoble, they were met between that place and Vizille, by the septième regiment of the line, under Labedoyere, who immediately fraternized with the invaders. When

Buonaparte reached Grenoble, he found the whole garrison drawn out, and standing to their arms in silence; but no signs of defection appearing among them, Buonaparte halted, and advancing almost alone in their front, exclaimed, "he who will kill his emperor, let him now work his pleasure! Comrades, fire on me, if you wish; here is my bosom;" at the same time baring his breast. The appeal was irresistible; the soldiers threw down their arms, and shouted with the most fervid enthusiasm, "Vive l'empereur." Marchand finding himself deserted by his garrison, presented his sword, and surrendered himself a prisoner, observing, that he had faithfully served Buonaparte when in power; but having sworn fealty to the existing government, he would not be faithless to it. "General," said Buonaparte, "I acknowledge your services, and have always looked on you as a true soldier; I see your position, and do not wish you to act contrary to your duty. Take back your sword, proceed to Paris, and tell your king, that I shall soon visit him in the capital, and will treat him with all the consideration due to his rank." Up to this time, he had given out that he invaded France as lieutenant-general of Napoleon II. (the duke of Reichstadt); but here he issued his proclamations, one to the French people, and one to the army, in his own name, and decreed that the acts of the government should henceforth run in his name.

When the telegraphic dispatch from the prefect of Toulon, announcing Buonaparte's invasion of France, reached Paris on the morning of the 3rd, all was consternation. Soult issued a violent proclamation against his old master, calling with suspicious sincerity on the troops to be "faithful to the spotless lily banner." The marshals, with one voice, declared their fidelity to their "legitimate and beloved monarch." Ney, in the most clamorous manner, expressed his indignation at "the ingratitude of the insensate adventurer." To reward his fidelity, he was appointed to the command of the army assembling at Lons-le-Soulmier. When he took leave of the king to assume its command—"Sire," said he, "I will bring back Buonaparte in an iron cage." Mortier was appointed to the command in the north of France. He detected and defeated the conspiracy of the two Allemands in their design of capturing the king and royal family. The count d'Artois and Macdonald went to Lyons to endeavour to retain

the troops in their duty and the inhabitants in their allegiance; but the defection there, as well as in all other places, had become so general, that it was evident that Buonaparte's expression in his address to the soldiery at Grenoble, "l'aigle impérial vola de clocher en clocher jusqu'aux tours de Notre Dame"—the eagle, with the national colours, will fly from steeple to steeple, till it alights on the towers of Notre Dame—was on the point of being realised. The count d'Artois, therefore, left the city, attended only by a single dragoon of the guard of gentlemen, whose fidelity Buonaparte rewarded with the cross of the legion of honour. At this time, Soult's fidelity became so suspected by the constant defection of the army he had stationed between Besançon and Lyons, that he was denounced in the chamber of deputies as Buonaparte's confederate, and compelled to resign his office as minister-at-war. On the 29th, a proclamation was issued, dissolving the chambers of peers and deputies, and at midnight of that day, the king and royal family set out on their retreat to Lisle, the capital of French Flanders; but the garrison of that town being found disaffected to the royal cause, Louis retired to Ghent, which he reached on the 25th, and remained there during the usurpation of the Hundred Days. On March 13th, Buonaparte was in possession of Lyons, where he re-established his power, and issued a variety of decrees, dissolving the chambers of peers and deputies, and enjoining the electoral colleges to assemble, after the manner of the ancient Franks, in the Champs de Mars at Paris in the course of the approaching month of May, and elect representatives for the purpose of taking into consideration the necessary measures for correcting and modifying the constitution, according to the interests and will of the nation. He, also, by means of his agents, spread reports that he was cured of his ruthless ambition, and was resolved in future to make the nation the freest of the free. This policy had, no doubt, been suggested to him by the multitude of publications reviewing his conduct and opinions, which he had perused while in Elba. He confirmed the grants and sale of the church lands, the national domains, and the forfeited estates of the emigrants, sequestered the property of the royal family and the returned emigrants, suppressed the orders of the Holy Ghost, St. Louis, and St. Michael, and substituted the tri-coloured flag and cockade for the white insignia.

The Swiss guard and the royal household troops were disbanded, and the imperial guard revived. The amnesty announced in his proclamation to the nation issued at Grenoble, declaring—"Of what has been done, written, or said since the capture of Paris, I shall always be ignorant; it will have no influence on the memory I cherish of the important services which they formerly rendered," was as politic as it was magnanimous, and tended powerfully to bring back the treacherous and dastard former adherents to his cause and standard.

Ney having pledged his fidelity to Louis and "the spotless liliated banner," hurried to Lons-le-Soulmier to take the command of the army; but he no sooner arrived there than he renounced his allegiance to the king, and issued a proclamation announcing "the man covered with the blood of generations" as their legitimate sovereign, and the promoter of "the sacred cause of liberty." Ney having read his proclamation to the army, threw up his hat, exclaiming, "Vive l'Empereur." The whole army enthusiastically applauded the act, except Lecourbe, Beauregard, and a few of the superior officers.

Buonaparte left Lyons on the 13th, reached Auxerre on the 17th, and Fontainebleau on the 19th. On the 20th he approached Melun, where the royal army was drawn up, under Macdonald, to oppose the invaders. All was silence, except the regimental bands of music, playing the airs of *Vive Henri Quatre*,—*O Richard, O mon Roi*,—*La Belle Gabrielle*, and other tunes connected with the cause and family of the Bourbons. At length, about noon, a galloping of horse was heard. An open carriage appeared, surrounded by a few Polish hussars, and drawn by four horses. It came at full speed; and Buonaparte springing from the vehicle was in the midst of the ranks formed to oppose him. His escort threw themselves from their horses and mingled with their former comrades. Immediately there was a general shout of "Vive Napoleon;" and the last hope of the Bourbons was now dissipated. Late in the evening, his carriage reached the steps of the Tuilleries, whence, with unbounded transports of joy, he was carried in the arms of his adherents into the salon of reception, where the ladies of the late imperial court, among whom were Hortense and his *canaille* countesses, who had solaced him while lamenting the defection of his adherents at

Fontainebleau, received him with ecstasy, imprinting "fervid kisses on his cheeks, his hands, and even his dress." On the following morning, Buonaparte prepared "to secure his position on the dizzy pinnacle of power upon which he was again elevated." He summoned to his presence Fouché, Cambacerès, Caulaincourt, Carnôt, Molé, and Davoust; but only those who willingly accepted office under his government were Fouché and Davoust; the rest did so by compulsion.

On April 1st he addressed a letter to each of the allied sovereigns, expressing his willingness to acquiesce in the treaty of Paris, and to make peace on the same terms as had been arranged with the Bourbons; as it would be, as he artfully expressed himself, "sweeter to exhibit henceforth no other rivalry but that of the advantages of peace; no other strife but that of the felicity of nations." To conciliate the English, he passed an act for the abolition of the slave-trade; and he made some regulations concerning national education, in which he spoke highly of the systems of Bell and Lancaster. In order to pave his way to the Austrian court, and regain the friendship of his father-in-law, he contrived to repossess himself of his wife and her son for this purpose. With this intent, some Frenchmen at Vienna, with those in his wife's train, formed a scheme for carrying her and her son off; but the plot being discovered, the emperor of Austria commanded his daughter to lay aside the arms and liveries of her husband and assume those of the house of Austria. The couriers with his letters were either stopped before they reached their destination or the letters were returned unopened. He spared no device to spread reports of a pacific tendency on the part of the allies. From the commencement of his march from Cannes his emissaries affirmed he had brought with him a treaty concluded with all the powers of Europe for twenty years.

But Buonaparte's usurpation was not without opposition. The royalists in Provence, Languedoc, La Vendée, the departments of the Marne, Guienne, La Garde, and the Lower Loire, displayed the white flag; Marseilles, Lyons, Toulon, and Bordeaux, under the duke and duchess of Angouleme, maintained the royal cause. In La Vendée, Louis de la Rochejaquelin and other leaders maintained a fierce contest against Buonaparte's generals Lamarke and

Travet, with 20,000 armed peasants, in the Bocage or thickets of that province; but the brave La Rochejaquelin having lost his life in the battle near La Roche Servière, the other chiefs capitulated and laid down their arms. The same result took place in all the other demonstrations on behalf of the royal cause; and, on the 20th of April, the discharge of 100 guns from the Invalides, and re-echoed from all the fortresses of France, announced the termination of the civil war. From that moment, the tricoloured flag waved over every fortress in France.

The press, to which Buonaparte, on his resumption of imperial power, had granted freedom, became to him a source of uneasiness. For though the pens which, a few days before his reappearance in Paris, had described him as a species of ogre who had devoured the youth of France, they now wrote him down as a hero and a liberator; there were some few among the numerous time-serving scribes, who asserted their right of utterance. Among those was Lecompte, the editor of *Le Censeur*. That gentleman and the editor of a newspaper called the *Lily*, (though the minister of police, Fouché, used every art in his power to prevent the contagion of freedom from spreading abroad) availed themselves of the restored liberty of the press, pointed out the danger of military influence, and stigmatised Buonaparte as the sworn enemy of liberty. To silence them, their journals were seized; but their influence had infused a spirit of disaffection, even into the lower ranks of society. The market-women (*dames des Halles*), so formidable during the time of the Fronde, and in the early years of the Revolution, for their opposition to the court, were now royalists, and, of course, clamorous on the side of the party they espoused. They invented, or some loyal rhymer composed for them, a song (*Donnez nous notre pairs de gants*, equivalent in pronunciation to *notre Père de Ghent*), the burden of which demanded back the king, as their father of Ghent. They ridiculed, scolded, and mobbed the commissaries of police, who endeavoured to stop those musical expressions of disaffection, surrounded the chief of their number, danced round him and chanted the obnoxious burden, until Fouché, being ashamed to belie the new doctrines of liberty of thought, speech, and publication, instructed his agents to leave those amazons undis-

turbed on account of their political sentiments.*

Buonaparte now exerted all his energies to prepare for the coming contest. The disbanded veterans and the prisoners who had been liberated by the allies, were invited to rally round their ancient colours, which had victoriously entered half the capitals of Europe; and, to reanimate their spirits, the eagles, the memorials of their past glory, were restored to the various regiments. Two hundred battalions of the national guard were organized; thirty additional battalions of artillery were formed from the sailors of Cherbourg, Brest, and Toulon; and, for the purpose of officering the various corps, lists were directed to be made out of the soldiers capable of that duty. Several patriotic associations, (as volunteers for the defence of the country) were formed throughout France, under the title of *Fédérates*. In Paris, those of the Faubourgs St. Marceau and St. Antoine, went in a body to the Tuileries, to demand an interview with Buonaparte. Their bands played the Carmagnole, the Song of Departure, and the Marseillaise hymn. On admission to his presence, their leader said, "Sire, we received the Bourbons with indifference, because we love not to have sovereigns imposed on us by an enemy. We received you with enthusiasm, because you are the man of the nation, and because from you we expect a glorious independence. We come to tender our arms for the defence of the capital. We have fought under you; give us arms; we swear to fight only in our country's cause and in your's. When, through your genius, and our own courage, we have conquered, we shall resume our toils with joy; and shall be better able to appreciate the blessings of peace, that, after twenty-four years of sacrifices, we may obtain a constitution, liberty, and the monarch of our choice." Buonaparte replied, "Federated soldiers, I returned to France merely because I knew the affections of the people, and their attachment to the national honour. You have justified my confidence, and I accept your offer. I shall give you arms, and will appoint, for your guidance, officers covered with honourable scars, and accustomed to behold your enemies flee before them. If men of the highest classes of society have disgraced the French name, the love of country and the feeling of national honour have been preserved entire

* Scott.

among the citizens, the country people, and the soldiers of the army. Vive la nation!" Of the republican notions of his federated soldiers, Buonaparte seems to have had so much misgiving, that he kept his guards under arms and the cannon loaded, and turned on the Place du Carrousel throughout the day.

It was now time to prepare for the concoction of the promised constitution, which was to be constructed according to the interests and will of the nation, so as to render the French the freest of the free. For this purpose he appointed a commission, under the direction of Benjamin Constant and Sismondi, the historian; but Buonaparte, considering the draft of their production too democratic, Constant and Regnaud de St. Angely drew up one agreeable to his taste; which was termed the *Acte Additionel aux Constitutions de l'Empire*, and was that which was proposed to the assembly of the Champ-de-Mai, and accepted by them.

On the 22nd of April, the *Acte Additionel* was promulgated; and, on the 30th of the same month a decree was passed directing the convocation of the electoral colleges, for nominating the deputies to be present at the assembly of Champ-de-Mai, to be held at Paris on the 1st of June. When the day approached, Buonaparte, accompanied by his brothers Joseph, Jerome, and Lucien, figured there in quaint and fantastic robes; he as emperor, they as princes of the blood.

After high mass had been performed, Buonaparte thus addressed the assembled multitude:—"Emperor, consul, soldier—I hold all from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, on the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and actions. * * * Frenchmen, my wish is that of the people; my rights are theirs; my honour, my glory, my happiness can be no other than the honour, glory, and happiness of France!" Then Buonaparte, the officers of state, the deputies chosen by the electoral colleges, as also those of the army and navy, swore to observe the *Acte Additionel*, after which the eagles were delivered to all the regiments; and as they filed off before their reconstituted emperor, the bands struck up the patriotic air, "*Veillons au salut de l'Empire.*"

The assemblage of the Champ-de-Mai had been preceded by one of the rabble of Paris, convoked in front of the Tuileries on the

7th of May, and there feasted and harangued by Buonaparte. It had been his desire to stimulate among those people something of the old zeal of the revolutionary period, in the event of Paris being again threatened by the enemy; but he found himself disappointed. Among them the name of Louis was almost as popular as his own. As they drank his wine, the *dames des Halles* screamed royalist ditties in his ears.

On the 4th, the session of the legislature was opened. The spirit of the peers was abundantly pliant, but the deputies voted an address, announcing that they intended to consider the Constitutional Act, and point out its defects and imperfections; concluding with a declaration, that the French people, no longer entertaining thoughts of aggrandizement, would not be drawn, even by the will of a victorious prince, beyond the boundaries of self-defence; their only objects being to guard their territory, and to maintain their liberty, honour, and dignity inviolate.

Buonaparte perceiving in this address a disposition to thwart his designs of aggrandizement, replied:—"The struggle in which we are engaged is serious. The seductions of prosperity are not the dangers which menace us at present: we are about to struggle for existence as an independent nation. The justice of our cause, the public spirit of the people, and the courage of the army are strong grounds to hope for success; but should we encounter reverses, it is then that I hope to see your energy displayed. The constitution is our rallying point; it ought to be our pole-star in the tempest. Every public discussion tending either directly or indirectly to diminish the confidence which should be placed in its arrangements, would be a misfortune for the state. We should then find ourselves in the midst of shoals and quicksands, without pilot or compass. The crisis in which we are involved is arduous. Let us not imitate the example of the Lower Empire, which, when pressed on all sides by the barbarians, rendered itself the scoff of posterity, by engaging in abstract discussions at the moment when the battering-ram was at the gates of the city. Aid me to save the country. As first representative of the people, I have contracted obligations, which I now renew—to employ, in more tranquil times, all the prerogatives

of the crown and the experience I have acquired, to ameliorate our institutions." So hostile had the chamber of deputies become, that on the motion of one of his creatures, Lepelletier, to decree that he had been the saviour of the country, the motion was unanimously opposed, on the ground that the country was not saved. These occurrences induced him to appoint a provisional government, and to leave Paris as soon as possible, in order to assume the command of the army which was assembled on the frontier. The government appointed consisted of fourteen persons, of whom his brother Joseph was president. In the mean time Paris had been strongly fortified; the whole of the heights from Montmartre to Charonne were covered with redoubts in a double line; so that, in case the first should be forced, the defenders might retire within the second line, instead of being compelled, as in the preceding year, when they were driven from the heights, to fall back on the city.

The manifesto or declaration of the congress of Vienna, made on March 13th, was, on the 25th of the same month, followed by a treaty between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, renewing and confirming the league which had been entered into at Chaumont during the preceding year, by virtue of which the contracting parties declared their determination to maintain and enforce the treaty of Paris, and to maintain each 150,000 men, with the due proportion of artillery. The king of France, and all the lesser powers, were invited to join the coalition, and furnish their contingents, which they did in the course of a fortnight. But it was stipulated that the king of France should not be compelled to furnish any contingents. In a secret meeting held at Vienna, on the 31st of March, the contracting parties engaged to form three large armies; the first on the Upper Rhine, consisting of Austrians, Bavarians, and other German troops; the second on the Lower Rhine, consisting of Russians; and the third in Flanders, consisting of British, Hanoverians, and Belgians. A grand reserve of Russians was to be directed on Wurtzburg. The congress was removed from Vienna to Frankfort, for the purpose of being near the theatre of war.

JOACHIM NAPOLEON MURAT, KING OF NAPLES.

While Buonaparte was occupied in his preparations to meet the dangers that threatened him from the arrangements of the congress of Vienna, his brother-in-law, Murat, who now assumed the appellation of Joachim Napoleon, was devising measures to secure his possession of the Neapolitan throne, and further his views of bringing the whole of Italy under his dominion. A secret correspondence had for some time subsisted between the Elban court and that of Naples; in the course of which it had been arranged by the two brothers-in-law that the descent of Buonaparte on the coast of Provence should be simultaneous with the advance of Murat to the Po. But Murat's impatient disposition precipitated his measures. He had been for some time agitated by fears on account of the attack made by Talleyrand, at the congress of Vienna, on his title to the throne of Naples. He also doubted the sincerity of Austria relative to the treaty which had been made between that power and himself for the guarantee of the marshes belonging to the Roman see, and its procuring for him the recognition by the allied powers of his right to the throne of Naples, if he formed a coalition with the allies. The success of Buonaparte also incited him to precipitation. On the 31st of March, he crossed the Po, with an army of 50,000 Neapolitans, and published a proclamation, declaring that "the moment had arrived when great destinies were about to be accomplished—the independence of Italy." He took possession of Rome, the pope and cardinals fleeing before him; and marching forward, he occupied Modena and Florence, after the defeat of the Austrian general, Bianchi. To the remonstrance of the court of Austria his answer was—"Italy deserves freedom, and she shall be free." This declaration put an end to all hopes of peace.

With headstrong folly he thus offended both Austria and England; the former declared war against him, and sent troops into Italy, while the British government prepared to attack his Neapolitan dominions. He soon found that the grand scheme he had formed, he was in no condition to carry out, and was compelled to give battle to a superior force. The struggle lasted through two days, the 2nd and 2d

of May; but the Neapolitans shrunk from coming to close quarters with the Austrians. Joachim placed field-pieces in the rear of his attacking columns, with orders to fire grape on them should they retreat. For himself he fought with desperate courage, but all his efforts proved unavailing; his army was routed and fled, leaving behind their baggage, ammunition, and artillery. He presently found that army reduced to a handful of disheartened followers; and Murat, who had left Naples gorgeously attired at the head of a brilliant army, returned to it attended by but four lancers, and appeared before his queen in wretched disorder, haggard, and in most desponding mood. He saluted her with these words, "Madam, I have not been able to find death;" and then taking leave of her, he judged it necessary to cut off his hair, pass in disguise to the little island of Ischia, and thence to Cannes. His arrival in France was announced to Buonaparte by a courier. The French emperor's former contempt for the understanding of his cavalry general seems to have revived by his present distress, and he is reported to have contemptuously asked, "whether Naples and France had made war since the peace of 1814?" Whatever the understanding which had subsisted between them, Napoleon always declared the movement of his brother-in-law was highly injurious to his interest, adding, "it was Murat's fate to ruin us every way; once by declaring war against us, and once by unadvisedly taking our part." Fouché, by order of Buonaparte, recommended Murat to withdraw for a while from general observation.

On Murat's secession, the Sicilian branch of the Bourbons resumed their former right to the Neapolitan throne. The finale of Murat's history we shall give here:—

After the mad outbreak which has just been described, and which was followed so speedily by pitiable failure, after encountering many perils, Murat found a hospitable refuge in the island of Corsica, where he was assured he might remain in safety till the allies consented to his joining his wife and children at Trieste. In his reduced circumstances, such an assurance might have been expected to afford inexpressible comfort; but his flighty disposition, which a

glimpse of success had disturbed before, was now mocked with new visions of triumph, and they led to a tragical result. Some Corsicans and Italian refugees, in desperate circumstances, having nothing but existence, which could not be very valuable to lose, approached him, and suggested that it would be no difficult thing for him to pass from Corsica to Naples, as Buonaparte had passed from Elba to France. They persuaded him that courage and military skill like his would find it no difficult task to reconquer the throne from which he had been driven. He listened to the tempters with eagerness, and prepared to act on the advice so given. Two Neapolitan noblemen had accompanied him to Corsica. They were both soldiers, and would have been disposed to sustain him in any rational enterprise, but here they could see no prospect of success. They pressed him to renounce the scheme altogether, and recommended that he should cross the Mediterranean to Tunis, whence they pointed out he might easily find his way to Malta. The language of prudence he was unfortunate enough to consider that of pusillanimity, and the reception he gave their friendly counsel was such, that they thought it right to leave him to those on whom he was disposed to place more reliance. Among the latter, they suspected there were some who hoped to make profit for themselves by betraying Murat to the king of Sicily. In the course of September it became known that he had collected a force of about 200 men, and that he contemplated a descent upon Naples. The day for sailing had been named, when intelligence reached him that the allied sovereigns, unwilling to press on him with severity, had no objection to his joining his wife and family, and were content that he should remain unmolested, but withdrawn from public life. He was offered an honourable asylum in the Austrian dominions, where his wife, under the title of countess of Lipano, had taken up her residence, and he was invited to assume the name of count Lipano. He might choose whether to settle in Bohemia, Moravia, or Upper Austria, on giving his word of honour that he would not quit the Austrian dominions, without the emperor's consent, and that, as a private gentleman, he would be obedient to the laws of the empire. The party through whom the communication was made to him, was told only to give the passport on his subscribing to these conditions, and in case

he should appear wholly unconnected with any hostile preparations. Murat was rash enough to spurn at the restrictions.

The agent of the allies so far departed from his instructions as to present the ex-king of Naples with the passport, notwithstanding the unsatisfactory course which the latter had pursued, and that he had heard Murat declare he was bent on making war on king Ferdinand, who was under the especial protection of the emperor of Austria, and generally under that of all the allied powers. While Murat wanted discretion properly to conceal his design, he was mean enough to attempt an exercise of cunning. He professed himself willing to accept the proffered asylum. This he communicated to the allied sovereigns in a letter. He was willing to withdraw from public life, but declined proceeding to Trieste, which he had been invited to do. Acting thus he expected to disarm the allies of suspicion, and the passport of which he had possessed himself, might be of advantage if he should be hailed by a British cruiser on his way to Naples, for which place he embarked on the night of the 28th of September. The trifling force which has been mentioned had not increased, and the whole expedition proceeded towards its destination in half-a-dozen small vessels. The voyage was not free from interruption. His ships were dispersed, it was said by a storm, but it was believed that his squadron separated not in consequence of tempestuous weather, but because the desperadoes engaged with him thought it would better answer their purpose to carry off the barques, and sell the arms and ammunition, than to fight for the restoration of king Joachim. Almost all the money he could command, had been expended on this mad adventure, and on the 8th of October, only two of his ships could be found, in one of which he sailed, off the Calabrian coast. Many circumstances in the course of the late war had exasperated the Calabrians against Buonaparte and France, and Murat's intimate connexion with the former, entitled him, in their judgment, to a full measure of their hostility. Ignorant of this, or disregarding the rage his presence might provoke, he landed at Pizzo, a small town on the western coast, and there attempted something in the dramatic way, in imitation of Napoleon's appeal to the military. The force with which he landed was so insignificant as to be absolutely ridiculous.

It was a miserable parody on war, when Buonaparte's renowned cavalry general was seen leading an army of about thirty vagabonds! At the head of this company, or gang, he advanced, waving a flag over his head, and exalting his voice, to awaken those he addressed to a sense of loyalty, while he called to them, "I am Joachim, your king! it is your duty to obey my commands," and this high-sounding speech was the signal for his wretched followers to shout "Long life to king Joachim." But Murat spoke, and his retinue shouted in vain. The country people, not knowing what to make of this array, could hardly believe that anything serious was intended, and at any rate there was nothing very imposing in the array of the bold invaders, to tempt lookers-on to share their fortunes.

Appearances so unfavourable, it might have been expected, would at once have induced the ex-king to retrace his steps, but he was either blind to danger, or felt that he was so far committed, that he had no alternative but to go forward. Forward he went, and had soon the mortification to know, that those who had refused to join him were not indisposed to pursue. Muskets and rifles opened their fire, killed two of his army, and wounded several others. His force being thus seriously reduced, he did what it would have been wise to have done sooner; that is, he attempted to escape from a shore which had given him so unfriendly a reception. But it was now too late. Having regained the beach, the boats were moving, and their commander or admiral, a Maltese of the name of Barbara, who had been a pirate, but was promoted by Murat to be a sea-captain, and had, moreover, also conferred on him the dignity of a baron, though loudly called on to stay and take the discomfited Joachim on board, was in no haste to expose himself to the fire of the Calabrians. He considered that returning might cause him to lose, if not his life, the boat which he commanded, and some valuable property which it contained, and which he was well disposed to keep for his own benefit. He, therefore, failed to put back, and Murat and his companions were overtaken by the enraged Calabrians. Murat found himself surrounded by ruthless enemies, who, instead of owning him for their king, fired at him, wounded him with a dagger, lacerated his face, and knocked him down. Eager for plunder, they snatched from him the jewels he wore

searched his pockets, and would have taken his life, had it not been suggested by their leader, who was a Bourbon partisan, that it would be better to reserve him, that he might be executed according to law. His case was most deplorable. The furies who had him in their keeping, while attending to the recommendation just given, clearly indicated that it was not in mercy he was spared for the moment—if, indeed, it may be said he were spared at all, when every outrage, every indignity was offered to his person that could be endured, without placing him in a state that would render him unconscious of misery. Even the women, some of whom had probably lost husbands or sons during the late contest, forgot all the kindness of the female character, plucked his hair from his head, and tore his whiskers and moustachios from his face by the roots. They beat and spat upon him, and, bleeding and wretchedly disfigured, he was conveyed to the castle. His person being searched, the emperor of Austria's passport was found, and the manuscript of a proclamation, with corrections supplied by himself, which was to have been put in circulation without delay, and which threatened with death the ministers and others in the service of the king of Naples, denouncing them as rebels and traitors. The news of his landing and capture were soon conveyed to king Ferdinand. General Nunziante then commanded in Calabria, and was directed to proceed forthwith to Pizzo, and there to try the unfortunate Murat before a military tribunal, under one of his own laws which he had caused to be enacted two years before, and which law ordered that any person landing in the country with the intention of disturbing the public tranquillity, should be immediately arrested, tried, and shot. The tribunal was accordingly formed, and he was accused as a disturber of the public peace. Seven officers decided on his case, and sentenced him to die. Three members of the tribunal who came to this decision had formerly owned him for their chief, and received gifts and honours from his hand. It was made known to him that he must prepare for death. His firmness was not shaken by the announcement, but his thoughts recurred to the duke d'Enghien, whose fall he considered was now to be avenged by executing a like doom on him. He declared to an officer who was present, that, in that tragedy, he took no part what-

BELGIUM.



ALTAR OF ST GUDULE, BRUSSELS.



MONUMENTS ON THE PLAINS OF WATERLOO



ANTWERP CATHEDRAL

SCALE
Longitude East from Greenwich

ever, "and this," said he, "I swear by that Eternal Being before whose judgment-seat I must presently appear." He then wrote a letter to his wife and children, describing what had befallen him, and that done, gave himself up to devotional exercises. The sacrament was administered to him, and he declared himself a sincere believer in the doctrine of the catholic church. The priest who attended him wished this confession to

be reduced to writing, and he complied with the request by tracing the following words:—"I declare that I die a good christian. J. M."

When brought out for execution, he fastened his wife's miniature to his breast; and, giving the word of command to fire, was pierced through the heart by six musket-balls. He suffered on the 13th of October.

THE FLEMISH CAMPAIGN.

A.D. 1815.

THE duke of Wellington having been appointed to the command of the Anglo-Belgian army, on the 28th of March, left Vienna on the following day, and reached Brussels on the 4th of April. He immediately directed his attention to the fortifying the Belgian frontiers, and collecting the German, Dutch, and Belgian contingents. His next object was the organization and disposition of his motley and inexperienced army, which consisted of British, Hanoverian, Dutch, Belgians, and Brunswickers. The infantry was divided into two corps d'armée and a reserve. The first, under the command of the prince of Orange, consisted of four divisions; namely, the 1st and 3rd British, and the 2nd and 3rd Dutch-Belgian. The first British division was commanded by major-general Cooke, the 3rd by lieutenant-general sir Charles Alten; the 2nd Belgian by lieutenant-general de Perponcher, and the 3rd by lieutenant-general baron Chassé. The second corps, under the command of lord Hill, comprised two British and two Dutch-Belgian divisions. The 2nd British was commanded by lieutenant-general sir William Clinton; the 4th by lieutenant-general sir Charles Colville; the 1st Dutch-Belgian by lieutenant-general Stedman; and the 2nd by lieutenant-general baron Anthony. The reserve infantry, consisted of the 5th division under the command of lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton; and the 6th under lieutenant-general sir Lowry Cole; the duke of Brunswick's contingent; the Hanoverian corps under lieutenant-general Van der Decken; and the

Nassau regiment of three battalions under general Van Kruse. The cavalry, under the command of lieutenant-general the earl of Uxbridge, was distributed into fourteen brigades, of which seven were British and the horse of the Peninsular German Legion; the remainder were Dutch, Belgian, and Brunswick hussars and lancers. The first corps was cantoned about Enghien, Braine-le-Comte, Nivelles, and Soignies; the second occupied Ath, Lons, Audenarde, Grammont, and the places adjacent; the reserve and the artillery, which consisted of nine batteries, were at Ghent, Brussels, and the neighbourhood of the capital. The cavalry were stationed at Grammont, Ninove, Mons, and Tournay.

That "no time might be lost," as the duke observed in his letter, dated Bruxelles, 10th April, 1815, to lord Clancarty, the English minister at Vienna, "in commencing our offensive operations," he transmitted the following memorandum for the operations of the several armies of the coalition which were intended should take the field, in order to be submitted for the consideration "of the ministers of the allied powers and the august sovereigns" assembled at the congress of Vienna:—

(Memorandum.)

"12th April, 1815.

"The objects proposed in my letter to the earl of Clancarty, of the 10th, to be undertaken by the corps of the allies, which will probably be assembled in Flanders and on the Rhine in the end of the month of April, is, that by their rapidity they might

be before-hand with the plans and measures of Buonaparte.

“His power now rests upon no foundation but the army; and if we can introduce into the country such a force as is capable either to defeat the army in the field, or to keep it in check, so that the various parties interested in the defeat of Buonaparte’s views may have the power of acting, our object will be accomplished. The allies have no views of conquest; there is no territory which requires in particular to be covered in the course of their operations; their object is to defeat the army, and to destroy the power of one individual; and the only military points to be considered are; 1st, to throw into France, at the earliest possible period, the largest body of men that can be assembled; 2nd, to perform this operation in such a manner that it can be supported by the forces of the allies, which are known to be following immediately; 3rd, that the troops which shall enter France shall be secure of a retreat on the supporting armies, in case of misfortune.

“The troops to be employed in this operation should be the allied British, Hanoverian, and Dutch troops, under the command of the duke of Wellington; the Prussian troops as reinforced, under the command of count Gueissenau; the allied Austrian, Bavarian, Wurtemberg, and Baden troops to be assembled on the upper Rhine, under prince Schwartzberg. The two former should enter France between the Sambre and the Meuse; the duke of Wellington endeavouring to get possession of Mauberge, or, at all events, of Avesnes; and general Gueissenau directing his march on Rocroy and Chimay. The duke of Wellington, besides the garrisons in the places in Flanders and Brabant, should leave a corps of troops in observation on the frontiers. Prince Schwartzberg should collect his corps in the province of Luxembourg, and, while his left should observe the French fortresses of Longwy, Thionville, and Metz, he should possess himself of the forts of Sedan, Stenay, and Dun, and cross the Meuse. The first object would then be accomplished, and we should have in France a larger body of troops than it is possible the enemy can assemble.

“It is expected that the British and Dutch army would be followed in the course of a fortnight by about 40,000 men, and the Prussian army in the same period by 90,000 men; and that the allied Austrian and

Bavarian army would be followed by a Russian army of 180,000. Supposing, then, that the enemy should have the facility of attacking the line of communication of the English, Hanoverian, and Dutch army, by Mauberge, and that of the allied Austrian army from their fortresses on the Upper Moselle and the Upper Meuse; they could not prevent the juncture of those troops. It must, besides, be observed, that the enemy could not venture to leave their fortresses entirely without garrisons of troops of the line, on account of the disgust which the usurpation of Buonaparte has occasioned universally; and the operations on our communications will therefore necessarily be carried on by a diminished body of troops. However inconvenient, then, this may be to those which will have advanced, they can neither prevent the junction of the armies which will be following the first that will enter France, nor can they prevent the retreat of those which are moving to their support.

“According to this scheme, then, we should have in the centre of France a body of above 200,000 men, to be followed up by nearly 300,000 men, and their operations would be directed upon Paris, between the Meuse and the Oise. WELLINGTON.”

The measures suggested in this memorandum were approved of by the great council appointed on the 19th of the same month.

Aware that he could not obtain the requisite number of British troops, he proposed to the Portuguese government to furnish a proportion of those Portuguese troops who had served under him in the Peninsula; and addressed the following letter to the prince regent of the Brazils; but those parties refused to sanction the measure:—

“Bruxelles, 16th April, 1815.

“Sir,—Your royal highness will have learned that I signed, on the 25th of March last, with the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, as the plenipotentiary of his majesty, a treaty of alliance and co-operation, applicable to the circumstances of the moment in Europe, occasioned by the return of Buonaparte to France, and of the usurpation of the supreme power in that country. All the powers of Europe are invited to accede to that treaty; and I imagine that the plenipotentiaries of your royal highness consider themselves authorised to accede to it on the part of your royal highness.

“The object of the treaty is to put into operation against Buonaparte the largest force which the contracting or acceding parties can bring into the field; and that on which I trouble your royal highness is the seat to be chosen for the operation of your royal highness’s troops.

“The natural seat for the operations would be the frontiers of Spain; but I am very apprehensive that the financial resources of his catholic majesty are not of a nature, nor in a situation, to enable him to equip and maintain an army to co-operate actively with that of your royal highness; and yet, without that co-operation, and the assistance which your royal highness would expect to derive from the country, it does not appear that your royal highness’s army could carry on their operations with their accustomed credit in that quarter.

“Under these circumstances, it has appeared to me, that it would be expedient, and I have recommended to your royal highness’s ministers at Vienna, and have requested his majesty’s ministers to recommend to the regency at Lisbon, that your royal highness’s troops should be employed with the allied army assembling in Flanders, and destined to act, under my command, against the common enemy.

“I need not point out to your royal highness’s penetration the advantages to your royal highness’s reputation of appearing in the field on this part of Europe; but, as your troops cannot serve actively in the natural seat of their operations, and they will serve here with their old companions and their old commanders, it appears to me that this measure is to be recommended, if only as one of military expediency. I trust, then, that your royal highness will approve of my having recommended it to your ministers and to the regency.”

“WELLINGTON.”

“Secret memorandum for his royal highness the prince of Orange, the earl of Uxbridge, lord Hill, and the quarter-master-general.

“Bruxelles, 1815.

“1st. Having received reports that the imperial guard had moved from Paris on Beauvais; and a report having been for some days prevalent in the country, that Buonaparte was about to visit the northern frontier, I deem it expedient to concentrate the cantonments of the troops, with a view to their early junction, in case the country should be attacked, for which concentra-

tion the quarter-master-general now sends orders.

“2nd. In this case, the enemy’s line of attack will be either between the Lys and the Scheldt, or between the Sambre and Scheldt, or by both lines.

“3rd. In the first case, I should wish the troops of the 4th division to take up the bridge on the Scheldt, near Avelghem; and with the regiments of cavalry near Courtrai, and fall back upon Audenarde, which post they are to occupy, and to inundate the country in the neighbourhood.

“4th. The garrison of Ghent are to inundate the country in the neighbourhood likewise, and that point is to be held at all events.

“5th. The cavalry in observation at Menin and Furnes are to fall back on Ostend, those between Menin and Tournay on Tournay, &c., and thence to join their regiments.

“6th. The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd divisions of infantry are to be collected at the headquarters of the divisions, and the cavalry at the head-quarters of their several brigades, and the whole to be in readiness to march at a moment’s notice.

“7th. The troops of the Netherlands to be collected at Soignies and Nivelles.

“8th. In case the attack should be made between the Sambre and the Scheldt, I purpose to collect the British and Hanoverians at and in the neighbourhood of Enghien; and the army of the Low Countries at and in the neighbourhood of Soignies and Braine-le-Comte.

“9th. In this case, the 2nd and 3rd divisions will collect at their respective headquarters, and gradually fall back towards Enghien with the cavalry of colonel Arentscheldt, and the Hanoverian brigade.

“10th. The garrison of Mons and Tournay will stand fast; but that of Ath will be withdrawn, with the 2nd division, if the works should have not been sufficiently advanced to render the place tenable against a coup-de-main.

“11th. General sir William Ponsonby’s, sir J. Vandeleur’s, and sir H. Vivian’s brigades of cavalry will march on Hal.

“12th. The troops of the Low Countries will collect in Soignies and Braine-le-Comte.

“13th. The troops of the 4th division and the 2nd hussars, after taking up the bridge at Avelghem will fall back on Audenarde, and there wait for further orders,

“14th. In case of the attack being directed

by both lines supposed, the troops of the 4th division and the 2nd hussars, and the garrison of Ghent, will act as directed in Nos. 3 and 4 of this memorandum; and the 2nd and 3rd division, and the cavalry, and the troops of the Low Countries, as directed in Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12. WELLINGTON."

The Anglo-Belgian army consisted of 82,062 infantry, 14,482 cavalry, 8,166 artillery, and 1,240 engineers, sappers and miners, waggon-train, and staff corps. Of the infantry, 23,543 were British, and 3,301 were of the Peninsular German legion; of the cavalry, 5,913 were British, and 2,560 were of the Peninsular German legion. Of the British infantry, 21,665 were on the field; the rest garrisoned the various fortresses from Mons to Ostend. The French forces in Belgium were 84,235 infantry, 21,665 cavalry, and 16,501 artillery, engineers, and waggon-train. On the field of Waterloo, the Anglo-Belgian infantry were 67,000, the cavalry, 6,550. The rest were Dutch, Belgians, Hanoverians, Nassauers, and Brunswickers. The Brunswick contingent was between 7,000 and 8,000 men. The French infantry in the same locality were 71,947; the cavalry about 23,000; and the artillery, engineers, waggon-train, &c., about the same number. The French troops were all veterans, whose trade, as Davoust said, was war, and their battles as many as their years. Above half of the British infantry in Belgium were second battalions, composed of militia and recruits, who had never been under fire. The Anglo-Belgian army had 156 guns; the French, 246; but a large proportion of the French artillery were 12-pounders, while none of the Anglo-Belgian exceeded a 9-pounder.

"The Anglo-Belgian army," said sir Henry Hardinge, in a letter to lord Stewart, March 27th, "was not unlike lord Rancliff's description of the French pack of hounds, pointers, poodles, turnspits — all mixed up together, and running in sad confusion." There were, however, as one of the duke's biographers humorously adds, "some stanch bull-dogs in the pack." The duke,

* At this time Brussels was thronged with visitors, and the gaieties of fashionable life were intermingled with the din and bustle of military preparations. Dinners, balls, theatrical amusements, and concerts, were of daily and nightly occurrence; while the fields and meadows around were alive, all day long, with military parades and reviews. There was not a grove or a wood within six miles of the place but afforded shelter, as the summer advanced, to frequent encampments. Neither was there a village or hamlet between Binche and the sea-coast but swarmed with armed

himself, had his misgivings as to their quality. In a letter dated "Bruxelles, 6th of April, 1815," he says—"If I could have 40,000 good British infantry I should be satisfied, and take my chance for the rest; and engage that we would play our part in the game. But, as it is, we are in a bad way." From his letters to the same party he seems to have been as little pleased, on account of the ineffective state of the army in respect of artillery, and the requisite horses and drivers. His private and confidential letters describe the troops as "not what they ought to be, so as to enable us to maintain our military character in Europe." Speaking, in a letter to sir Henry Torrens, of the qualifications of the staff-officers sent out to him, his words are—"I must say I do not know how to employ them."

The whole of the line of cantonments—for the purpose of guarding the roads and approaches to Brussels, Ghent, &c., as well as to facilitate the procuring supplies for the troops, thus rendering their subsistence less burdensome to the country; and preserving an uninterrupted communication with Ostend, where all the reinforcements and supplies from England were landed—was of considerable extent, forming a large portion of a circle, of which Brussels* was the centre. By this disposition of his forces the English general was enabled to advance his reserve to the point on which the expected storm might burst, while his main forces were in motion on the line of the enemy's operations. Subject as he was to the disadvantage, while acting on the defensive, of being attacked without knowing the time or point of the attack; no better position could have been selected, unless it is expected by the carping critics, who have found fault with his arrangements, that Buonaparte should have had the politeness to inform him as to the part of the line he meant to assail; that his opponent might have been enabled to concentrate his forces there, and courteously wait for him. The folly and presumption of those critical martial geniuses who have condemned the duke for not having done so, is a subject which does not concern us here. Every chateau, farm-house, and labourer's cottage, afforded accommodation to a greater or smaller number of soldiers. Indeed, portions of the English army made themselves at home among the Flemings, particularly the Highland regiments, who had become so domesticated, that it was no unusual thing to see a kilted warrior either attending the shop of his host, or rocking the cradle, while the mother of the little Fleming was abroad on her domestic affairs.—(Gleig's *Story of the Battle of Waterloo.*)

ing known the point of the enemy's attack, is happily ridiculed by Scott:—

“Some people have been silly enough to consider the duke of Wellington having been surprised as a thing indisputable, because the news of the French advance, first [the second report] reached him in a ball-room. It must be supposed that those good men's idea of war is, that a general should sit sentinel, with his truncheon in his hand, like a statue in the midst of a city market-place, until the tidings come that call him to the field.”

“Free is he, who for his country fights;
He on the eve of battle may resign
Himself to social pleasure—sweetest then,
When danger to the soldier's soul endears
The human joy that never may return.”*

It had been the wish of the duke to take the initiative in offensive operations; and to this effect he transmitted a proposition, on May 8th, for the projected invasion of the French territory to lord Stewart, who was on a mission to Vienna on the behalf of the British government.

Though reports had been made from the outposts of his own army, that the enemy was concentrating his forces; and that the duke, as it has been said, was in hourly expectation of receiving the promised information from Fouché of Buonaparte's plan of the campaign, and the precise moment of its being opened; it must be evident to every competent judge, for the reasons just stated, that any movement on his part would have been highly injudicious, and probably fatal, until the real line of attack was manifested. The explanation of Fouché's conduct is said to be this. Though Buonaparte's minister of police, he continued to maintain a correspondence with Louis XVIII., and promised, as it is said in his *Memoirs*, to furnish the duke of Wellington with the information alluded to; but with his usual duplicity, deceived him in the following manner, as stated in his own *Memoirs*:—

“My agents, with Metternich and lord Wellington, had promised marvels and mountains; the English generalissimo expected that I should, at the very least, give him the plan of the campaign. I knew for certain that the unforeseen attack would take place on the 16th, or 18th at latest. Napoleon intended to give battle on the 17th to the English army, after having marched right over the Prussians on the preceding day.

* Home's Douglas.

He had the more reason to trust to the success of that plan, that Wellington, deceived by false reports, believed the opening of the campaign might be deferred till the beginning of July. The success of Napoleon therefore depended on a surprise; and I arranged my plans in conformity. On the very day of the departure of Napoleon, I despatched Madame D——, furnished with notes written in cipher, containing the whole plan of the campaign. But at the same time I privately despatched orders for placing such obstacles at the frontier, where she was to pass, that she could not arrive at the head-quarters of Wellington till after the event. This was the real explanation of the inconceivable security of the generalissimo, which at the time excited such universal astonishment.”

This statement of Fouché, or of the surreptitious editor of his *Memoirs*, does not appear to be correct. For the duke of Wellington, in a letter addressed to general Dumourier, dated “à Paris, ce 26 Sept., 1815,” says—“Avant mon arrivé à Paris au mois de Juillet, je n'avais jamais vu Fouché, ou eu avec lui communication quelconque, ni avec aucun de ceux qui sont liés avec lui.” The historian of *The History of Europe* should have qualified his communication to his readers on this subject.

During this time, Buonaparte had been no less strenuous in his exertions. At the call of their emperor, his veterans, to whom war and victory had been familiar things, and who, like the barbarians of antiquity, found a savage delight in battle and slaughter, swarmed to his standard. Seven corps d'armées and four corps of reserve cavalry, were assembled on the frontier, under the title of “The Army of the North,” or of “Flanders.” Five corps of observation were formed, under the titles of the armies of the Rhine, of the Alps, of the Jura, of Var, and of the Eastern Pyrenees. The army of the west, or La Vendée, was designed to suppress the insurrection in that department. The line of the Belgian frontier, as also the sea-coast, were studded with numerous detachments of the national guards, the douaniers, and the miscellaneous levies furnished by the fortresses, especially on that part of the frontier which passes in advance of Valenciennes, Condé, Lille, and as far as Dunkirk, under the title of Armée Extraordinaire.

Orders were now despatched from Paris for the concentration of the Grand Army of Flanders. On June 8th, the imperial guard

began its march from Paris, and reached Avesnes on the 13th, on which day all the corps of the army effected their junction. The line of the march of the French army was a road of ruin, the vicinity of their bivouac a scene of desolation. The cottages were plundered, the peasants ill-treated, and the unripe harvest swept away from the fields, to supply thatch for the camp huts, or forage for the horses. The moment they entered the Belgian territory, their conduct was more atrocious; plunder and devastation marked their way, and wherever they bivouacked for the night, that place was a desert in the morning. Their camp of concentration lay in the departments of the north and Ausone, between the Sambre and Philipville, behind some gentle elevations, about a league from the frontier. The triple line of fortresses possessed by the French on the borders of Belgium, had masked the concentration of their levies from the view of the allies.

On the eve of opening the campaign, the following proclamation was, through the medium of an "*ordre du jour*," announced to the army:—

"Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, emperor of the French, &c., to the grand army.

"At the imperial head-quarters,

"Avesnes, June 14th, 1815.

"Soldiers! This day is the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We confided in the oaths and protestations of princes whom we allowed to remain on their thrones. Now, however, leagued together among themselves, they aim at the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march to meet them. Are we and they no longer the same men? Soldiers! at Jena, when fighting against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were as one to two; at Montmirail, as one to three. Let those among you who have been captives in England recite the story of their prison-ships, and the frightful miseries they there endured. The Saxons, Belgians, Hanoverians, and the soldiers of the Rhenish confederacy, groan at the thought of being obliged to lend their arms to the cause of powers who are the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations. They know that the coalition is insatiable; that after having devoured

twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, six millions of Belgians, a million of Saxons—if permitted, it will also devour the lesser states of Germany. Fools that they are! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people is beyond their power. If they enter France they will find in it their graves! Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, perils to encounter; but, with constancy, the victory will be ours. The rights, the honour of the country will be reconquered. For every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment has arrived either to conquer or die. NAPOLEON."

Buonaparte left Paris early on the morning of the 12th, and joined the army on the 14th. By three o'clock the next morning the French army was in movement, and the first and second corps driving in Zieten's Prussian outposts, the rest of the army crossed the Sambre in four bodies, in four different places. General Zieten, unable to maintain himself against the overwhelming force of the enemy, retreated through Charleroi on Fleurus, obstinately contesting every inch of ground, in order to afford Blucher time to concentrate his forces, and for Bulow, who was posted at Hannut, to effectuate the junction of his corps with Blucher. In this contest Zieten sustained a loss of 1,200 men.

While this operation was going on, marshal Ney arrived at head-quarters, to whom Buonaparte gave the command of the left wing of the grand army, with orders to establish himself at Quatre Bras—which is situated at the point of intersection of the roads of Brussels, Nivelles, Charleroi, and Namur, and was the point of concentration selected by the duke of Wellington as soon as the enemy's line of attack was indicated—and then to advance by the Namur road to envelop the Prussian right wing.

Ney, on the 15th, having taken his position in advance of Frasnes, which is distant about a mile and a-half from Quatre Bras, attacked with his advanced guard a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the prince de Weimar, posted at Frasnes, and forced it back on Quatre Bras. Early the next morning, the prince of Orange, reinforcing the repulsed brigade, recovered part of the ground that had been lost; and thus the communication between the Prussian and the Anglo-Belgic army was preserved, and Buonaparte's design of enveloping the right of the Prussian army foiled.

The first intelligence of these events

reached Wellington about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th, from the prince of Orange who arrived to report his operations, and the news he had heard relative to Zieten. Orderlies were immediately hurrying about in every direction, with their books, in search of their officers, to show them the order. The order for marching was fixed for four o'clock in the morning, but an orderly dragoon arriving about ten o'clock at night with despatches from Blucher, the hour of march was altered from four to two o'clock, and in a few minutes after, the Prussian general, Muffling (who was the Prussian agent attached to the duke of Wellington's head-quarters), appeared with the news from Blucher. Immediately, the following orders were despatched to the troops in their various cantonments to hold themselves in readiness at their respective alarm-posts, to march as soon as the enemy's movements should develop his line of attack.

Memorandum for the deputy-quarter-master-general of the Anglo-allied army, on the 15th of June, 1815.

"Movements of the army.

"Bruxelles, 15th of June, 1815.

"General Dörnberg's brigade of cavalry, and the Cumberland hussars, to march this night on Velvorde, and to bivouac upon the high road, near to that town.

"The earl of Uxbridge will be pleased to collect the cavalry this night at Ninhove, leaving the 2nd hussars looking out between the Scheldt and the Lys.

"The 1st division of infantry to collect this night at Ath and places adjacent, and to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice.

"The 3rd division to collect this night at Braine-le-Comté, and to be in readiness to move at the shortest notice.

"The 4th division to be collected this night at Grammont, with the exception of the troops beyond the Scheldt, which are to be moved to Audenarde.

"The 5th division, the 81st regiment, and the Hanoverian brigade of the 6th division, to be in readiness to march from Bruxelles at a moment's notice.

"The duke of Brunswick's corps to collect this night on the road between Bruxelles and Vilvorde.

"The Nassau troops to collect at daylight to-morrow morning on the Louvain road, and to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice.

"The Hanoverian brigade of the 5th

division to collect this night at Hal, and to be in readiness at daylight to-morrow morning to move towards Bruxelles, and to halt upon the high road, between Alost and Assche, for further orders.

"The prince of Orange is requested to collect, at Nivelles, the 2nd and 3rd divisions of the army of the Low Countries; and should that point have been attacked this day, to move the 3rd division of British infantry on Nivelles, as soon as collected.

"This movement is not to take place until it is quite certain that the enemy's attack is on the right of the Prussian army, and the left of the British army.

"Lord Hill will be so good as to order prince Frederick of Orange to occupy Audenarde with 500 men, and to collect the 1st division of the army of the Low Countries and the Indian brigade at Sottegbergn, so as to be ready to march in the morning at daylight.

"The reserve-artillery to be in readiness to move at daylight. WELLINGTON."

A little before ten o'clock on the same evening, a further communication, reached the duke from marshal Blucher, announcing the crossing of the Sambre by the French army, and the required intelligence from other quarters arrived at the same moment; his opinion was now confirmed that the enemy's movement on Charleroi was the real point of attack, and he accordingly gave the following orders for the march of the troops on Quatre Bras:—

"Movement of the army—After-orders,
10 o'clock, P.M.

"Bruxelles, 15th of June, 1815.

"The 3rd division of infantry to continue its movement from Braine-le-Comte on Nivelles.

"The 1st division to move from Enghien on Braine-le-Comte.

"The 2nd and 4th divisions of infantry to move from Ath and Grammont, also from Audenarde, and to continue their movements on Enghien.

"The cavalry to continue its movement from Ninhove on Enghien.

"The above movements to take place with as little delay as possible.

WELLINGTON."

The duke then dressed, and went to the duchess of Richmond's ball.* A second

* Among the numerous unfounded statements relative to the battle of Quatre Bras, one of the most outrageous is that the greater part of the officers joined their respective corps in their ball dresses.

courier—an orderly dragoon, covered with foam and mud—arrived from Blucher about ten o'clock, and the despatches were delivered to the duke of Wellington in the ball-room. While he was reading them, he seemed to be completely absorbed by their contents; and after he had finished, for some minutes he remained in the same attitude of deep reflection, totally abstracted from every surrounding object, while his countenance was expressive of fixed and intense thought. He was heard to mutter to himself—"Marshal Blucher thinks"—"It is marshal Blucher's opinion"—and after remaining thus abstracted a few minutes, and having apparently formed his decision, he, in an under-tone, and with unapparent interest, so as not to attract the attention of the company assembled, gave his usual clear and decisive orders to one of his staff-officers, who instantly left the room; when he was again as gay and animated as ever, and having staid supper, went home."*

It was past midnight, when the drum suddenly beat to arms in Brussels, and the trumpet-call was heard in every quarter of the sleeping city. In a moment the scene was changed from the deepest silence and the occasional glimmer of a few lamps, to one of the wildest confusion; lights flickering from window to window, like so many meteors; and the streets being filled with a Babel sound of voices, some in fear, some in clamorous inquiry, and not a few in lamentation; while amidst the confusion and hurry, and louder than the rest, was the din of warlike preparation; guns, tumbrils, and carts for the wounded, rolled and rumbled heavily along the causeway, their purpose being more distinctly marked by the troops of soldiers who flocked from every side to the Place Royale, all in marching order—some to a joyful victory, others to a speedy death.

There might have been one hour's quiet in the streets of Brussels. The rattle of carriages was over, and sleep seemed to have established his dominion over the city—It is true that a few did; and this was occasioned by the order for marching at four o'clock in the morning having been altered for two o'clock; and that the substituted hour was not known to them, as the orderlies delivered the orders at their quarters. When the ball-room votaries arrived at their billets, intending to doff their ball costume, they found their baggage and servants had all disappeared, in conformity to the substituted order. Consequently there was no alternative, but to set out in their ball dresses to join their regiments. The duchess of Richmond, who was proud of her brother, the last duke of Gordon,

when a bugle-call, heard first in the Place d'Dames, on the summit of the Montagne du Pau, and taken up and echoed back through the various quarters of the town, roused all classes in a moment. The bugle-call was followed by the rolling of drums, and the screaming of bagpipes, with their wild and martial notes. By-and-bye, regiments were seen, by the dim light of the stars, to muster in park, square, street, and alley; horses neighed, guns rumbled over the causeways, drivers shouted; and over all was heard, from time to time, the short, quick word of command, which soldiers love to hear and obey with the greatest promptitude. The reserve, in short, was getting under arms, each brigade at its alarm post; and by-and-bye, one after another, as they were ready, marched off in the direction of the forest of Soignies. Many and heart-rending were the partings which occurred at two o'clock of the morning of this memorable day.† As eight o'clock pealed from the church steeples, all was hushed and quiet; and an ominous and heart-sinking silence succeeded that hurry and confusion, which attend the departure of troops that have been stationed in a peaceful locality, for the battle-field.

With the early dawn of the 16th, the 5th division and the 4th Hanoverian brigade, having been rationed and supplied with ammunition, were in movement towards Quatre Bras, by the direct road through the forest of Soignies, "all marching to the field of honour, and many to an early grave." As the 6th division, under Sir Lowry Cole, whose cantonments were to the right of Brussels, moved laterally to the field of battle, on a line parallel with the frontier of Belgium, the Brunswick contingent, under its duke, followed Picton and the 5th.

About eight o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the duke of Wellington quitted Brussels, and reached Quatre Bras a little after eleven o'clock. After having closely reconnoitred Ney's position in advance of Frasnès, a village on the left of the Brussels the colonel of the 92nd Highlanders, wishing to exhibit to her guests a perfect specimen of the Highland fling, requested a selection to be made among the non-commissioned officers of that corps, who were most skilled in the mysteries of that national dance. At the appointed hour, a little body of Highlanders, preceded by their pipers, marched into the duchess' hall, and there exhibited their performance in reel, strathspey, and sword dance, which is still remembered by the fast-diminishing few who survive to speak of the event.—*Gleig.*

* Booth's Narrative. † Gleig.

BRUSSELS.

SCALE OF 1/4 MILE

ANDERLECHT

M O D E L



PALAIS ROYAL



HOTEL DE VILLE



AVENUE IN THE PARK



road, and about two and a-half miles in advance of Quatre Bras, and being of opinion that Ney was not in sufficient force for immediate offensive movements, he left directions with the Prince of Orange, as to the points of halt for the corps that might arrive on the field in his absence, then galloped to Bry, a village about five miles to the left of Quatre Bras, for the purpose of conferring with marshal Blucher, whom he found in a windmill between Ligny and Bry; the Prussian army being drawn up on a chain of heights extending from Bry to Tonquine, the villages of Ligny and St. Amand, on its front, being occupied in force as outposts. When the Duke viewed the position, he is represented to have said, while expressing his disapprobation of it, "Every man knows his own people best; but I can only say that, with a British army, I should not occupy this ground as you do;" and, as he cantered back to his own ground, turning to his aide-de-camp, Sir Alexander Gordon, he said, "Now mark my words, the Prussians will be beaten. I defy any army not to be beaten, placed as they are, if the force that attacks them be such as I suppose the French under Buonaparte are." The reason of the duke's disapproval of Blucher's position was, that the heights of St. Amand and Ligny were open and exposed throughout their whole range, and consequently they presented a sure mark to artillery planted above Fleurus; and that troops which moved down to the support of the villages, would be exposed to a raking fire, and would lose as many men in feeding the villages as

in their defence; and consequently their columns would be smashed before they reached the points of attack.

The result of the interview between the English and the Prussian generals was, that as Buonaparte appeared on the point of developing his plan of battle, the duke should direct his army by the high road of Quatre Bras to support the Prussian army; there not being time for a flanking movement, so as to operate on the enemy's flank and rear. With this view, he hastened back to the position of the prince of Orange, where he found that matters had undergone a considerable change during his absence. About two o'clock Ney had advanced from the heights of Frasnes with an overwhelming force, consisting of three divisions of Reille's corps, about nineteen hundred lancers, and four batteries of artillery, against the allied position of Quatre Bras, where the prince of Orange was posted, with a force consisting only of between 6,000 and 7,000 Dutch-Belgian infantry, and sixteen guns. The village of Piermont, the town of Gemioncourt, and the south part of the Bois du Bossu, which is close to Quatre Bras, immediately fell into the possession of the enemy. Fortunately at that critical moment, the 5th division, under Picton, followed by the Brunswick contingent, under its duke, were seen descending from the elevated grounds that overlooked Quatre Bras. The duke of Wellington had just reached the battle ground, on his return from Bry, as the British division appeared in sight.

BATTLE OF QUATRE BRAS.

Picton's division, comprising the 8th and 9th brigades, the former consisting of the first battalion of the 42nd, the second battalion of the 44th, the first battalion of the 92nd, and the first battalion of the 95th rifles, under sir James Kempt; and the latter consisting of the first battalion of the 28th, the first battalion of the 32nd, the first battalion of the 79th, and the third battalion of the 1st royals, under sir Denis Pack, and the 4th Hanoverian brigade, under colonel Best, rapidly advanced for the purpose of forming on the Namur road, and among the little dales and dips of ground which were covered with wheat and rye, growing to a considerable height. Before

they were fully established on their battle-ground, the enemy opened a tremendous fire of artillery, and, under its cover, launched two strong columns of infantry, supported by a large body of cavalry, against them, in the hope of crushing them before they could effect their formation; but they met with so determined a resistance, that they were compelled to fall back rapidly. As soon as their advance was perceived by the duke, he directed the two British brigades of Picton's division to advance and drive them back. The command accorded with Picton's fiery temper. Putting himself at the head of his gallant brigade, and leaving the 92nd in reserve, in a ditch that bordered

the Namur road, in order to keep that road, and provide against accidents—"there," said he, "is the enemy, and you must beat him." The command was responded to with the hearty and animating cheer which predicts success. The enemy was repulsed on all sides, and fell back in disorder on his original position.

The second battalion of the 95th were now directed to regain the thicket near Piermont, in which the enemy had entrenched themselves, and had thus gained the command of the Namur road. The enemy were quickly driven out, and thus the communication between Quatre Bras and Ligny was restored.

The Brunswick contingents were now about entering into action; but no sooner had a column of French infantry, supported by a heavy mass of cavalry, appeared on their front, than hussars, lancers, and infantry, took to flight in confusion and dismay; some hurrying through Quatre Bras, others forcing their way through the allied line on the left of that point. Both parties, French and Brunswickers, whirled so rapidly passed the 42nd and 44th, who were in the middle of a field of rye, on a reverse slope of the road, that they could scarcely distinguish friend from foe; and the consequence was, they were exposed to a furious charge by the enemy's cavalry, before either regiment had time to form themselves into square. "Just as the two flank companies were running in to form the rear face, the French lancers had reached the regiment, when a considerable portion of their leading squadron penetrated the square, carrying with them, by the impetus of their charge, several men of those two companies, and creating a momentary confusion. But the long tried discipline and steadiness of the highlanders did not forsake them at this most critical juncture: those lancers, instead of effecting the destruction of the square, were themselves fairly hemmed into it, and either bayoneted or taken prisoners, whilst the endangered face, restored as if by magic, suc-

* *Siborne's History of the War in France and Belgium.*

† "One regiment, after sustaining a furious cannonade, was suddenly, and on three different sides, assailed by cavalry. Two faces of the square were charged by the lancers, while the cuirassiers galloped down upon another. It was a trying moment. There was a death-like silence; and one voice alone, clear and calm, was heard. It was their colonel's, who called upon them to be 'steady.' On came the enemy!—the earth shook beneath the horsemen's feet; while on every side of the devoted band, the corn bending beneath the rush of cavalry disclosed

cessfully repelled all further attempts on the part of the French to complete their expected triumph."* Sir Robert Macara, the colonel of the 42nd, being killed in this charge, the command of the regiment devolved, in the course of a few minutes, successively on lieutenant-colonel Dicks, brevet-major Davidson, and brevet-major Campbell, the first of whom was severely wounded, the second mortally. The 2nd battalion of the 44th regiment, which was posted in lines on the same reverse slope on the left of the Charleroi road, being attacked by the French lancers before they could form square, received them in line, the rear ranks facing right about, as the 28th had done in Egypt, and delivering a volley with murderous precision, repulsed their assailants.

When Kellerman's heavy cavalry reached the field, and were hurled against these two devoted little bands, the remnants of the shattered regiments forming themselves into two diminutive squares, had again to sustain a rapid succession of furious charges. Though momentarily diminishing, they still presented a serried line of glittering bayonets, and held their ground with unflinching tenacity. To prevent their destruction, the duke of Wellington directed Picton, as a substitute for cavalry, of which there were as yet none on the field but the dismounted Brunswick hussars, lancers, and the Belgian cavalry, to unite the 1st royals and the 28th regiment into column and advance against the enemy. The little band, on reaching the foe, forming itself into square, marched into the midst of the hostile cavalry, consisting of cuirassiers, lancers, and chasseurs-à-cheval, and bravely commenced the fearful contest with the enemy. The 32nd regiment and the 79th highlanders followed the same course. The desperate and repeated charges of the French cavalry were invariably repulsed by the gallant band, with a withering and destructive storm of musketry.† In this attack many of the French lancers directed their horses on the point where the their numerous assailants. The lance blades nearly met the bayonets of the kneeling front rank—the cuirassiers were within a few paces—yet not a trigger was drawn. But, when the word 'fire!' thundered from the colonel's lips, each side poured out its deadly volley—and in a moment the leading files of the French lay before the square, as if hurled by a thunderbolt to the earth. The assailants, broken and dispersed, galloped off for shelter to the tall rye, while a constant stream of musketry from the British square, carried death into their retreating squadrons."—*Stories of Waterloo.*

standards of the 44th were waving. Ensign Christie, who carried one of the colours, having received a lance wound, which entered his eye, and penetrated to the lower jaw, to save the colours from the grasp of his antagonist, threw it upon the ground and flung himself upon it. As the colour fluttered in the fall, the Frenchman tore off a small portion of the silk with the point of his lance, but he was not able to carry off his prize, being both bayoneted and shot by the men who stood on the right and left of their officer.

At this period of the action, the Belgian infantry, in a panic, deserted the field. The situation of the British and their Hanoverian allies, who were nearly exhausted with fatigue, was now critical in the highest degree, as they reduced in numbers to less than 12,000 men. At this critical moment (four o'clock) two infantry brigades, amounting to 5,500 men of the third division, accompanied by two batteries of foot artillery, opportunely arrived; but they were scarcely posted before they were fiercely attacked. The 69th regiment, which was attached to that reinforcement, had formed square, for the purpose of resisting the impending cavalry charge; but being ordered by the prince of Orange to deploy, they were suddenly attacked by the French cuirassiers, whose approach had been masked by the great height of the rye, and lost one colour, and several men in killed and wounded. But at length the enemy was repulsed

* The following graphic description of the charge of the guards on this memorable day, as given by the author of the *Victories of Wellington*, will not be uninteresting to the reader:—"At this period of the battle, the guards, after a march of seven-and-twenty miles, arrived from Enghien, from whence they had moved at three in the morning. Exhausted by heat and fatigue, they halted at Nivelles, lighted fires, and prepared to cook their dinners. But the increasing roar of cannon announced that the duke was seriously engaged, and a staff-officer brought orders to hurry on. The bivouac was instantly broken up—the kettles packed—the rations abandoned—and the wearied troops cheerfully resumed their march. The path to the field of battle could not be mistaken; the roar of cannon was succeeded by the roll of musketry, which at every step became more clearly audible; and waggons, heaped with wounded British and Brunswickers interspersed, told that the work of death was going on. The guards, indeed, came up at a fortunate crisis. The Bois de Bossu was won; and the tirailleurs of the enemy, debouching from its cover, were about to deploy upon the roads that it commanded, and would thus intercept the duke's communication with the Prussians. The fifth division, sadly reduced, could hardly hold their ground—any offensive movement was impracticable—and the French tirailleurs

from all those advanced points on the left which he had gained in the early part of the battle.

Ney now advanced from the Bois de Bossu against the right of the position of Quatre Bras. At this juncture of the contest (half-past six o'clock) the first division, composed of two brigades of guards, under generals Maitland and Byng, who had left their cantonments at Enghien about three in the morning, joined battle, after a fatiguing march of fifteen hours; during which they had received no food, nor any kind of drink but the water they found by the way-side. They immediately entered the Bois de Bossu, with loud cheers, from which the Belgians had just been driven; and though they met a destructive fire from an invisible enemy—each tree, bush, and ditch being made points of determined and deadly defence—they drove the enemy out of their stronghold. But the intricacy of the copse had broken the British ranks, and when they debouched on its opposite side, they found in their front a line of French infantry ready to oppose their march, and force the wood. Nothing daunted, they drove the enemy before them up the rising ground; but, observing a body of cuirassiers advancing, they immediately fell back on the skirts of the wood, where they received the enemy with so destructive a fire, that the French horsemen betook themselves to rapid flight.*

The battle was now near its termination.

were actually issuing from the wood—but on perceiving the advancing columns, they halted. The first brigade of guards, having loaded and fixed bayonets, were ordered to advance—and, wearied as they were with a fifteen hours' march, they cheered, and pushed forward. In vain the thick trees impeded them—and although every bush and coppice was held and disputed by the enemy, the tirailleurs were driven in on every side. Taking advantage of a rivulet which crossed the wood, the enemy attempted to form and arrest the progress of the guards. That stand was momentary—they were forced from their position, and the wood once more was carried by the British. Their success was, however, limited to its occupation; the broken ground and close timber prevented the battalion from forming; and when it emerged, and of course in considerable disorder—from its cover, the masses of cavalry drawn up in the open ground charged and forced it back. At last, after many daring attempts to debouch and form, the first brigade fell back upon the third battalion, which, by flanking the wood, had been enabled to form square, and repulse the cavalry, and there the brigade halted. Evening was now closing in—the attacks of the enemy became fewer and feebler—a brigade of heavy cavalry with horse artillery came up—and, worn out by the sanguinary struggle of six long hours, the assailants

One after another, by great exertion, the strongholds which the enemy had won in the early part of the battle, were recovered. The 95th rifles and the German legion had regained Piermont; Picton's division had retaken Gemioncourt; and the guards had repossessed themselves of the wood of Bossu. About nightfall, Ney, feeling his inferiority, drew off his troops to their position on the heights near Frasnés; and, at the same moment, Wellington ordered a general advance; but the enemy maintained their position in spite of a gallant effort to dislodge them.

The loss of the British and Hanoverians was, in killed 350, in wounded 2,380.* The killed and wounded of the Belgians were 819. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was 4,140. Few prisoners were taken on either side, the French having commenced the action by giving no quarter. The 27th, 40th, and 4th regiments of infantry, which had been but a few days before disembarked at Ostend from America, reached Quatre Bras about nine o'clock on the night following the battle.

The allied army bivouacked on the field, not only wet with the blood, and cumbered with the bodies of the slain, but drenched with water; a thunderstorm, accompanied with torrents of rain, having converted every meadow and corn-field into a bog.

The heroic manner in which the remnants of Kempt's and Pack's brigades held their ground, in the battle of Quatre Bras, and repelled the fierce and repeated cavalry attacks, throughout the terrific struggle, stands pre-eminent in the records of the triumphs and prowess of British infantry. These attacks were often made simultaneously on all the squares, one mass of squadrons rushing on one square, while other squadrons assailed the next; and no sooner had one attacking squadron been withdrawn than a fresh one would rush from the cover which

ceased their attack—and the fifth and third divisions took a position for the night upon the ground their unbounded heroism had held through this long and bloody day."

* During the action, an ensign suddenly fell down as if killed, with the colours in his hands. Four or five days after the battle of Waterloo he came to his regiment, dressed in Prussian uniform, and gave the following account of himself. He said that at the battle of Quatre Bras, he felt himself struck down and deprived of sense and motion, all in an instant; at the same moment, some object passed his head with great velocity. He added, that he came to his senses while some French soldiers were stripping off his

the sinuosities of the ground and the great height of the rye presented, upon the same ranks. In the course of the desperate struggle of this day, the duke received but little efficient aid from his Dutch-Belgian and Brunswick allies. In the very commencement of the action, the 3rd Dutch-Belgian light cavalry brigade, amounting to 2,000 men, fled in so great confusion from the presence of the French lancers, that coming, in the course of their flight, in contact with the duke, they carried him away with them to the rear of Quatre Bras. The conduct of the panic-stricken Brunswick hussars and lancers has just been mentioned. In the latter stage of the action, the 2nd Dutch-Belgian infantry division, amounting to 7,533 men, deserted the field. When the 1st British division, in its march from Enghien to the field of battle, fell in with various groups of them fleeing in great disorder and consternation—to their inquiry as to the cause of their flight, one party answered that their commanding officer had been killed; another, that they had been present merely to witness the advance of the French; and a third, that Buonaparte would certainly be victorious, and therefore it would be useless to contend against him. The duke of Wellington, in his endeavours to rally the Brunswick hussars and lancers, who had fled in great consternation before the French, was carried by them, in their headlong flight, to the very edge of the ditch within which the 92nd Highlanders were posted. To escape the hot pursuit of the hostile cavalry, he called out to the men in his immediate front to lie down while he leaped his horse across the ditch. As soon as he was on the other side, the Highlanders sprang to their feet, and sent a volume of fire into the ranks of the pursuers which emptied many of their saddles. Nor was the duke yet safe, some of the leading horsemen having galloped forward, got in the rear of the ditch, and were in the act of rushing on the

clothes. He begged of them to return him his apparel, but they refused to do so; saying that he was, to all intents and purposes, *un mort*. They then took him to Jerome Buonaparte's corps, from which, after much maltreatment, he made his escape to the Prussians, in a state of nudity, and from whom he received the uniform which he had on. The cause of his sudden fall was, that he had been stunned by a cannon-ball passing close to his head. Several similar instances of the kind had occurred in the course of the Peninsular War, and in some cases the parties were deprived of life, by their escaping into the vacuum of the air, which the rapidity of the ball had produced. — *United Service Journal*, 1841, vol. ii., p. 175.

duke, when a leaden tempest from the Highlanders brought them all down.*

During the 16th and 17th, the people of Brussels were in so great consternation, that all business was suspended, and the shops shut up. The English residents had nearly

all left for Antwerp, Ostend, &c. The arrival of the "Braves Belges" cavalry on the morning of the 17th, who reported that the "terrible" French horsemen were at their heels, greatly contributed to increase the fears of the inhabitants.

THE BATTLE OF LIGNY.

WHILE the battle-strife was raging fiercely and desperately between Wellington and Ney at Quatre Bras, as fierce and desperate a contest ensued between Blucher and Buonaparte at Ligny, and in each case the conflict began about the same hour and endured till nightfall.

As soon as Zieten had fallen back on Fleurus, on Buonaparte's advance, Blucher having concentrated the Prussian army on Sombreuf with all possible activity, posted it on an eminence, the right resting on the village of St. Amand, the left extended towards Sombreuf, while the centre occupied Ligny. A furious battle ensued, during which 500 cannon and incessant volleys of musketry and repeated charges of cavalry had been dealing out death and destruction in every direction.

The battle having raged for six hours with unremitting fury, Buonaparte, on d'Erlon's corps—which had been posted at Marchiennes as a reserve to co-operate

* Ney attempts to account for the loss of this important battle by stating that Buonaparte had disposed of D'Erlon's reserve corps, which Ney had left at Frasnés without apprising him of the circumstance. The following is Ney's version of the affair in a letter addressed to Fouché, dated Paris, June the 26th, 1815:—"Having arrived on the 12th, at Laon, on the 13th at Avesnes, and on the 14th at Beaumont, I purchased, in this last city, two horses from the duke of Treviso, with which I repaired, on the 15th, to Charleroi, accompanied by my first aid-de-camp, the only officer who attended me. I arrived at the moment when the enemy, attacked by our troops, was retreating upon Fleurus and Gosselies. The emperor ordered me immediately to put myself at the head of the first and second corps of infantry, commanded by lieutenant-generals D'Erlon and Reille, of the division of light cavalry of lieutenant-general Pine, of the division of light cavalry of the guard under the command of lieutenant-generals Lefebvre Desnouettes and Colbert, and of two divisions of cavalry of the count Valmy, forming, in all, eight divisions of infantry, and four of cavalry. With these troops, a part of which only I had as yet under my immediate command, I pursued the enemy, and forced him to evacuate Gosselies, Frasnés, Millet, Heppegnies. There they took up a position for the night, with the exception of the first corps, which was still at Marchiennes,

either with Ney or Buonaparte, as occasion might require—appearing in view, moved forward against the Prussian centre eight battalions of the grenadiers of the guards and the whole of Milhaud's heavy cavalry, under cover of repeated salvos of artillery. The contested point, after a desperate conflict, animated and intermingled with the alternate war-cries of "En avant," "Vive l'Empereur," "Vorvouts" (forward), "Hourrah," having been carried (but not until the villages of Ligny and St. Amand had been four times taken and retaken, and their streets were choked up with the slain), the Prussian army retreated from the scene of terrific conflict towards Tilly, on the road to Wavre, in order to effect a junction with Bulow's corps; and in compliance with the previous arrangements that had been made between Wellington and Blucher, that, in case of not being able to maintain their positions at Quatre Bras and Ligny, they should each fall back, and unite their

and which did not join me till the following day. On the 16th I received orders to attack the English in their position at Quatre Bras. We advanced towards the enemy with an enthusiasm, difficult to be described. Nothing resisted our impetuosity. The battle became general, and victory was no longer doubtful, when, at the moment that I intended to order up the first corps of infantry, which had been left by me in reserve at Frasnés, I learned that the emperor had disposed of it without advertising me of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard of the second corps, on purpose to direct them upon St. Amand, and to strengthen his left wing, which was vigorously engaged with the Prussians. The shock which this intelligence gave me, confounded me. Having no longer under me more than three divisions, instead of the eight upon which I calculated, I was obliged to renounce the hopes of victory; and, in spite of all my efforts, in spite of the intrepidity and devotion of my troops, my utmost efforts after that could only maintain me in my position till the close of the day. About nine o'clock, the first corps was sent me by the emperor, to whom it had been of no service. Thus twenty-five or thirty thousand men were, I may say, paralyzed, and were idly paraded during the whole of the battle from the right to the left, and the left to the right, without firing a shot."

forces on the skirts of the forest of Soignies.

For the purpose of retarding the enemy's pursuit, Blucher ordered a charge of a body of cavalry. He headed the charge, had his horse killed by a cannon ball, and, falling under it, he lay entangled and stunned during the tumultuous hurry of the fight, until the cuirassiers were repulsed; both his own men and the enemy having rode and re-rode over him. During this bloody and obstinate conflict, a war of the elements lent its accompaniments to the terrors of the battle. A thunder-storm, accompanied with torrents of rain, took place at the moment the Prussian centre was carried. The loss of the Prussians in killed and wounded was 12,000 men, with 21 guns and 8 stand of colours. The French loss was about 7,000. The great loss Blucher had sustained was occasioned by his collecting his forces in large masses, so that the shot which missed the foremost lines struck down the reserves.

The Prussian army consisted of 83,417 men, of whom about 8,000 were cavalry, with 244 guns. The French army amounted to 71,203 men, of whom about 12,000 were cavalry, with 240 guns. In the course of the action 8,000 of the Westphalian levies fled from the field, and many of those troops who had served in French ranks, joined their former companions. In the course of the night of the 18th, the Prussian army was concentrated in the vicinity of Wavre, and was thus in a line with the right of the Anglo-allied army at Waterloo. On the night of the 14th, general Bourmont, the chief of Buonaparte's staff, deserted to the Prussians.

On the morning of the 18th, Buonaparte having detached Grouchy, with a corps of 32,000 men, in pursuit of Blucher, broke up from Ligny, and advanced in a lateral direction on Quatre Bras, by the high road of Namur, having previously instructed Ney that he would assail the allied army in flank while Ney attacked it in front.

RETREAT FROM QUATRE BRAS TO WATERLOO.

DURING the night of the 16th, the duke of Wellington received a short note from sir Henry Hardinge, who was attached to the head-quarters of marshal Blucher, apprising him of the defeat of the Prussians; but as no intimation was given of the direction of the retreat of the Prussians, early in the morning of the 17th, Sir Alexander Gordon, attended by an escort of hussars, was detached to ascertain that fact. On approaching Sombreuf, the patrol found that the Prussian rear-guard had not evacuated Bry till three o'clock in the morning, and that Blucher had retreated on Tilly for the purpose of concentrating his forces in the vicinity of Wavre, as also to effectuate a junction with Bulow.

In the mean time, the whole of the Anglo-allied army stood ready at daylight to advance to the support of the Prussians; but the report of sir Alexander Gordon determined the duke, as his left had become exposed by Blucher's retreat, to make a corresponding lateral retrograde movement with the regressive one of the Prussian army, and to take up a position which would enable him to maintain his lateral communication with Blucher's right wing.

The wounded having been collected and

sent to the rear, the allied army prepared to retire from the position of Quatre Bras to Waterloo. The troops withdrew by brigades, and this movement was masked with so great skill as to be for some time totally unsuspected by the enemy. A rear-guard of cavalry and horse artillery was left under the earl of Uxbridge, in front of Quatre Bras, which continued in their position until the cuirassiers, which Buonaparte had brought up in his lateral march from Ligny, approached the position.

The only incident of note that occurred during the retreat, took place at Genappe, where the little river that runs through the town is crossed by a narrow bridge. A large body of cavalry, headed by the imperial lancers, had followed the allied rear-guard. When the lancers had passed the bridge, as the position was peculiarly favourable for their attack, being flanked by the houses and lofty embankments, they provoked an encounter with the covering squadron of the 7th hussars. At the moment, a violent thunder-storm took place. But the 7th hussars, nowise discouraged, advanced to repel the attack. A fierce encounter ensued; the 7th hussars at one moment forcing back the lancers, and at the next were

compelled to give way to their opponents; but as the English horsemen were unable, from the high and steep banks on either side of the road, to get at the flanks of their enemy, and that in front the phalanx of long, close-set lancers, supported by a solid mass of cavalry in the rear, were unable to make any impression on the enemy, lord Uxbridge ordered them to retire, and immediately launched the 1st life-guards, who were posted on an eminence, about 700 yards from the village, against the foe. That regiment rushing rapidly into the serried ranks, overthrew them with great slaughter, and drove them to the opposite outlet of the town. The pursuit being thus severely checked, the columns fell back on their appointed position on the heights of Mont St. Jean without interruption, which they reached about five o'clock in the evening. About two hours afterwards, the enemy took their position on the opposite heights, when they began to cannonade the British line, but in less than an hour the cannonade ceased. The rest of the evening was employed by the several divisions filing into their prescribed positions. During the retrogressive movement of this day, the duke filled up, in his own writing, the plan of the battle of Waterloo, which had been mapped and laid down by captain Pringle and colonel Wells, with the places which the several brigades and regiments were to occupy.

"The establishment of pickets, and the planting of sentries and videttes, now commenced. During the progress of a regular campaign, after armies have begun, as it were, to become acquainted with each other, their operations are conducted with perfect good humour, no advantage being taken on either side of a mere blunder, but each civilly informing the other if by chance a wrong direction should have been followed, or too near an approach made to the main position. This evening a different feeling seemed to prevail; there was positive exasperation on the part of the French, which gradually stirred the bile of their opponents; so that all along the valley which separated the two armies, a series of skirmishes and single combats went on. For a while no sentry took his station till after the interchange of shots between the party from which he was detached and the enemy; so that, as night advanced, the whole front of the position was lighted up by the flashes of musketry."*

* Gleig.

The bivouac of the night preceding the battle was one of the most dreary and cheerless that can be conceived. The weather assumed an almost tropical inclemency. Furious gusts of wind, heavy bursts of rain, vivid lightning and echoing peals and crashes of thunder, lasted the livelong night. The only resting-place for the troops was upon the drenched earth, or among the dripping corn.

During the retreat the conduct of the French cavalry had been that of savages, massacring the stragglers and occasional prisoners who fell into their hands. These men were embued with none of those feelings which prevail among generous spirits, ennobling war till its horrors are almost hidden in its chivalry.

The retreat from Quatre Bras to Waterloo having occasioned the necessity of a change in the orders of the 15th, the following instructions were issued to lord Hill:—

"Instructions for the movements of the army on the 17th, to general lord Hill, G.C.B.

"17th June, 1815.

"The 2nd division of British infantry to march from Nivelles on Waterloo at ten o'clock.

"The brigades of the 4th division, now at Nivelles, to march from that place to Waterloo at ten o'clock. Those brigades of the 4th division at Braine-le-Comte, and on the road from Braine-le-Comte to Nivelles, to collect and halt at Braine-le-Comte this day.

"All the baggage on the road from Braine-le-Comte to Nivelles to return immediately to Braine-le-Comte, and to proceed immediately thence to Hal and Bruxelles.

"The spare musket ammunition to be immediately parked behind Genappe.

"The corps under the command of prince Frederick of Orange will move from Enghien this evening, and take up a position in front of Hal, occupying Braine-le-Château with two battalions.

"Colonel Erstorff will fall back with his brigade on Hal, and place himself under the orders of prince Frederick.

WELLINGTON."

As it was possible that the enemy might advance by the Mons road, and for the purpose of seizing Brussels by a coup-de-main, endeavour to turn the allied position by Hal, major-general sir Charles Colville received the following instructions for the security of that flank, with the two brigades and British

foot battery, under his command. The design of penetrating to Brussels by Hal, had really been entertained by Buonaparte, and for this purpose he had detached a body of 5,000 cavalry, on the evening of the 17th, to make a detour, and, if possible, gain unseen the Enghien or the Braine-le-Comté road.

"To major-general the hon. sir C. Colville, G.C.B.

"17th June, 1815.

"The army retired this day from its position at Quatre Bras to its present position in front of Waterloo.

"The brigades of the 4th division at Braine-le-Comté are to retire at daylight to-morrow morning on Hal.

"Major-general Colville must be guided by the intelligence he receives of the enemy's movements on his march to Hal, whether he moves by the direct road or by Enghien.

"Prince Frederick of Orange is to occupy with his corps the position between Hal and Enghien, and is to defend it as long as possible.

"The army will probably continue in its position in front of Waterloo to-morrow.

"Lieutenant-colonel Torres will inform lieutenant-general sir C. Colville of the position and situation of the armies.

"WELLINGTON."

THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

AFTER a night of storms, with heavy rain, thunder and lightning, and violent gusts of wind—such as few of the old Peninsular soldiers recollected—the morning broke slowly and gloomily from heavy masses of watery clouds;* and scarcely had the morning dawned, when the numerous groups stretched around the smouldering remains of the bivouac fires, or lying under such slender cover as the few trees and brushwood within range of the position of their respective regiments afforded, were gradually in motion. The officers in command of the several pickets, in both armies, were then actively engaged in withdrawing their vedettes and sentries, from the very small and almost

conversational distance that had separated them during the night; concentrating their detachments, and establishing their main posts more within the immediate range of the respective positions of the hostile armies. The drying and cleaning of fire-arms now became general; and soon drums, bugles, and trumpets were heard over the whole field, sounding the assembly. While the regimental inspections, tellings off, and other preparatory arrangements were proceeding, staff officers were galloping in all directions, and the different brigades proceeded to move into position.†

The battle-field of Waterloo was of limited extent, scarcely extending two miles in length

* The night before the battle, the troops lay down, already drenched with the heavy rain, in the deep mud of the ground. Every one must have remarked, that by a singular fatality, our brave army have often had very unfavourable weather for their greater exploits. The country had been quite dry till the movement of the troops from their cantonments; but on the 17th, the rain and thunder and lightning continued almost without intermission, till the morning of Waterloo, when it ceased; and the weather became fine again. Fortunately, there was too much excitement of spirit, for this physical inconvenience to be much felt, either at the time or afterwards. The men were fresh from cantonments; and their toil, though severe, was short. An Irish officer, recounted the effect of the wet bivouac on himself, in a manner which gives a striking view of the high feeling of the men who sustained in the field the honour of our country. When he got up about six o'clock in the morning, he could not stand with a

violent shivering; but fell down in the mud again. He made several efforts, but in vain. Without dreaming, when he recounted the circumstance, of an inference favourable to himself, he described his feelings to have been perfect agony, arising from the dread that he should not be able to do his duty. An hour or two, and a little brandy revived him; and when he found he could stand, his relief of mind amounted to the most exquisite joy he ever felt in his life. Yet 130,000 ferocious enemies were full in his view—he distinctly heard the shout of "vive l'Empereur," the signal for the tremendous onset; death was coming on in its most threatening aspect; in the gloom of the morning, the vast, broad, and deep masses of the enemy, with their mighty reserves yet further and further back till they seemed to meet the horizon, appeared, as he expressed himself, as if the forest of Soignies had changed its situation.

† Siborne.



WELLINGTON
AND HIS STAFF
AT
WATERLOO.

by the same breadth. The positions of the hostile armies were on opposite ridges or elevations, with gentle acclivities, each declining for about a quarter of a mile, and having a valley or hollow between them, varying from six to nine hundred yards; the slopes and the valley being covered with lofty crops of rye and other grain. The heights occupied by the Anglo-allies, were called Mont St. Jean; those on which the French army was posted, La Belle Alliance, designations derived from the two villages in their rear.*

The Anglo-allied position extended along the front of the forest of Soignies, near the intersection of the Brussels and Nivelles roads, near which stands the hamlet of Mont St. Jean; and, at the debouch of the forest, the village of Waterloo, situated at about the distance of one mile and a-half from Mont St. Jean. The range of heights on which the French army was marshalled, was of less elevation than that of the allies, and was protected on its rear by a mass of heavy woods. The range of heights occupied by the allies, partook of a curvature in the centre, which occasioned the English line to assume a concave form. The respective dispositions of the hostile armies were those of consummate masters in the art of war.

The extreme left of the allied position rested on a height above the hamlet of Ter la Haye, protected by a deep ravine which descends on that side towards Ohain, along the heights of St. Lambert; from which, by means of patrols, the duke of Wellington kept up his communication with the Prussians at Wavre. The left centre, which was the weakest part of the line, stood a little in the rear of the farm of La Haye Sainte; and behind that part of the line, on the

declivity of the hill, was the farm of Mont St. Jean; and still farther on, the hamlet of the same name. The right centre was in the rear of Hougomont, situated about 300 yards from the foot of the heights, and near the road from Nivelles. The right wing was thrown back nearly at right angles with the centre, and terminated at the village of Merke-braine, which was protected by a ravine, and separated by an extended plateau from Braine-la-Leud, which was also occupied; and thus a communication was kept up with the two corps of observation; the one under sir Charles Colville, at Tubise, about a mile from Hal, and the other under prince Frederick of Orange, at Braine-le-Chateau, for the purpose of covering Brussels from any circuitous attack of the enemy. La Haye Sainte consisted of a farm-house, with an orchard of about 240 yards long by 80 broad. Hougomont† was an old-fashioned chateau, or country house, on one side of which was a farm yard and outbuildings; on the other a chapel and observatory, with a garden surrounded by a brick wall: a wood of tall beech trees covering about three or four acres, was in front. The forest of Soignies, which extended almost to the gates of Brussels, being composed of tall beech trees, unencumbered with brushwood, and intersected by numerous cross roads and lanes in every direction, as well as two high roads, or chaussées running through it direct to Brussels, was practicable for infantry and artillery.

The distribution of the Anglo-allied army was in two lines, with the cavalry in the rear.‡ In the first line were Vivian's light cavalry (10th, 18th, and 1st hussars of the German legion). Next Vandeleur's brigade (11th, 12th, and 16th light dragoons). Then

Waterloo from the great road already described, passed the right of the army; which last being thrown back into a curve, crossed the angle formed by the two roads, like the scale of a quadrant. A number of smaller roads and foot-paths intersected the field in all directions, none of them of any importance in the affair, excepting always those which admitted the Prussians.—*Visit to Waterloo*, 1815.

† Until the battle of Waterloo, this place was known by the name of Gomont. The transformation took place from the misconception of the pronunciation.

‡ The following regiments, who had served in the Peninsula, were not present at Waterloo:—The 3rd and 5th dragoon guards; 3rd, 4th, and 14th light dragoons; 9th lancers; 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 20th, 24th, 26th, 29th, 31st, 34th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 43rd, 45th, 47th, 48th, 50th, 53rd, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 66th, 67th, 68th, 74th, 76th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 87th, 88th, and 91st foot.

* So very simple is the field of Waterloo, that a conception of very ordinary power may quite take it in from description alone. Although here and there varied by inequalities and undulations, it will serve all popular purposes to say, that at the distance from each other of about a mile, the contending armies occupied parallel high grounds, sloping with almost equal declivity, to a plain of about half a mile broad which intervened. The English line, or rather two lines, extended about a mile and a half;—the French masses something more than two miles. The Brussels road ran at right angles through both armies; forming the centre of each. On this road, in one line, are the villages of Waterloo, and Mont St. Jean, and the farm houses of La Haye Sainte, and La Belle Alliance; and the only other place which requires to be referred to, is the memorable chateau of Hougomont, advanced a short way in front of nearly the right of the British position. The road from Brussels to Nivelles, which branches off at

came Picton's division, consisting of the 5th, and Best's and Venche's Hanoverian brigades. Then Bylandt's Netherlanders, consisting of five Dutch and Belgian battalions. Pack's brigade stood next; then Kempt's brigade. The 3rd division then took up the line. The 2nd brigade of the German, was in connection with the 95th rifles. Next to the 2nd German legion brigade was Kielmanazge's Hanoverian brigade, communicating by its right with Halkett's British brigade, composed of the 1st battalion of the 33rd, and the 2nd battalions of the 30th, 69th, and 73rd. On the extreme right was the 1st division, composed of two brigades of the Coldstream and 1st and 3rd foot guards. The second line consisted chiefly of the Brunswick, Dutch, and Belgian troops, supported by the 6th brigade, consisting of the 4th, 27th, and 40th regiments, under Lambert. The cavalry, consisting of Grant's brigade (7th and 15th hussars, and the 13th light dragoons); Dörnberg's brigade (23rd light dragoons, and 1st and 2nd light dragoons, German legion); Arentschild's 3rd hussars, German legion, the Cumberland and Brunswick hussars, and the two heavy brigades; the first consisting of the 1st royal dragoons, the Scotch Greys, and the 6th Enniskillen dragoons, under sir William Ponsonby; and the second, of the 1st and 2nd life guards, the blues, and the 1st dragoon guards, under lord Edward Somerset, were posted in the rear in reserve—the whole under the command of the earl of Uxbridge, along nearly the whole extent of the reverse slope of the position. Lord Hill's corps, which occupied the right wing, consisted of the 2nd division, under sir Henry Clinton; colonel Mitchell's brigade of the 4th division (consisting of the 14th, 23rd, and 51st); Adams's light brigade (consisting of the 52nd, 71st, and 2nd battalion of the 95th rifles); and Chaussé's Netherlanders. The first line was marshalled on the crest of the position behind the chain of posts of La Haye Sainte and Hougomont; the second line was posted on the inclined reversed slope of the position. Thus, while the troops were sheltered from the range of the enemy's artillery, the movements of the supports and the reserves, either for any contemplated attack or for the assembling of the necessary means of resistance at threatened points, were screened from the enemy's observation. The foreign troops had been distributed among the British portion of the army, as it had been

ascertained that French emissaries had been tampering with them.

The French army was marshalled in two lines and a reserve. The first line consisted of infantry, flanked right and left by cavalry. Cavalry entirely constituted the second line, except the 6th corps, consisting of two divisions, under Lobau.

The right wing of the French army, which comprised four divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, was commanded by d'Erlon. The left wing, comprising three divisions of infantry and one of light cavalry, was under Reille. In the centre of the second line stood the 6th corps, and the 3rd and 5th light cavalry divisions, under the command of Lobau. The right wing of that line was composed of the 4th cavalry corps, under Milhand; and on the left wing was posted the 3rd cavalry corps, under Kellerman. The reserve, forming the third line, comprised the entire force of the imperial guard, both infantry and cavalry, under the command of Drouot.

The strength of the Anglo-allied army on the field, consisted of 49,608 infantry, 12,402 cavalry, 5,645 artillery, &c., and 156 guns, formed of the following proportions of the various allied troops:—

Country.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Guns.
British	15,181	5,853	2,967	78
King's German legion	3,301	1,991	526	18
Hanoverians	10,258	497	465	12
Brunswickers	4,586	866	510	16
Nassauers ¹	2,880	—	—	—
Dutch Belgians . . .	13,608	3,205	1,177	32

¹ A term under which the German contingents were classed.

The strength of the French army on the field was—infantry, 48,950; cavalry, 15,765; artillery, &c., 7,232; and guns, 246. About 32,000 men, and 108 guns, were with Grouchy.

The position of the French army was on a range of heights nearly parallel with that of the allies, and rose in the form of an amphitheatre to the further side of the wood of Caillois and Neuve Cours. Their right was in advance of the village of Planchenois, and their line crossing the Charleroi road at the farm and inn of La Belle Alliance, rested its left on the Genappe road. The Charleroi road ran through the centre of both positions.*

* According to the *French Detail*, Napoleon passed the night of the 17th in a farm-house which

While the allied troops were preparing their breakfasts, the command was heard—"Stand to your arms! the French are moving." Immediately, mounted officers were seen galloping along the opposite heights, and taking up the necessary alignments, and at the same moment the enemy moved into position the march of the columns being accompanied with an imposing degree of warlike pomp and parade. The movements were executed under the spirit-stirring sounds of bugles, drums, and trumpets, sending forth the long-cherished national airs of the republic and of the empire. As soon as the formation of the lines had been completed, Buonaparte, attended by a numerous staff, rode down them, when he was hailed with loud and repeated acclamations. Having completed his inspection, he took his station on a height near the farm and public-house of La Belle Alliance. As he viewed the allied line, he stretched out his arms with a motion as if to grasp his prey, exclaiming—"Je les tiens donc, ces Anglais."—"I have them then, these English." He continued, "Nine chances out of ten are in our favour." Soult who stood near him, and who had good reason to know the character of British troops, replied, "Sire, I know these English; they will die on the ground on which they stand, before they lose it."

About eleven o'clock* orders were sent to Jerome Buonaparte to begin the battle, by an attack on Hougomont, which was garrisoned by the light companies of the guards. The body destined for this attack consisted of about 30,000 men, formed into three columns, preceded by a cloud of voltigeurs. These formidable masses approached the point of attack with loud shouts and hot impetuosity; two brigades of artillery opened on them, and so accurately had the gunners obtained their range, that almost every shot fell into the midst of the French columns. A powerful artillery, however, being brought

was abandoned by the owner, named Bouquean, an old man of eighty, who had retired to Planchenoit. It is situated on the high road from Charleroi to Brussels. It is half a league from the château of Hougomont and La Haye Sainte, and a quarter of a league from La Belle Alliance and Planchenoit. Supper was hastily served up in part of the culinary utensils of the farmer that remained. Buonaparte slept in the first chamber of this house: a bed with blue silk hangings and gold fringe was put up for him in the middle of this room. His brother Jerome, the duke of Bassano, and several generals, lodged in the other chambers. All the adjacent buildings, gardens, meadows, and enclosures, were crowded with military and horses.

up against the British guns, Foy's division succeeded in driving out the Nassau troops, who were stationed in the wood for its defence (at this time the whole valley was filled with a dense volume of smoke, through which the fire of cannon and musketry blazed). The assailants then fought their way into the grounds, and surrounding the château on three sides, made desperate efforts to force it; but it was so resolutely defended from the crenulated and loop-holed walls of the buildings and the garden, that after a severe loss, they were compelled to desist from their attempt. Fresh troops being sent to the relief of the intrepid garrison, after a severe combat, the wood and garden were recovered and that post re-established. That important position was again and repeatedly attacked, and defended with the most stubborn valour. At one time the gate of the yard was half forced in; but lieutenant-colonel Macdonnell, captain Wyndham, ensigns Gooch and Hervey, and serjeant Graham,† of the Coldstream guards, succeeded in closing it. Several times the roof and upper parts of the building were in flames from the shells of the enemy's batteries, but the indomitable spirit of its heroic defenders remained unshaken, and the position was maintained during the whole of the day. The entire of one brigade of guards was employed in relief at Hougomont in the course of the battle. About 8,000 men of both armies fell in its attack and defence. Foy's division alone lost 3,000 men; and the loss of the guards amounted to 28 officers and 800 men.

The battle which had been hitherto confined to the attack on Hougomont now became general throughout the line. The whole of the enemy's artillery opened on the line of the allies, principally on their right and centre; and it was well replied to by the advanced batteries of the centre, which made fast and fatal practice on the columns that fed the attack of Hougomont.

* The time when the battle began has been variously stated. The duke and Blucher say it commenced about half-past ten; general Alava, who was by the duke's side during the whole day, fixes it at half-past eleven. Buonaparte and general Drouot, state twelve as the hour, while Ney says it was one. Sir George Wood, commandant of the artillery, said it commenced about half-past ten, or a quarter to eleven.

† Graham was the soldier to whom was awarded the £10 a-year conferred by the rector of Framlingham, in Sussex, on some Waterloo soldier, to be named by the duke of Wellington. He received the annuity for two years, at the expiration of which period it ceased, on account of the donor's bankruptcy.

During the progress of the attack on Hougoumont, and the cannonade of the allied line, Ney advanced, with d'Erlon's corps, consisting of four divisions of infantry and Roussel's division of Kellerman's cavalry corps, covered and supported by ten batteries of artillery, consisting of seventy-four 12-pounders, against the centre and left of the allied line, with the intention of forcing the one and turning the other, and thus to cut off the communication of the allied army by the high road to Brussels, as well as to prevent the junction of the British and Prussian armies. As soon as the skirmishers in advance opened their fire on Bylandt's Dutch-Belgian brigade which was in position between Kempt's and Pack's brigades, the panic-stricken troops took to flight in the greatest consternation, being greeted as they rushed past the British columns with hissings, hootings, and execrations. The scared fugitives, in their hurry of "turning tail," nearly ran over the grenadier company of the 28th. At the same moment, the enemy attacking the farm of La Haye Sainte, the Luneburg Hanoverian field battalion was sent to reinforce the defenders of that post, but they were so alarmed on the appearance of the French cavalry, that they hurriedly took to flight towards the position of the allies. Being overtaken by the cuirassiers, the greater part of them were sabred.

On the flight of Bylandt's brigade, Picton prepared to meet, with the shattered remnants of Kempt's and Pack's brigades (scarcely 3,000 men) that had survived the battle of Quatre Bras, the enemy's advancing column of attack, amounting to about 20,000 men. In four contiguous columns, they rapidly ascended the exterior slope of the allied position, with cheering cries of "en avant! en avant!" and the continued roll of drums beating the *pas de charge*. But they had no sooner reached the crest and began to deploy, than Picton ordered his little band to fire a volley; and when the report had died away, he commanded a charge of bayonets. The words—"Charge! Charge! Hurrah!" had scarcely passed his lips when he fell lifeless on his horse, a

* Siborne.

† This regiment was styled "The Invincibles," and on its eagle were inscribed the words—Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, Wagram. Serjeant Ewart, of the Greys, captured the 45th's eagle; and captain Clarke, of the Royals, that of the 105th. The reason that so few eagles were captured, is that few appeared in the French army. Each regiment, though consisting of four battalions, had but one; and, as

musket-ball having pierced his right temple. From the levelled line of bayonets the hostile columns fled with precipitation. But immediately the enemy's cuirassiers ascended the brow of the ridge and were about rushing on the allied infantry, when the earl of Uxbridge ordered the two heavy brigades of cavalry, under lord Edward Somerset and sir William Ponsonby (the first consisting of the 1st and 2nd life guards, the royal horse guards or blues, and the 1st dragoon guards; and the second, of the royal dragoons, the Scotch greys, and the 6th Enniskillen dragoons) to form line, and, putting himself at their head, the two brigades galloped forward, the household brigade against the cuirassiers, and the Union or Ponsonby's brigade against the infantry, the two hostile lines dashing into each other with indescribable impetuosity. The shock was terrific. The English horsemen, in order to close as much as possible on their opponents, whose swords were much longer, and whose bodies were encased in steel, wedged themselves into the intervals between the horses of their infuriated antagonists. Swords gleamed high in the air, now clashing violently together, and now clanging heavily upon resisting armour; whilst, with the din of battle-shock, were mingled the shouts and yells of the combatants. Riders, vainly struggling for mastery, fell under the deadly thrust or the well-delivered cut. Horses plunging and rearing, staggered to the earth, or broke wildly from their ranks. But, desperate and bloody as was the struggle, it was of brief duration. The physical superiority of the British, aided by transcendent valour, was speedily manifested. The cuirassiers, notwithstanding their gallant and resolute resistance, were driven from off the ridge.* Ponsonby's brigade galloping through the intervals made by the wheeling back of Pack's brigade, in companies and subdivisions or sections, dashed into the mass of the French infantry columns, and mowing it down like grass under the sickle of the reaper, threw them into utter dispersion. In this charge, the eagle of the 45th† regiment, and that of the 105th,

appears from the order-book of one of the French regiments, which was picked up on the field of battle, only a few favoured regiments were in possession of them. Another reason that so few were captured in this battle and those of the Peninsular campaigns, was that, being made to unscrew, when the bearer found himself hard pressed, he separated it from the staff and colour, and valorously pocketed it as he scampered off

together with above 2,000 prisoners, were captured by the Union brigade.* But the two brigades, hurried on by the ardour of the pursuit, regardless of the sound to halt and rally, ascended the brow of the enemy's position, and dashing into the batteries, sabred the gunners and maimed the horses. Buonaparte, seeing them unsupported, ordered a brigade of lancers to attack them in flank. The dragoons of Ponsonby were thus engaged in a fierce *melée*; † and as they had to run the gauntlet of artillery, lancers, and skirmishers, their retreat was not effected without a heavy loss; and that loss would have been much increased, had not Vande-

* Alison's narrative of this fierce encounter is as follows:—"Wellington no sooner perceived the formidable attack preparing against his left centre than he drew up the noble brigade of horse, under sir William Ponsonby, consisting of the Scotch Greys, Enniskillens, and Queen's Bays, close in the rear of Picton's division, and stationed Vandeleur's light brigade of cavalry on the extreme left. A brigade of Belgians formed the first line; they, however, speedily gave way before the formidable mass of the French columns, and D'Erlon's men, sustaining with undaunted resolution the heavy fire which the British cannon and infantry opened upon their front, still pressed up the slope till they were within twenty yards of the British line. Here they halted, and a murderous fire commenced, which soon fearfully thinned the first British line under Kempt, which began to yield. Picton, upon this, ordered up Pack's brigade, consisting of the 42nd, 92nd, 1st or Royal Scots, and 44th; and those noble veterans, as on the brow of the Mont Rave at Toulouse, advanced with a loud shout, and poured in so close and well-directed a fire, that the French columns broke and recoiled in disorder. At this instant, the heroic Picton, as he was waving his troops on with his sword, was pierced through the head with a musket-ball, and fell dead. Kempt immediately took the command; the rush of horse was heard, and Ponsonby's brigade, bursting through or leaping over the hedge which had concealed them from the enemy, dashed through the openings of the infantry, and fell headlong on the wavering column. The shock was irresistible; in a few seconds the whole mass was pierced through, rode over, and dispersed; the soldiers in despair fell on their faces on the ground and called for quarter, and in five minutes two thousand prisoners and two eagles were taken, and the column utterly destroyed. Transported with ardour, the victorious horse, supported by Vandeleur's brigade of light cavalry on their left, charged on against a battery of D'Erlon's guns, consisting of twenty-four pieces, which was quickly carried. The Highland foot soldiers, vehemently excited, breaking their ranks, and catching hold of the stirrups of the Scots Greys, joined in the charge, shouting, 'Scotland for ever!' Unsatisfied even by this second triumph, those gallant horsemen amidst loud shouts charged a third line of cannon and lancers, and here also they were triumphant. So forcibly was Napoleon struck by this charge, that he said to Lacoste, the Belgian guide, who stood beside him, 'Ces terribles chevaux gris; comme ils travaillent!' He instantly

leur's light cavalry brigade, consisting of the 12th, 16th, and 11th regiments, advanced to their assistance. The 12th, under the command of colonel Frederick Ponsonby, cutting its way through an infantry square which intervened between his regiment and sir William Ponsonby's brigade, dashed amongst the lancers, and drove them to the foot of the valley. That gallant officer, while engaged in checking the enemy, being disabled in both arms by sabre-cuts, was carried by his horse up the crest of the enemy's position, where, receiving a sabre wound, he fell senseless on the ground ‡

As the battle slackened on the left, the

ordered Milhaud's cuirassiers from the second line to charge the victorious British; and those fresh troops, clad in their steel armour, easily overthrew the English horsemen, now much disordered, and entirely blown by their unparalleled effort. In the hurried retreat to their own position, Ponsonby was killed, and the brigade hardly brought back a fifth of its numbers; but never perhaps had a charge of an equal body of horse achieved such success, for, besides destroying a column five thousand strong and taking two thousand prisoners, we have the authority of the great military historian of Napoleon for the fact, that they carried, cut the traces, and rendered useless for the remainder of the day, no less than eighty pieces of cannon."

† It was in this charge that Shaw, the life-guardsmen and pugilist, earned his notoriety. The current reports that he was killed either by a carbine ball, delivered by a French cuirassier from the flank, or died of exhaustion in the pursuit, are not correct. The fact was, that on his return with the regiment to their original position, he was so exhausted from loss of blood, that he lay down upon a dunghill beside one of the straggling houses in the rear of the position, and was found there dead on the following morning.

‡ The following narrative of colonel Ponsonby's state and sufferings on the field of battle, is said to have been drawn up, from the lips of the wounded officer, by Mr. Samuel Rogers, the well-known author of *Italy*:—"At one o'clock, observing, as I thought, unsteadiness in a column of French infantry (50 by 20, 1,000 or thereabouts), which were advancing with an irregular fire, I resolved to charge them. As we were descending [the exterior slope of the allied position], we received from our own troops on the right, a fire much more destructive than theirs, they having begun long before it could take effect, and slackening as we drew nearer. When we were within fifty paces of them, they turned, and much execution was done among them, as we were followed by some Belgians [but "the Braves" reined in as soon as they reached the outer crest of the position] who had remarked our success. But we had no sooner passed through them, than we were attacked in our turn, before we could form, by about 300 Polish lancers, who had come down to their relief; the French artillery at the same moment pouring in amongst us a heavy fire of grape shot, which, however, for one of our men, killed three of their own. In the *melée* I was disabled almost instantly in both my arms, and followed by a few of my men,

attack on Hougomont grew fiercer. Fresh reinforcements were brought up; and though the assailants fell fast under the destructive fire of their opponents, the ranks seemed never for a moment to be thinned, the places of the dead and dying being instantly filled up as if from some inexhaustible source—till at length, about three o'clock, the shells from the enemy's howitzers set fire to the château and its surrounding buildings.*

who were presently cut down (no quarter being asked or given), I was carried away by my horse till, receiving a blow on my head from a sabre, I was thrown senseless on my face to the ground. Recovering, I raised myself a little to look around (being, I believe, at that time, in a condition to get up, and run away), when a lancer, passing by, exclaimed—"Tu n'es pas mort, coquin," and struck his lance through my back; my head dropped, the blood gushed into my mouth, a difficulty of breathing came on, and I thought all was over. Not long afterwards (it was then impossible to measure time, but I must have fallen in less than ten minutes after the charge), a *tirailleur* came up to plunder me, threatening to take my life. I told him he might search me, directing him to a small side pocket, in which he found three dollars, being all I had. He unloosed my stock and tore open my waistcoat, thus leaving me in a very uneasy position; he was no sooner gone, than another came up for the same purpose; but assuring him that I had been plundered already, he left me; when an officer bringing on some troops (to which probably the *tirailleurs* belonged), and halting where I lay, stooped down and addressed me, saying, he feared I was badly wounded. I replied that I was, and expressed a wish to be removed to the rear. He said it was against the order to remove even their own men, but that if they gained the day, as they probably would (for he understood the duke of Wellington was killed, and that six of our battalions had surrendered), every attention in his power should be shown me. I complained of thirst, and he held his brandy bottle to my lips, directing one of his men to lay me straight on my side, and place a knapsack under my head. He then passed on into the action, and I shall never know to whose generosity I was indebted, as I conceive, for my life. Of what rank he was, I cannot say; he wore a blue great coat. By-and-bye, another *tirailleur* came and knelt and fired over me, loading and firing many times, and conversing with gaiety all the while. At last he ran off, crying—"Vous serez bien aise d'entendre que nous allons nous retirons; bon jour, mon ami." While the battle continued in that part, several of the wounded men and dead bodies near me were hit with the balls, which came very thick in that place. Towards evening, when the Prussians came up, the continued roar of the cannon along theirs and the British line, growing louder and louder as they drew near, was the finest thing I ever heard. It was dusk, when two squadrons of Prussian cavalry, both of them two deep, passed over me in full trot, lifting me from the ground, and tumbling me about cruelly. The clatter of their approach, and the apprehensions it excited, may be easily conceived; had a gun come that way it would have done for me. The battle was then nearly over, or removed to a great distance. The cries and groans of the wounded all around me became every instant more and more audible; suc-

The flames burst forth with ungovernable fury, and hundreds of the wounded who had crawled into the building for shelter were burned to death. It was at this period that the officers of the guards succeeded in closing the court-gate against the impetuous rush of the enemy.

It was now half-past three o'clock, and the Anglo-allied line continued compact and unshaken in its original position, not-
ceeding to the shouts, imprecations, and outcries of "Vive l'Empereur," the discharges of musketry and cannon: now and then intervals of perfect silence, which were worse than the noise. I thought the night would never end. Much about this time, I found a soldier of the royals lying across my legs, who had probably crawled thither in his agony: his weight, convulsive motions, his noises, and the air issuing through a wound in his side, distressed me greatly; the latter circumstance most of all, as the case was my own. It was not a dark night, and the Prussians were wandering about to plunder (and the scene in Ferdinand Count Fathom came into my mind, though no women, I believe, were there); several of them came and looked at me, and passed on: at length one stopped to examine me. I told him as well as I could (for I could say but little in German) that I was a British officer, and had been plundered already; he did not desist, however, and pulled me about roughly before he left me. About an hour before midnight, I saw a soldier in an English uniform coming towards me; he was, I suspect, on the same errand. He came and looked in my face; I spoke instantly, telling him who I was, and assuring him of a reward if he would remain by me. He said that he belonged to the 40th regiment, but had missed it. He released me from the dying man; being unarmed, he took up a sword from the ground, and stood over me, pacing backwards and forwards. At eight o'clock in the morning, some English were seen at a distance; he ran to them, and a messenger was sent off to Hervey. A cart came for me. I was placed in it and carried to a farm-house, about a mile and a-half distant, and laid in the bed from which poor Gordon (as I understood afterwards) had been just carried out. The jolting of the cart, and the difficulty of breathing, were very painful. I had received seven wounds. A surgeon slept in my room, and I was saved by continual bleeding; 120 ounces in two days, besides the great loss of blood in the field."

* The flames spread to the entrance of the chapel, the floor of which was covered with wounded men; but when the flames caught the lower extremities of the crucifix, which hung above the door-way, they became, by accident, suddenly extinguished. The Flemings, believing that a miracle had been wrought, were in the habit of making pilgrimages to the spot, to offer up their devotions. Even an English officer laboured under the same superstition. The author of the *History of the War in France and Belgium*, says, "the prayers that had been fervently, though silently, offered up from that holy place, had surely been accepted—the fire reaching the feet of the wooden image (the size of life) of the Saviour of mankind, that stood above the entrance, seemed to feel the sacred presence, for here its progress terminated; and this without the aid of human efforts." Priests and impostors rejoice at so astonishing imbecility.

withstanding the furious assaults of the enemy.

The attacks on Hougomont and the left wing having failed, Buonaparte now deemed the possession of La Haye Sainte a precedent condition to the successful assault of the centre. Two massive columns immediately pressed forward to the walls of that post, which was defended by the 2nd light battalion of the German legion, under major Baring. Fierce, however, as the attack was, the enemy were repulsed with equal spirit.

About four o'clock, the contest raged with a violence that almost baffles description, and might well be characterised as the "battle of giants." A furious cannonade was opened from the heights in the rear of and above La Belle Alliance, to which the allied batteries replied with equal fury; so loud and terrific was the thunder of the cannon, that the ground trembled under the concussion. To avoid as much as possible the effect of the iron tempest, the allied lines were retired on the reverse or interior slope of the position, the infantry lying down in double files, and the cavalry dismounted; but notwithstanding this precaution the troops suffered great loss from the ricocheting or rebounding of the balls, and the bursting of the shells discharged from the enemy's batteries.

Under cover of this furious cannonade, which scattered a tempest of shot and shell on the allied position, Ney advanced from the French heights, with Milhaud's corps of

* The horses had been previously removed to the rear of the position.

† "The first time a body of cuirassiers approached the square into which I had ridden," says an officer, "the men—all young soldiers—seemed to be alarmed. They fired high, and with little effect; and in one of the angles, there was just as much hesitation as made me feel exceedingly uncomfortable, but it did not last long. No actual dash was made on us. Now and then an individual more daring than the rest would ride up to the bayonets, wave his sword about and bully [others would cut at the bayonets, or fire their pistols and carbines at the ranks]; but the mass held aloof, pulling up within five or six yards, as if afraid to go on, but ashamed to retire. Our men soon discovered that they had the best of it; and ever afterwards, when they heard the sound of cavalry approaching, appeared to consider the circumstance as a pleasant change; for the enemy's guns suspended their fire regularly as the horsemen began to crown the ridge [lest the balls should destroy their own men as well as the enemy], and we suffered so much from their artillery practice, that we were glad when anything put a temporary stop to it. As to the squares themselves, they were as firm as rocks; and the jokes which the men cracked, while loading and firing, were very comical."

‡ No part of the field was more fertile in impres-

cuirassiers, and Lefebvre Desnouette's lancers and chasseurs, amounting to forty squadrons, of which twenty-one were cuirassiers. Mounting the allied position, and receiving, undismayed, the last discharge of grape and canister from the British guns at a distance very little exceeding twenty yards, in a moment the whole of the advanced batteries of the allied line of that part of the position were in their possession, the gunners having sought shelter within or under the faces of the nearest squares, taking with them the harness, wheels, limbers, and equipments,* in order to prevent the removal of the artillery by the enemy. This tremendous cavalry then dashed wildly towards the squares, which were drawn up chequerwise, at sufficient distances to allow of their deployment into line, the front ranks kneeling, the second with their firelocks at the charge, and the two other ranks ready to fire. When within about a dozen yards of the squares, they slackened their pace into a walk. The squares remained firm and impassive,† only occasionally throwing in volleys; but, from the want of precision in the fire, and the maled condition of the assailants, but few saddles were emptied. This so encouraged the French horsemen, that they quietly walked their horses round the squares, to find or make a gap by which they might enter and deal destruction on their enemies. Some desperate individuals would ride up close to the ranks, and cut aside the bayonets, or fire their pistols.‡ Having not been able to make

sive associations than the ground of the 30th and the 73rd regiments, brigaded under sir Colin Halket. To no square did the cavalry, and particularly the cuirassiers, pay more frequent and tremendous visits; and never were they shaken for a moment. Their almost *intimacy* with these death-bringing visitants, increased so much as the day advanced, that they began to recognise their faces. Their boldness much provoked the soldiers. They galloped up to the bayonet points, where of course their horses made a full stop, to the great danger of pitching their riders into the square. They then rode round and round the fearless bulwark of bayonets; and, in all the confidence of panoply, often coolly *walked* their horses, to have more time to search for some chasm in the ranks, where they might ride in. The balls absolutely rung upon their mail; and nothing incommoded the rider, except bringing down his horse, which at last became the general order. In that event, he generally surrendered himself, and was received within the square till he could be sent prisoner to the rear; a generosity but ill-merited, when it is considered that the French spared very few lives which it was in their power to take. Many officers were murdered, *after* giving up their arms; and when prisoners were collected, cavalry were sent to cut them down, when circumstances at the moment prevented their removal! A young officer of the

any impression on the first line, which consisted of British and German troops, sweeping past them, they rode towards the second line, in which were posted the Dutch-Belgians. Great was the commotion in that part of the field, from which whole masses of "the braves" began to move off without so much as waiting for musket-shot or stroke of sabre. To obviate the disaster, Uxbridge led the wreck of his cavalry to the rescue of the scared incipient runaways. Behind the squares, and between their intervals, the hostile squadrons charged each other, became intermingled, and drew off again, till the enemy at last gave ground, the remnant of Somerset's brigade pursuing them down the exterior slope. To aid the shattered household brigade in its exertions, lord Uxbridge, placing himself at the head of Tripp's brigade of Dutch-Belgian carbineers ordered a charge. The "brave" carbineers, would not budge a foot; but immediately went to the right about, and galloping through the 3rd hussars of the German legion, fairly scampered off the field. The German hussars now nobly performed the task which Uxbridge had expected from "the brave Belges;" charging the French cavalry, they broke them; but being very weak in point of numbers, they

greys was shot by a French officer whose life he had preserved. The object of the Frenchman was to make his escape. He did not effect his purpose; being overtaken and cut to pieces by the enraged soldiers. The cuirassiers being repeatedly driven off by the 30th, and the comrade regiment, reduced themselves by painful degrees, more and more every attack. Line was always again formed with unwearied alacrity; no complaint escaped the patient soldiers' lips, if we except an occasional cry to be led on. The storm was seen again gathering and rolling on. The serious command—"Re-form square;—prepare to receive cavalry!" was promptly and accurately obeyed. The whole were prostrate on their breasts, to let the iron shower of artillery fly over, and erect in an instant, when the artillery ceased and the cavalry charged. Their country do not know one-tenth of the merit of "the men of Waterloo." Unable to break in upon the square by open force, a commanding officer of cuirassiers tried a *ruse-de-guerre*: he lowered his sword to general Halket; several of the officers called out, "Sir, they surrender!" "Be firm, and fire!" was the promptly obeyed answer. The general justly suspected an offer of surrender to a body of infantry, fixed to the spot in a defensive position, by a body of cavalry, who had the option of galloping off, with all the plain open behind them. The volley sent the colonel and his cuirassiers, as usual, about, with a laugh of derision from the men he had meant to cut in pieces; and many a ring from their balls upon the back pieces of their mails. This gallant brigade was honoured by several visits from the illustrious chief. In one, he inquired "how they were?" The answer

were outflanked, and forced to retreat. And the Belgian were not the only troops who indicated, on this memorable day, "no stomach for the fight," and who "turned tail." The Cumberland Hanoverian hussars, a very gaily dressed regiment, as soon as a few shot whistled about their ears, galloped pell-mell off the field, and never drew bridle till they found themselves securely ensconced, in Brussels, where they spread a report that the allied army was annihilated, and Buonaparte was advancing at the head of his victorious guards.

Buonaparte, observing Ney's unsuccessful cavalry attack, dispatched Kellerman's corps of heavy cavalry and Guyot's heavy cavalry division of the guard, consisting of thirty-seven squadrons, to his assistance. The two formidable bodies uniting, advanced again to the attack, under a heavy fire of artillery from the whole French position. On their approach, the allied lines were again thrown into square, *en echequier*; and again the artillerymen, having discharged their guns, took shelter under the protection of the squares. The formidable united mass of horsemen repeated their former bravado and useless display of valour; but as soon as they began to approach the second line, Uxbridge, collecting as many available

was, that two-thirds of their numbers were down, and that the rest were so exhausted, that leave to retire, even for a short time, was most desirable; some of the foreign corps, who had not suffered, to take their place. General Halket was told that the issue depended on the steady unflinching front of the British troops; and that even a change of place was hazardous in the extreme. He impressively said—"Enough, my lord; we stand here till the last man falls." One anecdote more of this glorious brigade.—In the midst of their dangers, this band of heroes had their attention called to a very affecting scene of private friendship. Two of the officers were the more closely attached to each other, that they were not on terms of perfect good understanding with the rest of the mess, owing to their having opposed some arrangements which the others thought expedient, but which it was expected would be attended with some expense, which their circumstances would not admit of. The similarity of their circumstances most naturally cemented their friendship, which was quite a bye-word in the regiment. After doing their duty calmly through nearly the whole of the murderous day, they found themselves both unhurt at a late hour in the evening; when one of them playfully called to the other, who stood at a little distance, "I always told you they never would hit me. They never did it in Spain; and they have not done it to-day." He had hardly spoke, when he was shot dead on the spot. His friend stood for a few moments motionless; then burst into tears, flew to the body, threw himself down beside it, and sobbed over it, inarticulately repeating several times, "My only friend."



Painted by Goussier

Engraved by J. Rogers

THE RETREAT

THE DECISIVE CHARGE OF THE LIFE GUARDS AT THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

squadrons as the shattered state of the heavy brigades could furnish, launched them against the hostile cavalry, and quickly drove them down the exterior slope of the position. But the enemy, rallying under the cover of their artillery, again returned to the charge, and were again repulsed by the British cavalry. Repeated attacks and repulses of the kind continued for nearly an hour; but the hostile cavalry having sustained great loss, were at length driven from the allied position in confusion, leaving an enormous pile of men and horses in front of the allied batteries.

Repeated attacks of this nature had made frightful havoc on the allied ranks, and had gone far to exhaust the physical energies of the survivors. The destructive effects of the enemy's powerful batteries had also greatly damaged the allies; the round shot and shell having ploughed great gaps in both lines as well as the reserve. The miserable spectacle that presented itself throughout the position was such that none but British soldiers could sustain with patience.* The ground was studded and strewn with the dead and dying bodies of the slain. The shrieks and maddened screams of the wounded writhing in their agony, and the dying vainly supplicating assistance and relief, smote the ear by their singular acuteness. The horses, too, bore their part in this fearful picture. Some wildly galloped about, many were seen staggering, plunging, and pawing the ground around them. The wounded, when recovered from the first shock of pain, would fall to eating the grass within their reach, as they lay bleeding, while those which had only lost their riders, quietly grazed between the two armies, insensible to their danger; but the moment a charge of cavalry took place, they would then form themselves in the rear of the body, and gallop along with it without either stopping or flinching. "It was not the least disagreeable attendant on our position," writes a trooper in a dragoon

* General Foy thus notices the matchless conduct of the British infantry:—"We saw these sons of Albion, formed in square battalions, in the plain between the wood of Hougomont and the village of Mount Saint John; and to effect this compact formation, they had doubled and redoubled their ranks several times. The cavalry which supported them was cut to pieces, and the fire of their artillery completely silenced, and generals and staff officers were galloping from one square to another, not knowing where to find shelter. Carriages, wounded men, parks of reserve, and auxiliary troops, were all flying in disorder towards Brussels. Death was before

regiment, "that we stood exactly upon such a spot as enabled us to behold the last struggles of the wounded, whose strength was only sufficient to carry them a few yards to the rear. There was a sort of long ditch or drain some way behind us, towards which those poor fellows betook themselves by scores; and ere three hours were passed, it was choked with the bodies of those who lay down there that they might die. Then again, the wounded horses, of which multitudes were all over the field, troubled us. They would come back, some with broken legs, others trailing after them their entrails, which the round shot had knocked out; and, forming themselves between our files, seemed to solicit the aid which no one had time to afford."

It was now between three and four o'clock, and not only no impression had been made on the allied line, but their advanced posts had repulsed all the repeated and furious assaults which had been made on them; orders were therefore sent to Ney to renew the attack on La Haye Sainte. Two heavy columns of infantry, supported by a strong body of cuirassiers, advanced to that post. Baring's detachment had been fearfully reduced in the previous attacks, and scarcely three rounds of ammunition remained in the cartridge boxes of his men. After a gallant and stubborn defence, during which the building was in flames, the French succeeded in ascending the top of the walls, and firing down on the diminutive garrison, overpowered them, they having no other means of defence left than their bayonets. A few of the brave little garrison, with their leader, escaped, but as soon as the assailants obtained an entrance into the ruins they savagely bayoneted all whom they found there.

The enemy having at length obtained possession of this post, was enabled to assemble his troops close under the allied position. Availing himself of the advantage, Buonaparte sent orders to Ney to them, and in their ranks; disgrace in their rear! In this terrible situation, neither the bullets (*boulets*, cannon-balls) of the Imperial Guard, discharged almost point-blank, nor the victorious cavalry of France, could make the least impression on the immoveable British infantry. One might have been almost tempted to fancy that it had rooted itself in the ground, but for the *majestic movement* which its battalions commenced some minutes after sunset, at the moment when the approach of the Prussian army apprised Wellington that he had just achieved the most decisive victory of the age." The testimony of Foy and Muffling is decisive of Prussian pretension.

renew the attack on the entire allied line. Ney immediately despatched the chief of his staff to his master requesting reinforcements. By this time it was six o'clock, and Blucher was developing his attack on Planchenoit in the rear of the enemy's position. Buonaparte, to the request of his lieutenant's aide-de-camp, peevishly replied—"Où voulez-vous que j'en prenne. Voulez-vous que j'en fasse." (Where do you suppose I can find them? Would you have me make them?) When this reply was reported to Ney, nowise disheartened, he collected the shattered remnants of the various regiments and brigades that had been engaged during the day, and prepared for a grand attack, *en tirailleur*, with a close line of skirmishers, on the centre of the allied line, and a simultaneous assault on Hougomont. Immediately, a vigorous fire of artillery opened from the enemy's position; and under its cover, the hostile squadrons and lines of tirailleurs mounted the crest of the allied position, but they were driven back with great loss. Not in the least discouraged, they re-formed under cover of their artillery fire; returned to the charge and repeated their fierce and furious assault, but were again hurled back on their own position. The duke of Wellington judging, from the enemy's preparations, the intended point of his attack, had directed lord Hill to bring up Adams's light infantry brigade, consisting of the 52nd, 71st, and the 2nd battalion of the 95th rifles, to his relief, and strengthened his centre by withdrawing Du Plat's infantry brigade of the German legion, and had replaced its position in the second line with Chaussé's Dutch-Belgian infantry, which had as hitherto been stationed at Braine-la-Leud.

The battle had now endured six hours. As the allied line had been exposed during all that time to an incessant and concentrated fire from a range of batteries, consisting of 200 pieces of 12-pounder guns, forming almost an entire arc, of which that line was the chord; battalions had dwindled to mere handfuls of men; and the British and German cavalry brigades, except Vivian's and Vandeleur's corps, were

reduced to less than the ordinary strength of regiments; Somerset's and Ponsonby's heavy brigades could scarcely muster two squadrons between them. The reverse slope of the allied position was covered with those who had been destroyed by the enemy's round shot and shell; and the parts of the plateau where the squares stood were heaped with the slain of both armies. On the exterior slope and the valley intervening between the positions, lay men, horses, and gun-carriages. The crest of the position was surmounted with enormous piles of men and horses from the fire of the British artillery. At this period of the battle, Buonaparte considered himself certain of victory, observing that he should yet be at Brussels in time for supper.*

Nearly another hour elapsed, and though masses of the enemy had fallen, and each assault had been repulsed, fresh assailants advanced to the attack. Still the enemy had not gained a single point. It was now five o'clock, and the Prussians had not appeared. Accounts had been received that the corps of Bulow had arrived at St. Lambert, and that Blucher was moving up from Wavre with another; but their march had been delayed by the state of the roads; therefore the only diversion they had caused as yet, was by a few weak patrols of cavalry which had appeared in the wood of Frischemont, on the right of the French army. A little after five, however, Blucher announced his arrival at the outskirts of the wood of Paris; but the sound of his artillery soon ceased, as he had been checked and compelled to retire by Lobau's corps. At this period of the battle, the prince of Orange committed a calamitous error, similar to that by which he occasioned the loss sustained by the 69th regiment at the battle of Quatre Bras. In a tirailleur attack made by the enemy, he ordered Ompteda to deploy the 5th line battalion of his brigade of the German legion, and advance. Ompteda remonstrated, pointing out a body of cuirassiers which lay concealed in a hollow. The prince of Orange persisting in his order, Ompteda deployed the battalion, and

* He said he should sleep that night at Lacken (a palace about three miles from the capital), and had already prepared his proclamations for issue; of which the following is a sample:—"Proclamation to the Belgians and inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine. The ephemeral success of my enemies detached you, for a moment, from my empire; in my exile, upon a rock in the sea, I heard your complaint; the God of battles has decided the fate of

your beautiful provinces; Napoleon is among you; you are worthy to be Frenchmen; rise in mass; join my invincible phalanxes to exterminate the remainder of those barbarians, who are your enemies and mine; they flee with rage and despair in their hearts. June 17, 1815. At the imperial palace of Lacken. (Signed) NAPOLEON. By the emperor, the major-general of the army. COUNT BERTRAND."

advanced against the tirailleurs, and as he approached La Haye Sainte at its head, he was so furiously assailed by the cuirassiers, that only thirty men and a few officers escaped from the slaughter.

Blucher had now made a serious attack on the enemy's flank. The village of Planchenoit, in the rear of the position, had been thrice carried and recovered. Buonaparte's last hope now remained to him—the bringing of the imperial guard into action, which had hitherto remained in reserve; and of which it used to be his pride, in the days of his victorious wars in Germany, when he announced his successes, to say—“*La garde n'a pas donné.*” Drouot was ordered to bring forward its battalions in front of La Belle Alliance, and d'Erlon and Reille were directed to collect their disposable forces. The guard, comprising ten battalions, were marshalled into two columns of attack, and a reserve of four battalions of the old guard. D'Erlon's corps was formed on the left of the guard; Reille's on the right; for the purpose of supporting the main attack. In rear of the right and left of the guard, and occupying the intervals between it and d'Erlon's and Reille's corps, the cavalry were disposed. The point of attack of the guard was against the centre of the right wing of the allied army; that of d'Erlon and Reille against Hougoumont and the rest of the position. Donzelat's division of d'Erlon's corps, posted at La Haye Sainte, was ordered to attack the allied line in its front. The columns of attack, under the command of Ney, received the order to advance, while the four battalions of the old guard remained in reserve near La Belle Alliance.

At first it appeared that Buonaparte intended to lead on the attack in person; he advanced, exclaiming—“The battle is won; we must fall on the English position, and throw them upon the defiles. Allons! la garde en avant!” but after having headed the march for about ten minutes, during which he was much exposed to the fire of the English artillery, he suddenly halted with his staff, and motioning his hand, said—“Gentlemen, there is the road to Brussels,” moving at the same moment aside, under a swell of ground, where he was sheltered from the bullets.

As soon as the two columns had dipped below the crest of the position, the muzzles of the guns on the whole range of batteries, containing above 100 pieces of artillery, dis-

charged a perfect tempest of balls on the allied position. One column directed its march on the centre of the position, the other advanced more obliquely to the left. Unshrinkingly they rushed across the valley which divided the two positions, while a tremendous fire of artillery was pouring destruction into their ranks, not only from the batteries in front of the allied position, but also from the extremities of the segment of the concave circle which the allied army had now assumed. The column that had the shorter distance to traverse rapidly ascending the exterior slope, were preparing to mount the crest, when Maitland's brigade of guards, which had been lying down for protection from the enemy's batteries, received the command from the duke to advance. Starting up in line, four deep, the hostile bodies confronted each other for an instant, the French shouting “*Vive l'Empereur,*” their opponents steady and silent. In an instant, the English guards delivered so heavy and shattering a fire that the head of the column was torn to pieces, and the whole of it seemed to reel and stagger under the blow. But recovering from the stunning effect of this reception, they attempted to deploy, when a second discharge whizzed among them, scarcely less destructive than the first had been. The English guards then began firing by independent files, and with so destructive an effect, that the veteran column was completely shaken and thrown into confusion. The extremities of the line opposed to them were now enveloping their flanks: to escape destruction, they hurried down the face of the position in utter confusion, followed closely by their pursuers, and leaving the ground covered with dead and wounded. But as, at this moment, Maitland observed the second supporting column advancing on his right, and that his brigade would thus be exposed to the risk of being turned, he ordered his men to fall back rapidly on their original position. At this moment, d'Aubrune's infantry brigade of Chaussé's Dutch-Belgians, who had been posted in the rear in support of Maitland's guards, terrified by the shouts of the supporting advancing column, though out of the line of fire and hidden from the view of the enemy, evinced an inclination to abandon the field, and were prevented from following their countrymen to Brussels, by Vivian's brigade closing up their squadron-intervals, so as not to allow a passage through them.

In the meantime Donzelat's division had advanced against the part of the position assigned for their attack. With the usual impetuosity of their countrymen, they mounted the exterior slope, shouting, as is their wont, in an ill-assorted and unmusical chorus of discordant yells; but before they had crowned the crest of the position, they were hurled back by a tempest of grape and canister shot from the allied batteries.

The second, or supporting column of attack, having beaten back the foreign troops (namely, two battalions of Nassauers, and five of Brunswickers), now advanced to the assistance of the discomfited first column of attack; but being assailed in flank by Adams's light brigade, consisting of the 52nd, 71st, and 2nd battalion of the 95th rifles, and Maitland's brigade in front, they were driven back in confusion.

The force of the enemy now capable of any effectual opposition, were the four columns of the old guard, in reserve in front of La Belle Alliance, with the various descriptions of cavalry formed on their flanks, and the broken battalions of the two attacking columns of guards, which Buonaparte had rallied and formed into three squares on a height commanding the Charleroi road. Against the first force, Vivian's light cavalry brigade was detached in advance, and Adams's light infantry brigade against the second. At the same moment, to prevent the rallying of d'Erlon's and Reille's disorganised corps, the duke of Wellington seeing that the Prussians were well up, and engaged on the enemy's right, and that their columns were sweeping down into the plain on the allied left, ordered a general advance of the whole line, the foreign battalions forming in squares on each flank, for the purpose of repelling any cavalry attack which might be made. The duke, with his hat raised high in the air, at the head of the guards, led and directed the movement in person. The momentary bursting out of the last rays of a hitherto clouded sun before it went down for the night, while the sky was nearly obscured by the lurid smoke, imparted an impressive effect to the scene. Though the enemy made a gallant resistance, they were soon broken and thrown into utter confusion. To expedite their escape, whole battalions of infantry threw down their arms, and the cavalry flung away their cuirasses. Guns, tumbrils, ammunition-waggons, gunners—in short, the whole *matériel* of the army,

fell into the hands of the conquerors. Buonaparte threw himself into the square of the second regiment of the grenadiers à cheval, and was protected by them till out of danger; when, turning to Bertrand, he said—"Tout à présent est fini! Sauvons nous!" (All is now over, let us save ourselves.) Deputing the task of collecting the shattered remnants of his army to his brother Jerome, he fled from the scene of his overthrow, and hurried to Paris.

Never was victory more complete, and retreat more disastrous. Wellington urged the pursuit in person as far as Genappe; and then, satisfied that the rout was complete, and finding himself on the same road as Bulow's corps, which had fought its way through Planchenoit, the Prussians being fresh, Blucher undertook to pursue the enemy, which he did with so great vigour during the whole night, that they were never able to rally a single battalion, and had their bivouac nine times broken up. The wearied troops of the allied army having carried the position which the enemy had occupied, halted on the field of battle to seek refreshment and repose; but, exhausted as they were, be it recorded, numbers of them dispersed over the battle-field, carrying refreshments and assistance, not only to their own wounded countrymen, but also to their disabled foes, whom they had just encountered in mortal strife.

As Wellington recrossed the field of carnage to the head-quarters at Waterloo, it is said that, on viewing the surrounding thousands of dead and dying with which the ground was heaped, the reek already poisoning the air with the noisome effluvia of the shambles, while the moans of the wounded pierced the air, he exclaimed—"I have never fought such a battle; and I hope never to fight such another."

In the midst of this terrible conflict, the duke had seemed to multiply himself. He was "here, and there, and everywhere;" always where the struggle was the most arduous, in the hottest and front of the danger; he was seen sometimes rallying broken infantry, sometimes placing himself at the head of squares, one while leading a column of attack, at another bringing up reinforcements to a position which was violently assaulted. He visited personally every square; restraining the impetuosity of one regiment, encouraging the spirits of those whose ranks had been dreadfully thinned; and animating the whole with his presence.

The brief and soldierly words which fell from his lips, on those occasions, will never be forgotten by those who heard them.

The loss of the allies in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to about 15,000 men; that of the enemy is unknown, but must have amounted to about 40,000 men. The immediate trophies of the battle were 170 guns, 350 caissons, three eagles, and 5,000 prisoners, with all the *matériel* of their army. The Prussians, in the pursuit, took about 100 guns and 2,000 prisoners. The Prussian loss, at Planchenoit, was 6,682 men. The Prussians, in their accounts of this battle, appropriate at least half the glory to themselves. It has also been a favourite assertion with all French and some English writers, that the English were on the point of being defeated when the Prussians came up; but this is not the truth. Buonaparte had made his last effort and been defeated before Blücher's attack had effect. Baron Muffling has given explicit testimony, "that the battle could have afforded no favourable result to the enemy, even if the Prussians had not come up," and general Foy, while speaking in admiration of "the magnificent" advance of the whole British line, more than confirms this opinion—his words being, "*had just achieved the most decisive victory of the age.*" The chief benefit derived from Prussian assistance was the occupation of Lobau's force; and that force, though scarcely a third of their own, they could not expel from Planchenoit until after the complete overthrow of the enemy's main force. It is also worthy of remark, that it is not at all certain that Blücher would have been successful in his attack on Planchenoit, had not the duke gained the enemy's position, and was thus, consequently, in Lobau's rear. The amount of loss stated by the Prussians is also singular, being almost equal to the whole of Lobau's corps; so that every Frenchman must have put, at least, two

Prussians *hors de combat*; although the Prussian force opposed to them amounted to nearly 60,000 men. The truth is, the British won the battle, and the Prussians rendered the victory available, and more complete by their pursuit. In the same spirit of reaping the harvest they had not sown, the Prussians would fain have possessed themselves of the captured guns. When the duke ordered the captured artillery to be parked, only a few guns could be found; but the chief part (above 160) were at last discovered, regularly parked near Genappe, under the care of Prussian sentries. With some difficulty the commanding officer was found, apparently asleep, under a heap of straw, and evidently not wishing to be seen. On remonstrance, the guns were given up to the captors, and drawn up to the neighbourhood of Waterloo. The duke generously consented that the artillery which had been taken should be equally divided between both armies.

Much misconception also exists as to the extent of aid the duke derived from his foreign auxiliaries. The testimony of Baron Muffling, that above 10,000 of the Belgians deserted the field is below the truth. One half of that force was, with great difficulty, prevented from abandoning the field, although they were not in contact with the enemy, or did even see him.* The duke's opinion of his Belgian allies appears from the following remarks, in a letter to a gentleman who designed to write a history of the battle of Waterloo, and who had applied to the duke for information; he said, "You cannot write a true history of the battle, without including the faults and misbehaviour of part of those who were engaged, and whose faults and misbehaviour were the cause of material losses. Believe me, that every man you see in a military uniform is not a hero;† and that, although in the account given of a general action, such as that of

* Among the various displays of gallantry that had been exhibited by those runaways, that of the Cumberland Hussars was conspicuous. Those despicable cowards, in their hurried flight, rode over the prostrate and wounded who came in their way, and cut at the drivers of the waggons bearing the wounded, who could not draw aside quick enough to allow them to pass. They rode, as if for life, clean through Brussels, shouting that the French were at their heels.

† That the duke was correct in his opinion that every man who wears a "military uniform is not a hero," is proved by the following laughable incident, which occurred during the day of this memorable battle, as related by the author of *A Visit to the*

Field of Waterloo, July, 1815:—"A very gay regiment of gentlemen light horse volunteers were in the battle of Waterloo, all inhabitants of a continental city, which I shall not name. An opportunity occurred for them to charge the French cavalry, and an aide-de-camp came to them with an order or request to that effect, from lord Wellington. Their colonel, in great surprise, objected: the enemy's strength, their cuirassiers, and the consideration, which had unaccountably, he said, escaped the commander-in-chief, that his regiment were all *gentlemen*. This diverting response was carried back to lord Wellington, who despatched the messenger again to say, that if the *gentlemen* would take post upon an eminence, which he pointed

Waterloo, many instances of individual heroism must be passed over unrelated; it is better for the general interests to leave those parts of the story untold, than to tell the whole truth.* Again, he added the following significant postscript to his report of the battle transmitted to the king of the Netherlands.†

“P.S.—J’ai marqué au crayon des paragraphes dans mon rapport que je prie votre majesté de ne pas laisser publier.”

“When the next sun rose, the field of battle presented a tremendous spectacle of carnage. Humanity shuddered at the view, for mental suffering in all its terrible variety was frightfully exhibited. The dead lay there in thousands, with them human pain and agony were over; but with them a multitude of wretches were intermingled, mutilated by wounds and tortured by thirst and hunger. A few short hours had elapsed, and those who but yesterday had careered upon the plain of Waterloo, in the full pride of life and manhood, were stretched upon the earth; and many who had led the way to victory—who, with exulting hearts had cheered their colder comrades when they quailed, were now lying upon the field in helpless wretchedness.

“Nor was war’s misery confined to them, for thousands of wounded horses were strewn over this scene of slaughter. Some lay quietly on the ground, cropping the grass within their reach; some with deep moaning expressed their sufferings, while others, maddened with pain—

“‘Jerk’d out their armed heels at their masters,
Killing them twice.’”

When day came, and it was possible to send relief to the wounded, many circumstances tended to retard the welcome succour. The great road to Brussels, from heavy rains, and the incessant passage of artillery and war equipages, was so cut up as materially to retard the carriages employed to bring in the wounded. Dead horses and abandoned baggage choked the causeway, and the efforts of Belgic humanity were rendered slow and difficult. Up to the very gates of Brussels, war’s worst results were visible; the struggles of expiring nature had enabled some to reach the city, while many perished in the at-

tempt, and dying on the road-side, covered the causeway with their bodies. Pits, rudely dug and scarcely moulded over, received the corpses, which daily became more offensive from the heat; and the same sod at the verge of the forest ‘covered the horse and his rider.’ When such evidence of destruction was apparent at a distance from the field, what a display of devastation the narrow theatre of yesterday’s conflict must have presented! Fancy may conceive it, but description must be scanty and imperfect. On the small compass of two square miles it was ascertained that 50,000 men and horses were lying! The luxurious crop of ripe grain which had covered the field of battle was reduced to litter, and beaten into the earth; and the surface trodden down by the cavalry, and furrowed deeply by cannon-wheels, strewn with many a relic of the fight. Helmets and cuirasses, shattered fire-arms and broken swords, all the variety of military ornaments, lancers’ caps and highland bonnets, uniforms of every colour, plume and pennon, musical instruments, the apparatus of artillery, drums, bugle—each and every ruinous display, bore mute testimony to the miseries of war. Could the melancholy appearance of this scene of death be heightened, it would be by witnessing the researches of the living amidst its desolation for the objects of their love. Mothers, wives, and children, for days were occupied in that mournful duty; and the confusion of the corpses, friend and foe, intermingled as they were, often rendered the attempt at recognising individuals difficult, and, in some cases, impossible.

“In many places the dead lay four deep upon each other, marking the spot some British square had occupied, when exposed for hours to the murderous fire of the French batteries. Outside, lancers and cuirassiers were scattered thickly upon the earth. Madly attempting to force the serried bayonets of the squares, they had fallen in the bootless essay by the musketry of the inner files. Farther on, you traced the spot where the cavalry of France and England had encountered—chasseur and hussar were intermingled, and the heavy Norman horse of the imperial guard were interspersed with the grey chargers which had carried Albion’s

to in the rear, they would have an excellent view of the battle; and he would leave the choice of a proper time to charge entirely to their own sagacity and discretion, in which he had the fullest confidence! The colonel actually thanked the aide-de-camp for this

distinguished post of honour, and, followed by his gallant train, with their very high plumes (the present great point of continental military foppery), was out of danger in a moment.”

* Gurwood’s *Despatches*.

† *Ibid*.

chivalry. The Highlanders and tirailleurs lay side by side together; and the heavy dragoon, with Erin's badge on his helmet, was grappled in death with the Polish lancer.

"On the summit of the ridge, where the ground was cumbered with dead, and trodden fetlock deep in mud and gore, by the frequent rush of rival cavalry, the thick strewn corpses of the imperial guard pointed out the spot where the last effort of Buonaparte had been defeated. Here, in column, that favoured corps, on whom his last chance rested, had been annihilated; and the advance and repulse of the guard was traceable by a mass of fallen Frenchmen. In the hollow below the last struggle of France had been vainly made, for there the old guard, when the middle battalions had been forced back, attempted to meet the British, and afford time for their disorganized companions to rally. Here the British left, which had converged on the French centre, had come up, and here the bayonet had closed the contest."*

The great actor in the mighty scene that we have just passed in review now claims our notice.

Speaking of the duke on the night of the battle, captain Sherer says:—"The words and emotions of the conqueror will long be remembered by those who sat with him at supper, after the anxious and awful day had closed. The fountain of a great heart lies deep, and the self-government of a calm mind permits no tears. But this night, Wellington repeatedly leaned back upon his chair, and rubbing his hands convulsively, exclaimed aloud, 'Thank God, I have met him! Thank God, I have met him!' And, ever as he spake, the smile that lighted up his eye was immediately dimmed by those few and big tears that gush warm from a grateful heart."

"It was long past midnight when the duke lay down. He had not found time to wash his face or his hands; but overcome with fatigue, threw himself, after finishing his despatches, upon his bed. He had seen Dr. Hume, and desired him to come punctually at seven in the morning with his report; and the latter, who took no rest, but spent the night beside the wounded, came at the hour appointed. He knocked at the duke's door, and receiving no answer, lifted the latch and looked in, and seeing the field-marshal in a sound sleep, could not find it in his heart to awaken him. By-and-by, however, reflecting on the importance

of time to a man in the duke's high station, and being aware that it formed no article in his code to allow a trifling personal indulgence of any sort to interfere with public duty, he proceeded to the bed-side and roused the sleeper. The duke sat up in his bed; his face unshaven, and covered with the dust and smoke of yesterday's battle, presented rather a strange appearance; yet his senses were collected, and in a moment he desired Hume to make his statement. The doctor produced his list, and began to read. But when, as he proceeded, name after name came out—this as of one dead, the other as of one dying—his voice failed him; and looking up, he saw that the duke was in an agony of grief. The tears chased one another from his grace's eyes, making deep visible furrows in the soldier's blackened cheeks; and at last he threw himself back upon his pillow and groaned aloud, exclaiming, 'It has been my good fortune never to lose a battle, yet all this glory can by no means compensate for so great a loss of friends. What victory is not too dearly purchased at such a cost?'

"Hume closed up his paper, unable to reply, and, quitting the apartment, left the duke to make his toilet. This was done in a frame of mind which none except the individual, and not even he, could undertake to describe; yet the storm passed off, and when he appeared that day in public, the leader of the allied armies was as self-possessed as he had ever been. The truth is that they who speak of the duke of Wellington as gifted with iron nerves, and a heart which was not easily moved, know not what they say. The difference between him and other men is the same which has in all ages distinguished the hero from one of the crowd. With ordinary men, feeling, as often as it is appealed to, controls reason for a while, and is with difficulty subdued; with great men, and surely the duke is of the greatest, reason exerts itself in the first instance, to control feeling and keep it in its proper place. But feeling is not therefore extinct in them, as was shown in the personal bearing of the duke on the morning of the 19th of June, and is still apparent in the tone of the letters addressed to the relatives of some of those who had fallen in the battle.† From those

* *Stories of Waterloo.*

† The two following letters, to lord Aberdeen, on the death of sir Alexander Gordon, and to the duke of Beaufort, on lord Fitzroy losing his arm, are those referred to, and show how much the duke was attached to those about him. Lord Fitzroy landed

letters, it is evident that his whole moral being was shaken and torn by the intensity of his grief for the loss and sufferings of his friends; yet he never for a moment permitted feeling to cast a shadow over judgment, or ceased to be, to the minutest particular, master of himself. He issued all his orders with the same calmness and deliberation which characterised his proceedings at other times. The routes which the columns were to follow, the discipline which was to be observed on the march, the necessary means for preserving that discipline, and the purposes it was designed to serve, were all explained and set forth in the memoranda which he drew up ere quitting his chamber. And when he rode out of the court-yard of his house, followed by his staff and orderlies, no one could have told from his manner, or the expression of his countenance, that anything extraordinary had occurred.*

The destruction of the French army was the most complete, perhaps, that had ever been presented. It became one mass of inextricable confusion; and the whole road over which it passed was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannons, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. But there is, perhaps, no better authority as to the entire rout of the French army than the author of a *Relation* which was published at the time—himself a Frenchman, and a witness and an actor in the scene:—

“Hesitation appeared in the French

with him in Mondego Bay, and was with him in all his great actions. It was during the long fight at Talavera that the duke, turning to him, said, “Well, Fitzroy, how do you feel?” To which the other quietly answered, “Better than I expected.”

“Bruxelles, 19th June, 1815.

“You will readily give credit to the existence of the extreme grief with which I announce to you the death of your gallant brother, in consequence of a wound received in our great battle of yesterday. He had served me most zealously and usefully for many years, and on many trying occasions; but he had never rendered himself more useful, and had never distinguished himself more, than in our late actions. He received the wound which occasioned his death when rallying one of the Brunswick battalions which was shaking a little; and he lived long enough to be informed by myself of the glorious result of our action, to which he had so much contributed by his active and zealous assistance. I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I look round me, and contemplate the loss which I have sustained, particularly in your brother. The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me, and I cannot suggest it as any to you and his friends; but I hope that it may be expected that this last one has been

army, and marked uneasiness (*de vives inquietudes*). Some dismounted batteries retired, multitudes of wounded separated from the columns, and spread alarm for the issue of battle. Profound silence had succeeded to the acclamations and cries of joy of the soldiers, sure of being led to victory. At the moment *all* the troops, with the exception of the infantry of the guard, were engaged and exposed to a fire the most murderous. The action continued with the same violence, but led to no result. *It was near seven o'clock.* Buonaparte, who till that moment had remained on the ridge which he had chosen, and from which he saw well all that passed, contemplated with a look of ferocity, the hideous prospect of so frightful a butchery. The more the obstacles multiplied, the more he became obstinate. He was indignant at the unforeseen difficulties; and, far from having fears to devote an army, whose confidence in him had no bounds, he persevered in sending on fresh troops, with orders to march forward, to charge with the bayonet, to sweep away. Several times he was told from different points, that the affair was against him, that the troops appeared to be shaken; ‘*en avant, répondit-il, ‘en avant, — forward, forward.*’ * * * * The army now quit spontaneously and at the same instant their ground, and scatter like a torrent; the cannoners abandon their guns, the soldiers of the train cut the traces of their horses, the infantry, the cavalry, all the arms are

so decisive, as that no doubt remains that our exertions and our individual losses will be rewarded by the early attainment of our just object. It is then that the glory of the actions in which our friends and relations have fallen will be some consolation for their loss. Your brother had a black horse, given to him, I believe, by lord Ashburnham, which I will keep till I hear from you what you wish should be done with it.”

“Bruxelles, 19th June, 1815.

“I am sorry to have to acquaint you that your brother Fitzroy is very severely wounded, and has lost his right arm. I have just seen him, and he is perfectly free from fever, and as well as any body could be under such circumstances. You are aware how useful he has always been to me; and how much I shall feel the want of his assistance, and what a regard and affection I feel for him; and you will readily believe how much concerned I am for his misfortune. Indeed, the losses I have sustained have quite broken me down; and I have no feeling for the advantages we have acquired. I hope, however, that your brother will soon be able to join me again; and that he will long live to be, as he is likely to become, an honour to his country, as he is a satisfaction to his family and friends.”

* Gleig.

mingled and confounded, presenting now only an unformed mass, which nothing could arrest, and which was intent on saving itself by the road and across the fields. A vast number of carriages in park along the sides of the road, followed the movement with precipitation, crowded to the road, and encumbered it to such a degree, that not a wheel could move. No point of direction had been given, and no word of command could now be heard. The generals, and other chiefs, lost in the crowd, and carried along with it, were separated from their troops. There was no longer a single battalion to rally upon: and since nothing had been provided to insure a reasonable retreat, how was it possible to resist a derout so complete, of which no idea could have been formed, and which was *till then* unheard of in the French army, already visited by so many disasters. The guard, that immovable phalanx, which in the greatest catastrophes had been the rallying point of the army, and its rampart; the guard, in fine, the terror of the enemy, was overthrown (*terrassée*), and fled dispersed with the multitude! Every one saved himself as he best could (*au hazard*), &c."

The news of the great victory of Waterloo reached London on the 21st of June, and caused the highest degree of excitement and exultation. At a late hour of that day major Percy, almost the only one of the duke's aid-de-camps who had escaped scatheless, arrived with the despatch containing the details of one of the most sanguinary and well-contested battles on historic record. The ministry lost no time in spreading the highly important intelligence to all parts of the metropolis and the country, and rejoicing was universal.

In the house of lords, on the 23rd of June, earl Bathurst, pursuant to notice, moved the thanks of parliament to the duke of Wellington, for his late glorious victory. In the course of his speech, his lordship

* Towards the close of the day, while sitting on horseback near the English lines, all his aid-de-camps, save one, having been struck down around him—the duke in answer to the anxious inquiry of a general officer—"But if you should be struck, tell us what is your plan?" calmly replied—"My plan consists in dying here to the last man." The duke had his station for a considerable portion of the day under a tree. Years after the great event, some one

said, the duke of Wellington had done in battle all that a military man could do, frequently performing the duty of colonel and captain, rallying his men, and insuring the success of the battle. He concluded a most eloquent and manly tribute to the duke of Wellington, Blucher, and the officers engaged, by moving the thanks of the house to the noble duke, marshal Blucher, and all the officers and men of the British army.

The marquis of Lansdowne gave his entire and warmest support to the motion, which was carried *nem. con.*

The earl of Liverpool then moved an address, in answer to the prince regent's message, which recommended the house to concur in making additional provision for the duke of Wellington. Parliament could have no reluctance to increase the reward to his grace, who, on this occasion, had achieved a victory unequalled in the annals of the country. The noble earl then moved an address to the prince regent, to inform him that the house would concur in the recommendation contained in his most gracious message. The address was agreed to *nem. con.*

In the house of commons also, the same day, lord Castlereagh moved the thanks of the house to the duke of Wellington, and others concerned in the battle of Waterloo; which was carried *nem. con.*

The chancellor of the exchequer, in a committee of supply on the prince regent's message, moved, that £200,000 be granted for the purchase of, or for the erection of a mansion for the duke of Wellington. He stated that the duke of Wellington's exertions on the 18th were incredible—that he was at every point of danger—that when every one despaired of victory, except himself, he took his station on a ridge, declaring that he never would leave it till victory crowned our arms, although almost every one about him met with death.* The motion was agreed to *nem. con.*

mentioned to him that it had nearly been all cut away, and that people would soon doubt if it had ever existed. The duke at once said, that he remembered the tree perfectly, and that a Scotch serjeant had come to him to tell him that he had observed it was a mark for the enemy's cannon, begged him to move from it. A lady said, "I hope you did, sir." He replied, "I really forget; but I know that I thought it very good advice."

Strength of the British Army on the Morning of the Battle of Waterloo, 18th June, 1815.

Divisions.	Brigades.	Regiments.	Stations.	OFFICERS.				TROOP QUARTER MASTERS AND SERGEANTS.				TRUMPETERS OR DRUMMERS.				RANK AND FILE.									
				Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Present.	Absent.	Command.	Total.	Present.	Absent.	Command.	Total.	Present.	Absent.	Command.	Total.						
Cavalry.	1st	Royal Artillery	Position in front of Waterloo.	8	50	91	26	152	9	—	—	—	44	—	—	—	44	4573	306	17	9	9	4914		
		Artillery, K.G.L.		2	5	12	6	20	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	6	520	73	—	29	—	622	
		Royal Engineers		1	17	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		" Sappers & Miners		—	—	—	—	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	683	10	8	17	—	1718
		" Waggon Train		—	—	10	—	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	266	—	3	10	—	279
		" Staff Corps		—	—	9	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	238	5	—	—	—	243
		" Life Guards		—	—	4	—	8	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	210	10	1	7	—	228
		2nd "		—	—	4	—	8	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	197	10	4	30	—	231
		R. Horse Guard (Blue)		—	—	1	9	7	1	46	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	213	—	9	15	—	237
		1st Dragoon Guards		—	—	1	9	14	4	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	515	12	—	3	—	530
Cavalry.	2nd	1st Dragoon Guards	Position in front of Waterloo.	2	5	15	6	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	364	7	1	22	—	394		
		2nd "		3	6	18	6	33	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	375	1	5	10	—	391		
		6th "		2	6	12	6	29	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	384	7	—	5	—	396	
		1st Lt. Drag., K.G.L.		2	9	15	7	48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	443	6	20	27	15	511	
		2nd "		4	8	14	6	30	1	9	2	2	5	4	10	10	433	14	37	31	13	528	—	—	
		23rd Lt. Dragoons		3	7	12	6	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	287	—	39	16	45	387
		11th "		2	6	14	5	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	368	7	1	14	—	390
		12th "		2	6	17	6	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	363	8	—	22	—	388
		16th "		2	6	17	6	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	362	5	1	25	—	393
		*2nd Hussars, K.G.L.		3	8	17	7	49	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	493	15	17	33	—	558
Cavalry.	5th	7th Hussars	Courtrai	1	4	9	4	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	316	—	16	34	14	380	
		15th "		2	7	13	6	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	383	8	—	6	—	392	
		1st Hussars, K.G.L.		2	9	17	7	44	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	498	16	6	93	—	613	
		10th Hussars		3	7	11	5	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	389	—	—	1	—	390
		18th "		1	4	14	6	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	378	5	5	8	—	396
		3rd Hussars, K.G.L.		2	10	20	5	46	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	590	26	22	149	—	787
		13th Lt. Dragoons		1	7	15	5	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	380	7	1	1	1	390
		1st Guards, 2nd batt.		—	4	7	4	43	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	688	—	—	276	12	976
		1st " 3rd "		—	4	7	4	43	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	758	—	—	255	8	1021
		1st British		—	5	25	5	55	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	939	49	4	11	—	1003
2nd "	—	5	25	5	55	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	957	41	6	57	—	1061			

52nd regt., 1st batt.	2	3	10	41	6	65	1	1	2	69	22	1002	18	12	6	1038		
71st " 1st "	3	3	9	32	6	61	—	—	1	62	21	798	6	4	—	810		
95th " Prov. "	1	1	2	5	2	11	—	—	1	12	6	176	2	2	—	188		
95th " 2nd "	2	2	6	20	6	37	1	—	3	41	17	567	10	3	5	585		
1st Line Batt., K.G.L.	2	2	6	16	5	25	3	—	18	48	12	389	27	17	18	468		
2nd " "	1	1	6	17	5	30	3	—	16	50	12	423	25	32	11	511		
3rd " "	3	3	4	17	6	32	2	—	13	47	13	508	6	30	11	555		
4th " "	3	3	5	17	6	26	4	—	3	33	14	413	—	38	11	462		
30th regt., 2nd batt.	3	3	5	26	6	33	5	—	5	43	14	548	—	45	9	615		
33rd " "	1	1	4	21	5	22	4	—	10	36	12	501	10	14	6	561		
69th " 2nd "	2	2	6	17	5	28	1	—	4	34	19	464	23	16	8	516		
73rd " 2nd "	2	2	5	12	4	32	5	—	5	42	17	426	—	102	34	562		
5th Line Batt., K.G.L.	2	2	4	20	5	30	1	—	16	47	16	394	32	21	10	457		
8th " "	3	3	5	18	6	31	—	—	15	46	15	436	11	3	95	545		
1st Light Batt "	3	3	5	18	6	23	3	—	7	53	12	382	26	57	20	485		
2nd " "	1	1	5	19	6	24	3	—	4	50	14	332	28	59	12	431		
14th regt., 3rd batt.	2	2	8	23	5	33	1	—	2	36	11	548	9	7	7	571		
23rd " 1st "	3	3	10	25	6	35	—	—	3	38	23	639	—	5	3	647		
51st " 2nd "	2	2	5	23	6	31	—	—	2	34	16	521	5	17	6	549		
*54th " 1st "	2	2	5	29	5	38	—	—	3	44	19	481	6	69	14	570		
*59th " 2nd "	3	3	6	21	6	38	1	—	3	40	15	497	—	37	7	541		
*91st " 1st "	1	1	8	27	6	48	1	—	3	53	21	774	18	10	1	461		
+28th " 1st "	2	2	8	20	5	36	1	—	2	40	27	458	—	88	9	824		
+32nd " 1st "	2	2	4	14	6	36	—	—	6	45	14	427	—	218	17	662		
+79th " 1st "	—	—	4	17	5	30	—	—	3	44	10	374	5	290	34	703		
+95th " 1st "	1	1	3	7	6	27	—	—	—	38	10	364	—	185	—	549		
+1st " 3rd "	1	1	5	23	7	34	—	—	14	48	17	366	—	236	—	604		
+42nd " 1st "	2	2	1	13	3	25	—	—	1	38	15	272	9	220	25	526		
+44th " 2nd "	2	2	4	18	6	39	2	—	3	46	15	396	12	32	15	455		
+92nd " 1st "	1	1	2	15	4	27	—	—	16	44	12	361	—	217	10	588		
4th " 1st "	1	1	2	20	4	36	—	—	2	40	11	596	6	55	12	669		
27th " 1st "	—	—	3	15	3	34	—	—	1	36	8	687	—	10	1	698		
40th " 1st "	2	2	9	27	5	55	—	—	2	58	17	747	—	11	3	761		
*81st " 2nd "	3	3	9	22	5	26	—	—	1	28	9	406	17	16	—	439		
*25th " 2nd "	3	3	5	16	5	29	—	—	3	32	12	354	21	5	8	388		
*37th " 2nd "	1	1	9	19	6	34	2	—	1	37	13	387	34	62	8	491		
*78th " 2nd "	2	2	7	19	5	22	1	—	2	25	10	313	16	5	3	337		
*13th R. Veteran Batt.	1	1	7	19	6	27	4	—	4	35	5	649	—	—	10	683		
*1st Foreign Antecorp	2	2	6	9	5	32	2	—	—	35	12	536	40	1	18	595		
*2nd Garrison Battalion Ostend	2	2	7	21	4	38	3	—	—	41	14	696	43	—	—	739		
Total	129	469	1330	380	2473	53	164	277	2947	852	13	30	26	921	37603	11283046	1186170	43133

J. WARENS, Lieut.-Col. Assistant-Adjutant-General.

* These regiments were not at the battle of Waterloo.
 † The increase of the number included in the column " Sick Absent" arises from these regiments having been engaged at Quatre Bras on the 16th.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S DESPATCH.

THE victor, in his despatch addressed to the earl of Bathurst, gave the following general and faithful summary of the memorable battle of Waterloo, as also of that of Ligny:—

“ Waterloo, 19th June, 1815.

“ Buonaparte, having collected the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army, and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobbes, on the Sambre, at daylight in the morning. I did not hear of those events till in the evening of the 15th; and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march, and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

“ The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and general Zieten, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and marshal prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny. The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Bruxelles; and, on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the prince de Weimar, posted at Frasné, and forced it back to the farm-house, on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

“ The prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under general Perponcher, and, in the morning early, regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles with marshal Blucher's position. In the mean time, I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras; and the 5th division, under lieutenant-general sir T. Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau. At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the

1st and 2nd corps, and a corps of cavalry under general Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

“ The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under general Bulow, had not joined; and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

“ We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery. He made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair, his royal highness the prince of Orange, the duke of Brunswick, and lieutenant-general sir T. Picton, and major-generals sir J. Kempt and sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as lieutenant-general C. Baron Alten, major-general sir C. Halkett, lieutenant-general Cooke, and major-generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42nd, 79th, and 92nd regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians. Our loss was great, as your lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his serene highness the duke of Brunswick, who fell fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

“ Although marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and, as the 4th corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back and to concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night, after the action was over. This movement of the marshal rendered necessary a corresponding one upon my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo,

the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock. The enemy made no effort to pursue marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrol which I sent to Sombreuf in the morning found all quiet; and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrol advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following, with a large body of cavalry brought from his right, the cavalry under the earl of Uxbridge. This gave lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st life guards, upon their *débouché* from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

"The position which I took up in front of Waterloo crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke-Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and gardens of Hougomont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with marshal prince Blucher at Wavre, through Ohain; and the marshal had promised me that, in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary. The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the 3rd corps, which had been sent to observe marshal Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning, and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougomont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from general Byng's brigade of guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of lieutenant-colonel Macdonnell, and afterwards of colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it. This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one

of these the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the German Legion, which occupied it, had expended all its ammunition; and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

"The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful; and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the life guards, the royal horse guards, and 1st dragoon guards, highly distinguished themselves, as did that of major-general sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle. These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and, having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of general Bulow's corps, by Frischermont, upon Planchenoit and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as marshal prince Blucher had joined in person with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point: the enemy was forced from his positions on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I can judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

"I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night. He has sent me word this morning that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the imperial guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c., belonging to Buonaparte, in Genappe. I propose to move this morning upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

"Your lordship will observe that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and I am sorry to add that

ours has been immense. In lieutenant-general sir T. Picton,* his majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service; and he fell gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was repulsed. The earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his majesty for some time of his services. His royal highness the prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct, till he received a wound from a musket ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field. It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards, under lieutenant-general Cooke, who is severely wounded, major-general Maitland, and major-general Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer nor description of troops that did not behave well. I must, however, particularly mention, for his royal highness' approbation, lieutenant-general sir H. Clinton, major-general Adam, lieutenant-general C. Baron Alten (severely wounded), major-general sir C. Halkett (severely wounded), colonel Ompteda, colonel Mitchell (commanding a brigade of the 4th division), major-generals sir J. Kempt and sir D. Pack, major-general Lambert, major-general lord E. Somerset, major-general sir W. Ponsonby, major-general sir C. Grant, and major-general sir H. Vivian, major-general sir J. O. Vandeleur, and major-general count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to general lord Hill for his assistance and conduct upon this, as upon all former occasions.

"The artillery and engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction by colonel sir G. Wood and colonel Smyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the adjutant-general, major-general Barnes, who was wounded, and of the quarter-master-general, colonel de Lancey, who was killed by a cannon shot in

* On examining the dress of sir Thomas Picton, on the evening of the 18th, it was found that his coat was torn on one side. This led to a further examination, when the following fact was ascertained. On the 16th, he had been wounded at Quatre Bras; a musket-ball had struck him and broken two of his ribs; but convinced that a severe battle was at hand, he kept his wound a secret, lest he should be soli-

the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of lieutenant-colonel lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-colonel the honourable sir A. Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his majesty's service. General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction; as did general Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and general Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry in the service of the king of the Netherlands. General Pozzo di Borgo, general Baron Vincent, general Muffling, and general Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and general Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion.

"I should not do justice to my own feelings, or to marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them. The operations of general Bulow upon the enemy's flank was a most decisive one; and, even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

"Since writing the above, I have received a report that major-general sir W. Ponsonby is killed; and, in announcing this intelligence to his lordship, I have to add the expression of my grief for the fate of an officer who had already rendered very brilliant and important services, and was an ornament to his profession. I send with this despatch three eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his royal highness. I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection."

cited to absent himself on that occasion. He divulged the matter only to an old servant, with whose assistance he bound up the wound with a piece of a handkerchief. By the morning of the 18th, the wound had assumed a serious aspect; but he subdued his bodily anguish, and took the command of his division, retaining his usual intrepidity to the moment of his death.

On the same day the following letter was addressed to lord Bathurst:—

"I have to inform your lordship, in addition to my despatch of this morning, that we have already got here 5,000 prisoners, taken in the action of yesterday, and that there are above 2,000 more coming in to-morrow. There will probably be many more.

"Amongst the prisoners are the comte de Lobau, who commanded the 6th corps, and general Cambrone, who commanded a division of the guards."

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the British and Hanoverian Army under the command of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K.G., in the battle fought at Quatre Bras on the 16th June, 1815.

	Officers.	Serjeants.	Rank and File.	Total loss.	British.	Hanoverians.	Horses.
Killed . . .	29	19	302	350	316	34	19
Wounded . .	126	111	2,143	2,380	2,156	224	14
Missing . . .	4	6	171	181	32	149	1

On the retreat from Quatre Bras to Waterloo on the 17th June, 1815.

	Officers.	Serjeants.	Rank and File.	Total loss.	British.	Hanoverians.	Horses.
Killed . . .	1	1	33	35	26	9	45
Wounded . .	7	13	112	132	52	80	20
Missing . . .	4	3	64	71	30	32	33

In the battle fought at Waterloo on the 18th June, 1815.

	Officers.	Serjeants.	Rank and File.	Total loss.	British.*	Hanoverians.*	Horses.
Killed . . .	116	109	1,822	2,047	1,759	288	1,495
Wounded . .	504	364	6,148	7,016	5,892	1,124	891
Missing . . .	20	29	1,574	1,623	807	816	773

Killed. Wounded. Missing.
Total . . . 2,432 9,528 1,875

The greater number of the men returned missing had gone to the rear with wounded officers and soldiers, and joined afterwards. The officers are supposed to have been killed.

BLUCHER'S ACCOUNT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY OF THE LOWER RHINE.

JUNE 16TH—BATTLE OF LIGNY.

"THE Prussian army was posted on the heights between Bry and Sombreuf, and beyond the last place, and occupied with a large force the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, situate in its front. Meantime, only three corps of the army had joined; the fourth, which was stationed between Liege and Hannut, has been delayed in its march by several circumstances, and was not yet come up. Nevertheless, field-marshal Blucher resolved to give battle; lord Wellington having already put in motion, to support him, a strong division of his army, as well as his whole reserve, stationed in the environs of Brussels, and the fourth corps of the Prussian army being also on the point of arriving.

"The battle began at three o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy brought up above 130,000 men. The Prussian army was 80,000 strong. The village of St. Amand

was the first point attacked by the enemy, who carried it, after a vigorous resistance. He then directed his efforts against Ligny. It is a large village, solidly built, situate on a rivulet of the same name. It was there that a contest began which may be considered as one of the most obstinate recorded in history. Villages have often been taken and retaken; but here the combat continued for five hours in the villages themselves, and the movements, forwards or backwards, were confined to a very narrow space. On both sides fresh troops continually came up. Each army had, behind the part of the village which it occupied, great masses of infantry, which maintained the combat, and were continually renewed by the reinforcements which they received from their rear, as well as from the heights on the right and left. About 200 cannon were directed from both sides against the village, which was on fire in

* No return was made of the Belgian killed and wounded, and this was occasioned by the duke's unwillingness to divulge the misconduct of that portion of his command. It is supposed to have been between three and four thousand. To the memory of

those ill-fated men who had so profusely atoned with the loss of life for their runaway countrymen's misdeeds, a colossal statue of a lion was subsequently erected, on the plains of Waterloo—appropriately depicted with his tail between his legs.

several places at once. From time to time the combat extended through the whole line, the enemy having also directed numerous troops against the third corps; however, the main contest was near Ligny. Things seemed to take a favourable turn for the Prussian troops, a part of the village of St. Amand having been retaken by a battalion commanded by the field-marshal in person; in consequence of which advantage we had regained a height, which had been abandoned after the loss of St. Amand. Nevertheless, the battle continued about Ligny with the same fury. The issue seemed to depend on the arrival of the English troops, or on that of the fourth corps of the Prussian army; in fact, the arrival of this last division would have afforded the field-marshal the means of making immediately, with the right wing, an attack, from which great success might be expected; but news arrived that the English division destined to support us, was violently attacked by a corps of the French army, and that it was with great difficulty it had maintained itself in its position at Quatre Bras. The fourth corps of the army did not appear, so that we were forced to maintain, alone, the contest with an army greatly superior in numbers.

“The evening was already much advanced, and the combat about Ligny continued with the same fury, and the same equality of success; we invoked, but in vain, the arrival of those succours which were so necessary; the danger became every hour more and more urgent; all the divisions were engaged, or had already been so, and there was not any corps at hand able to support them. Suddenly, a division of the enemy's infantry, which, by favour of the night, had made a circuit round the village without being observed, at the same time that some regiments of cuirassiers had forced the passage on the other side, took, in the rear, the main body of our army, which was posted behind the houses. This surprise, on the part of the enemy, was decisive, especially at the moment when our cavalry, also posted on a height behind the village, was repulsed by the enemy's cavalry in repeated attacks.

“Our infantry, posted behind Ligny, though forced to retreat, did not suffer itself to be discouraged, either by being surprised by the enemy in the darkness, a circumstance which exaggerates in the mind of man the dangers to which he finds him-

self exposed, or by the idea of seeing itself surrounded on all sides. Formed in masses, it coolly repulsed all the attacks of the cavalry, and retreated in good order upon the heights, whence it continued its retrograde movement upon Tilly. In consequence of the sudden irruption of the enemy's cavalry, several of our cannon, in their precipitate retreat, had taken directions which led them to defiles, in which they necessarily fell into disorder: in this manner, fifteen pieces fell into the hands of the enemy. At the distance of a quarter of a league from the field of battle, the army formed again. The enemy did not venture to pursue it. The village of Bry remained in our possession during the night, as well as Sombreuf, where General Thielman had fought with the third corps, and whence he, at day-break, slowly began to retreat towards Gembloux, where the fourth corps, under general Bulow, had at length arrived during the night. The first and second corps proceeded in the morning behind the defile of Mont St. Guibert. Our loss in killed and wounded was great; the enemy, however, took from us no prisoners, except a part of our wounded. The battle was lost, but not our honour. Our soldiers had fought with a bravery which equalled every expectation; their fortitude remained unshaken, because every one retained his confidence in his own strength.

“On this day field-marshal Blucher had encountered the greatest dangers. A charge of cavalry, led on by himself, had failed. While that of the enemy was vigorously pursuing, a musket shot struck the field-marshal's horse; the animal, far from being stopped in his career by his wound, began to gallop more furiously till it dropped down dead. The field-marshal, stunned by the violent fall, lay entangled under the horse. The enemy's cuirassiers following up their advantage advanced; our last horseman had already passed by the field-marshal, an adjutant alone remained with him, and had just alighted, resolved to share his fate. The danger was great; but heaven watched over us. The enemy, pursuing their charge, passed rapidly by the field-marshal without seeing him; the next moment, a second charge of our cavalry having repulsed them, they again passed by him with the same precipitation, not perceiving him any more than they had done the first time. Then, but not without difficulty, the field-marshal was disengaged from under the

dead horse, and he immediately mounted a dragoon horse.*

"On the 17th, in the evening, the Prussian army concentrated itself in the environs of Wavre. Napoleon put himself in motion against lord Wellington upon the great road leading from Charleroi to Brussels. An English division maintained on the same day, near Quatre Bras, a very severe contest with the enemy. Lord Wellington had taken a position on the road to Brussels, having his right wing leaning upon Braine-la-Leud, the centre near Mont St. Jean, and the left wing against La Haye Sainte. Lord Wellington wrote to the field-marshal, that he was resolved to accept the battle in this position, if the field-marshal would support him with two corps of his army. The field-marshal promised to come with his whole army; he even proposed, in case Napoleon should not attack, that the allies themselves, with their whole united force, should attack him the next day. This may serve to show how little the battle of the 16th had disorganized the Prussian army, or weakened its moral strength. Thus ended the day of the 17th.

BATTLE OF LA BELLE ALLIANCE (WATERLOO).

At break of day the Prussian army again began to move. The fourth and second corps marched by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position, covered by the forest near Frischermont, to take the enemy in the rear, when the moment should appear favourable. The first corps was to operate by Ohain, on the right flank of the enemy. The third corps was to follow slowly in order to afford succour in case of need. The battle began about ten o'clock in the morning. The English army occupied the heights of Mont St. Jean; that of the French was on the heights before Planchenoit; the former was about 80,000 strong; the enemy had above 130,000. In a short time the battle became general along the whole line. It seems that Napoleon had the design to throw the left wing upon the centre, and thus to effect the separation of the English army from the Prussian, which he believed to be retreating upon Maestricht. For this purpose he had placed the greatest part of his reserve in the centre, against his right

wing, and upon this point he attacked with fury. The English army fought with a valour which it is impossible to surpass. The repeated charges of the old guard were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scottish regiments; and at every charge the French cavalry was overthrown by the English cavalry. But the superiority of the enemy in numbers was too great; Napoleon continually brought forward considerable masses; and, with whatever firmness the English troops maintained themselves in their position, it was not possible but that such heroic exertions must have a limit.

"It was half-past four o'clock. The excessive difficulties of the passage by the defile of St. Lambert, had considerably retarded the march of the Prussian columns, so that only two brigades of the fourth corps had arrived at the covered position which was assigned to them. The decisive moment was come; there was not an instant to be lost. The generals did not suffer it to escape. They resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. General Bulow, therefore, with two brigades and a corps of cavalry, advanced rapidly upon the rear of the enemy's right wing. The enemy did not lose his presence of mind; he instantly turned his reserve against us, and a murderous conflict began on that side. The combat remained long uncertain, while the battle with the English army still continued with the same violence.

"Towards six o'clock in the evening we received the news that general Thielman, with the third corps was attacked near Wavre by a very considerable corps of the enemy, and that they were already disputing the possession of the town. The field-marshal, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news; it was on the spot where he was, and no where else, that the affair was to be decided. A conflict continually supported by the same obstinacy, and kept up by fresh troops, could alone insure the victory; and if it were obtained here, any reverse sustained near Wavre was of little consequence. The columns, therefore, continued their movements. It was half an hour past seven, and the issue of the battle was still uncertain. The whole of the fourth corps, and a part of the second, under general Pirch, had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury; however, some uncertainty was perceived in their move-

* The old Prussian is somewhat garrulous about his mishap, and seems not to have recollected the military etiquette of not opening too wide a mouth on personal harms in despatches.

ments, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment, the first columns of general Zieten arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smonhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. This moment decided the defeat of the enemy. His right wing was broken in three places; he abandoned his positions. Our troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked him on all sides, while, at the same time, the whole English line advanced.

"Circumstances were extremely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army; the ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain, formed into brigades, and in the greatest order; while fresh troops continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several bloody attacks, carried by storm. From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread throughout the whole French army, which, in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away everything that attempted to stop it, soon assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians. It was half-past nine. The field-marshal assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French being pursued without intermission, were absolutely disorganized. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck; it was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves; but as soon as they heard the beating of our drums, or the sound of the trumpets, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the

pursuit, for the whole march was but a continued chase, either in the corn-fields or the houses.

"At Genappe, the enemy had entrenched himself with cannon, and overturned carriages: at our approach, we suddenly heard in the town a great noise and a motion of carriages; at the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry; we replied by some cannon shot, followed by a *hurrah*, and an instant after, the town was ours. It was here that, among many other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon was taken; he had just left it to mount on horseback, and, in his hurry, had forgotten in it his sword and hat. Thus the affairs continued till break of day. About 40,000 men, in the most complete disorder, the remains of the whole army, have saved themselves, retreating through Charleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces of their numerous artillery. The enemy, in his flight, had passed all his fortresses, the only defence of his frontiers, which are now passed by our armies.

"At three o'clock, Napoleon had dispatched, from the field of battle, a courier to Paris, with the news that victory was no longer doubtful: a few hours after, he had no longer an army left. We have not yet any exact account of the enemy's loss; it is enough to know that two-thirds of the whole were killed, wounded, or prisoners: among the latter are generals Monton, Duhesme, and Compans.* Up to this time about 300 cannon, and above 500 caissons, are in our hands.†

"Few victories have been so complete; and there is certainly no example that an army, two days after losing a battle, engaged in such an action, and so gloriously maintained it. Honour be to troops capable of so much firmness and valour! In the middle of the position occupied by the French army, and exactly upon the height, is a farm called La Belle Alliance. The march of all the Prussian columns was directed towards this farm, which was visible from every side. It was there that Napoleon was during the battle; it was thence that he gave his orders, that he flattered himself with the hopes of victory; and it was there that his ruin was decided. There,‡ too, it was, that, by a happy chance, field-marshal Blucher and lord Wellington met in the

* These were the generals taken by the Prussians only.

† This mode of expression was a *ruse*, to cover the Prussian design of claiming the whole of the artillery.

‡ The meeting did not take place there, but at a farm-house called *Maison Rouge*, or *Maison du Roi*, at a short distance behind La Belle Alliance.

dark, and mutually saluted each other as victors.

"In commemoration of the alliance which now subsists between the English and Prussian nations, of the union of the two armies,

and their reciprocal confidence, the field-marshal desired that this battle should bear the name of La Belle Alliance.*

"By the order of field-marshal Blucher,
"GENERAL GNEISENAU."

SPANISH ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL of the royal armies, don Miguel de Alava, minister plenipotentiary of his excellency don Pedro Cevallos, first secretary of state.

"Brussels, 20th June, 1815.

"Most excellent sir,—The short space of time that has intervened between the departure of the last post and the victory of the 18th, has not allowed me to write to your excellency so diffusely as I could have wished; and although the army is, at this moment, on the point of marching, and I also am going to set out for the Hague to deliver my credentials, which I did not receive till this morning; nevertheless, I will give your excellency some details respecting this important event, which, possibly, bring us to the end of the war much sooner than we had any reason to expect. I informed your excellency, under date of the 16th instant, that Buonaparte, marching from Mauberge and Philippeville, had attacked the Prussian posts on the Sambre, and that, after driving them from Charleroi, he had entered that city on the 15th. On the 16th, the duke of Wellington ordered his army to assemble on the point of Quatre Bras, where the roads cross from Namur to Nivelles, and from Brussels to Charleroi; and he himself proceeded to the same point, at seven in the morning. On his arrival, he found the hereditary prince of Orange, with a division of his own army, holding the enemy in check, till the other divisions of the army were collected. By this time, the British division, under general Picton, had arrived, with which the duke kept up an unequal contest with more than 30,000 of the enemy, without losing an inch of ground. The British guards, several regiments of infantry, and the Scottish brigade, covered themselves with glory on this day; and lord Wellington told me, on the following day, that he never saw his troops behave better, during the number of years he had commanded them.

"The French cuirassiers likewise suffered

much on their part; for, confiding in their breast-plates, they approached the British squares so near, that they killed officers of the 42nd regiment with their swords; but those valiant men, without flinching, kept up so strong a fire, that the whole ground was covered with the cuirassiers and their horses. In the mean time, the troops kept coming up; and the night put an end to the contest in this quarter. During this time, Buonaparte was fighting with the remainder of his forces against marshal Blucher, with whom he had commenced a bloody action at five in the afternoon; from which time, till nine in the evening, he was constantly repulsed by the Prussians, with great loss on both sides. But, at that moment, he made his cavalry charge with so much vigour, that they broke the Prussian line of infantry, and introduced disorder and confusion throughout.

"Whether it was that Buonaparte did not perceive this incident, or that he had experienced a great loss; or, what is more probable, that marshal Blucher had re-established the battle, the fact is, that he derived no advantage whatever from this accident, and that he left him quiet during the whole of the night of the 16th. Lord Wellington, who, by the morning of the 17th, had collected the whole of his army in the position of Quatre Bras, was combining his measures to attack the enemy, when he received a dispatch from marshal Blucher, participating to him the events of the preceding day, together with the incident that he had snatched the victory out of his hands; adding, that the loss he had experienced was of such a nature, that he was forced to retreat to Wavre, on our left, where the corps of Bulow would unite with him, and that on the 19th he would be ready for anything he might wish to undertake.

"In consequence of this, lord Wellington

* The concoction of this story was devised to favour the pretension of the Prussians to a claim in the victory.

was obliged immediately to retreat, and this he effected in such a manner, that the enemy did not dare to interrupt him in it. He took up a position on Braine-le-Leud, in front of the great wood of Soignies, as he had previously determined, and placed his head-quarters in Waterloo. I joined the army on that morning, though I had received no orders to that effect, because I believed that I should thus best serve his majesty, and at the same time fulfil your excellency's directions; and this determination has afforded me the satisfaction of having been present at the most important battle that has been fought for many centuries, in its consequences, its duration, and the talents of the chiefs who commanded on both sides, and because the peace of the world, and the future security of all Europe, may be said to have depended on its result. The position occupied by his lordship was very good; but towards the centre, it had various weak points, which required good troops to guard them, and much science and skill on the part of the general-in-chief. These qualifications were, however, to be found in abundance in the British troops and their illustrious commander; and, it may be asserted, without offence to any one, that to them both belongs the chief part, or all the glory of this memorable day. On the right of the position, and a little in advance, was a country-house, the importance of which lord Wellington quickly perceived, because, without it, the position could not be attacked on that side, and it might therefore be considered as its key.

"The duke confided this important point to three companies of the English guards, under the command of lord Saltoun, and laboured, during the night of the 17th, in fortifying it as well as possible, covering its garden, and a wood which served as its park, with Nassau troops, as sharp-shooters. At half-past ten, a movement was observed in the enemy's line, and many officers were seen coming from and going to a particular point, where there was a considerable corps of infantry, which we afterwards understood to be the imperial guard; here was Buonaparte in person, and from this point issued all the orders. In the mean time, the enemy's masses were forming, and everything announced the approaching combat, which began at half-past eleven, the enemy attacking desperately with one of his corps, and, with his usual shouts, the country house on the right.

"The Nassau troops found it necessary to abandon their post; but the enemy met such resistance in the house, that, though they surrounded it on three sides, and attacked it most desperately, they were compelled to desist from their enterprise, leaving a great number of killed and wounded on the spot. Lord Wellington sent fresh English troops, who recovered the wood and garden, and the combat ceased, for the present, on this side. The enemy then opened a horrible fire of artillery from more than 200 pieces, under cover of which Buonaparte made a general attack, from the centre to the right, with infantry and cavalry, in such numbers, that it required all the skill of his lordship to post his troops, and all the good qualities of the latter, to resist the attack. General Picton, who was with his division on the road from Brussels to Charleroi, advanced with the bayonet to receive them; but was unfortunately killed at the moment when the enemy, appalled by the attitude of this division, fired, and then fled.

"The English life-guards then charged with the greatest vigour, and the 49th and 105th French regiments lost their respective eagles in this charge, together with from 2,000 to 3,000 prisoners. A column of cavalry, at whose head were the cuirassiers, advanced to charge the life guards, and thus save their infantry, but the guards received them with the greatest valour, and the most sanguinary cavalry fight perhaps ever witnessed, was the consequence. The French cuirassiers were completely beaten, in spite of their cuirasses, by troops who had nothing of the sort, and lost one of their eagles in this conflict, which was taken by the heavy English cavalry, called the *Royals*.

"About this time, accounts came that the Prussian corps of Bulow had arrived at St. Lambert, and that prince Blucher, with the other, under the command of general Thielman (Zieten) was advancing, with all haste, to take part in the combat, leaving the other two in Wavre, which had suffered so much in the battle of the 16th, in Fleurus. The arrival of these troops was so much the more necessary, in consequence of the forces of the enemy being more than triple, and our loss having been horrid during an unequal combat, from half-past eleven in the morning, till five in the afternoon.

"Buonaparte, who did not believe them to be so near, and who reckoned upon de-

stroying lord Wellington before their arrival, perceived that he had fruitlessly lost more than five hours, and that in the critical position in which he would soon be placed, there remained no other resource but that of desperately attacking the weak part of the English position, and thus, if possible, beat the duke before his right was turned, and attacked by the Prussians. Henceforward, therefore, the whole was a repetition of attacks by cavalry and infantry, supported by more than 300 pieces of artillery, which unfortunately made horrible ravages in our line, and killed and wounded officers, artillerists, and horses, in the weakest part of the position. The enemy, aware of this destruction, made a charge with the whole cavalry of his guard, which took some pieces of cannon that could not be withdrawn; but the duke, who was at this point, charged them with three battalions of English and three of Brunswickers, and compelled them in a moment to abandon the artillery, though we were unable to withdraw them for want of horses; nor did they dare to advance to recover them.

"At last, about seven in the evening, Buonaparte made a last effort, and putting himself at the head of his guards, attacked the above point of the English position with such vigour, that he drove back the Brunswickers who occupied part of it; and, for a moment, the victory was undecided, and even more than doubtful. The duke, who felt that the moment was most critical, spoke to the Brunswick troops with that ascendancy which every great man possesses, made them return to the charge, and, putting himself at their head, again restored the combat, exposing himself to every kind of personal danger. Fortunately, at this moment, he perceived the fire of marshal Blucher, who was attacking the enemy's right with his usual impetuosity; and the moment of decisive attack being come, the duke put himself at the head of the English foot-guards, spoke a few words to them, which were replied to by a general 'hurrah,' and his grace himself leading them on with his hat, they marched at the point of the bayonet, to come to close action with the imperial guard. But the latter began a retreat, which was soon converted into flight, and the most complete rout ever witnessed by military men. Entire columns, throwing down their arms and cartouch-boxes, in order to escape the better, abandoned the spot on which they had been formed, where

we took possession of 150 pieces of cannon. The rout at Vittoria was not comparable to this, and it only resembles it, inasmuch as on both occasions, they lost all the train of artillery and stores of the army, as well as all the baggage.

"The duke followed the enemy as far as Genappe, where he found the respectable Blucher, and both embraced in the most cordial manner, on the royal road of Charleroi; but finding himself in the same point as the Prussians, and that his army stood in need of rest after so dreadful a struggle, he left to Blucher the charge of following up the enemy, who swore that he would not leave them a moment of rest. This he is now doing, and yesterday, at noon, he had reached Charleroi, from whence at night, he intended to proceed on after them. This is, in substance, what has happened on this memorable day; but the consequences of this event are too visible for me to detain myself in stating them.

"Buonaparte, now tottering on his usurped throne, without money and without troops to recruit his armies, has received so mortal a blow, that, according to the report of the prisoners, no other resource is left him, 'than to cut his own throat.' For this reason, they say, they never saw him expose his person so much, and that he seemed to seek death, in order not to survive a defeat fraught with such fatal consequences to him. I told your excellency, under date of the 16th, that his manœuvre appeared to me extremely daring before such generals as Blucher and the duke; the event has fully justified my prediction. For this reason, I conceive, that his executing it has arisen from nothing else than desperation, at the appearance of the enormous troops about to attack him on all quarters of France, and in order to give one of his customary blows before the Russians and Austrians came up.

"His military reputation is lost for ever, and, on this occasion, there is no treason on the part of the allies, nor bridges blown up before their time, on which to throw the blame; all the shame will fall upon himself. Numerical superiority, superiority of artillery—all was in his favour; and his having commenced the attack, proves that he had sufficient means to execute it. In short, this talisman, which, like a charm, had enchanted French military men, has been dashed to pieces on this occasion. Buonaparte has for ever lost his reputation of

being invincible; and, henceforward, this reputation will be preserved by an honourable man, who, far from employing this glorious title in disturbing and enslaving Europe, will convert it into an instrument of her felicity, and in procuring for her that peace she so much requires.

“The loss of the British is horrid, and of those who were by the side of the duke, he and myself alone, remained untouched in our persons and horses. The duke of Brunswick was killed on the 16th, and the prince of Orange and his cousin, the prince of Nassau, aid-de-camp to the duke of Wellington, received two balls. The prince of Orange distinguished himself extremely; but, unfortunately, although his wound is not dangerous, it will deprive the army of his important services for some time, and possibly he may lose the use of his left arm. Lord Uxbridge, general of cavalry, received a wound at the close of the action, which made the amputation of his right leg necessary; an irreparable loss, for it would be difficult to find another chief to lead on the cavalry, with the same courage and skill. The duke was unable to refrain from shedding tears, on witnessing the death of so many brave and honourable men, and the loss of so many friends and faithful companions, and nothing but the importance of the triumph can compensate so considerable

a loss. This morning he has proceeded on to Nivelles, and to-morrow he will advance to Mons, from whence he will immediately enter France. The opportunity cannot be better.

“I cannot close this despatch without stating to your excellency, for the information of his majesty, that captain don Nicholas de Minuissir, of Doyle's regiment, and of whom I before spoke to your excellency, as well as of his destination in the army, conducted himself yesterday with the greatest valour and steadiness, having been wounded when the Nassau troops were driven from the garden, he rallied them and made them return to their post. During the action, he had a horse wounded under him, and by his former conduct, as well as by that of this day, he is worthy of receiving from his majesty a proof of his satisfaction. This officer is well known in the war-office, as well as to general don Josef de Zayas, who has duly appreciated his merits.—God preserve your excellency many years, &c. &c.

(Signed) “MIGUEL DE ALAVA.

“P.S. The number of prisoners cannot be stated, for they are bringing in great numbers every moment. There are many generals among the prisoners; among whom are the count de Lobau, aid-de-camp to Buonaparte, and Cambrone, who accompanied him to Elba.”

MARSHAL NEY'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

NEY'S account of the transactions of the 18th was dragged from him in consequence, as he himself says, “of the most false and defamatory reports which had been spreading for some days in the public mind.” This was in allusion to Napoleon's account of the battle, which will be found in another place, where he attempted to throw the blame of the loss of that event on his unfortunate general. The marshal proceeds to state:—

“On the 18th, the battle began at one o'clock, and though the bulletin, which details it, makes no mention of me, it is not necessary for me to mention that I was engaged in it. Lieutenant-general count Drouot has already spoken of that battle, in the house of peers. His narration is accurate, with the exception of some important facts which he has passed over in

silence, or of which he was ignorant, and which it is now my duty to declare. About seven o'clock in the evening, after the most frightful carnage which I have ever witnessed, general Labedoyere came to me with a message from the emperor, that marshal Grouchy had arrived on our right, and attacked the left of the English and Prussians united. This general officer, in riding along the lines, spread this intelligence among the soldiers, whose courage and devotion remained unshaken, and who gave new proofs of them at that moment, in spite of the fatigue which they experienced. Immediately after, what was my astonishment, I should rather say indignation, when I learned, that so far from marshal Grouchy having arrived to support us, as the whole army had been assured, between forty and fifty thousand Prussians attacked our ex-

tre me right, and forced it to retire. Whether the emperor was deceived as to the time when the marshal could support him, or whether the march of the marshal was retarded by the efforts of the enemy, longer than was calculated upon, the fact is, that at the moment when his arrival was announced to us, he was only at Wavre upon the Dyle, which to us was the same as if he had been a hundred leagues from the field of battle.

"A short time afterwards, I saw four regiments of the middle guard, conducted by the emperor, arriving. With these troops, he wished to renew the attack, and to penetrate the centre of the enemy. He ordered me to lead them on; generals, officers, and soldiers all displayed the greatest intrepidity; but this body of troops was too weak to resist, for a long time, the forces opposed to it by the enemy, and it was soon necessary to renounce the hope which this attack had, for a few moments, inspired. General Friant had been struck with a ball by my side, and I myself had my horse killed, and fell under it. The brave men who will return from this terrible battle will, I hope, do me the justice to say that they saw me on foot with sword in hand during the whole of the evening, and that I only quitted the scene of carnage among the last, and at the moment when retreat could no longer be prevented. At the same time, the Prussians continued their offensive movements, and our right sensibly retired; the English advanced in their turn. There remained to us still four squares of the old guard to protect the retreat. These brave grenadiers, the choice of the army, forced successively to retire, yielded ground foot by foot, till overwhelmed by numbers, they were almost annihilated. From that moment, a retrograde movement was declared, and the army formed nothing but a confused mass. There was not, however, a total rout, nor the cry of *saute qui peut*, as has been calumniously stated in the bulletin. As for myself, constantly in the rear-guard, which I followed on foot, having all my horses killed, worn out with fatigue, covered with contusions, and having no longer strength to march, I owe my life to a corporal, who supported me on the road, and did not abandon me during the retreat. At eleven at night I found lieutenant-general Lefebvre Desnouettes; and one of his officers, major Schmidt, had the generosity to give me

the only horse that remained to him. In this manner I arrived at Marchienne-au-Pont at four o'clock in the morning, alone, without any officers of my staff, ignorant of what had become of the emperor, who, before the end of the battle, had entirely disappeared, and who, I was allowed to believe, might be either killed or taken prisoner. General Pamphile Lacroix, chief of the staff of the second corps, whom I found in this city, having told me that the emperor was at Charleroi, I was led to suppose that his majesty was going to put himself at the head of marshal Grouchy's corps, to cover the Sambre, and to facilitate to the troops the means of rallying towards Avesnes, and, with this persuasion, I went to Beaumont; but parties of cavalry following on too near, and having already intercepted the roads of Mauberge and Philippeville, I became sensible of the total impossibility of arresting a single soldier on that point to oppose the progress of the victorious enemy. I continued my march upon Avesnes, where I could obtain no intelligence of what had become of the emperor.

"In this state of matters, having no knowledge of his majesty nor of the major-general, confusion increasing every moment, and, with the exception of some fragments of regiments of the guard and of the line, every one following his own inclination, I determined immediately to go to Paris by St. Quentin, to disclose, as quickly as possible, the true state of affairs to the minister of war, that he might send to the army some fresh troops, and take the measures which circumstances rendered necessary. At my arrival at Bourget, three leagues from Paris, I learned that the emperor had passed there at nine o'clock in the morning.

"Such, M. le duc, is a history of the calamitous campaign. Now I ask those who have survived this fine and numerous army, how I can be accused of the disasters of which it has been the victim, and of which your military annals furnish no example. I have, it is said, betrayed my my country—I who, to serve it, have shown a zeal which I perhaps have carried to an extravagant height: but this calumny is supported by no fact, by no circumstance. But how can these odious reports, which spread with frightful rapidity, be arrested? If, in the researches which I could make on this subject, I did not fear almost as

much to discover as to be ignorant of the truth, I should say, that all was a tendency to convince that I have been unworthily deceived, and that it is attempted to cover, with the pretence of treason, the faults and extravagances of this campaign; faults which have not been avowed in the bulletins that have appeared, and against which I

have in vain raised that voice of truth which I will yet cause to resound in the house of peers. I expect, from the candour of your excellency, and from your indulgence to me, you will cause this letter to be inserted in the Journal, and give it the greatest possible publicity.

“MARSHAL PRINCE OF MOSKWA.”

WAS THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON SURPRISED AT WATERLOO?

WE have now laid before the reader an accurate and full account of the great battle of Waterloo; and in doing so have consulted every authority on the subject to which access could be obtained. We have also given the despatches and accounts, *in extenso*, of foreigners as well as of the duke and his officers, in order that the whole might be fairly exhibited. The great importance of this battle—its being the immediate cause of the overthrow of Napoleon Buonaparte and the restoration of the peace of Europe—as well as its having been the subject of unbounded criticism, both in this country and throughout the continent of Europe, entitle it to this consideration. French writers, as might be expected, have laboured to show, that at the battle of Waterloo they were not defeated; and some of them have even claimed the victory, and pronounced Wellington no general, because, being defeated, he had not the sense to run away. A writer in a French paper, the *Constitutionnel*, in an article on the duke's death, and which was marked by no unfriendly spirit, had the following:—“Public opinion is already formed on the battle of Waterloo, as glorious for our arms as it was unfortunate for our policy. The most competent judges have admitted that the dispositions of Napoleon must have infallibly succeeded; that victory was on our side until the arrival of the Prussians; and that the duke of Wellington had committed an enormous fault in placing his army in such a position that it could not retreat. Let us, however, be just to every one. The fault of lord Wellington powerfully served his cause. In placing his soldiers in such a manner that they must either conquer or be destroyed, he gave additional force to that justly renowned solidity of the English troops.”

Another favourite mode with French writers of accounting for their disasters at

Waterloo has been by misrepresenting the nature of marshal Grouchy's movements on that eventful day, and unduly magnifying what *would* have occurred had Grouchy disobeyed his orders and fallen back on the main army of Napoleon. Now every person is able to estimate the value of an *if*; but in considering this question, it is necessary to bear in mind that marshal Grouchy had quite enough of business on his hands to keep the Prussians in check; and had he attempted to take the step which he has been abused for not taking, *viz.*, disobeying his orders, and bringing up his 32,000 troops to the assistance of Napoleon before the afternoon of the 18th, he would have found the Prussians, under Thielman, pressing close upon him to the number of 35,000. The Prussian general had strict orders to follow Grouchy closely; and the French could not possibly have sustained any advantage from the arrival of that general on the field of Waterloo, if the corps under Thielman had arrived at the same time. The fact is, the one corps counter-balanced the other; and no matter whether on the field of Waterloo or at Wavres, the Prussians would have given Grouchy full employment to keep them in check. Grouchy was fully matched by Thielman at Wavres, and it would have been an absolute impossibility for him to have joined Napoleon without the Prussians simultaneously reinforcing Wellington. In addition to this, Grouchy obeyed his orders, and if he did wrong, the onus of his acts rests with Napoleon, who gave him these orders.

Another attempt has been made to deprive the victor of this well-fought field of the laurels which should adorn his brow, by his allies; and foremost among these are the Prussians. The reader will have observed, in perusing the Prussian despatch detailing the events of the 18th of June, that it is there called the battle of *La Belle*

Alliance, and the fiery old marshal Forwards very frequently makes use of the pronoun *we*, and very slyly appropriates a considerable share of the *gloire* attendant on the victory. In the same spirit the marshal wrote the following note to his wife on the 19th:—

“My dear wife,—You well know what I promised you, and I have kept my word. Superiority of numbers forced me to give way on the 17th, but on the 18th, *in conjunction* with my friend Wellington, I put an end at once to Buonaparte’s dancing!”

Now this is about as cool an appropriation of a victory gained by another as can well be conceived.

It is admitted on all hands, that even if the Prussians had not appeared on the field in force at the time they did, viz., at half-past seven, there can be no doubt that the French would have been repulsed; indeed, their last attack was so, “and their old guard routed before Blucher’s standards were seen in the wood issuing from St. Lambert, or the Prussians had taken any part further than in drawing off the 11,000 of the guard to Planchenoit, from the fight, by Bulow’s vigorous attack at four o’clock. The victory, however, would have been incomplete, and probably little more than a bloody repulse, without their co-operation; and possibly the superiority of the French, if there had been no other army in the field, might have enabled Napoleon to compel the British to retreat, by menacing their flank next day, as he did that of the Russians after the terrible fight of Borodino. It was unquestionably the arrival of the Prussians which rendered the victory complete, and converted a bloody repulse into a total overthrow; and probably, but for the prospect of their co-operation, Wellington would never, with a force so inferior in military strength, have hazarded the risk of so dreadful a conflict.”*

Another, and by far the most important mis-statement in reference to this great event is, that the duke of Wellington was surprised by his able antagonist, and that his measures were characterised by haste and imperfection. This has been advanced not only by foreigners, but has also been put forth by a writer of considerable authority among his own countrymen—the author of the *History of Europe*, who states the accusation thus:—

“In the first place, it is evident, what-

* Alison.

ever the English writers may say to the contrary, that both Blucher and the duke of Wellington were surprised by Napoleon’s invasion of Belgium on the 15th of June; and it is impossible to hold either of them entirely blameless for that circumstance. It has been already seen from the duke’s despatches, that on the 9th of June, that is, six days before the invasion took place, he was aware that Napoleon was collecting a great force on the frontier, and that hostilities might immediately be expected. Why, then, were the two armies not immediately concentrated, and placed in such a situation that they might mutually, if attacked, lend each other the necessary assistance? Their united force was full 190,000 effective men; while Napoleon’s was not more than 120,000, or, at the utmost, 140,000. Why, then, was Blucher attacked unawares and isolated at Ligny, and the British infantry, unsupported either by cavalry or artillery, exposed to the attack of a superior force of French, composed of all the three arms, at Quatre Bras. It is in vain to say that they could not provide for their troops if they had been concentrated, and that it was necessary to watch every bye-road which led to Brussels. Men do not eat more when drawn together, than when scattered over a hundred miles of country. Marlborough and Eugene had long ago maintained armies of 100,000 men for months together in Flanders; and Blucher and Wellington had no difficulty in feeding 170,000 men drawn close together after the campaign did commence. It is not by a cordon of troops scattered over a hundred miles, that the attack of 120,000 French is to be arrested. If the British army had from the first been concentrated at Waterloo, and Blucher near Wavres, Napoleon would never have ventured to pass them on any road, however unguarded. Those who, in their anxiety to uphold the English general from the charge of having been assailed unawares, assert that he was not taken by surprise in the outset of the Waterloo campaign, do not perceive that in so doing they bring against him the much more serious charge of having so disposed his troops, when he knew they were about to be assailed, that infantry alone, without either cavalry or artillery, were exposed to the attack of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, in superior numbers, contrary not only to the plainest rules of the military art, but of common sense on the subject.”

Now let us examine this matter, and see if the eloquent historian just quoted has sufficient grounds to bear him out in the view which he has taken of this important question.

The duke, as we have already stated in an earlier part of this work, commanded at this time an army greatly inferior to that which, in the peninsula, he had so frequently led to victory. He had not confidence in it, as he stated in several of his letters and despatches; and in consequence of this he gave up the intention of invading France, which he at one time had in contemplation. So early as the middle of April the duke foresaw that such a movement could not be safely made, and that in the coming hostilities the initiative must rest with Napoleon. Convinced of this, the duty of the duke plainly was to be prepared at all vulnerable points, the importance of which might attract the notice of the enemy; and so to dispose his troops that when the point of attack was indicated by his great opponent, he might be able to move his supporting columns so as best to arrest the threatened danger. Now, this is exactly what he did. That he foresaw the period about which the attack was likely to be made, is proved by his letters to Schwartzberg and sir Henry Wellesley, bearing date the 2nd of June. In these he mentions the 16th as the day on which he expected to begin his active operations. This does not look very much like surprise. It must also be borne in mind that all his movements necessarily had reference to the German and Russian troops who were on their march to the theatre of action, as well as to the enemy in his front. A single false movement might have compromised his communications with these troops, and would have been fatal to their combined action. The duke had even examined the field of Waterloo, and had it surveyed some weeks before the contest took place, and had decided that it was the ground on which a battle could be advantageously fought. Now, with all due respect for sir A. Alison, this looks more like prudent foresight and precaution than being taken by *surprise*. It would surely be to ask too much, to demand that Wellington should have been able to divine before his antagonist had even taken the field whether Napoleon would make his principal attack by the way of Charleroi or by the way of Mons. He had done all that prudent foresight or eminent military skill could dic-

tate. He had predetermined, on excellent grounds, that the principal contest should take place in the front rather than in the rear of Brussels. The field was marked where the battle was to be fought; the day was indicated when hostilities were likely to commence. There can be no doubt that Buonaparte had scanned with his eagle eye the vulnerable points along the British line; and had not the duke's position been strongly taken on the right, Mons and not Charleroi might have been his first object. Whenever the duke was made aware that the Prussian right was seriously attacked, he issued the orders which brought his troops into the various positions where they might be of most avail, and prepared, in case the Prussians should be defeated, to retire upon Waterloo. Having despatched his necessary orders, he then rode to Ligny, saw Blucher on the morning of the 16th, and then arranged with him that in case of defeat he should fall back upon Wavres, and be ready on the next day to move in the direction of Waterloo. By this wise arrangement, the object of Napoleon's attack on the Prussians—the cutting off their communications with the British—was defeated; for, on the morning of the 18th, the Prussians were on the road to act on the concerted plan of Wellington; and, but for the state of the roads, would have formed their junction with the British long before they did. Was there ever a case in which such well-arranged plans were denominated a *surprise*? The only point that the author of the *History of Europe* really makes out is, that at Quatre Bras some of our infantry arrived on the field without the proper support of cavalry. Such undoubtedly was the case; and nobly did that infantry maintain their position on that glorious day, although unsupported by that important arm. But can a historian find no other reason to assign for this than a *surprise* or an oversight? Is it not possible that there may be in existence memoranda, yet unpublished, which may throw light upon this point; or is it not possible that there might be some delay in the delivery, or in the execution, though none in the issue of the duke's orders? There are many casualties which might occur quite sufficient to account for the non-arrival of the cavalry at the exact moment of time; and to ground upon a circumstance such as this a charge which affects the first military reputation of the age is certainly reprehensible in the extreme

The statement that it was through the deception practised upon him by that arch-knave Fouché, that the duke was led astray or *surprised*, is even more insulting than the imputation itself is injurious. Upon this point we cannot do better than lay before the reader the indignant remarks of an able writer in one of our most talented *Reviews*.

“To suppose that Buonaparte would have entrusted such a villain with his most secret resolves respecting the commencement of the campaign (a wretch whom, shortly before he set out from Paris, he was upon the point of handing over to the executioner) is greatly to under-rate the military prudence of that extraordinary man; and to suppose that the duke would have *depended on him* for correct information upon such a subject, is to impute to him a degree of folly, which would have utterly unfitted him for any command, and for which, assuredly, his whole previous history does not furnish any warrant. The plain fact is, and sir A. Alison might have learned it from the duke's despatches, that he had no communication with Fouché whatsoever; that he waited for no information which should come through so polluted a source; and that his arrangements were made, and his final measures taken, with reference solely to the great military and political considerations which should be uppermost in his mind. And they were guided by a wisdom and executed with a promptitude and vigour, which, notwithstanding accidents over which he could have no control, left nothing to be desired for the successful prosecution of a contest in the issue of which, it is scarcely asserting too much to say that the interests of humanity were more involved than in any other that had taken place from the commencement of the world. No. Had Sir A. Alison been there Fouché might have made a fool of *him*. He may rest assured that that wily intriguer did *not* make a fool of the duke of Wellington. Admitting that with Buonaparte rested the initiative in the coming contest, what was the duty of the noble duke? Was it not so to dispose his troops as that an effective observation might be made of all points upon which he might be menaced? This included the space between Charleroi and Mons, and there would have been advantages both military and political from striking a successful blow against the English, by which they might be separated from their naval resources, and by which the personal safety

of Louis XVIII. and the French court might be comprised, which would not have attended an attack upon the Prussians, even supposing them to be never so completely defeated. It is therefore not improbable that the noble duke looked to Mons as the point upon which Napoleon would advance, and that he took care to be more ready for him there than he was in any other quarter; while yet his arrangements were such that his troops could be rapidly moved to any other point which might be really menaced, so as to be in the field of battle when they were required. The cavalry were concentrated in and about Grammont, a position in which they were well in hand, supposing the attack to be made by way of Mons. Had they been at Nivelles, as matters actually occurred, it would, no doubt, have been more convenient. And this very circumstance may have been the cause why the French emperor directed his force, in the first instance, against the Prussians, and where he was least expected. But could that be called a surprise? Assuredly not. The more probable danger was not only foreseen but prevented; and the troops were rapidly put in motion to meet the new contingency, so as effectually to baffle the efforts of the enemy. It is true the cavalry did not arrive at Quatre Bras quite so seasonably as could be desired; but that is a casualty which might be accounted for by any one of twenty accidents which, in the tumult of such a busy time, might well have occurred to mar the best-conceived arrangements. We know that it was an accident alone which prevented Bulow being present with Blucher at the battle of Ligny, of which, had he taken his expected part in it, the result would in all probability have been very different. We are told by authority, that all the memoranda connected with the orders of the 15th, and the movements of the 16th, are not yet before the public; so that we are at present unable to judge why it was, or whose fault it was, that the cavalry were not earlier at the scene of action at Quatre Bras.”

With this extract we shall close the chapter; and we think it must now appear evident to the reader, from what has been stated, that the duke was *not* beaten by the French at Waterloo—that the battle was *not* gained by the Prussians—and that the hero of a hundred fights was *not* surprised by Napoleon Buonaparte.

THE SECOND INVASION OF FRANCE.

ON the field of the battle, it was arranged by the chiefs of the two armies, that the Prussians should pursue the fleeing enemy by Charleroi, towards Avesnes and Laon; and that the Anglo-allies should advance by Nivelles and Binch towards Peronne. At break of day, on the 19th, only a few brief hours after having gained one of the most decisive and memorable battles recorded in military annals, the Anglo-allied army broke up its bivouac, and in columns of march advanced on Nivelles, which, together with the neighbouring villages, it occupied for the ensuing night. On the 20th, the duke issued the following general order, dated Nivelles, 20th June, 1815:—

“As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations at present under the command of field-marshal the duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are in alliance with his majesty the king of France, and that France, therefore, should be treated as a friendly country. It is, therefore, required, that nothing should be taken, either by officers or soldiers, for which payment is not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner; and it is not permitted, either to officers or soldiers, to extort contributions. The commissaries will be authorised, either by the field-marshal or by the generals who command the troops of the respective nations, in cases where their surnames are not supplied by an English commissary, to make the proper requisitions, for which regular receipts will be given; and it must be strictly understood that they will themselves be held responsible for whatever they obtain in way of requisition from the inhabitants of France, in the same manner in which they would be esteemed accountable for purchases made by their own government in the several divisions to which they belong.

“2. The field-marshal takes this opportunity of returning to his army his thanks for their conduct in the glorious action fought on the 18th instant; and he will not fail to report his sense of their conduct in

the terms which it deserves to their several sovereigns. WELLINGTON.”

At the same time, for the preservation of order, the duke appointed a military police, consisting of three of the most trustworthy soldiers of each brigade; and to enforce the observance of the same order among the foreign troops under his command, he wrote to the Belgian generals, that he would hold the officers of corps personally responsible for all pillage and misconduct by the troops under their command. But notwithstanding the precautions taken to conciliate the good opinion of the inhabitants along the line of march, by the enforcement of good conduct on the part of the troops, the Belgians, plundered on all sides, and even rescued their offending countrymen who were in the hands of the gendarmerie which the duke had formed for the police of the army. Two of their officers having participated in and actually encouraged their men in their misconduct, the duke desired the general officer in command of that part of the Belgian force to which those officers belonged to put in force his order of the 20th of June; and at the same time he ordered the two officers to be put under arrest, and sent to the Hague, to be disposed of by the king of the Netherlands, to whom he forwarded a letter, concluding—“Je ne veux pas commander de tels officiers. Je suis assez long temps soldat pour savoir que les pillards, et ceux qui les encouragent, ne valent rien devant l'ennemi; et je n'en veux pas.”

Neither, while the British and German troops were acquiring the good-will of the inhabitants on the line of march, by their good and soldier-like conduct, were the Belgians the only transgressors: the Prussians, to whom Blucher issued no order similar to that of the duke's, committed great excesses, and imposed severe fines along the whole line of their devastating march. The difference of the results in the two lines of march bore ample testimony to the wisdom as well as humanity of the duke's discipline; the Prussians found only deserted villages, the inhabitants having consumed their property and fled into the woods; where the English marched, the

report of their good conduct having preceded them, the peasantry were prompt and willing to supply them with every accommodation in their power; and in many instances they would not take any recompense for their kindness. It was on account of the marked difference between the conduct of the two armies that Louis XVIII., soon after his reaccession to the throne, requested the duke to present the principal officers of the English army to him at the Tuilleries, and forming them into a circle around him, said—"Gentlemen, I am happy to see you around me. I have to thank you, gentlemen, not for your valour—I leave that to others—but for your humanity to my poor people. I thank you, gentlemen, as a father, in the name of his children."

The main body of both armies crossed the frontiers of France on the 20th and the 21st of June. The Prussian army entered on the 20th; and on the following day the duke of Wellington established his headquarters at Malplaquet—a scene memorable for Marlborough's victory over the French on the 11th of September, 1709—and issued the following proclamation, addressed to the people of France:—

"Je fais savoir aux Français que j'entre dans leur pays à la tête d'une armée déjà victorieuse, non en ennemi (excepté de l'usurpateur, prononcé ennemi du genre humain, avec lequel on ne peut avoir ni paix ni trêve), mais pour les aider à secouer le joug de fer sous lequel ils sont opprimés. En conséquence j'ai donné les ordres ci-joints à mon armée, et je demande qu'on me fasse connaître tout infracteur. Les Français savent cependant que j'ai le droit d'exiger qu'ils se conduisent de manière que je puisse les protéger contre ceux qui voudraient leur faire du mal. Il faut donc qu'ils fournissent aux réquisitions qui leur seront faites de la part des personnes autorisées à les faire, en échange des reçus en forme et ordre; et qu'ils se tiennent chez eux paisiblement, et qu'ils n'aient aucune correspondance ou communication avec l'usurpateur ennemi, ni avec ses adhérens. Tous ceux qui s'absenteront de leur domicile après l'entrée en France, et tous ceux qui se trouveront absens au service de l'usurpateur, seront considérés comme ses adhérens et comme ennemis; et leurs propriétés seront affectées à la subsistance de l'armée.

"Donné au quartier général, à Malplaquet, ce 22 Juin, 1815."

(Translation.)

"I acquaint all Frenchmen that I enter their country at the head of a victorious army, not as an enemy, the usurper excepted, who is the enemy of human nature, and with whom no peace and no truce can be maintained. I pass your boundaries to relieve you from the iron yoke by which you are oppressed. In consequence of this determination, I have given the following orders to my army, and I demand to be informed of any one who shall presume to disobey them. Frenchmen know that I have a right to require that they should conduct themselves in a manner that will enable me to protect them against those by whom they would be injured. It is therefore necessary that they should comply with the requisitions that will be made by persons properly authorised, for which a receipt will be given, which they will quietly retain, and avoid all communication or correspondence with the usurper and his adherents. All those persons who shall absent themselves from their dwellings, after the entrance of this army into France, and all those who shall be found attached to the service of the usurper, and so absent, shall be considered to be his partisans and public enemies, and their property shall be devoted to the subsistence of the forces.

"Issued at head-quarters, from Malplaquet, June 22nd, 1815."

The gallant, but panic-stricken French army had, as has been already stated, fled from the field of Waterloo, in a complete state of disorganization. By break of day of the 19th, its shattered remains reached the banks of the Sambre at Charleroi, Marchiennes, and Châtelet; but still it found no cessation of harassment: they made no attempt to rally till they had crossed the French frontier. On the 22nd they reached Laon in great confusion, where, Soult having collected the stragglers, reorganised the shattered battalions and squadrons, and led them to Soissons; but on reaching that town he was superseded by Grouchy, on whom the provisional government, which had been constituted at Paris on Buonaparte's abdication, had conferred the command.

From this period the march of the Anglo-allied and Prussian armies was one uninterrupted scene of triumph—the Anglo-allies blockading the fortresses of Valenciennes, Lequesnoy, &c., between the Scheldt and the Sambre; and the Prussians those of Mauberge, Landrecy, and Rocroi, between

the Sambre and the Moselle; Cambray* the Anglo-allies took by escalade, on the night of the 24th of June, and Peronne, called *La Pucelle* (the virgin) from its never having been captured, was stormed on the 26th; and the Prussians, having defeated Grouchy at Villars Cotterets, and d'Erlon and Reille at Nantouilles, with the loss of 4,000 prisoners and sixteen guns, captured Avesnes. On the 29th the Anglo-allied army forced the passage of the Oise, at Port St. Mayence, and on the 1st of July occupied the wood of Bondy, close to Paris. At the same time that the Anglo-allies passed the Oise, the Prussian army crossed the Seine at St. Germaine.

While the Anglo-allied and the Prussian armies were proceeding on their triumphant march to Paris, Buonaparte had a second time abdicated. On the night of the 20th he reached Paris. He immediately, in conjunction with his brothers, Lucien and Joseph drew up the following account of the battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo:—

“On the morning of the 16th the army occupied the following position:—The left wing, commanded by the marshal duke of Elchingen, and consisting of the 1st and 2nd corps of infantry, and the 2nd of cavalry, occupied the positions of Frasnés. The right wing, commanded by marshal Grouchy, and composed of the 3rd and 4th corps of infantry, and the 3rd corps of cavalry, occupied the heights in rear of Fleurus. The emperor's head-quarters were at Charleroi, where were the imperial guard and the 6th corps. The left wing had orders to march upon Quatre Bras, and the right upon Sombreuf. The emperor advanced to Fleurus with his reserve.

“The columns of marshal Grouchy being in march, perceived, after having passed Fleurus, the enemy's army, commanded by field-marshal Blücher, occupying with its left the heights of the mill of Bussy, the

village of Sombreuf, and extending its cavalry a great way forward on the road to Namur; its right was at St. Amand, and occupied that large village in great force, having before it a ravine which formed its position. The emperor reconnoitred the strength and the positions of the enemy, and resolved to attack immediately. It became necessary to change front, the right in advance, and pivoting upon Fleurus. General Vandamme marched upon St. Amand, general Gerard upon Ligny, and marshal Grouchy upon Sombreuf. The 4th division of the 2nd corps, commanded by general Girard, marched in reserve behind the corps of general Vandamme. The guard was drawn up on the heights of Fleurus, as well as the cuirassiers of general Milhaud.

“At three in the afternoon, these dispositions were finished. The division of general Lefol, forming part of the corps of general Vandamme, was first engaged, and made itself master of St. Amand, whence it drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. It kept its ground during the whole of the engagement, at the burial-ground and steeple of St. Amand; but that village, which is very extensive, was the theatre of various combats during the evening; the whole corps of general Vandamme was there engaged, and the enemy there fought in considerable force.

“General Girard, placed as a reserve to the corps of general Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and fought there with its accustomed valour. The respective forces were supported on both sides by about fifty pieces of cannon each. On the right, general Girard came into action with the 4th corps, at the village of Ligny, which was taken and retaken several times. Marshal Grouchy, on the extreme right, and general Pajol fought at the village of Sombreuf. The enemy showed from 80,000 to 90,000 men, and a great number of cannon.

* It was at this time, as before mentioned in this work, that the duke had a very narrow escape from a most cowardly attempt at assassination. As the castle held out, conditions of surrender were proposed, to which the commandant assented. The duke being anxious to obtain immediate possession of the fortress, proceeded in person to one of its gates, to wait until it should be opened. Directing his staff to get under shelter in the ditch of an unoccupied outwork, he posted himself in the sally-port of the glacis. A staff officer, having a communication to make to the duke, and thinking that he had already entered the place, came suddenly on him while thus stationed, which circumstance attracting the attention of the enemy, a howitzer loaded with

grape, was suddenly discharged at that point, by which the wall against which the duke was standing was severely injured, and the dust scattered about, making his blue coat completely red. The same malicious spirit was a few days afterwards again exhibited, previous to the evacuation of Paris. Lieutenant-colonel Torrens and major Stavelly, attended by an orderly dragoon, and escorted by a French field officer, were sent into the city on a mission from the duke of Wellington. On entering the faubourg St. Denis, they were surrounded and fired on by the French soldiery. The orderly was killed, major Stavelly fell severely wounded, and colonel Torrens escaped by galloping into Paris: the French officer disappeared while the disgraceful act was perpetrated.

At seven o'clock we were masters of all the villages situate on the banks of the ravine, which covered the enemy's position; but he still occupied, with all his masses, the heights of the mill of Bussy. The emperor returned with his guard to the village of Ligny; general Girard directed general Pecheux to debouch with what remained of the reserve, almost all the troops having been engaged in that village. Eight battalions of the guard debouched with fixed bayonets, and behind them, four squadrons of the guards, the cuirassiers of general Delort, those of general Milhaud, and the grenadiers of the horse-guards. The old guard attacked with the bayonet the enemy's columns, which were on the heights of Bussy, and in an instant covered the field of battle with dead. The squadron of the guard attacked and broke a square, and the cuirassiers repulsed the enemy in all directions. At half-past nine o'clock we had forty pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At ten o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of the field of battle.

"General Lutzow, a partisan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us that field-marshal Blucher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle. Its loss could not be less than 15,000 men. Ours was 3,000 killed and wounded. On the left, marshal Ney had marched on Quatre Bras with a division, which cut in pieces an English division which was stationed there; but being attacked by the prince of Orange with 25,000 men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at Frasnes. There a multiplicity of combats took place; the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The duke of Elchingen waited for the 1st corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square attacked by the 8th regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the 69th regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The duke of Brunswick was killed. The prince of Orange has been wounded. We are assured that the enemy had many personages and generals of note killed or wounded; we estimated the loss of the English at from 4,000 to 5,000 men; ours on this side was very considerable, it amounts to 4,200 killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night. Lord Wellington then

evacuated Quatre Bras, and proceeded to Genappe.

"In the morning of the 17th, the emperor repaired to Quatre Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignies with the left wing and the reserve. The right wing advanced by Sombreuf, in pursuit of field-marshal Blucher, who was going towards Wavres, where he appeared to wish to take a position. At ten o'clock in the evening, the English army occupied Mont St. Jean with its centre, and was in position before the forest of Soignies: it would have required three hours to attack it; we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day. The head-quarters of the emperor were established at the farm of Oaillon, near Planchenoit. The rain fell in torrents. Thus, on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged, at a distance of about two leagues.

"At nine in the morning, the rain having somewhat abated, the 1st corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left, on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mont St. Jean, which appeared the centre of the enemy's position. The 2nd corps leaned its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon-shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guards in reserve upon the heights. The 6th corps, with the cavalry of general D'Aumont, under the order of count Lobau, was destined to proceed in rear of our right to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank, an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian general, inclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops.

"The troops were full of ardour. We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000 men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line towards the right, might be 15,000 men. The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men, ours less numerous. At noon, all the preparations being terminated, prince Jerome, commanding a division of the 2nd corps, and destined to form the extreme length of it, advanced upon the wood of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported with thirty pieces of cannon the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also

on our side dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock, prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain. Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mont St. Jean, and supported his attack with eighty pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All the efforts were made towards the ridge. A brigade of the 1st division of count d'Erlon took the village of Mont St. Jean; a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment, a division of English cavalry charged the battery of count d'Erlon by its right, and disorganised several pieces; but the cuirassiers of general Milhaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up.

"It was three in the afternoon. The emperor made the guard advance to place it in the plain upon the ground which the first corps had occupied at the outset of the battle, this corps being already in advance. The Prussian division, whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking anything elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence, all the means in reserve were ready to succour count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should be advanced.

"This done the emperor had the design of leading an attack upon the village of Mont St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but, by a movement of impatience so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they suffered so much, crowned the heights of Mont St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal.

"Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy showing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of pro-

portion with the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grape-shot and musket-firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The emperor sent thither general Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing more to fear. It was this moment that was indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers suffered by the grape-shot, we sent four battalions of the middle guard to protect the cuirassiers, keep the position, and, if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

"Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves *en potence* upon the extreme left of the division, which had manœuvred upon our flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the *potence* in rear of Mont St. Jean, part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.

"In this state of affairs, the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle; our cavalry having been too soon and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but marshal Grouchy having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of that corps, which insured us a signal success for next day. After eight hours' fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power.

"At half after eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mont St. Jean, in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grape-shot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons, put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several regiments, near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and in consequence were thrown into disorder. Cries of 'all is lost, the guard is driven back,' were heard on every side. The soldiers pretend even that on many points evil-disposed

persons cried out, *saute qui peut*. However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and they threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

"In an instant, the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed *pêle-mêle*, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this surprising confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder, and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus a battle terminated, a day of false manœuvres rectified, the greatest success insured for the next day—all was lost by a moment of panic and terror. Even the squadrons of service, drawn up by the side of the emperor, were overthrown and disorganized by these tumultuous waves, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve, the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short everything which was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organization no longer exists.

"The emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Philippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of re-union. Prince Jerome, general Morand, and other generals have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the Lower Sambre. The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which he made; ours cannot be calculated till after the troops shall have been collected. Before the disorder broke out, we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field of battle forced it. In

the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its own organization. The artillery has, as usual, covered itself with glory. The carriages belonging to head-quarters remained in their ordinary position: no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night they fell into the enemy's hands. Such has been the issue of the battle of Mont St. Jean, glorious to the French armies, and yet so fatal."

Having concocted this document, Napoleon convened a council of state, in which he proposed his election as dictator, "in order that he might repair the national disasters at the head of the army." On Lucien's proposing the measure, on the following morning, in the chamber of peers, so great disapprobation was expressed, that Lafayette proposed the declaration of their session permanent, and that every attempt to dissolve them should be high treason. This resolution being carried by acclamation, Lucien accused Lafayette of ingratitude to Buonaparte. "You accuse me of wanting gratitude towards Napoleon!" replied Lafayette; "have you forgotten what we have done for him? have you forgotten that the bones of our children, of our brothers, every where attest our fidelity—in the sands of Africa, on the shores of the Guadalquiver and the Tagus, on the banks of the Vistula, and in the frozen deserts of Muscovy? During more than ten years, three millions of Frenchmen have perished for a man who wishes still to struggle against all Europe. We have done enough for him. Our duty now is to save the country." When this proceeding was reported to Buonaparte he dictated to Lucien his abdication, couched in the following terms:—

"Frenchmen!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear to me changed; I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., emperor of the French.

"The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The

interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the chambers to organize, without delay, the regency by a law. Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

With this document, Lucien, Joseph, and others of his adherents, proceeded to the chamber of peers, and on entering the apartment, exclaimed, "The emperor is politically dead. Long live the emperor Napoleon II." The chamber accepted the abdication generally, without any recognition of his successor. A provisional government was then appointed, consisting of Carnot, Fouché and three other persons; and commissioners were appointed for carrying proposals of peace to the allied generals. At the same time, Buonaparte took up his residence at Malmaison, until two frigates could be ready to convey him to America. When the commissioners applied to Blucher,* he demanded that Buonaparte should be given up to him, avowing to the duke of Wellington his intention of putting his fallen enemy to death; but Wellington had too high a sense of honour to sanction an atrocity of the kind. He told the Prussian general that he should insist on Buonaparte being disposed of by common accord, advising him as a friend to avoid so foul a transaction. "You and I," said the high-minded Wellington, "have acted too distinguished a part in these transactions to become executioners; and I am determined that if the sovereigns wish to put him to death,

they shall appoint an executioner, who shall not be me."

The approach of the hostile armies on Paris, occasioning great consternation and alarm in the city, again brought the commissioners to Wellington to ascertain what measures would be acceptable to the allies for the grant of an armistice. Of this application of the commissioners the duke transmitted the following account, contained in a despatch, dated Gonesse, 28th June, 1815, to lord Bathurst:—

"The advanced posts of marshal prince Blucher's army, and of his royal highness prince Frederick of the Netherlands, towards Valenciennes, yesterday received a proposition to suspend hostilities, as it was stated that Buonaparte had abdicated in favour of his son, and had appointed a provisional government, consisting of Fouché, Carnot, Caulaincourt, general Grenier, and Quinette; that these persons had sent ministers to the allied powers to treat for peace. It appeared to both prince Blucher and to me, that these measures were a trick; and, at all events, were not calculated to satisfy the just pretensions of the allies; and therefore that we ought not to discontinue our operations.

"The object of the alliance of the powers of Europe is declared, by the first article of the treaty of the 25th of March, to be to force Napoleon Buonaparte to desist from his projects, and to place him in a situation in which he will no longer have it in his power to disturb the peace of the world and

* To the application made by the provisional government for a suspension of arms, Blucher made no reply, until Davoust addressed him on the subject. His answer to the French marshal was—"Marshal, it is not true that because Napoleon has abdicated, no further motive for war between the allied powers and France exists. His abdication is conditional; it is in favour of his son; but the decree of the allied powers excludes not only Napoleon, but every member of his family from the throne. If general Frimont has considered himself authorized to conclude an armistice with the general opposed to him, that is no reason that we should do the same. We will follow up our victory; and God has given us both the power and will to do so. Beware, general, what you do, and forbear devoting another city to destruction; for you know how the exasperated soldiers would conduct themselves, should your capital be taken by storm. Do you desire to be laden with the curses of Paris, in addition to those of Hamburg. We shall enter Paris to protect the well-conducted inhabitants from the mobs by whom they are threatened with pillage. No secure armistice can be concluded anywhere but in Paris. Do not, marshal, mistake the relative position of our country towards yours in this respect. Finally, let me

observe to you, that your desire to treat with us, while, contrary to the rules of war, you detain our officers, sent to you with cartels, is matter of surprise. In the usual forms of conventional civility, I have the honour to be, marshal, your obedient servant, BLUCHER.—To the French general, Davoust." Blucher entertained so great a contempt for diplomacy, that he disdained to make use of the usual diplomatic mode of communication. On this point he expressed himself without reserve. A memorable instance of his antipathy on this subject occurred subsequently to the convention of Paris, at a dinner party given by the duke of Wellington. On that occasion, rising from his seat between the duke and lord Castlereagh, he gave the following toast:—"May the diplomatists not again spoil with their pens, that which the armies have, with so much cost, won with their swords." Not long after this exhibition of his dislike of the diplomatic art and its finesse, meeting the Prussian minister, Hardenberg, he said, "I only wish I had you, gentlemen of the pen, exposed for once to a pretty smart skirmishing fire, that you might learn what it is when the soldier is obliged to repair with his life's blood the errors which you so thoughtlessly commit on paper."

by the third article, the powers of Europe have agreed not to lay down their arms till the object held out in the first article should be attained, and till it shall have been rendered impossible for Buonaparte to excite fresh troubles, and to renew his attempts to acquire supreme power in France. I could not consider his abdication of an usurped power in favour of his son, and his handing over the government provisionally to five persons named by himself, to be that description of security which the allies had in view, which should induce them to lay down their arms, and therefore I continue my operations. All accounts concur in stating, that it is impossible for the enemy to collect an army to make head against us."

The rapid approach of the hostile armies on Paris again brought the commissioners to the duke to ascertain the conditions which would be acceptable to the allies. His own narrative of the conference, contained in a despatch, dated Gonesse, July 2nd, 1815, addressed to lord Bathurst, is as follows:—

"On the day after I had wrote to your lordship, viz., on the 29th, I had an interview at Etrées with five commissioners, who had been sent from Paris to negotiate with me a suspension of hostilities, required to be informed what would satisfy the allies.

"I answered that I had no authority to talk upon the subject, even from my own government, much less from the allies; and that all I could do was to give them my private opinion, which, unless otherwise instructed by my own government, I should certainly urge upon the allies with all the influence which I might be supposed to possess. I then told them that I conceived the best security for Europe was the restoration of the king, and that the establishment of any other government than the king's in France must inevitably lead to new and endless wars; that Buonaparte and the army having overturned the king's government, the natural and simple measure, after Buonaparte was prisoner or out of the way, and the army defeated, was to recall the king to his authority; and that it was a much more dignified proceeding to recall him without conditions, and to trust to the energy of their constitution for any reforms they wished to make either in the government or the constitution, than now to make conditions with their sovereign; and that, above all, it was important that they should recall the king without loss of time, as it

would not then appear that the measure had been forced upon them by the allies.

"The commissioners professed, individually and collectively, their earnest desire to see the king restored in the manner I had mentioned, which they said was likewise the desire of the provisional government. — — — was, however, of opinion that the two chambers could not be brought to recall the king without conditions; and he mentioned, as those upon which they would probably insist, and upon which it was desirable the king should give way, the responsibility of the administration and the alteration of the constitution, so far as that the initiative in making the laws should be vested in the assemblies, and not in the king. I told them, regarding the first point, that I had every reason to believe that the king had determined to form a ministry which should be individually and collectively responsible for all the acts of the government; and that I did not doubt that his majesty would not oppose himself to the wishes of the French people, if it was desired that the initiative in framing the laws should be vested in the assemblies: that, however, I had no authority to speak on this subject, and recommended to them not to look after little points of difference, and, if they really wished to restore the government of their king, to do it at once and without any condition.

"In the course of this conversation, they stated that the assemblies had proclaimed Napoleon II. as emperor only to conciliate the officers and soldiers of the army, who had come into Paris in such numbers after the battle, that they had been apprehensive of a civil war in Paris if this measure had not been adopted. While we were discussing the conditions to be proposed to the king, and the evils and inconveniences which the mode of making the laws and the want of responsibility and power in the ministers had occasioned, I received from sir Charles Stuart the king's declaration of the 28th, countersigned by M. de Talleyrand, which I immediately communicated to the French commissioners, and pointed out to them the king's promise to make the alteration in his administration which they had proposed, and the probability that his majesty would not object to that proposed to be made in the constitution.

"They objected to certain paragraphs in the declaration referable to the exclusion of certain persons from the king's presence, to

the intention announced to punish some of those concerned in the plot which had brought back Buonaparte, and to that of calling together the old houses of the legislature, upon which, at their desire, I wrote to M. de Talleyrand a letter, of which sir Charles Stuart will probably have sent to England a copy, which I communicated to the commissioners before I sent it. I then told them that I could not talk more upon the suspension of our operations, which they urged in the most earnest manner, in order to give them time to take their measures to recall the king, until I should see marshal Blucher, to whose head-quarters I promised to go that evening.

“Before I set off, the commissioners asked me whether the appointment of a regency to conduct the affairs of the government in the name of Napoleon II. was likely to satisfy the allies, and would be such an arrangement as would induce me to stop my operations. I answered, certainly not; that I conceived the allies, after their declaration, could never treat with Napoleon or any of his family; that the appointment of Napoleon II. was to be attributed to Napoleon I., and the acknowledgment of him to the desire to conciliate the army, and that I should not stop my operations in consequence of such an arrangement. They then asked me what would be the case if any other prince of a royal house were called to the throne of France; to which I said that it was impossible for me to answer such loose questions: that, as an individual, I had made them acquainted with my opinion of what it was best for them to do, and it rested with them either to follow this opinion or not.

“One of the commissioners, before I went away, took occasion to tell me that he wished I had given a more positive answer to this last question; and I determined to take another opportunity of doing so before the commissioners should report this conversation to Paris. I left them at Etrées, and went to the head-quarters at Le Plessis to give the orders for the movement of the troops in the morning, and I overtook them again in the night at Louvres. I then told them that I had considered their last question since I had seen them, and that I felt no objection to give them my opinion upon it, still as an individual; that, in my opinion, Europe had no hope of peace if any person excepting the king were called to the throne of France; that any person so called must

be considered an usurper, whatever his rank and quality; that he must act as an usurper, and must endeavour to turn the attention of the country from the defects of his title towards war and foreign conquests; that the powers of Europe must, in such a case, guard themselves against this evil; and that I could only assure them that, unless otherwise ordered by my government, I would exert any influence I might possess over the allied sovereigns to induce them to insist upon securities for the preservation of peace, besides the treaty itself, if such an arrangement as they had stated were adopted.

“The commissioners replied that they perfectly understood me, and some of them added, ‘*Et vous avez raison.*’ I went on to marshal prince Blucher, who was at the time upon the point of attacking the French post at Vertus, and who for that reason could not consent to a suspension of hostilities; and he agreed in opinion with me, that as long as Napoleon remained at Paris, we could not stop our operations without insisting upon his being delivered over to us. I wrote, accordingly, in concert with the marshal, to the French commissioners a letter, of which I enclose the copy; and they reported to their government that night. In consequence, however, of marshal Blucher’s attack upon Vertus, or for some other cause, the officer they sent with their letter was not received at, and was fired upon by, the French outposts, and he did not reach Paris by Bondy till a late hour in the evening of the 30th, and returned only yesterday morning with the report that Napoleon had quitted Paris to embark for the United States at four o’clock on the 29th.

“They called upon me yesterday morning with this report, and I told them that the great obstacle to the armistice being removed, there remained only a question about the terms, which appeared to me should be, that we should halt in our positions, and not advance farther; that the French army should retire from Paris across the Loire, and that Paris should be held by the national guards of the town until the king should order otherwise. I told them that, if they agreed to these terms, I would immediately send to prevail upon marshal Blucher to halt, and to send here an officer to settle the details.

“They contended against sending away the army, notwithstanding that they had admitted in the conversation of the 29th,

that Napoleon II. had been proclaimed by the assemblies solely to conciliate the army; but I told them that I would not consent to suspend hostilities as long as a soldier remained in Paris. In fact, if they were to restore the king, and his majesty were to return to Paris, the troops remaining there, his majesty would be entirely in the hands of the assemblies and of the army, who cannot be considered in any other light than as the creatures and instruments of Napoleon. We must get rid of the army, therefore; and we may then hope that the king will be recalled without conditions, and that he will have it in his power to carry on his government without the assistance of foreign powers."

Paris was now in a formidable state of defence, the town of St. Denis, and the heights of Montmartre and Belleville being strongly fortified—the surrounding plain had been inundated by means of the little rivers Rouillon and La Vielle Mer, and the water introduced into the Canal de l'Ourey (the bank of which was formed into a parapet and batteries)—there were also above 50,000 troops of the line and of the guards, besides a levy of 17,000, enrolled under the title of *les tirailleurs de la garde*, the federates, and the national guard, amounting, in all, to about 80,000 men within the city; and the armies of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the West were converging towards the capital by forced marches, in pursuance of the orders which had been despatched to them from Laon by Buonaparte. In consequence of this state of things, the duke of Wellington endeavoured to incline Blucher, who had refused to listen to the overtures for an armistice, to accede to the proposal.

For that purpose he transmitted to him the following letter, dated Gonesse, 2nd July, 1815:—

"I requested general Muffling to write to your highness yesterday, on the subject of the propositions which had been made to me by the French commissioners for a suspension of hostilities, on which I have not yet had a positive answer from your highness. It appears to me that, with the force you and I have under our command at present, the attack on Paris is matter of great risk. I am convinced it cannot be made on this side with any hope of success. The army under my commands must then cross the Seine twice, and get into the Bois de Bologne before the attack can be made; and even then, if we should

succeed, the loss would be very severe. We must incur a severe loss, if it is necessary, in any case. But in this case it is not necessary. By the delay of a few days, we shall have here the army under marshal prince Wrede, and the allied sovereigns with it, who will decide on the measures to be adopted, and success will then be certain, with a comparatively trifling loss; or, if we choose it, we can settle all our matters now by agreeing to the proposed armistice. The terms on which I think this armistice can be made, and on which alone I will consent to make it, are these.

"First, That we shall remain in the positions we now occupy.

"Secondly, That the French army shall retire from Paris across the Loire.

"Thirdly, That Paris shall be given over to the care of the national guard till the king shall order otherwise.

"Fourthly, The time to be fixed for notice to break off the armistice.

"By adopting this measure, we provide for the quiet restoration of his majesty to his throne; which is that result of the war which the sovereigns of all of us have always considered the most beneficial for us all, and the most likely to lead to permanent peace in Europe. It is true we shall not have the vain triumph of entering Paris at the head of our victorious troops; but, as I have already explained to your highness, I doubt our having the means at present of succeeding in an attack on Paris; and if we are to wait till the arrival of marshal prince Wrede to make the attack, I think we shall find the sovereigns disposed, as they were last year, to spare the capital of their ally, and either not to enter the town, or enter it under an armistice, such as it is in your power and mine to sign this day. I earnestly urge your highness, then, to consider the reasoning which I have submitted to you on this occasion, and to let me have your decision whether you will agree to any armistice or not; and if you will, I beg you to name a person to treat in your name with the French commissioners; if you will not, my conduct will be guided by your decision."

As Paris was now invested both on the north and the south sides, and, in a council of war it had been decided its defence was not practicable, a flag of truce was sent to the allied commanders, requesting that the firing might cease on both banks of the Seine, while a military convention could be nego-

tiated. The proposal being accepted, commissioners were appointed to meet at St. Cloud for the purpose, and the convention was as follows :—

(Convention of Paris.)

“ Paris, ce 3 Juillet, 1815.

“ Ce jour d'hui, trois Juillet, mil huit cent quinze, les commissaires, nommés par les commandans-en-chef des armées respectives, savoir, monsieur le baron Bignon, chargé du portefeuille des affaires étrangères; monsieur le comte Guilleminot, chef de l'état major général de l'armée Française; monsieur le comte de Bondy, préfet du département de la Seine; munis des pleins pouvoirs de son excellence le maréchal prince d'Eckmuhl, commandant-en-chef l'armée Française d'une part: et monsieur le major-général baron Müffling, muni des pleins pouvoirs de son altesse le feld-maréchal prince Blücher, commandant-en-chef l'armée Prussienne; monsieur le colonel Hervey, muni des pleins pouvoirs de son excellence le duc de Wellington, commandant-en-chef l'armée Anglaise, de l'autre; sont convenus des articles suivans :—

“ Article 1. Il y aura une suspension d'armes entre les armées alliées commandées par son altesse le feld-maréchal prince Blücher, son excellence le duc de Wellington, et l'armée Française sous les murs de Paris.

“ Article 2. Demain l'armée Française commencera à se mettre en marche pour se porter derrière la Loire. L'évacuation totale de Paris sera effectuée en trois jours, et son mouvement pour se porter derrière la Loire sera terminé en huit jours.

“ Article 3. L'armée Française emmènera avec elle tout son matériel, artillerie de campagne, caisse militaire, chevaux, et propriétés des régimens, sans aucune exception. Il en fera de même pour le personnel des dépôts, et pour le personnel des diverses branches d'administration qui appartiennent à l'armée.

“ Article 4. Les malades, et les blessés, ainsi que les officiers de santé, qu'il sera nécessaires de laisser près d'eux, sont mis sous la protection spéciale de M.M. les commandans-en-chef des armées Anglaises et Prussiennes.

“ Article 5. Les militaires et employés, dont il est question dans l'article précédent, pourront, aussitôt après leur rétablissement, rejoindre les corps auxquels ils appartiennent.

“ Article 6. Les femmes et les enfans de tous les individus qui appartiennent à

l'armée Française auront la liberté de rester à Paris: ces femmes pourront sans difficulté quitter Paris pour rejoindre l'armée, et emporter avec elles leurs propriétés, et ce de leurs maris.

“ Article 7. Les officiers de ligne employés avec les fédérés, ou avec les tirailleurs de la garde nationale, pourront ou se réunir à l'armée ou dans leurs domiciles, ou dans le lieu de leur naissance.

“ Article 8. Demain, 4 Juillet, à midi, on remettra Saint Denis, Saint Ouen, Clichy, et Neuilly. Après demain, 5 Juillet, à la même heure, on remettra Montmartre: le troisième jour, 6 Juillet, toutes les barrières seront remises.

Article 9. Le service intérieur de la ville de Paris continuera à être fait par la garde nationale, et par corps de gendarmerie municipale.

“ Article 10. Les commandans-en-chef des armées Anglaises et Prussiennes s'engagent à respecter, et à faire respecter par leurs subordonnés, les autorités actuelles tant qu'elles existeront.

“ Article 11. Les propriétés publiques, à l'exception de celles qui ont rapport à la guerre, soit qu'elles appartiennent au gouvernement, soit qu'elles dependent de l'autorité municipale, seront respectées, et les puissances alliées n'interviendront en aucune manière dans leur administration et gestion.

“ Article 12. Seront pareillement respectées les personnes et les propriétés particulières: les habitans, et, en général, tous les individus qui se trouvent dans la capitale continueront à jouir de leurs droits et libertés, sans pouvoir être inquiétés, ni recherchés en rien relativement aux fonctions qu'ils occupent, ou auraient occupées, ou à leurs conduites et à leurs opinions politiques.

“ Article 13. Les troupes étrangères n'apporteront aucun obstacle à l'approvisionnement de la capitale, et protégeront, au contraire, l'arrivage et la libre circulation des objets qui y sont destinés.

“ Article 14. La présente convention sera observée, et servira de règle pour les rapports mutuels jusqu'à la conclusion de la paix.

“ En cas de rupture, elle devra être dénoncée dans les formes usitées au moins dix jours à l'avance.

“ Article 15. S'il s'élevaient des difficultés sur l'exécution de quelqu'un des articles de la présente convention, l'interprétation en sera faite en faveur de l'armée Française, et de la ville de Paris.

“ Article 16. La présente convention est

déclarée commune à toutes les armées alliées, sauf en ratification des puissances dont ces armées dépendent.

“ Article 17. Les ratifications en seront échangées demain, 4 Juillet, à six heures du matin, au pont de Neuilly.

“ Article 18. Il sera nommé des commissaires par les parties respectives, pour veiller à l'exécution de la présente convention.

“ Fait et signé à St. Cloud, en triple expédition, par les commissaires susnommés, les jours et au que dessus.

“ LE BARON BIGNON,

“ LE COMTE GUILLEMINOT.

“ LE COMTE DE BONDY,

“ LE BARON DE MUFFLING.

“ F. B. HERVEY, COLONEL.”

“ Approuvé et ratifié la présente suspension d'armes.

“ A Paris le trois Juillet, mil huit cent quinze.

“ Approuvé.

“ LE MARECHAL PRINCE D'ECKMUHL.

Afterwards approved by prince Blucher and the duke of Wellington; and the ratifications exchanged on the 4th of July.

(Translation.)

“ This day, the 3rd of July 1815, the commissioners named by the commanders-in-chief of the respective armies; that is to say, the baron de Bignon, holding the portefeuille of foreign affairs, the count Guilleminot, chief of the general staff of the French army, the count de Bondy, prefect of the department of the Seine, being furnished with the full powers of his excellency the marshal prince of Eckmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French army on one side; and major-general baron Muffling, furnished with the full powers of his highness the field-marshal prince Blucher, commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, and colonel Hervey, furnished with the full powers of his excellency the duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the English army, on the other side, have agreed to the following articles:—

“ Article 1. There shall be a suspension of arms between the allied armies, commanded by his highness the prince Blucher and his excellency the duke of Wellington; and the French army under the walls of Paris.

“ Article 2. The French army shall put itself in march to-morrow, to take up its position behind the Loire. Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days; and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected in eight days.

“ Article 3. The French army shall take with it all its materiel, field artillery, military chests, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the dépôts shall also be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of the administration which belong to the army.

“ Article 4. The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies.

“ Article 5. The military, and those holding employments to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty, immediately after their recovery, to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

“ Article 6. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army shall be at liberty to remain at Paris. The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.

“ Article 7. The officers of the line, employed with ‘les fédérés,’ or with the tirailleurs of the national guard, may either join the army, or return to their homes, or the places of their birth.

“ Article 8. To-morrow, the 4th of July, at mid-day, St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.

“ Article 9. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard and by the troops of the municipal gendarmerie.

“ Article 10. The commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect the usual authorities as long as they exist.

“ Article 11. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the government, or depends on the municipal authority, shall be respected; and the allied powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

“ Article 12. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and, in general, all individuals who shall be in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed, or called to account, either

as to the situations which they hold or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

“Article 13. The foreign troops shall not offer any obstacle to the provisioning of the capital; and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

“Article 14. The present convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations, until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms, at least ten days beforehand.

“Article 15. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and the city of Paris.

“Article 16. The present convention is declared common to all the allied powers, provided it be ratified by the powers on which these armies are dependent.

“Article 17. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

“Article 18. Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present convention.

“Done and signed at St. Cloud, in triplicate, by the commissioners above-named, the day and year before-mentioned.

“THE BARON BIGNON.

“COUNT GUILLEMINOT.

“COUNT DE BONDY.

“THE BARON DE MUFFLING.

“F. B. HERVEY, COLONEL.

“Approved and ratified the present suspension of arms, at Paris, the 3rd of July, 1815.

“MARSHAL THE PRINCE D'ECKMUHL.

“PRINCE BLUCHER.

“WELLINGTON.”

In execution of the terms of the convention, the French army began its march towards the Loire on the 4th of July,* and on the same day St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly were occupied by the allies; on the 5th they took possession of the heights of Montmartre; on the 6th they planted

* On this day, the following General Order, dated Gonesse, 4th July, 1815, was addressed to the British army:—1. The field-marshal has great satisfaction in announcing to the troops under his command, that he has, in concert with field-marshal prince Blucher, concluded a military convention with the commander-in-chief of the French army in Paris, by which the enemy are to evacuate St. Denis, St. Ouen,

their posts at the barricades; and on the 7th they marched into Paris, and took military occupation of the city. On the following day, Louis XVIII. re-entered his capital, escorted by a large body of the national guards and the royal volunteers, as well as by the household troops. In the rear followed a number of etat-majors, among whom were Marmont, Macdonald, Victor, Oudinot, Gouvion St. Cyr, Monecy, and Lefebvre. An immense concourse of citizens received, with acclamations, the legitimate monarch; and the females were observed to be particularly eager in their expressions of joy. Thus was Louis again installed in the palace of his ancestors. Here, therefore, ended that short space, filled with so much that is wonderful—that period of a “Hundred Days,” in which the events of a century were crowded. It was also on this day that Buonaparte, having quitted, on the 2nd, Malmaison with an immense number of carriages laden with all the valuable property which he could collect from the palaces within his reach, embarked at Rochefort on board the French frigate *La Saale*, and proceeded to the roads of the Isle of Aix, with the intention of setting sail for America; but finding it not possible to escape the vigilance of the English cruisers, on the 15th went on board the *Bellerophon*, and placed himself under the protection of captain Maitland; at the same time forwarding the following note to the prince regent.

“Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself at the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws, and claim it from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.” No answer was returned. On the 8th of August, he was transferred from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*, which immediately set sail for the island of St. Helena. Prior to his leaving Malmaison, he addressed the following proclamation to the French army:—

Clichy, and Neuilly, this day at noon; the heights of Montmartre to-morrow at noon, and Paris the next day. 2. The field-marshal congratulates the army on this result of their glorious victory. He desires the troops may employ the leisure of this day to clean their arms, clothes, and appointments, as it is his intention that they should pass him in review

"Soldats! Quand je cède à la nécessité que me force de m'éloigner de la brave armée Française, j'emporte avec moi l'heureuse certitude qu'elle justifiera par les services que la patrie attend d'elle, les éloges que vos ennemis eux-mêmes ne peuvent pas lui refuser.

"Soldats! je suivrai vos pas, quoique absent. Je connais tous les corps, et aucun d'ux ne remportera aucun avantage signalé que je ne rende justice au courage qu'il aura déployé.

"Vous et moi, nous avons été calomniés. Des hommes indiques d'apprécier vos travaux ont vu dans les marques d'attachement que vous m'avez données un zèle dont j'étais le seul objet; que vos succès futurs leur apprennent que c'était la patrie par-dessus tout que vous serviez en m'obéissant, et que, si j'ai quelque part à votre affection, je le dois à mon ardent amour pour la France, notre mère commune.

"Soldats! Encore quelques efforts et la coalition est dessoute. Napoléon vous reconnaîtra aux coups que vous allez porter. Sauvez l'honneur, l'indépendance des Français'. Soyez jusqu'à la fin tels que je vous ai connu depuis vingt ans, et vous serez invincibles. NAPOLEON."

(Translation.)

"Soldiers! While obeying the necessity which removes me from the French army, I carry with me the happy assurance that it will justify, by the eminent services which the country expects from it, the praises which our enemies themselves have not been able to refuse it.

"Soldiers! I shall follow your steps, though absent. I know all the corps; and not one of them will obtain a single advantage over the enemy, but I shall give it credit for the courage it may have displayed. Both you and I have been calumniated. Men very unfit to appreciate your labours, have seen, in the marks of attachment you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object. Let your future successes convince them that it was the country, above all things, which you served in obeying me; and, that if I had any share in your affection, I owe it to my ardent love for France, our common mother.

"Soldiers! Some efforts more, and the coalition will be dissolved. Napoleon will recognise you by the blows you are about to strike. Save the honour, the independence of France! Be unto the last, the same men which I have known you for these twenty years, and you will be invincible. NAPOLEON."

The duke's last despatches, dated Orvillé, 28th June, and Gonesse, 2nd July,* which detailed the operations of the allied armies, from the second invasion of France to the surrender of Paris, and the cessation of hostilities, were:—

"Orvillé, 28th June, 1815.

"The citadel of Cambrai surrendered on the evening of the 25th instant; and the king of France proceeded thither, with his court and his troops, on the 26th. I have given the fort over entirely to his majesty. I attacked Peronne with the 1st brigade of British guards, under major-general Maitland, on the 26th, in the afternoon. The troops took the horn-work which covers the suburb on the left of the Somme by storm, with but small loss; and the town immediately afterwards surrendered, on condition that the garrison should lay down their arms, and be allowed to return to their homes. The troops upon this occasion behaved remarkably well; and I have great pleasure in reporting the good conduct of a battery of artillery of the troops of the Netherlands. I have placed in garrison there two battalions of the troops of the king of the Netherlands.

"The armies under marshal Blucher and myself have continued their operations since I last wrote to your lordship. The necessity which I was under of halting at Le Cateau to allow the pontoons and certain stores to reach me, and to take Cambrai and Peronne, had placed the marshal one march before me; but I conceive there is no danger in this separation between the two armies. He has one corps this day at Crespy, with detachments at Villers Coterets, and La Fertè Milon; another at Senlis; and the 4th corps, under general Bulow, towards Paris. He will have his advanced guard to-morrow at St. Denis and Gonesse. The army under my command has this day its right behind St. Just, and its left behind La Taulle, where the high road from Compiègne joins the high road from Roye to Paris. The reserve is at Roye. We shall be upon the Oise to-morrow.

"It appears by all accounts, that the enemy's corps collected at Soissons, and under marshal Grouchy, have not yet retired upon Paris; and marshal Blucher's troops are already between them and that city. I have the honour to enclose the copy of an official note which I received the

* The despatch dated Gonesse, 2nd July, will be found in a previous page.

night before last from certain commissioners appointed by the provisional government to treat for peace with the allied sovereigns, and the copy of my answer, which I hope will meet with the approbation of the prince regent. Marshal Blucher received a letter to the same purport, to which he returned a verbal answer, that he should suspend hostilities when he should arrive at Paris, provided Buonaparte was given up to him, and the château de Vincennes, and various territories and forts on the frontiers; and provided I should agree to what was proposed. I propose to adhere to the answer which I have given."

No sooner had the allies obtained military occupation of Paris, than it was perceived that the Prussians had neither forgotten the French occupation of Berlin, nor were disposed to remit the vengeance which the chance of war had placed within their power. As a commencement of the proposed work of retribution, Blucher began to mine the bridge of Jena, and was meditating the levying of an enormous contribution on the city. As soon as these designs came to the knowledge of the duke of Wellington, he urgently remonstrated on the impolicy of the measure; and not having been able in his personal conference to induce the Prussian to forego his intention, he addressed the following letter to him.

Paris, 9th July, 1815.

"Mein lieber Fürst—The subjects on which lord Castlereagh and I conversed with your highness and general count Gneisenau this morning, viz., the destruction of the bridge of Jena, and the levy of the contribution of 100,000,000 of francs on the city of Paris, appear to me to be so important to the allies in general, that I cannot allow myself to omit to draw your highness's attention to them again in this shape.

"The destruction of the bridge of Jena is highly disagreeable to the king and to the people, and may occasion disturbances in the city. It is not merely a military measure, but it is one likely to attach to the character of our operations, and is of political importance. It is adopted solely because the bridge is considered a monument of the battle of Jena, notwithstanding that the government are willing to change the name of the bridge.

"Considering the bridge as a monument, I beg leave to observe that its immediate destruction is inconsistent with the promise made to the commissioners on the part of

the French army during the negotiation of the convention; namely, that the monuments, museums, &c., should be left to the decision of the allied sovereigns. All that I ask is, that the execution of the orders given for the destruction of the bridge may be suspended till the sovereigns shall arrive here; when, if it should be agreed by common accord that the bridge should be destroyed, I shall have no objection.

"In regard to the contribution laid on the city of Paris, I am convinced that your highness will acquit me of any desire to dispute the claims of the Prussian army to any advantages that can be derived from its bravery and exertions and services to the cause; but it appears to me that the allies will contend that one party to a general alliance ought not to derive all the advantages resulting from the operations of the armies. Even supposing the allies should be disposed to concede this point to the Prussian army, they will contend for the right of considering the question whether France ought not to be called on to make this pecuniary sacrifice; and for that of making the concession to the Prussian army, if it should be expedient to make it.

"The levy and application of the contribution ought, then, to be a matter for the consideration and decision of all the allies, and in this point of view it is that I entreat your highness to defer the measures for the levy of it till the sovereigns shall have arrived.

"Since I have had the happiness of acting in concert with your highness and the brave army under your command, all matters have been carried on by common accord, and with a degree of harmony unparalleled in similar circumstances, much to the public advantage. What I now ask is, not the dereliction of your measures, but the delay of them for the day, or at most two days, which will elapse before the sovereigns shall arrive, which cannot be deemed unreasonable, and will, I hope, be granted on account of the motive for making the request."

Blucher having yielded these points, without hesitation cleared the galleries of the Musée Napoléon and the Louvre, of the pictures, statues, manuscripts, and other rare and valuable works of art of which the French had robbed his country. The other countries, namely, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and the Italian States, which had suffered from the plundering spirit of France, re-



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OF
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claimed the works of art of which they had been robbed; and this claim was strengthened by a memorial from all the European artists who were at the time at Rome, praying the restoration of the works to the states to which they belonged. The king of the Netherlands applied to Wellington, as the commander of his army, to compel the restitution of the Dutch and Flemish pictures to their original localities. The duke meeting only with evasion and subterfuge to his applications to the French authorities, sent a detachment of English troops into the Louvre, under whose guard the pictures were removed from the walls of the museum and restored to the original owners. This measure took the French completely by surprise. They complained that the removal was a breach* of the convention. The duke's reply to their remonstrance was given in the following despatch to viscount Castlereagh, dated Paris, 23rd September, 1815:—

“There has been a good deal of discussion here lately respecting the measures which I have been under the necessity of adopting, in order to get for the king of the Netherlands his pictures, &c., from the museums; and, lest these reports should reach the prince regent, I wish to trouble you, for his royal highness's information, with the following statement of what has passed. Shortly after the arrival of the sovereigns at Paris, the minister of the king of the Netherlands claimed the pictures, &c., belonging to his sovereign, equally with those of other powers; and, as far as I could learn, never could get any satisfactory reply from the French government. After several conversations with me, he addressed your lordship in an official note, which was laid before the ministers of the allied sovereigns assembled in conference; and the subject was taken into consideration repeatedly, with a view to discover a mode of doing justice to the claimants of the specimens of the arts in the museums, without hurting the feelings of the king of France. In the mean time, the Prussians had obtained from his majesty not only all the really Prussian pictures, but those belonging to the Prussian territories on the left of the Rhine, and the pictures, &c., belonging to all the allies of his Prussian majesty; and the subject

pressed for an early decision; and your lordship wrote your note of the 11th instant, in which it was fully discussed.

“The minister of the king of the Netherlands, still having no satisfactory answer from the French government, appealed to me, as the commander-in-chief of the army of the king of the Netherlands, to know whether I had any objection to employ his majesty's troops to obtain possession of what was his undoubted property. I referred this application again to the ministers of the allied courts, and, no objection having been stated, I considered it my duty to take the necessary measures to obtain what was his right. I accordingly spoke to the prince de Talleyrand upon the subject, explaining to him what had passed in conference, and the grounds I had for thinking that the king of the Netherlands had a right to the pictures; and begged him to state the case to the king, and to ask his majesty to do me the favour to point out the mode of effecting the object of the king of the Netherlands, which should be least offensive to his majesty. The prince de Talleyrand promised me an answer on the following evening; which not having received, I called upon him at night, and had another discussion with him upon the subject, in which he informed me that the king could give no orders upon it; that I might act as I thought proper; and that I might communicate with M. Denon. I sent my aide-camp, lieutenant-colonel Fremantle, to M. Denon, in the morning, who informed him that he had no orders to give any pictures out of the gallery, and that he could give none without the use of force.

“I then sent colonel Fremantle to the prince de Talleyrand to inform him of this answer, and to acquaint him that the troops would go the next morning, at twelve o'clock, to take possession of the king of the Netherlands' pictures; and to point out that, if any disturbance resulted from this measure, the king's ministers, and not I, were responsible. Colonel Fremantle likewise informed M. Denon that the same measure would be adopted. It was not necessary, however, to send the troops, as a Prussian guard had always remained in possession of the gallery, and the pictures were taken, without the necessity of calling for those of

* During the removal of the pictures and statues, Blucher paraded the gallery of the Louvre, catalogue in hand, condemning all that appeared belonging to his country, exclaiming, as soon as he

discovered their identity, “Down with that picture!” “Remove that statue!” regardless of the remonstrances of the French artists to deceive him.

the army under my command, excepting as a working party to assist in taking them down and packing them. It has been stated that, in being the instrument in removing the pictures belonging to the king of the Netherlands from the gallery of the Tuilleries, I had been guilty of a breach of a treaty which I had myself made; and, as there is no mention of the museums in the treaty of the 25th of March, and it now appears that the treaty meant is the military convention of Paris, it is necessary to show how that convention affects the museum.

"It is not now necessary to discuss the question whether the allies were or not at war with France. There is no doubt whatever that their armies entered Paris under a military convention concluded with an officer of the government, the prefect of the department of the Seine, and an officer of the army, being a representative of each of the authorities existing at Paris at the moment, and authorised by those authorities to treat and conclude for them. The article of the convention which it is supposed has been broken is the eleventh, which relates to public property. I positively deny that this article referred at all to the museums or galleries of pictures.

"The French commissioners in the original project proposed an article to provide for the security of this description of property. Prince Blucher would not consent to it, as he said there were pictures in the gallery which had been taken from Prussia, which his majesty Louis XVIII. had promised to restore, but which had never been restored. I stated this circumstance to the French commissioners, and they then offered to adopt the article with an exception of the Prussian pictures. To this offer I answered that I stood there as the ally of all the nations in Europe, and anything that was granted to Prussia I must claim for other nations. I added that I had no instructions regarding the museum, nor any grounds on which to form a judgment how the sovereigns would act; that they certainly would insist upon the king's performing his engagements, and that I recommended that the article should be omitted altogether, and that the question should be reserved for the decision of the sovereigns when they should arrive.

"Thus the question regarding the museum stands under the treaties. The convention of Paris is silent upon it, and there was a communication upon the subject which reserved the decision for the sovereigns.

Supposing the silence of the treaty of Paris of May, 1814, regarding the museum, gave the French government an undisputed claim to its contents upon all future occasions, it will not be denied that this claim was shaken by this transaction. Those who acted for the French government at the time considered that the successful army had a right to, and would, touch the contents of the museum, and they made an attempt to save them by an article in the military convention. This article was rejected, and the claim of the allies to their pictures was broadly advanced by the negotiators on their part; and this was stated as the ground for rejecting the article. Not only, then, the military convention did not in itself guarantee the possession, but the transaction above recited tended to weaken the claim to the possession by the French government, which is founded upon the silence of the treaty of Paris of May, 1814. The allies, then, having the contents of the museum justly in their power, could not do otherwise than restore them to the countries from which, contrary to the practice of civilized warfare, they had been torn during the disastrous period of the French revolution and the tyranny of Buonaparte. The conduct of the allies regarding the museum, at the period of the treaty of Paris, might be fairly attributed to their desire to conciliate the French army, and to consolidate the reconciliation with Europe, which the army at that period manifested a disposition to effect.

"But the circumstances are now entirely different. The army disappointed the reasonable expectation of the world, and seized the earliest opportunity of rebelling against their sovereign, and of giving their services to the common enemy of mankind, with a view to the revival of the disastrous period which had passed, and of the scenes of plunder which the world had made such gigantic efforts to get rid of. This army having been defeated by the armies of Europe, they have been disbanded by the united counsel of the sovereigns, and no reason can exist why the powers of Europe should do injustice to their own subjects with a view to conciliate them again. Neither has it ever appeared to me to be necessary that the allied sovereigns should omit this opportunity to do justice, and to gratify their own subjects, in order to gratify the people of France. The feeling of the people of France upon this subject must be

one of national vanity only. It must be a desire to retain these specimens of the arts, not because Paris is the fittest depository for them—as upon that subject, artists, connoisseurs, and all who have written upon it, agree that the whole ought to be removed to their ancient seat—but because they were obtained, by military concessions, of which they are the trophies.

“The same feelings which induce the people of France to wish to retain the pictures and statues of other nations would naturally induce other nations to wish, now that success is on their side, that the property should be returned to their rightful owners, and the allied sovereigns must feel a desire to gratify them. It is, besides, on many accounts, desirable, as well for their own happiness as for that of the world, that the people of France, if they do not already feel that Europe is too strong for them, should be made sensible of it; and that, whatever may be the extent, at any time, of their momentary and partial success against any one, or any number of individual powers in Europe, the day of retribution must come. Not only, then, would it, in my opinion, be unjust in the sovereigns to gratify the people of France on this subject, at the expense of their own people, but the sacrifice they would make would be impolitic, as it would deprive them of the opportunity of giving the people of France a great moral lesson.”

The subject of the restoration of the works of art belonging to other nations having been brought before the allied sovereigns, a note from lord Castlereagh was laid before them, which, from the noble and statesmanlike view which it takes of the question; deserves to be recorded here. His lordship commenced his note by taking a comprehensive view of the situation in which the allies were then placed. “Twice compelled, in vindication of their own liberties, to invade France; twice having replaced its legitimate sovereign—he argued it would be the height of weakness as well as of injustice, if they were to deny that principle of integrity, in its just and liberal application to other nations, their allies, more especially to the feeble and the helpless, which they were about, for a second time, to concede to a nation against whom they had had so long to contend in war. He therefore demanded ‘upon what principle can France, at the close of such a war, expect to sit down with the same extent of

possessions which she held before the revolution, and desire at the same time to retain the ornamented spoils of all other countries? The allied sovereigns,’ his lordship proceeded, ‘have, perhaps, something to atone for to Europe, in consequence of the course pursued by them when at Paris during the last year. It is true they never did so far make themselves parties in the criminality of this mass of plunder, as to sanction it by any stipulation in their treaties; but they certainly did use their influence to repress, at that moment, any agitation of their claims, in the hope that France, not less subdued by their generosity than their arms, might be disposed to preserve inviolate the peace which had been studiously framed, to serve as a bond of reconciliation between the nation and the king. They had also reason to expect that his majesty would be advised voluntarily to restore a considerable proportion at least, of these spoils, to their lawful owners.’ It went on to show, that the case was very different in 1815, from what it had been in the former year,—‘the prince regent, while he held it to be the duty of the allied sovereigns, not only not to obstruct, but to facilitate the return of these objects to the places whence they were torn, judged it to be not less consistent with delicacy, not to suffer the position of their armies to become the means, directly or indirectly, of bringing into their dominions a single article which did not of right belong to them at the period of their conquest. The prince regent, for himself, declared, that whatever value he might attach to such exquisite specimens of the fine arts, if otherwise acquired, he had no wish to become possessed of them at the expense of France, or rather at that of the nation to which they had belonged.’ As the claim made to the articles in question had been set up on behalf of Louis, and of course with his sanction, it was then forcibly argued, that the concession desired would reflect no honour upon him. ‘Can the king,’ it asked, ‘feel his own dignity exalted, or his title improved, in being surrounded by monuments of art, which record, not less the sufferings of his own illustrious house, than of the other nations of Europe? If the French people be desirous of treading back their steps, can they rationally desire to preserve this source of animosity between them and all other nations; and if they are not, is it politic to flatter their vanity, and to keep

alive the hopes which the contemplation of these trophies is calculated to excite? Can even the army reasonably desire it? The recollection of their campaigns can never perish. They are recorded in the military annals of Europe. They are emblazoned on the public monuments of their own country: why is it necessary to associate their glory in the field with a system of plunder, by the adoption of which, in contravention of the laws of modern war, the chief that led them to battle, in fact tarnished the lustre of their arms. The firm, dignified, and disinterested part acted by England could not but be appreciated by all Europe, as set forth in this manly and masterly assertion of those principles of public justice which, at such a moment, it was of special importance to vindicate.”*

While the allies continued in Paris the exactions and unbounded plunder of the foreign troops, particularly the Prussians, were carried to so great and irritating an extent, that there seemed no little danger of producing a national war. Wellington, aware of the spirit of resistance which was growing up about the invading armies, and of the danger to be apprehended from it, while he remonstrated against the system of contemplated spoliation, was no less pressing to bring matters to a final settlement. Austria reclaimed Lorraine and Alsace; the king of the Netherlands put in a claim for the whole of the French fortresses of the Flemish barrier; Spain demanded the Basque provinces; and Prussia all the frontier provinces of France adjoining her territory. The duke's views on the aggrandising disposition exhibited by the allied powers are set forth, with his usual force and clearness, in the following despatch:—

“I have perused with attention the memorandum which you have sent me, and have considered well the contents of those written by the ministers of other powers.

“My opinion is, that the French revolution and the treaty of Paris have left France in too great strength for the rest of Europe, weakened as all the powers of Europe have been by the wars in which they have been engaged with France, by the destruction of all the fortresses and strongholds in the low countries and Germany, principally by the French, and by the ruin of the finances of all the continental powers.

“Notwithstanding that this opinion is as

* *History of England*, by J. Gaspey, Esq.

strongly, if not more strongly, impressed upon my mind than upon that of any of those whose papers have lately come under my consideration, I doubt its being in our power now to make such an alteration in the relations of France with other powers as will be of material benefit.

“First; I conceive that our declarations, and our treaties, and the accession, although irregular in form, which we allowed Louis XVIII. to make to that of the 25th of March, must prevent us from making any very material inroad upon the state of possession of the treaty of Paris. I do not concur in ———’s reasoning, either that the guarantee in the treaty of the 25th March was intended to apply only to ourselves, or that the conduct of the French people, since the 20th March, ought to deprive them of the benefit of that guarantee. The French people submitted to Buonaparte; but it would be ridiculous to suppose that the allies would have been in possession of Paris in a fortnight after one battle fought, if the French people in general had not been favourably disposed to the cause which the allies were supposed to favour.

“In the north of France they certainly were so disposed, and there is no doubt they were so in the south, and indeed throughout France, excepting in Champagne, Alsace, parts of Burgundy, Lorraine, and Dauphiné. The assistance which the king and his party in France gave to the cause was undoubtedly of a passive description; but the result of the operations of the allies has been very different from what it would have been if the disposition of the inhabitants of the country had led them to oppose the allies.

“In my opinion, therefore, the allies have no just right to make any material inroad on the treaty of Paris, although that treaty leaves France too strong, in relation to other powers; but I think I can show that the real interests of the allies should lead them to adopt the measures which justice, in this instance, requires from them.

“There is such an appearance of moderation in all that has been written upon this subject, that we might hope there would be no material difference of opinion on the disposal of what should be taken from France, supposing that it should be decided that France is to make a cession; and therefore I do no more than advert to that objection to the demand.

“But my objection to the demand of a great cession from France upon this occasion

is, that it will defeat the object which the allies have held out to themselves in the present and the preceding wars.

"That which has been their object has been to put an end to the French revolution, to obtain peace for themselves and their people, to have the power of reducing their overgrown military establishments, and the leisure to attend to the internal concerns of their several nations, and to improve the situation of their people. The allies took up arms against Buonaparte, because it was certain that the world could not be at peace as long as he should possess, or should be in a situation to attain, supreme power in France; and care must be taken, in making the arrangements consequent upon our success, that we do not leave the world in the same unfortunate situation, respecting France, that it would have been in if Buonaparte had continued in possession of his power. "It is impossible," said the duke, "to surmise what would be the line of conduct of the king and his government on the demand of any considerable cession from France on the present occasion. It is certain, however, that whether the cession should be agreed to or not by the king, the situation of the allies would be very unhappy.

"If the king were to refuse to agree to the cession, and were to throw himself on his people, there can be no doubt that these divisions would cease which have hitherto occasioned the weakness of France. The allies might take the fortresses and provinces which might suit them; but there would be no genuine peace for the world; no nation could disarm; no sovereign could turn his attention from the affairs of this country. If the king were to agree to make the cession, which from all that one hears, is an event by no means probable, the allies must be satisfied, and must retire; but I would appeal to the experience of of the transactions of last year for a statement of the situation in which we should find ourselves.

"Last year, after France had been reduced to her limits of 1792, by the cession of the Low Countries, the left bank of the Rhine, Italy, &c., the allies were obliged to maintain each in the field half of the war establishment stipulated in the treaty of Chaumont, in order to guard their conquests, and what had been ceded to them; and there is nobody acquainted with what passed in France during that period who

does not know that the general topic of conversation was the recovery of the left bank of the Rhine as the frontier of France, and that the unpopularity of the government in the army was to be attributed to their supposed disinclination to war, to recover these possessions.

"There is no statesman who, with these facts before his eyes, with the knowledge that the justice of the demand of a great cession from France under existing circumstances, is at least doubtful, and that the cession would be made against the inclination of the sovereign and all descriptions of his people, would venture to recommend to his sovereign to consider himself at peace, and to place his armies upon a peace establishment. We must, on the contrary, if we take this large cession, consider the operations of the war as deferred till France shall find a suitable opportunity of endeavouring to regain what she has lost; and, after having wasted our resources in the maintenance of overgrown military establishments in time of peace, we shall find how little useful the cessions we shall have acquired will be against a national effort to regain them.

"In my opinion, then, we ought to continue to keep our great object, the genuine peace and tranquillity of the world, in our view, and shape our arrangement so as to provide for it.

"Revolutionary France is more likely to distress the world, than France, however strong in her frontier, under a regular government; and that is the situation in which we ought to endeavour to place her.

"With this view, I prefer the temporary occupation of some of the strong places, and to maintain for a time a strong force in France, both at the expense of the French government, and under strict regulation, to the permanent cession of even all the places, which, in my opinion, ought to be occupied for a time. These measures will not only give us, during the period of occupation, all the military security which would be expected from the permanent cession, but, if carried into execution in the spirit in which they are conceived, they are in themselves the bond of peace.

"There is no doubt that the troops of the allies stationed in France will give strength and security to the government of the king, and that their presence will give the king leisure to form his army in such manner as he may think proper. The ex-

pectation also of the arrival of the period at which the several points occupied should be evacuated would tend to the preservation of peace, while the engagement to restore them to the king, or his legitimate heirs or successors, would have the effect of giving additional stability to his throne.

"In answer to the objections to a temporary occupation contained in ——— paper, drawn from the state of things in ———, I observe that the temporary occupation by the troops of the allies of part of France, will be with views entirely different from those which dictated the temporary occupation of ——— by the French troops; and if the measure is carried into execution on the principle of supporting the king's government and of peace, instead of as in ———, with views of immediate plunder and ultimate war, the same results cannot be expected.

"I am likewise aware of the objection to this measure—that it will not alone eventually apply a remedy to the state of weakness, in relation to France, in which the powers of Europe have been left by the treaty of Paris; but it will completely for a term of years. This term of years, besides the advantage of introducing into France a system and habits of peace, after twenty-five years of war, will enable the powers of Europe to restore their finances; it will give them time and means to reconstruct the great artificial bulwarks of their several countries, to settle their governments, and to consolidate their means of defence. France, it is true, will still be powerful, probably more powerful than she ought to be in relation to her neighbours; but, if the allies do not waste their time and their means, the state of security of each and of the whole, in relation to France, will, at the end of the period, be materially improved, and will probably leave but little to desire."

In a further communication to lord Castlereagh in reference to the occupation of France, by the allies, the duke wrote the following:—

"As it appears to be the intention of the allied powers to demand from France certain securities for the performance of the treaty of peace, by which the existing state of things will be closed, and for the existence of the system which will be established in France, as well as in Europe; and as various considerations induce the allies to prefer to maintain a force in France for a year, and to hold in their hands certain

strongholds for a limited number of years, either to the destruction of those strongholds, or to the cession of the provinces in which they are situated, it appears to me that what follows will be the best mode for effecting their object.

"First; that an army should be formed, consisting of ——— men, which shall be left within the French territory for the space of ——— years; this army to be maintained in every respect at the expense of France. It is supposed that this army will be sufficient to occupy the garrisons, the occupation of which the allies propose to demand; to give countenance and support to the government of the king of France, till his own army shall be formed against the discontented and factious in France; to defend themselves against any attack which might be made upon them till supported by the allied troops, which it must always be supposed will be maintained in the Netherlands, and the Prussian territories on the left of the Rhine.

"Secondly; that the allies should demand from France to occupy the following fortresses for ——— years, at the expense of France:—

* * * *

"In carrying this system into execution, care should be taken to adopt those measures which, at the same time that the great object of security to the allies and to the internal government of France shall be attained, shall render it most palatable to the French government, and shall make it most evident to them and to the nation, that, at the expiration of the period, the allied troops will be withdrawn, and the fortresses will be delivered over to the troops of his most catholic majesty. The civil government therefore, of all the places, should be left in the hands of the king of France's officers, and the troops should be considered to be there to hold them for him, as much as for the allies. The troops of those sovereigns should be selected for this service, who would have the least inclination to remain in possession of the fortresses at the termination of the period."

A few days later, the duke also forwarded to viscount Castlereagh the following memorandum on the temporary occupation of part of France:—

"The principal points of difference between the scheme proposed by ———, and that proposed by the ministers of the other courts for the settlement with France,

consists—first, in the prince's desire that certain French fortresses should be ceded to the allies, and others raised; and, secondly, in the difficulties which exist, according to the prince's notion, in the execution of the measure of temporary occupation, and in his highness' notion of its inefficiency to effect its object. In regard to the first point, it is a political rather than a military question, and it is not my intention to say much upon it. I wish, however, that some principle should be fixed regarding the right and expediency of demanding from France the cession of several separate fortresses, distributed on the line from the sea to the Alps. I have already taken an opportunity of discussing the right of demanding these cessions, which must be founded upon the clear omission in the declarations and treaties of the allies of anything to preclude the demand. The expediency of making the demand, will depend upon a variety of political and military considerations, among which will be the following:—Whether the possession of the fortresses named, is that which gives France the formidable strength complained of, or, if transferred to the allies, would give them severally the wished-for strength; whether it is not a combination of population, pecuniary resources, and artificial strength, which makes France so formidable; and whether the transfer of the last only to certain of the allies, leaving the two first unimpaired in the possession of France; that is to say, to give the allies fortresses without additional resources in men to form garrisons and armies to defend them, and resources in money to maintain those garrisons and armies, would not tend to their weakness rather than to their strength, at the same time that the measure would afford to France a just pretence for war, and all the means which injured national pride could give for carrying it on.

“If the policy of the united powers of Europe is to weaken France, let them do so in reality. Let them take from that country its population and resources, as well as a few fortresses. If they are not prepared for that decisive measure, if peace and tranquillity for a few years is their object, they must make an arrangement which will suit the interests of all the parties to it, and of which the justice and expediency will be so evident, that they will tend to carry it into execution. All persons appear to agree that the maintenance of the authority of

the king is essential to the interests of the other powers of Europe; and, notwithstanding the difference of opinion, regarding the extent of the force which ought to be maintained for a time in France, and regarding the difficulties of executing this measure, and after all that has been said of its inefficiency in affording security to the allies in general, it appears to be generally admitted that it is necessary to adopt it. It is necessary to adopt it with different objects in view; first, to give security to the government of the king, and to afford him time to form a force of his own, with which he can carry on his government, and take his fair share in the concerns of Europe; secondly, to give the allies some security against a second revolutionary convulsion and reaction; and, thirdly, to enable the allies to enforce the payment of those contributions, which they deem it just towards their own subjects to lay on France, in payment of the expenses of the war.

“I have enumerated the objects of this military occupation in this order, as being that of their several relative importance. In discussing them, I shall consider that first which I have adverted to in the second instance, viz., the security to the allies. It cannot be doubted that the position of a large army, in the centre of France, will give security to the allies, particularly in Germany. The history of all the wars in Germany, shows that the French have never been able to cross the Rhine unless in possession of the Netherlands, or having that country friendly to them. Much less would they be able to cross the Rhine with a view to the attack of the powers in the south of Germany, as long as an allied army should be in a position in the centre of France.

“That army must necessarily be strong enough to maintain itself for a time; but, considering it will be the army of Europe—that those who shall attack it must expect thereafter to defend themselves against all the armies of Europe, and that it would forthwith be reinforced by at least 50,000 men from the Low Countries, the Prussian territories on the left of the Rhine, and England, I cannot conceive that an army of 150,000 men would be exposed to the risk in such a situation. There is no doubt, likewise, that the temporary position of an allied army in France is necessary, in order to secure the payment of the contributions which the allies will impose upon France.

The principal object of all, however, is to give security and stability to the king's government; and this object should be borne in mind in determining the principles of all the arrangements respecting this force, and carrying them into execution.

"First, then, the force ought to be applicable not only to the defence of the fortresses, ceded temporarily to the allies, and to the occupation of the military position; but, upon the demand of the king, and at the discretion of the commanding officer, to the support of his majesty's authority.

"Secondly; it should be paid, fed, and clothed at the expense of the king of France.

"Thirdly; this payment, which, including every expense, should be founded on estimates, should be secured; first, by an article of the treaty; secondly, by the allotment of certain districts, viz., the departments of the North, Pas de Calais, Ardennes, Meuse, Moselle, and Upper Rhine, the revenues of which should be liable to be seized in case the payments should fall in arrear. The seizure of these districts, in consequence of non-payment, should not prevent the allies from exercising the other rights which they would have under the treaty, in the case of non-performance.

"Fourthly; a district should be assigned to be occupied in ordinary times by the European force, into which no French force should be allowed to enter. The civil administration of this district should be allotted to the king of France, and the officers of the allies should exercise no authority within it, excepting that usually exercised by military officers.

"Fifthly; the expenses of provisioning, arming, and keeping in repair the fortresses to be occupied by the allies, to be provided for by the king of France, upon the requisition of the commanding officer of the European force. The omission to provide for the expense to be considered a breach of treaty, equally with the omission to provide for the expense of the pay, clothing, and food for the troops.

"Sixthly; the power of the governor and officers in the several forts to be the same as that of the governor and military officers on ordinary occasions. The civil administration to be in the hands of the officers of the king.

"According to this system, really put in execution on the principles on which it is adopted, it appears that it would be possible to maintain a force in France, and that the

measure would not be liable to the difficulties supposed."

The military convention entered into at St. Cloud, having constituted a basis for the resumption of negotiations for a general peace, on the 20th of November, the second treaty of Paris was concluded; when an adjustment of the boundaries of France was made by a cession to the allies of Philippeville, Marienburg, Saar-Louis and Landau, with their adjacent territories, as far as the Lauter; also of that part of Savoy in Italy, which had been kept by France by virtue of the treaty of the preceding year. Vervain, with a small district round it, was ceded to the canton of Geneva; and the fortress of Huningen was to be demolished; in briefer language, the French frontier was to be restored to the condition in which it stood in 1790—consequently, the territory guaranteed to France by the treaty of 1814, was recovered by the states to which it had belonged. By virtue of the same treaty, the northern and eastern frontier fortresses of France, eighteen in number, were to be occupied by 150,000 troops of the allied powers—Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England, each furnishing 30,000 men of that contingent—commanded by the duke of Wellington, and to be maintained at the cost of the French government, for a period of not less than three years, or more than five years. As an indemnity for the expenses of the war during the Hundred Days, the four principal allied powers were to receive 700,000,000 of francs, and the lesser powers 100,000,000, payable by equable instalments, at fixed periods. A prohibition of the slave-trade formed a part of the new treaty.* The period for the evacuation of the city by the allied troops, was to take place in the early part of December. On the 30th of November, the duke of Wellington issued the following valedictory address to that portion of the troops who were about to quit the French territory:—

"G. O. Paris, 30th Nov. 1815..

"1. On breaking up the army, which the field-marshal has had the honour of commanding, he begs leave again to return thanks to the general officers, and the officers and troops, for their uniform good conduct.

"2. In the late short, but memorable campaign, they have given proof to the

* As the first treaty of Paris was a document of the utmost importance to the whole of the states of Europe a copy of it is given at p. 320.

world, that they possess, in an eminent degree, all the good qualities of soldiers; and the field-marshal is happy to be able to applaud their regular good conduct in their camps and cantonments, not less than when engaged in the field.

"3. Whatever may be the future destination of these brave troops, of which the field-marshal now takes his leave, he trusts that every individual will believe, that he will ever feel the deepest interest in their honour and welfare, and will always be happy to promote either."

On the 5th of September, a grand review of the British troops in the neighbourhood of Paris, representative of the battle of Salamanca, took place in the plain of St. Denis. The British army had been much strengthened from the time of their entering Paris, by the arrival of troops from Canada, and the recovery of a great part of the wounded at Waterloo; and they now numbered nearly 60,000 red-coats. "Never," says an eye-witness, "had such an array of native British troops been seen, and probably never will be seen again. The soldiers, as if by enchantment, went through with admirable precision, under the orders of their chief, the whole of the manœuvres that had won the battle of Salamanca. On the 10th of the same month, a grand review of all the Russian troops that were then in France, took place on the plains of Vertus. This review conveyed an awful impression of the strength of the Russian empire, when fairly roused; for 160,000 men, including 28,000 cavalry, were under arms in the field, with 540 pieces of cannon. The day was sultry, but clear; and from a small hill in the centre of a large plain, at a short distance from Chalons, the whole immense lines were visible. The eye had scarcely time to comprehend so vast a spectacle, when a single gun, fired from a height, was a signal for three cheers from the troops. Even at this distance of time, those cheers sound as if fresh in the ears of all who heard them; their sublimity, like the roar of the ocean, when near and gradually melting away in the distance, was overpowering. A general salute was then given, by a rolling fire along the line, from right to left; the Russians then broke from their lines into grand columns of regiments, and marched past the sovereigns in splendid array. 'Well, Charles,' said the duke of Wellington to sir Charles Stuart, afterwards marquis of Londonderry, after the review was

over, 'You and I never saw such a sight before, and never shall again—the precision of the movements of these troops was more like the arrangements of a theatre than those of such an army; but still I think my little army would move round them in any direction, while they were effecting a single charge.'

As a reward for the services of the duke and his army, £200,000 were granted by parliament, for the purchase of a suitable mansion for the general; the order of the Bath was greatly extended, for the reward of military and naval merit; and the pensions granted for wounds, were in future to rise with the rank of the officers receiving them. Privates were to be allowed to reckon the day of battle as two years' service, in the account of time for increase of pay, or for pensions when discharged. All the regiments which shared in the glories of the field, were authorized to inscribe the word "Waterloo" on their colours; and every officer and private was to be entitled to a silver medal, with a like inscription.

In 1817, one-fifth, or 30,000 men of the army of occupation were withdrawn from the French territory; and by virtue of the congress assembled, September, 1818, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the whole of the remainder of that army quitted France, and delivered up the fortresses on the 20th of the following November; but the French government was subjected to the payment of an additional 730,000,000 francs as an indemnity for French spoliation in the conquered countries.

On the final evacuation of France by the army of occupation, the duke issued his last valedictory address:—

"G.O. Cambrai, 10th Nov., 1818.

"6. On the return to England of the troops which have so long served under the command of the field-marshal, he again returns his thanks for their uniform good conduct, during which they have formed part of the army of occupation.

"7. The field-marshal has, in another order addressed to the army of occupation at large, expressed his sentiments regarding the conduct of, and his obligation to, general officers and officers of that army. These are especially due to the general officers and officers of the British contingent; and he begs them to accept his best acknowledgments for the example they have given to others by their good conduct, and for the support and assistance they have invariably

afforded him to maintain the discipline of the army.

"8. After a service of ten years' duration, almost without interruption with the same officers and troops, the field-marshal separates from them with regret; but he trusts that they will believe that he will never cease to feel a concern for their honour and interest.

"G.O. Paris, 1st Dec., 1818.

"1. The field-marshal has great satisfaction in publishing to the troops which have lately served under his command the following letter from his royal highness the commander-in-chief, conveying the prince regent's gracious approbation of their conduct while serving in France.

"Horse Guards, 27th Nov., 1818.

"My lord duke—The army of occupation having finally removed from France, I have the prince regent's commands to convey to your grace the thanks of his royal highness for the discipline and good order which have been so successfully maintained, to the honour of the British army during the period it has been stationed in that country.

"I have frequently had occasion to ad-

dress your grace, by command of the sovereign, in the language of just commendation of the brilliant victories achieved under the guidance of your genius; but though the events of peace do not furnish the grounds for conveying the warmth of expression which a sense of the distinguished actions of warfare so strongly call forth, yet the conduct of the army while stationed in the country of their former enemy, where the discipline and good order established by your grace was calculated to conciliate the inhabitants, and to uphold the character of the British arms in the view of surrounding nations, cannot fail to draw forth the prince regent's cordial approbation and thanks, as well as the gratitude of the country, to your grace and to them.

"I am commanded to request that your grace will be pleased to make these sentiments known to the general and other officers who have been under your command in any manner you may think proper.

"I am, &c.,

"FREDERICK,

"Commander-in-chief.

"Field-marshal the duke of Wellington, K.G."

LABEDOYERE AND NEY ARE TRIED AND SHOT.

ON the 24th of July a royal ordinance was issued by Louis XVIII., which named fifty-seven individuals who were not entitled to be included in the general amnesty; but nineteen only of these were pointed at as liable to be punished capitally, or tried before a military tribunal. The first name on the doomed list was that of Ney; the second, Labédoyère. Both Ney and Labédoyère had got timely warning of their danger; and passports and money had been provided for them by Talleyrand and Fouché to enable them to retire from France. It has been surmised that the two latter had good reasons for wishing them out of the way. Labédoyère accompanied the army, and remained with it some days behind the Loire; but after a short time, having returned to Paris in disguise, he was arrested and handed over to a council of war. On the 12th August he was brought to trial, charged with treason, rebellion, and for seducing his troops from their duty. It was proved that on Buonaparte's return, he was sent to Grenoble to oppose the emperor, but instead of doing so, had raised

the cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, and the standard of Buonaparte, and called upon his soldiers to revolt. In his defence, he said he might have been misled by false ideas of honour, but he denied that he had been connected with any plot that preceded the return of Buonaparte. He was found guilty, and sentenced to die. His wife, attired in mourning, got an opportunity of throwing herself at the king's feet, and raised her voice to call for pardon. Louis replied in compassionate language, that it was painful to reject her prayer, but France demanded the punishment of the man who had brought upon her a renewal of the scourges of war. He promised his protection to the supplicant and her child. Labédoyère was allowed an appeal to a court of revision. By that body the judgment was confirmed, and he was sentenced to die the same evening. Led to the plain of Grenelle, he received on his knees the benediction of his confessor; when, rising, without waiting for his eyes to be bandaged, he threw open his bosom to the soldiers who were to be his executioners, and called to them, "Be sure

you do not miss me." They fired, and he was in a moment lifeless.

Marshal Ney had been urged by Talleyrand and Fouché to leave France with all possible dispatch, and Talleyrand got his fictitious passport, countersigned by the command of the Austrian army on the frontiers of Switzerland.

His capture was much desired by many royalists, and one Locard, a prefect of police, had the fortune to discover him in a mean auberge, situated in the Cantal, in the wildest part of old Auvergne, one of the most mountainous regions in France. Ney was conveyed to Paris, and lodged in the Abbaye. He was examined by a prefect of police, when his answers are described to have been incoherent and strange. He spoke of the 13th of March as that fatal day when he lost his head, but he had been dragged into the plot, and could not help it. A question was raised, whether he should be tried by the chamber of peers or by a court-martial. The decision was that he should be tried before the latter, as his name had been erased from the list of peers, since his defection from the royal cause. Marshal Monecy, who was president of that court, declined to preside or to attend on the trial. That office was, in consequence, filled by marshal Jourdain, who had commanded for Joseph Buonaparte at Vittoria; marshals Massena, Augereau, and Mortier, with generals Gazan, Claparede, and Villette, and field-marshal Grundner, were members of the court. The counsel for the prisoner insisted that the court was not competent to try a case like that, and a majority of its members decided that the objection was good, and that the offending marshal could only be called upon, to answer for his alleged treason before the chamber of peers. In consequence of this, which took place on the 9th of November, two days afterwards, the act of accusation and the royal ordinance were presented to the chamber by the duke of Richelieu, and the trial proceeded.

The lady of the unfortunate marshal called upon the duke of Wellington to interfere in favour of her husband; insisting upon it, as a matter of right, that his lordship was bound in honour, and by his own act, to protect her husband. The duke was reported, by her, to have answered that he had nothing to do with the government of the king of France, and it was not in his power to stop the course of justice. To the

ambassadors of the allied sovereigns she applied, but to no purpose. Ney himself also wrote to Wellington, stating that the treaty of Paris ought to have saved him from being thus dealt with. The duke referred to the capitulation of Paris as touching nothing political. Madame Ney then published an incorrect report of her conversation with the duke. Doing this, she quoted the twelfth article of the convention of Paris, which drew from the duke the following memorandum, dated the 19th of November, and which explained his view of the capitulation, clearly proving that, under that, Ney could not be exonerated:—

Paris, 19th Nov., 1815.

"It is extraordinary that Madame la Maréchale Ney should have thought proper to publish in print parts of a conversation which she is supposed to have had with the duke of Wellington, and that she omitted to publish that which is a much better record of the duke's opinion on the subject to which the conversation related, viz., the duke's letter to the maréchal prince de la Moskwa, in answer to the maréchal's note to his grace. That letter was as follows:—

"I have had the honour of receiving the note which you addressed to me on the 13th of November, relating to the operation of the capitulation of Paris on your case. The capitulation of Paris of the 3rd July was made between the commanders-in-chief of the allied British and Prussian armies on the one part, and the prince d'Eckmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French army on the other; and related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris.

"The object of the 12th article was to prevent the adoption of any measures of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris on account of the offices which they had filled, or their conduct, or their political opinions. But it was never intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander-in-chief must have acted, or any French government which should succeed to it, from acting in this respect as it might deem fit."

"It is obvious from this letter that the duke of Wellington, one of the parties to the capitulation of Paris, considers that that instrument contains nothing which can prevent the king from bringing marshal Ney to trial in such manner as his majesty may think proper. The contents of the capitulation

lation fully confirm the justice of the duke's opinion. It is made between the commanders-in-chief of the contending armies respectively; and the first nine articles relate solely to the mode and time of evacuation of Paris by the French army, and of the occupation by the British and Prussian armies.

"The 10th article provides that the existing authorities shall be respected by the two commanders-in-chief of the allies; the 11th, that public property shall be respected, and that the allies shall not interfere 'en aucune manière dans leur administration, et dans leur gestion;' and the 12th article states, 'seront pareillement respectées les personnes et les propriétés particulières; les habitans, et, en général, tous les individus qui se trouvent dans la capitale, continueront à jouir de leurs droits et libertés, sans pourvoir êtres inquiétés ni recherchés en rien relativement aux fonctions qu'ils occupent ou auraient occupées, ou à leurs conduites, et à leurs opinions politiques.'

"By whom were these private properties and persons to be respected? By the allied generals and their troops, mentioned in the 10th and 11th articles, and not by other parties to whom the convention did not relate in any manner. The 13th article provides that 'les troupes étrangères shall not obstruct the carriage of provisions by land or water to the capital. Thus it appears that every article in the convention relates exclusively to the operations of the different armies, or to the conduct of the allies and that of their generals when they should enter Paris; and, as the duke of Wellington states in his despatch of the 4th of July, with which he transmitted the convention to England, it 'decided all the military points then existing at Paris, and touched nothing political.' But it appears clearly, that not only was this the duke's opinion of the convention at the time it was signed, but likewise the opinion of Carnot, of marshal Ney, and of every other person who had an interest in considering the subject. Carnot says, in the *Exposé de la Conduite Politique de M. Carnot* (page 43),— 'Il fut résolu d'envoyer aux généraux Anglais et Prussiens une commission spéciale chargée de leur proposer une convention purement militaire, pour la remise de la ville de Paris entre leur mains, en écartant toute question politique, puisqu'on ne pouvait préjuger quelles seraient les intentions des alliés, lorsqu'ils seraient réunis.'

"It appears that marshal Ney fled from Paris in disguise, with a passport given to him by the duke d'Otrante, under a feigned name, on the 6th of July. He could not be supposed to be ignorant of the tenor of the 12th article of the convention; and he must then have known whether it was the intention of the parties who made it that it should protect him from the measures which the king, then at St. Denis, should think proper to adopt against him. But if marshal Ney could be supposed ignorant of the intention of the 12th article, the duke d'Otrante could not, as he was at the head of the provisional government, under whose authority the prince d'Eckmühl must have acted when he signed the convention.

"Would the duke d'Otrante have given a passport under a feigned name to marshal Ney, if he had understood the 12th article as giving the marshal any protection, excepting against measures of severity by the two commanders-in-chief? Another proof of what was the opinion of the duke d'Otrante, of the king's ministers, and of all the persons most interested in establishing the meaning now attempted to be given to the 12th article of the convention of the 3rd of July, is the king's proclamation of the 12th of July, by which nineteen persons are ordered for trial, and thirty-eight persons are ordered to quit Paris, and to reside in particular parts of France, under the observation and superintendance of the police, till the chambers should decide upon their fate. Did the duke d'Otrante, did any of the persons on their behalf, even then, or now, claim for them the protection of the 12th article of the convention? Certainly the convention was then understood, as it ought to be understood now, viz., that it was exclusively military, and was never intended to bind the then existing government of France, or any government which should succeed it.

"WELLINGTON."

The chamber, at half-past eleven o'clock, on the night of the 6th of December, pronounced their solemn decision, which sentenced Ney to death. In favour of that sentence, 138 votes had been given; against it, 22. Of the minority, 17 peers were in favour of transportation, and 5 declined giving any vote.

A great sensation was created in Paris by the decision of the peers. At midnight, a council was held on the subject at the Tuilleries, at which some of the members

wished that a reprieve might be granted, but the king, in this case, could see no ground for mercy, and the sentence was carried into effect at nine o'clock the next morning. Ney was conducted to the gardens of the Luxembourg palace. He was taken thither in a hackney-coach, from which, having descended, a detachment of gens-d'armes and two platoons of veterans, appeared drawn up to receive him. He resigned himself to his fate, with the courage of a man who had been accustomed to brave death. He advanced a step towards those who were to fire, and, exclaiming, *Vive la France*, met the bullets which instantly numbered him with the dead. In his defence, he declared the proclamation, which had appeared in his name, and which asserted the cause of the Bourbons to be lost for ever, was not written by him, but had been prepared by Buonaparte, and had appeared in Switzerland before he had seen it, and it was no unusual thing for Buonaparte to put forth proclamations, bearing the names of his generals, without asking their consent.

Lavallette, the director-general of the post-office under Buonaparte, had favoured the return from Elba. Louis XVIII., when forced to fly from his capital, had not left the Tuilleries more than two hours, when Lavallette took possession of the general post-office in Paris, secured the letters, and the money there, and sent forthwith a circular to all the post-masters of France, to inform them that Buonaparte was returning to his capital, and would be at the Tuilleries in a few hours. He added, that the return of the emperor had been hailed with enthusiastic delight, and let the friends of the Bourbons do what they would, there was no danger of a civil war. Lavallette was arrested in Paris, and tried in the Cour d'Assises, on the 22nd of November. The jury found him guilty, and he was doomed to die. Great interest was excited by the efforts which madame Lavallette made to save her husband. Through the favour of of marshal Marmont, she appeared before the king, and humbly entreated that he might be pardoned. Louis spoke kindly, but gave her no reason to expect that the offender would be spared. A plan was then formed to enable him to escape. He was to die on the 22nd of December, and the 21st had arrived, when madame Lavallette, accompanied by her daughter, visited him in the Conciergerie, and made such an

exchange of dress with him, that while he, his face concealed with an air of feminine dejection, passed from the prison, was not suspected to be other than a woman, she remained in his cell or dungeon, and for some moments was supposed to be the doomed criminal. Having passed from the prison, there was great danger of his being recaptured, when an Englishman, Mr. Michael Bruce, with his friend sir Robert Wilson, and a captain Hely Hutchinson, contrived to obtain passports for him; and wearing the uniform of an English general, he was enabled to leave Paris. Still assisted by his English friends, the police force on the look-out for him were deceived. When near Compiègne, some of Lavallette's grey hairs stealing from beneath the youthful wig he wore, threatened to betray his disguise. They were observed by Wilson, who, with a pair of scissors, effectually removed these evidences of his true quality. They crossed the frontier, and having reached Mons, the danger was considered to be at an end, and sir Robert Wilson then returned with all haste to Paris, the affair having been managed in about sixty hours. Suspicion fell upon him, and a letter in its passage through the post-office, addressed to earl Grey, was opened, and found to contain a narrative of the whole proceeding. In consequence of this, Wilson, Bruce, and Hutchinson were apprehended, and confined in the Conciergerie, and subsequently brought to trial. Being convicted, after indulging in much sentimental declamation, they were sentenced to three months' imprisonment, having been incarcerated for a like period before trial. Madame Lavallette was not molested for the part she had taken, as it was held a wife was justified in doing all she could to save the life of her husband. The heroic devotion of the lady has been justly eulogised. Her part was admirably performed, and all kindly natures, whatever their politics, rejoiced in her triumph. It is afflicting to add, the great excitement attendant on the virtuous struggle, was more than the mind of the amiable madame Lavallette could endure. Her object gained, she sunk into imbecility, and was denied to enjoy the happiness she had promised herself in the society of him she had saved. Though Lavallette was restored by royal mercy to his family, she who had rescued him, bereft of reason, was unconscious of his presence. Sir Robert Wilson and Hutchinson, as British officers, were officially cen-

sured by the prince regent for interfering with the internal affairs of France. This was deemed a serious impropriety; but his royal highness, in consideration of the extra-

ordinary situation in which they had been placed, forbore to inflict any further punishment than this reproof was intended to convey.

EXILE AND DEATH OF NAPOLEON.

BUT a few years marked the period between the death of the companions-in-arms of the emperor of the French and his own. From the first he protested strongly against being sent to St. Helena. When lord Keith and sir George Cockburn went on board the *Bellerophon*, on the afternoon of the 6th of July, to acquaint him with his intended transfer from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*, Buonaparte spoke with great vehemence against this act of the British government, and urged that no possible objection could be made to his residing in England for the remainder of his life. No answer was returned by either lord Keith or sir George Cockburn. A British officer who stood near him observed to Buonaparte, that if he had not been sent to St. Helena, he would have been delivered up to the emperor of Russia—"Dieu me garde des Russes!" (God keep me from the Russians!) he exclaimed. In making this reply he looked to Bertrand, and shrugged his shoulders. Sir George Cockburn addressed him again, and requested to know at what hour the next day he should come to receive him on board the *Northumberland*. Napoleon answered, ten o'clock. He was trans-shipped on the 7th, and attended on board the *Northumberland* by Bertrand, Montholon, Gourgaud, and Las Cases. The ladies of Bertrand, and Montholon, their four children, and twelve servants, also passed into sir George Cockburn's ship. Buonaparte's surgeon declined going to St. Helena, but an Irish naval surgeon, named O'Meara, whom he had seen and been somewhat pleased with on board the *Bellerophon*, volunteered his services, and was allowed to become the medical attendant of Napoleon. Savary and Lallemand were detained in the *Bellerophon*, and were greatly disturbed by the apprehension that the English government intended to give them up to the vengeance of the king of France. Savary, who had more to fear than Lallemand, had written to sir Samuel Romilly a week before, describing himself to have come voluntarily

on board the *Bellerophon*. He even talked of attempting by force, to resist any attempt at removing him from the *Bellerophon*, and wished to be informed, if, in such a case, an assailant lost his life, whether it would be murder in the eye of the law of England. The answer of sir Samuel Romilly was, that such would be the decision of English lawyers. Savary addressed letters to lords Melville and Keith. Captain Maitland wrote to lord Melville respecting Savary and Lallemand, stating that though no conditions had been stipulated, he had acted in the full confidence that their lives would be held sacred, otherwise they never should have set foot in the ship he commanded, without being acquainted that they could only be received for the purpose of delivering them over to the laws of their country. Both Lallemand and Savary were soon relieved from their fears. The English government had never thought of giving them up to Louis XVIII., though Savary, from the recollection of his past career, might be excused for supposing they would not be very scrupulous in handing over to punishment one who had made himself so obnoxious to the sovereign of France.

On board the *Northumberland*, Napoleon was received by sir George Cockburn but as general Buonaparte. This caused Napoleon to manifest some displeasure; and those about him then, and through his subsequent captivity, felt greatly outraged at his being so addressed, as he had been formerly treated with as emperor. It seems extraordinary, looking at the greater evils which had befallen him, that Buonaparte, or those most attached to him, should have held a title to be of such surpassing importance; or that holding it to be of the last importance, they could shut their eyes to the fact, that it had been gained by victory, and like other prizes won in strife, was liable to be lost in defeat. On board of the *Bellerophon* he had been received with honours usually reserved for crowned heads; captain Maitland having been bound by no precise

orders on that subject. Sir George Cockburn, while he inflexibly observed the course prescribed to him by duty, manifested every disposition to spare the ex-emperor annoyance; while his conduct intimated, that when offence was taken without cause, he knew how to disregard the coldness evinced, or the vexation expressed. When crossing the line, Buonaparte was disposed to gratify the sailors with a donation of one hundred louis-d'ors. Sir George thought such a tribute too great to be paid to the representative of Neptune, and would only allow ten to be given. The ex-emperor took offence at this, and then determined to give nothing. On one occasion some misunderstanding arose on a matter of etiquette, Napoleon having, after the French custom, risen from table immediately dinner was over, while sir George Cockburn, with his officers took their wine after the English manner, not admitting the right of Napoleon to break up the party. On the whole, however, sir George seems to have gained upon his prisoner or guest, and Buonaparte was accustomed to take his arm of an evening on the quarter-deck, and converse with him on various subjects. During the voyage, Napoleon commonly occupied himself in reading and writing. Cards, generally the game of *vingt-un*, and chess, were the amusements of his evenings. The *Northumberland* reached her destination on the 15th of October. From the deck of the ship, Buonaparte curiously surveyed with his spy-glass the island in which the remainder of his life was to be spent. It had been intended that he should remain on board the *Northumberland*, till a suitable residence could be prepared for him on shore; but as it was obvious some considerable time must pass before that would be effected, sir George undertook, on his own responsibility, to disembark his passengers, and to provide for the security of Napoleon's person, for the time being. On the 16th of October he accordingly landed with his attendants in St. Helena.

After Napoleon's arrival at St. Helena, he was subjected to no restraint—being permitted to ride over nearly the whole of the island; and the luxuries and comforts he enjoyed formed a striking contrast to the severe treatment which he had himself exercised towards state-prisoners. Yet his impatient spirit chafed against being at all confined to an island; and the selection made by the British government in the

appointment of sir Hudson Lowe to the military command of the island proved an unhappy one. The object of the British government, as expressed in the instructions given to sir Hudson, were, that every indulgence should be given consistent with the safe custody of the exile. It was said, however, that in carrying out his instructions his manner was rigid and unaccommodating; and an unfortunate difference seems to have arisen between the ex-emperor and him almost immediately upon his assuming his office. In justice, however, to sir Hudson, it must be stated that Napoleon showed a want of true greatness in insisting upon certain observances towards him which were inconsistent with the instructions the commandant had received from his government, and in complaining of certain restrictions which were absolutely necessary in dealing with a man who had shown to Europe that he could be bound by no treaties or promises. For the security of the peace of the world his safe custody was necessary; and the expedition from Elba had proved that the greatest vigilance was required to prevent his again making his escape; and, under these circumstances, it does not seem to have been a very violent stretch of authority that sir Hudson should insist on seeing the emperor once at least in the twenty-four hours. Napoleon, in his exile, should have recollected his own conduct to those who opposed him—although in that opposition they had everything which patriotism or love of country could suggest to justify them in their opposition. The duc d'Enghein and the patriot Hofer were shot, and the cardinal Pacca was shut up in an Alpine fortress, while he, a military adventurer, who had waded through seas of blood to procure his own personal aggrandizement, was allowed the society of friends who had accompanied him in his exile, had books in abundance to amuse his leisure hours, had saddled horses in profusion at his command, and was permitted to ride several miles in one direction; champagne and burgundy were his daily beverage; and the bill of fare of his table, which is given by Las Cases as a proof of the rigid and unnecessary severity of the British government, would be thought the height of luxury by most persons in a state of liberty.

But the earthly career of Napoleon was drawing to a close. A hereditary tendency to cancer of the stomach was aggravated by fretting at the frustration of all his hopes of

escape, and the prospect of endless detention. The affection gradually became more severe; and, after a great deal of acute suffering, he expired on the 5th of May, 1821, in the midst of a violent storm of wind and rain. The last words which he uttered were "*Tête d'armée.*" At eleven minutes before six in the evening he breathed his last; and the mighty warrior, whose ears had been so often saluted with the plaudits of triumph was now no more. His will contained some strange bequests: among others, one which has been already mentioned in this work, viz., 10,000 francs to the assassin Cantillon, who had recently attempted to assassinate the duke of Wellington. He also left a request, which has since been complied with, that "his bones might repose on the banks of the Seine, among the people whom he had loved so well."

Napoleon was interred in a place which

he had himself pointed out, in a small hollow, called "Slane's valley," near a fountain, shaded by weeping willows, which had long been a favourite spot for his meditations. The body, according to his own direction, lay in state till the 8th of May, on which day the funeral took place. The whole of the members of his household, and all those friends who had shared his exile, as well as all the officers, military and naval, in the island, attended on the occasion. He was laid in the coffin in the dress he usually wore in battle—his three-cornered hat, military surtout, leather under-dress, and boots. A detachment of British grenadiers bore him to the spot. When the coffin was lowered, the successive volleys of musketry and artillery announced that the hero of Austerlitz and Marengo had gone to where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

TREATY OF PARIS.

As promised in a previous page, we here lay before our readers the "Treaty of Paris," between the allied powers and France—a document which was of the greatest importance to all the states of Europe. As a history of the period would be incomplete without this important record, we give it in full, with an abstract of the reception it met with in the houses of parliament.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE ALLIED POWERS AND FRANCE.

"In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity. His majesty the king of France and Navarre, on the one part, and his majesty the emperor of Austria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and his allies, on the other, being animated by an equal wish to put an end to the long agitations of Europe and to the calamities of nations, by a solid peace, founded on a just distribution of force between the powers, and containing in its stipulations the guarantee of its duration; and his majesty the emperor of Austria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and his allies, no longer wishing to exact from France, at the present moment—when, being

replaced under the paternal government of her kings, she thus offers to Europe a pledge of security and stability, conditions and guarantees which they had to demand, with regret, under her late government; their said majesties have appointed plenipotentiaries to discuss, conclude, and sign a treaty of peace and friendship; that is to say:

"His majesty the king of France and Navarre, M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, prince of Benevento, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the order of Leopold of Austria, knight of the order of St. Andrew of Russia, of the orders of the Black and Red Eagle of Prussia, his Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and his majesty the emperor of Austria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, M. M. prince Clement Wenceslas Lothaire of Metternich-Winneburg-Ochsenhausen, knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the order of St. Stephen, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, knight of the Russian orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Neusky, and St. Anne, of the first class, knight Grand Cross of the Prussian orders of the Black and Red Eagle, Grand

Cross of the Order of St. Joseph of Wurtzburg, knight of the order of St. Hubert of Bavaria, of that of the Golden Eagle of Wurtemberg, and many others; Chamberlain, actual Privy Counsellor, Minister of State, of Conferences, and for Foreign Affairs, of his imperial, royal, and apostolic majesty; and count John Philip de Stadion Thanhausen and Warthausen, knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the order of St. Stephen, knight of the Russian orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Neusky, and St. Anne of the first class, Grand Cross of the Prussian orders of the Black and Red Eagle, Chamberlain, Privy Counsellor, Minister of State and Conferences to his imperial, royal, and apostolic majesty; who, after exchanging their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

“Art. I. There shall be, reckoning from this date, peace and friendship between his majesty the king of France and Navarre, on the one part, and his majesty the emperor of Austria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and his allies, on the other part, their heirs and successors, their respective states and subjects in perpetuity.

“The high contracting parties shall apply all their cares to maintain, not only between themselves, but also, as far as depends on them, between all the states of Europe, the good agreement and understanding so necessary to its repose.

“Art. II. The kingdom of France preserves the integrity of its limits, such as they existed at the period of the 1st of January, 1792. It shall receive, besides, an augmentation of territory comprised within the line of demarcation fixed by the following article:—

“Art. III. On the side of Belgium, Germany, and Italy, the ancient frontier, such as it existed on the 1st of January, 1792, shall be re-established; the same commencing from the North Sea, between Dunkirk and Nieuport, even unto the Mediterranean, between Cagnes and Nice, with the following rectifications:—

“1. In the department of Jemmappes, the cantons of Dour, Morbes-le-Chateau, Beaumont, and Chimay, shall remain to France, the line of demarcation, where it touches the canton of Dour, shall pass between that canton and those of Boussu and Paturage, as well as, farther on, between that of Morbes-le-Chateau, and those of Binch and Thuin.

“2. In the department of the Sambre and Meuse, the cantons of Valcourt, Florennes, Beauraing, and Godume, shall belong to France; the demarcation, upon reaching this department, shall follow the line which separates the fore-mentioned cantons from the department of Jemmappe, and from the rest of the Sambre and Meuse.

“3. In the department of the Moselle, the new demarcation, where it differs from the old, shall be formed by a line to be drawn from Perle as far as Fremersdorf, or by that which separates the canton of Tholey from the rest of the department of the Moselle.

“4. In the department of the Sare, the cantons of Saarbruck and Arnwal, shall remain to France, as well as that part of the canton of Lebach which is situated to the south of a line to be drawn along the confines of the villages of Herchenbach, Ueberhosen, Hilsbach, and Hall (leaving these different places without the French frontier), to the point where, taken from Quersalle (which belongs to France), the line which separates the cantons of Arnwal and Ottweiler, reaches that which separates those of Arnwal and Lebach; the frontier on this side shall be formed by the line above marked out, and then by that which separates the canton of Arnwal from that of Bliescastel.

“5. The fortress of Landau having, prior to the year 1792, formed an insulated point in Germany, France retains beyond her frontiers a part of the departments of Mont Tonnerre and the Lower Rhine, in order to join the fortress of Landau and its district to the rest of the kingdom. The new demarcation, proceeding from the point where, at Obersteinbach (which remains without the French frontier), the frontier enters the department of the Moselle, and that of Mont Tonnerre, joins the department of the Lower Rhine, shall follow the line which separates the cantons of Wissenburgh and Bergzabern (on the side of France) from the cantons of Pirmasens, Dahor, and Anweiler (on the side of Germany), to the point where these limits, near the village of Wohnersheim, touch the ancient district of the fortress of Landau. Of this district, which remains as it was in 1792, the new frontier shall follow the arm of the river Queich, which, in leaving this district near Queichheim (which rests with France), passes near the villages of Merlenheim, Kniltelsheim, and Belheim (also remaining French), to the Rhine, which thence continues the

boundary between France and Germany. As to the Rhine, the Thalveg, or course of the river, shall form the boundary; the changes, however, which may occur in the course of the river, shall have no effect on the property of the isles which are found there. The possession of these isles shall be replaced under the same form as at the period of the treaty of Luneville.

"6. In the department of the Doubs, the frontier shall be drawn, so as to commence above La Ranconniere, near the Loell, and follow the crest of the Jura between Cerneaux Pequignot and the village of Fontenelles, so far as that summit of the Jura which lies about seven or eight miles to the north-west of the village of La Bravine, where it will turn back within the ancient limits of France.

"7. In the department of the Lemane, the frontiers between the French territory, the Pais de Vaud, and the different portions of the territory of Geneva (which shall make a part of Switzerland), remain as they were before the incorporation of Geneva with France. But the canton of Frangy, that of St. Julian (with the exception of that part lying to the north of a line to be drawn from the point where the river of La Loire enters near Chancey into the Genevese territory, along the borders of Seseguin, Laconex, and Seseneuve, which shall remain without the limits of France), the canton of Regnier (with exception of that portion which lies eastward of a line following the borders of Muraz, Bussy, Pers, and Cornier, which shall be without the French limits, and the canton of La Roche (with exception of the places named La Roche and Armanay with their districts), shall rest with France. The frontier shall follow the limits of those different cantons, and the lines separating those portions which France retains from those which she gives up.

"8. In the department of Mont Blanc, France shall obtain the subprefecture of Chambéry (with exceptions of the cantons de l'Hospital, St. Pierre d'Albigay, La Rocette, and Montmelion), the subprefecture of Annecy (with exception of that part of the canton of Faverges, situated to the east of a line passing between Ourechaise and Marlen on the French side, and Marthod and Uginé on the opposite side, and which then follows the crest of the mountains to the frontier of the canton of Thones.) This line, with the limits of the aforesaid cantons, shall constitute the new frontier on this side.

"On the side of the Pyrenees, the frontiers remain as they were, between the two kingdoms of France and Spain, on the 1st of January, 1792. There shall be appointed on the part of both, a mutual commission, to arrange their final demarcation.

"France renounces all claims of sovereignty, supremacy, and possession, over all countries, districts, towns, and places whatsoever, situated without the above-stated frontier. The principality of Monaco is replaced in the same situation as on the 1st of January, 1792.

"The allied courts assure to France the possession of the principality of Arrignon, the Venaisin, the country of Montbeliard, and all the inclosed districts once belonging to Germany, comprised within the above indicated frontier, which had been incorporated with France before or after the 1st of January, 1792.

"The powers preserve mutually the full right to fortify whatever point of their states they may judge fitting for their safety.

"To avoid all injury to private property, and to protect, on the most liberal principles, the possessions of individuals domiciliated on the frontiers, there shall be named by each of the states adjoining to France, commissioners, to proceed jointly with French commissioners, to the demarcation of their respective boundaries. So soon as the office of these commissioners shall be completed, instruments shall be drawn up, signed by them, and posts erected to mark the mutual limits.

"Art. IV. To secure the communications of the town of Geneva with the other parts of the Swiss territory on the lake, France consents, that the road by Versoy shall be common to the two countries. The respective governments will have an amicable understanding on the means of preventing smuggling, the regulation of the posts, and the maintenance of the road.

"Art. V. The navigation of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable to the sea, and back, shall be free, so as to be interdicted to no person. Principles shall be laid down at a future congress, for the collection of the duties by the states on the banks, in the manner most equal and favourable to the commerce of all nations.

"It shall be also inquired and ascertained at the same congress, in what mode, for the purposes of more facile communication, and rendering nations continually less strangers to each other, this disposition may be ex-

tended to all rivers that in their navigable course separate or traverse different states.

“Art. VI. Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, shall receive an increase of territory. The title and the exercise of its sovereignty, cannot, under any circumstance, belong to a prince wearing, or designated to wear, a foreign crown.

“The German states shall be independent, and united by a federative league.

“Independent Switzerland shall continue under its own government. Italy, without the limits of the countries which shall return to Austria, shall be composed of sovereign states.

“Art. VII. The island of Malta and its dependencies shall belong, in full possession and sovereignty, to his Britannic majesty.

“Art. VIII. His Britannic majesty, stipulating for himself and his allies, engages to restore to his most christian majesty, within periods afterwards to be fixed, the colonies, fisheries, factories, and establishments of every kind, which France possessed on the 1st of January, 1792, in the seas, or on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception, nevertheless, of the islands of Tobago, St. Lucia, and the isle of France and its dependencies, namely, Rodrigue and the Sechelles, all which his most christian majesty cedes in full property and sovereignty to his Britannic majesty, as also that part of St. Domingo ceded to France by the peace of Basle, and which his most christian majesty retrocedes to his catholic majesty, in full property and sovereignty.

“Art. IX. His majesty the king of Sweden and Norway, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his allies, and for the execution of the preceding article, consents that the island of Guadaloupe be restored to his most christian majesty, and cedes all the rights which he might have to that island.

“Art. X. His most faithful majesty, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his allies, engages to restore to his most christian majesty, within a period hereafter fixed, French Guiana, such as it was on the 1st of January, 1792.

“The effect of the above stipulation being to revive the dispute existing at that period as to limits, it is agreed that the said dispute shall be terminated by an amicable arrangement, under the mediation of his Britannic majesty.

“Art. XI. The fortresses and forts existing in the colonies to be restored to his most christian majesty, in virtue of Articles VIII., IX. and X. shall be given up in the state in which they shall be at the time of the signature of the present treaty.

“Art. XII. His Britannic majesty engages to cause the subjects of his most christian majesty to enjoy, in regard to commerce and the security of their persons and properties within the limits of the British sovereignty on the continent of India, the same facilities, privileges, and protection, which are at present granted to the most favoured nations. On his side, his most christian majesty having nothing more at heart than the perpetuity of the peace between the two crowns of France and England, and wishing to contribute, as much as in him lies, to remove henceforward such points of contact between the two nations as might one day alter a good mutual understanding, engages not to erect any work of fortification in the establishments to be restored to him, and which are situated within the limits of British sovereignty on the continent of India; and to place in those establishments only the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of the police.

“Art. XIII. As to the French right of fishery on the grand bank of Newfoundland, on the coasts of the isle of that name, and the adjacent isles, and in the gulf of St. Lawrence, everything shall be restored to the same footing as in 1792.

“Art. XIV. The colonies, factories, and establishments to be restored to his most christian majesty by his Britannic majesty or his allies, shall be given up, viz., those in the seas of the north, or in the seas and on the continents of America and Africa, within three months, and those beyond the Cape of Good Hope, within six months after the ratification of the present treaty.

“Art. XV. The high contracting parties having reserved to themselves, by the 4th article of the convention of April 22rd, the regulation in the present definitive treaty of peace, of the fate of the arsenals and vessels of war, armed and not armed, which are in maritime fortresses, surrendered by France in execution of Article II. of the said convention—it is agreed that the said vessels and ships of war, armed and not armed, as also the naval artillery, the naval stores, and all the materials of construction and armament, shall be divided between France and the country where the fortresses are situated, in

the proportion of two-thirds to France, and one-third to the powers to whom such fortresses shall appertain.

"The vessels and ships which are building, and which shall not be ready for launching in six weeks after the present treaty, shall be considered as materials, and as such, divided in the proportion above assigned, after being taking to pieces.

"Commissaries shall be mutually appointed to arrange the division, and draw up a statement thereof, and passports shall be given by the allied powers, to secure the return to France of the French workmen, seamen, and agents.

"The vessels and arsenals existing in the maritime fortresses, which shall have fallen into the power of the allies, anterior to the 23rd of April, are not included in the above stipulation; nor the vessels and arsenals which belonged to Holland, and, in particular, the Texel fleet.

"The French government binds itself to withdraw, or cause to be sold, all that shall belong to it by the above-stated stipulations, within the period of three months after the division has been effected.

"In future, the port of Antwerp shall be solely a port of commerce.

"Art. XVI. The high contracting parties, wishing to place, and to cause to be placed in entire oblivion the divisions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, no individual, of whatever class or condition, shall be prevented, harassed, or disturbed in his person or property, under any pretext, or for his attachment, either to any of the contracting parties, or to governments which have ceased to exist, or for any other cause, unless for debts contracted to individuals, or for acts posterior to the present treaty.

"Art. XVII. In all the countries which may or shall change masters, as well in virtue of the present treaty, as of arrangements to be made in consequence thereof, the inhabitants, both natives and foreigners, of whatever class or condition, shall be allowed a space of six years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications, in order to dispose, if they think proper, of their property, whether acquired before or during the present war, and to retire to whatever country they please.

"Art. XVIII. The allied powers, wishing to give his most christian majesty a new proof of their desire to cause to disappear, as

much as lies in their power, the consequences of the period of calamity so happily terminated by the present peace, renounce, *in toto*, the sums which the government had to re-demand of France, by reason of any contracts, supplies, or advances whatsoever, made to the French government in the different wars which have taken place since 1792.

"His most christian majesty, on his side, renounces every claim which he might make on the allied powers on similar grounds. In execution of this article, the high contracting parties engage, mutually, to give up all titles, bonds, and documents relating to debts which they have reciprocally renounced.

"Art. XIX. The French government engages to cause to be liquidated and paid all sums which it shall find itself bound, in duty, to pay in countries beyond its territories, in virtue of contracts or other formal engagements entered into between individuals or private establishments and the French authorities, both for supplies and legal obligations.

"Art. XX. The high contracting powers, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, will appoint commissaries to regulate and effectuate the execution of the whole of the measures contained in Articles XVIII. and XIX. These commissaries shall employ themselves in the examination of the claims mentioned in the preceding article, of the liquidation of the sums claimed, and of the mode which the French government shall propose for paying them. They shall also be charged with the giving up of the titles, obligations, and documents relative to the debts which the high contracting powers mutually renounce, in such way that the ratification of the result of their labours shall complete their reciprocal renunciations.

"Art. XXI. The debts specially hypothecated in their origin on the countries which cease to belong to France, or contracted for their internal administration, shall remain a charge on these same countries. An account shall, in consequence, be kept for the French government, commencing with the 22nd of December, 1813, of such of those debts as have been converted into inscriptions in the great book of the public debt of France. The titles of all such as have not been prepared for the inscription, nor have been yet inscribed, shall be given up to the governments of the respective countries. Statements of all these debts shall be drawn up by a mixed commission.

"Art. XXII. The French government, on its side, shall remain charged with the repayment of all the sums paid by the subjects of the above-mentioned countries into the French chests, whether under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments. In like manner, French subjects, servants of the said countries, who have paid sums under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments, into their respective treasuries, shall be faithfully reimbursed.

"Art. XXIII. The titulars of places subjected to cautionments, who have not the handling of the money, shall be repaid with interest, until the full payment at Paris, by fifths and annually, commencing from the date of the present treaty.

"With regard to those who are accountable, the payment shall take place, at the latest, six months after the presentation of the accounts, the case of malversation alone excepted. A copy of the last account shall be transmitted to the government of their country, to serve it for information, and as a starting-point.

"Art. XXIV. The judicial deposits and consignments made into the chest of the sinking fund, in execution of the law of the 28th Nivose, year 13 (18th of January, 1815), and which belong to the inhabitants of countries which France ceases to possess, shall be restored within a year, dating from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, into the hands of the authorities of the said countries, with the exception of such deposits and consignments as French subjects are interested in; in which case they shall remain in the chest of the sinking fund, not to be restored but on proofs resulting from the decisions of the competent authorities.

"Art. XXV. The funds deposited by the communes and public establishments in the chest of service, and in the chest of the sinking fund, or in any other government chest, shall be repaid to them by fifths from year to year, reckoning from the date of the present treaty, with the deduction of advances which shall have been made to them, and saving the regular claims made upon these funds by creditors of the said communes and public establishments.

"Art. XXVI. Dating from the 1st of January, 1814, the French government ceases to be charged with the payment of any pension, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, pension on retirement, or half-pay, to any individual, who is no longer a French subject.

"Art. XXVII. The national domains ac-

quired for a valuable consideration by French subjects in the *ci-devant* departments of Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine and of the Alps, without the ancient limits of France, are and remain guaranteed to the purchasers.

"Art. XXVIII. The abolition of the *droits d'aubane*, *detraktion*, and others of the same nature, in the countries which reciprocally stipulated it with France, or which had been antecedently annexed to it, is expressly confirmed.

"Art. XXIX. The French government engages to cause to be restored the obligations and other titles which shall have been seized in the provinces occupied by the French armies or administrations; and in cases where restitution cannot be made, these obligations are and remain annihilated.

"Art. XXX. The sums which shall be due for all works of public utility not yet terminated, or terminated posterior to the 31st of December, 1812, on the Rhine, and in the departments detached from France by the present treaty, shall pass to the charge of future possessors of the territory, and shall be liquidated by the commission charged with the liquidation of the debts of the districts.

"Art. XXXI. All archives, charts, plans, and documents whatsoever, belonging to the countries ceded, and connected with their administration, shall be faithfully restored at the same time with the countries; or, if that be impracticable, within a period not more than six months after the surrender of the said countries.

"This stipulation is applicable to archives, charts, and plans, which may have been carried off in countries for the moment occupied by the different armies.

"Art. XXXII. Within a period of two months, all the powers who have been engaged on both sides the present war, shall send plenipotentiaries to Vienna, in order to regulate, at a general congress, the arrangements necessary for completing the dispositions of the present treaty.

"Art. XXXIII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged within a fortnight, or sooner, if practicable.

"In testimony whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

"Done at Paris, this 30th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1814.

(L. S.) The prince of BENEVENT.

(Signed) (L. S.) The prince of METTERNICH.

(L. S.) J. P. COUNT STADION."

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

"The high contracting parties, wishing to efface all traces of the unfortunate events which have weighed heavily on their people, have agreed explicitly to annul the effects of the treaties of 1805 and 1809, in as far as they are not already annulled by the present treaty. In consequence of this declaration, his most christian majesty engages that the decrees issued against French, or reputed French subjects, being, or having been, in the service of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, shall remain without effect, as well as the judgments which may have passed in execution of those decrees.

"The present additional article shall have the same force and effect as if it had been inserted in the present treaty of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

"Done at Paris this 30th of May, 1814.

(L.S.) The prince of BENEVENT.

(Signed) (L.S.) The prince of METTERNICH.

(L.S.) Count STADION."

The same day, at the same time and place, the same treaty of definitive peace was concluded between France and Russia; between France and Great Britain; between France and Prussia; and signed, viz.—

THE TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.

For France, by M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, prince of Benevent (*ut supra*.)

And for Russia, by M. M. count Rasamouffsky, privy counsellor of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, knight of the orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Neusky, grand cross of that of St. Wolodimir of the first class: and Charles Robert count Nesselrode, privy counsellor of his said majesty, chamberlain, secretary of state, knight of the order of St. Alexander Neusky, grand cross of that of St. Wolodimir of the second class, grand cross of the order of Leopold of Austria, of that of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of the Golden Eagle of Wurtemberg.

THE TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN.

For France, by M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, prince of Benevent (*ut supra*.)

And for Great Britain, by the right honourable Robert Stewart, viscount Castle-reagh, privy counsellor of his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, member of his parliament, colonel of the regiment of Londonderry militia, and his principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, &c.

George Gordon, earl of Aberdeen, viscount Formartin, lord Haddo, Tarvis, and Kellie, &c., one of the sixteen Scotch peers, knight of the most ancient order of the Thistle, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his imperial, royal, and apostolic majesty.

William Shaw Cathcart, baron Cathcart and Greenock, counsellor of his said majesty, knight of the order of the Thistle, and of several Russian orders, general in his armies, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of Russia.

And the honourable Charles William Stewart, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, member of his parliament, knight of the Prussian orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of many others, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his majesty the king of Prussia.

THE TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND PRUSSIA.

For France, by C. M. Talleyrand-Perigord, prince of Benevent (*ut supra*.)

And for Prussia, by M. M. Charles Augustus baron Hardenberg, chancellor of state to his majesty the king of Prussia, knight of the orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of many other orders; and Charles William baron Humboldt, minister of state of his said majesty, and envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his imperial, royal, and apostolic majesty.

With the following additional articles:—

ARTICLE ADDITIONAL TO THE TREATY WITH RUSSIA.

"The duchy of Warsaw having been under the administration of a provisional council established by Russia ever since that country was occupied by her arms, the two high contracting parties have agreed to appoint, immediately, a special commission, composed on both sides of an equal number of commissaries, who shall be charged with the examination and liquidation of their respective claims, and all the arrangements relative thereto.

"The present additional article shall have the same force and effect as if inserted, verbatim, in the patent treaty of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

"Done at Paris, the 30th of May, 1814.

(L.S.) The prince of BENEVENT.

(L.S.) ANDREW, COUNT RASUMOFFSKY.

(Signed)

(L.S.) CHARLES ROBERT, COUNT NESSELRODE.

ARTICLES ADDITIONAL TO THE TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

"Art. I. His most christian majesty, participating, without reserve, in all the sentiments of his Britannic majesty, relative to a species of commerce which is equally repugnant to the principles of natural justice, and the lights of the times in which we live, engages to unite, at a future congress, all his efforts to those of his Britannic majesty, in order to cause all the powers of Christendom to proclaim the abolition of the slave-trade, in such manner that the said trade may cease universally, and, in all events, on the part of France, within a period of five years; and that, besides, pending the duration of this period, no trader in slaves shall be at liberty to import or sell them elsewhere, but in the colonies of the states to which he belongs.

"Art. II. The British government will immediately appoint, and the French government will immediately appoint, commissaries to liquidate their respective expenses for the maintenance of prisoners of war, for the purpose of coming to an arrangement on the manner of paying off the balance which shall be found in favour of either of the two powers.

"Art. III. The prisoners of war, respectively, shall be bound to discharge, before their departure from the place of their detention, the private debts which they may have there contracted; or, at least, to give satisfactory security.

"Art. IV. There shall be, on both sides, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, a removal of the sequestration which, since the year 1792, may have been placed on the funds, revenues, debts, and all other effects whatever, of the high contracting powers, or of their subjects.

"The same commissaries mentioned in

Article II., shall employ themselves in the examination and liquidation of the claims of his Britannic majesty upon the French government, for the value of property, movable or immovable, unduly confiscated by the French authorities, as well as for the total or partial loss of their debts or other property, unduly detained under sequestration since the year 1792.

"France engages to treat, in this respect, the subjects of England with the same justice that the subjects of France have experienced in England; and the English government, wishing, on its part, to concur in this new testimony that the allied powers have given to his most christian majesty, of their desire to remove entirely the consequences of the epoch of misfortune so happily terminated by the present peace, engages, on its side (as soon as complete justice shall be done to its subjects), to renounce the whole amount of the excess which may be found in its favour, relative to the maintenance of the prisoners of war; so that the ratification of the result of the labours of the undersigned commissioners, and the payment of the sums, as also the restitution of the effects which shall be adjudged to belong to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, shall render its renunciation complete.

"Art. V. The two high contracting powers, desirous to establish the most amicable relations between their respective subjects, reserve to themselves a promise to come to an understanding and arrangement, as soon as possible, on their commercial interests, with the intention of encouraging and augmenting the prosperity of their respective states.

"The present additional articles shall have the same force and validity as if they had been inserted in those words in the treaty of this day. They shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In faith of which, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed them, and affixed the seal of their arms.

"Done at Paris, the 30th of May, in the year of Christ, 1814.

"The prince of BENEVENT.

"CASTLEREAGH.

(Signed) "ABERDEEN.

"CATHCART.

"CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-Gen."

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE TO THE TREATY WITH PRUSSIA.

"Although the treaty of peace concluded

at Basil, the 5th of April, 1795; that of Tilsit, of the 9th of July, 1807; the convention of Paris, of the 20th of September, 1808, as well as all the conventions and acts whatsoever, concluded since the peace of Basil between Prussia and France, are already, in fact, annulled by the present treaty, the high contracting parties have judged it, nevertheless, proper to declare again, expressly, that the said treaties cease to be obligatory, both in the articles that are expressed, and those that are secret, and that they mutually renounce every right, and disengage themselves of every obligation which might result from them.

“ His most christian majesty promises, that the decrees issued against French, or reputed French subjects, being or having been in the service of his Prussian majesty,

shall remain without effect; as also the judgments which may have been given in execution of those decrees.

“ The present additional article shall have the same force and validity as if it had been inserted in those words in the treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In faith of which, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed the seal of their arms.

“ Done at Paris, 30th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1814.

“ The prince of BENEVENT.

“ CHARLES AUGUSTUS, baron of HARDENBERG.

“ CHARLES WILLIAM, baron de HUMBOLDT.”

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF

DISTINGUISHED PENINSULAR OFFICERS.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR THOMAS PICTON, G.C.B.

THE subject of the present memoir was born in the year 1758, at Poyston, in the county of Pembroke. Having received the rudiments of general education, he was sent to the military academy, kept by Monsieur Lochée, at Little Chelsea.

In 1772, being then thirteen years of age, he obtained an ensigncy in the 12th foot, then commanded by his uncle, lieutenant-colonel Picton; but during the first six years of his holding that rank, he received no pay; in consequence of a captain in that regiment having rendered himself so obnoxious to the other officers, that to get rid of him, he was allowed to retire on full pay; and the regiment, to supply the difference between full and half pay, agreed that the youngest ensign, without purchase, should receive no pay; the youngest lieutenant, without purchase, only ensign's pay; and the youngest captain only that of lieutenant for six years.

Nearly ten years elapsed before he joined his regiment at Gibraltar. There he employed his leisure hours in learning the Spanish language, and instructing himself in the art of fortification, which the structure of that fortress was well calculated to afford him.

In 1777 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant; and, after five years' service in that garrison, he was, in 1778, gazetted captain in the 75th, or prince of Wales's regiment of foot, then stationed in England.

After another five years of inactive service he was reduced on half-pay, the 75th having been disbanded. On that occasion, the men displaying a mutinous spirit, Picton, who was in command of the regiment, rushed into the midst of the mutineers, seized the ringleader, and placed him under arrest in the guard-house. This decisive measure so daunted the mutineers, that they quietly returned to their barracks.

From this period, Picton remained on the half-pay list of captains for twelve years, pas-

sing his retirement in domestic life in Pembrokeshire. At this time he was athletic in person, and in height about six feet one inch.

Not being able to obtain replacement on full pay, towards the end of 1794, he proceeded to the West Indies, where, by the friendship of sir John Vaughan, commander-in-chief in those islands, he was appointed captain in the 70th foot, and sir John's aid-de-camp. So well pleased was this commander-in-chief with the manner in which he fulfilled the duties to which he had appointed him, that he quickly promoted him to a majority in the 68th regiment, as also deputy quarter-master-general, an appointment, entitling him to the temporary brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Sir John Vaughan having been compelled, by ill-health, to resign his command, after having held it but little more than one year, major Picton was preparing to return to Europe, when, on the arrival of sir Ralph Abercrombie, to take the command, he was introduced to the notice of that gallant veteran, and accompanied him as volunteer aid-de-camp in his attack on St. Lucia. On the reduction of that island, in the public order issued by sir Ralph, the following distinguished mark of approbation appears:—"All orders coming through lieutenant-colonel Picton shall be considered as the orders of the commander-in-chief;" and in addition to this distinguished compliment, sir Ralph recommended him to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 56th regiment. The West Indian campaign having been terminated, sir Ralph appointed colonel Picton governor and commandant of Trinidad, accompanying the appointment with this gratifying approval:—"Colonel Picton, if I knew any officer who, in my opinion, would discharge the duties annexed to the situation better than you, to him would I have given it; there are no thanks due to me."

In the administration of his government, Picton incurred the resentment of the colo-

nists to so great a degree, that they inveighed against him as "un homme antique en scélétesse;" and because much of the commerce of the neighbouring continent had, by his prudent measures, been drawn to Trinidad, he incurred the resentment of the governors of the Caraccas and Guiana to that degree, that they offered a reward of 20,000 dollars for his head. Picton, in no wise displeased at the public announcement of the value in which his head was held by the irritated Spaniards, returned for answer the following notes:—

"Trinidad, 25th January, 1799.

"Sir,—Your excellency has highly flattered my vanity by the very handsome value which you have been pleased to fix upon my head. Twenty thousand dollars is an offer which would not discredit your royal master's munificence!

"As the trifle has had the good fortune to recommend itself to your excellency's attention, come and take it, and it will be much at your service; in expectation of which, I have the honour to be, &c.

"THOMAS PICTON."

"His excellency, don Pedro Carbonelle, governor-general, Caraccas."

"Port of Spain, 25th January, 1799.

"Sir,—I understand your excellency has done me the honour of valuing my head at 20,000 dollars. I am sorry it is not in my power to return the compliment. Modesty obliges me to remark that your excellency has far over-rated the trifle; but, as it has found means to recommend itself to your excellency's attention, if you will give yourself the trouble of coming to take it, it will be at your service.

"Your excellency's, &c.,

"THOMAS PICTON"

"The governor of Guiana."

In October, 1801, he was gazetted brigadier-general.

In 1803, general Picton resigned the governorship of Trinidad, and accompanied general Grinfield in his expedition against the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago, and on their reduction he was appointed the commandant of the last-mentioned; but desirous

of refuting the slanders uttered against him as governor of Trinidad, he set sail for London, and reached that capital in October of the same year—a prosecution having been commenced against him "as the blood-stained tyrant of Trinidad." The trial took place in the Court of King's Bench, on the 24th of February, 1806; when a general verdict was found of Guilty, for permitting an unlawful punishment to be inflicted on Louise Calderon. On the 26th of the following April, a motion for a new trial was made absolute; and in January, 1807, the Privy Council reported that there was no foundation whatever for further proceedings on any of the numerous charges brought against general Picton. In the second trial, on the 11th of June, 1808, he was, by special verdict, acquitted of all malice, after the victim of the nation's prosecution had been put to the expense of £7,000 in his defence.*

From this period till the middle of July, 1809, Picton's ardent temperament was doomed to inactivity; but at that time he joined the Walcheren expedition, being appointed on the staff of the commander-in-chief, the earl of Chatham; but being attacked by the dreadful malady to which nearly one-half of the troops engaged fell victims, he was brought home in a vessel like a lazaret-house. Having received relief from the waters of Cheltenham and Bath; he joined, early in 1810, as major-general, the army serving under sir Arthur Wellesley for the liberation of Portugal; being a service, in his own words, "in which a man could not fail to gain honour if he only did his duty; while, if he wished to distinguish himself, there was plenty of room." "I will show the people of England," he remarks, (no doubt having in remembrance the unjust persecution he had experienced in the late trial) "that my only desire for fame is, that by deserving it, I may benefit my country; that if I attain honour, it may be to her glory, and if my life is shed in her service, that she will do my memory justice."

On his arrival in Portugal, he was appointed to the command of the third division of the army; consisting of two brigades, the 1st under colonel Mackinnon, and con-

* The inhabitants of Trinidad had, besides the presentation of a handsome sword, remitted to England £4,000 for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the prosecution; but, a short time after the receipt of the money, a fire destroying much property in the principal town of Trinidad, and many of the poorer inhabitants being left destitute, general Pic-

ton immediately remitted the whole of the money back to the island for the relief of the sufferers. The last duke of Queensbury offered to advance any sum of money under £10,000 for the defraying of the expenses incidental to his trial, an offer which Picton declined. The duke left him a legacy of £5,000.

taining the 45th regiment, first battalion, the 74th regiment, and the 88th regiment, first battalion; the second under major-general Lightburne, containing the 5th regiment, the 58th regiment, second battalion, the 83rd, second battalion, and the fifth battalion of the 60th regiment.

At the battle of Busaco, the following laughable incident happened to the subject of our memoir, which caused much amusement to the troops. When general Picton had made every disposition for the reception of the enemy, and had visited the particular posts occupied by his division, a short time before daybreak he wrapped himself up in his cloak, put on a coloured night-cap (his usual gear), and after giving orders to his staff that he might be called on the least alarm, stretched himself upon the ground to snatch a short repose. Possessing that command over the senses peculiar to strong minds, he instantly fell asleep. Brief, however, were his slumbers; the sound of musketry on the left suddenly aroused him; when, throwing off his cloak, and putting on his hat, he sprang into his saddle, and was the next minute at the head of his troops defending the pass of St. Antonio. Thence, when that point was secured, he galloped to the spot where the enemy had obtained a partial success. There his presence retrieved the lost ground; he rallied the retreating troops, and urged them again to the attack. Major Smith placed himself at their head, and fell leading the attack. Picton, at the same time, placed himself at the head of a Portuguese battalion; the eyes of the men were fixed upon him as he cried "forward," and pointed towards the foe. When arrived within a few yards, with some encouraging words and a loud "hurrah!" he gave the word to charge, and at the same moment taking off his hat, he waved it over his head, totally unconscious that it was still covered by his night-cap. His grotesque appearance produced much merriment among the troops, who at the same moment, raising a loud cheer, dashed forward against the hostile ranks, and impetuously drove them over the craggy steep.

Having, at the storming of the castle of Badajos, received a severe wound, by a ball striking him in the groin a little above his watch, he was, at the time of the battle of Salamanca, confined to a bed of sickness in that town; and, in the interim, general Pakenham had been appointed to the command of the third division. His physi-

cal powers becoming much reduced by the severity of the complaint, he soon after that battle embarked for England. In the following year, finding his health considerably restored, he prepared to return to the Peninsula. Before he left England he was created a knight of the Bath. His reception by his old soldiers on his reaching the army is thus described by one of his companions-in-arms.

"I was much surprised one afternoon by hearing a kind of low whisper amongst the men of my regiment, who were at the time variously amusing themselves. This whisper was quickly increased to a more general commotion, as they all set off in the direction to which their attention had been drawn, at first walking, and then running a kind of race, as each tried to distance the others in first reaching the point of their destination. For awhile I was quite at a loss to account for this sudden movement; but at length I discerned, at some distance, several mounted officers riding slowly towards our quarters. Curiosity led me to follow the men; but long before I could reach the spot, the approaching horsemen were surrounded by the soldiers, who had now collected from all directions, and were warmly greeting them with loud and continued cheers. As I came nearer I soon recognised general Picton. Many of the men were hailing him with the most gratifying epithets of esteem, one of which in particular struck me; this was, "Here comes our brave old father!" The general seemed much gratified, and smiled on them with a look of unaffected regard. Nearly the whole division collected before he reached his quarters; and thus surrounded by his delighted soldiers, he returned again to lead them on to a still more splendid career of victory."

He now assumed the command of the "fighting division," which was composed of the following regiments:—45th regiment, 1st battalion; 74th regiment; 88th regiment, 1st battalion; and three companies of the 5th battalion, 60th regiment—the whole forming the right brigade under major-general Brisbane;—5th regiment, 1st battalion; 83rd regiment, 2nd battalion; 87th regiment, 2nd battalion; and the 94th regiment; the whole forming the centre brigade under lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton;—9th Portuguese regiment of the line; 21st Portuguese regiment of the line and the 11th caçadores, forming the left brigade under major-general Power.

At this period, sir Thomas Picton was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general in the army, having held only the local rank of that grade from the 6th of September, 1811. The following circumstance is related as having occurred during the advance of the allied army to the battle of Vittoria:— On the march, Picton overtaking with his division the head-quarters' baggage, which has the privilege of continuing its route without turning aside to allow any troops to pass it, ordered it off the road till his division had marched by. A part complied; but lord Wellington's butler refused to comply, pleading head-quarters' privilege. In this refusal, Picton is said to have struck him with the umbrella he usually carried to defend his eyes, which were weak, from the sun; and accompanied his castigation with a threat of having him tied up and flogged by the provost-marshal, if he did not immediately give way to the division. This ebullition of temper is said to have been produced because his division had been saddled with the scaling-ladders and the other necessary lumber of the army.

General Picton was dissatisfied with the official account of the battle of Vittoria; in a letter, dated 'St. Estevan, among the Pyrenees, 24th July, 1813,' addressed to Mr. Marryat, he says—"The *Gazette* account of the battle of Vittoria is a most incorrect relation of the circumstances of that memorable event, and uncandidly attributed to arrangement and manœuvre alone, what was, in a very considerable degree, effected by blood and hard fighting. The arrangements and combinations preparatory to the action were certainly excellent; but the centre of the enemy's army did not immediately fall back on Vittoria on seeing the arrangements for its attack (as represented in the official despatch), but, in fact, disputed every inch of the ground, and was driven from several strong positions by the 3rd division alone, and with a loss in killed and wounded of 89 officers, 71 serjeants, and 1,475 rank and file, a number which exceeded one-third of the whole casualties of the army on that memorable day, and being in the same proportion to our effective numbers, which were under 5,000. On the whole, the division has not had its proportion of credit; but its operations were in the view of the whole army, and murder will out in the end."

Having been chosen at the last election as representative of Carmarthen in Parlia-

ment, sir Thomas Picton, after the battles of the Pyrenees, repaired to England; and during his short residence there, received, on the 11th of November, 1813, the thanks of the house of commons on taking his seat in that assembly.

"Lieutenant-general sir Thomas Picton," said the speaker, "in this house your name has been long since enrolled amongst those who have obtained the gratitude of their country for distinguished military services; and we this day rejoice to see you amongst us, claiming again the tribute of our thanks for fresh exploits and achievements.

"Wherever the history of the peninsular war shall be related, your name will be found among the foremost in that race of glory. By your sword the British troops were led on to the assault of Ciudad Rodrigo; by your daring the British standard was planted on the castle of Badajos; when the usurper of the Spanish throne was driven to make his last stand at Vittoria, your battalions filled the centre of that formidable line before which the veteran troops of France fled in terror and dismay; and by your skill, prudence, and valour, exerted in a critical hour, the enemy was foiled in his desperate attempt to break through the barrier of the Pyrenees, and raise the blockade of Pamplona.

"For the deeds of Vittoria and the Pyrenees, this double harvest of glory in one year, the house of commons has again resolved to give you the tribute of its thanks; and I do therefore now, in the name and by the command of the commons of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled, deliver to you their unanimous thanks for your great exertions on the 21st of June last, near Vittoria, when the French army was completely defeated by the allied forces under the marquis of Wellington's command; and also for the valour, steadiness, and exertion so successfully displayed by you in repelling the repeated attacks made on the position of the allied army, by the whole French forces under the command of marshal Soult, between the 25th of July and the 1st of August last."

To this glowing eulogium, sir Thomas replied—"Sir,—Being entirely unaccustomed to speak in public, I have great difficulty in expressing the high sense of gratification which I feel at the very flattering sentiments which this honourable house has been pleased to entertain of my services,

and at the very handsome manner in which they have been communicated.

"I have always, sir, regarded the thanks of this honourable house as one of the highest honours which could be conferred on an officer—as the unquestionable evidence of past, and the greatest incitement to future services. But I can apply individually to myself a small part only of the high commendations which have been so liberally and handsomely bestowed. A great proportion is unquestionably due to the generals and officers commanding brigades and corps in the division, for the judgment and gallantry with which the services alluded to were invariably executed; and to the officers and troops in general for the spirit and intrepidity which bore down all resistance, and secured complete success in all the important enterprises in which the division had the good fortune to be employed during the whole course of the war in the Peninsula.

"It will ever be the height of my pride and ambition to share the fortunes of a corps eminently conspicuous for every high military qualification, and actuated by a spirit of heroism which renders it truly invincible. With such instruments, sir, you will easily conceive that it cannot be difficult to obtain success; and it would be unfortunate indeed if we failed entirely to reflect some of the rays of the great luminary that directed us."

Having arranged his private affairs, he embarked at Portsmouth, early in December, for St. Jean de Luz, and assumed his old command, instead of accepting the command of the Catalonian army on the eastern coast of Spain, as the duke of York had wished him to do. On the breaking up of the third division after the battle of Toulouse, to the brief parting address made by Picton, thanking them for their services, the whole division greeted him with a heartfelt and animating cheer—"a gratifying and convincing proof," as he observed in that farewell address, "that the regiments composing 'the fighting division,' would never forget their old general." Before the division was broken up, the whole of the officers, except those of the 88th regiment, subscribed amongst themselves £1,600, for the purpose of presenting him with a handsome service of plate, the donors accompanying the acknowledgment of their gratitude and esteem for him with the following letter:—

"Valley of the Bastan, in Spain,
Aug. 27th, 1813.

"Dear Sir,—It has long been the wish of the officers of the three brigades which we have had the honour of commanding under you, in the third division, as also of the divisional staff, to have the opportunity of offering you an ostensible mark of that high respect, gratitude, and esteem, which we so sincerely feel in our hearts. Every objection seems now in point of time and otherwise to be removed, as, on the recurrence of severe illness, which has in four successive seasons assailed you, you at present only await a sufficient degree of convalescence to admit of your trying change of climate, with but too little prospect, we lament to think, of your returning to your command in this country. Services such as yours cannot but have been acknowledged before this, by the offering of one or more swords from your attached military brethren, or a grateful corps; we, therefore, for ourselves, and those who desire us to represent them, request you will do us the honour to accept of a piece of plate, with a short inscription, commemorative of the circumstance, and of the corps which composed the third division under your command in the Peninsula. With most sincere wishes for your early convalescence, followed by confirmed good health, on leaving a climate that has proved so unfriendly to you, we have the honour to subscribe ourselves, dear sir, your ever faithful servants,

"G. COLVILLE;

"T. BRISBANE, major-general;

"M. POWER, major-general;

"For the staff division,

"H. STOVIN, A.A. general."

The reason that the officers of the 88th did not join in the subscription, seems to have been, that that regiment had, on more than one occasion, called forth general Picton's anger.

"They were," says an officer of distinguished rank, who had considerable opportunity of knowing them, "the most singular set of fellows that ever handled a musket. For days together they would be the most orderly, well-behaved soldiers; then, all at once, they would break out into the wildest and most irregular courses it is possible to conceive, pillaging everything, spiritual or temporal; for, being almost without exception Irish, and good catholics, they were always the first to find their way to church, where their love and veneration for the holy utensils made them greedily

appropriate them to their own share, doubtless that they might not fall into the hands of their heretical comrades. But this was not all; for frequently, just before going into battle, it would be found, on inspection, that one half of the men were without ammunition, having acquired a pernicious habit of exchanging the cartridges for *aguardiente*, and substituting in their place pieces of wood, cut and coloured to resemble them. The frequent reprimands they received for this conduct induced their officers to decline subscribing towards this testimonial.

The favourable opinion the privates had of their leader is well elucidated in the following remarks, uttered by a sergeant of the 45th regiment, who was a pensioner in Chelsea-hospital at the time of his communication. "General Picton, or 'Old Picton,' as we used to call him, was always very well liked by the division. He was very strict sometimes—in particular about any little bit of plunder that the men would sometimes pick up; and he used always to be talking about how wrong it was to take from the poor people because the countries happened to be at war. He used to have the men flogged when they were found out; but when he flogged, many others took a lesson; so our fellows always thought 'Old Picton' a very kind general. Besides this, the men always thought he had their welfare at heart; for every soldier in the division knew that if he had anything to complain of, 'Old Picton' would listen to him, and, if he could, set him right. As to his fighting, I always thought that it was he who made the third division what it was. Somehow the men never used to trouble their heads about anything but fighting when they went into battle; for they all depended so entirely on the general to know what the enemy was doing in our front and on our flanks, that they never bothered their heads about anything but what he ordered them to do; and I really think, if the general had placed himself in the thickest fire we were ever in, that, so long as he remained, his division would have stayed with him to a man."

On his return to England he received, for the seventh time, the thanks of the house of commons for his services. The omission of his name in the batch of peers created for their military services in the peninsula, caused much public dissatisfaction; but he consoled himself for the omission by signifi-

cantly remarking—"If the coronet were lying on the crown of a breach, I should have as good a chance as any of them." On the extension of the order of the Bath, in 1815, he was elevated to the rank of knight grand cross.

On the escape of Buonaparte from Elba, he was required by the war office to join the army in the Netherlands under the duke of Wellington's command. He had a presentiment that the approaching campaign would be his last, and did not hesitate expressing to his friends that impression. Before quitting Wales, he arranged his affairs with all the exactness and attention of a man who knows that he has but a short time to live. The composure with which he anticipated death appears from the following incident:—

A few days before his departure, he was walking during a fine evening with a friend and his wife, when they came to a churchyard, in which a grave had just been dug. Sir Thomas Picton, looking down into it, said, "I think this would suit me." Jumping into it, and laying himself at full length, he said, "it was an exact fit." On scrambling out, he found the lady much affected, from a belief that the incident was ominous of his fate. Picton smiling, endeavoured to persuade her out of her melancholy reflections. When he reached London, he expressed like anticipations of death. To one friend he said, "When you hear of my death, you will hear of a bloody day." On taking leave of colonel Pakenham, "God bless you," said he, "if we never meet again, you will at all events hear of me."

On the 11th of June he left London, on the 13th landed at Ostend, and on the 15th arrived in Brussels, where he was greeted with friendly warmth by the duke of Wellington, and appointed to the command of the 5th division, consisting of the following force: the 8th brigade, consisting of the 28th regiment, the 32nd regiment, the 79th regiment, 1st battalion, and the 95th regiment, 1st battalion, under the command of major-general sir James Kempt. The 9th brigade, consisting of the 1st regiment, 3rd battalion; the 42nd regiment, 1st battalion; the 44th regiment, 2nd battalion; and the 92nd regiment, under the command of sir Denis Pack. The Hanoverian 5th brigade, consisting of four regiments, under the command of colonel Vincke.

On the day of the battle of Quatre Bras,

general Picton left Brussels just after daylight, in company with the duke of Wellington; and by two o'clock at noon was in the midst of his division, wherever death was thickest, encouraging and exhorting his men, during that hotly-contested battle. When it ceased, he observed to his aid-de-camp, captain Tyler, that he never had had so hard a day's fighting, adding, "I shall begin to think that I cannot be killed after this." In the battle of the 18th, while leading Pack's Scotch brigade to the support of Kempt's brigade, which was warmly engaged with the enemy, and waving on his gallant line with his sword, he was struck by a musket-ball on the left temple. Captain Tyler, with the aid of a soldier, lifted him off his horse, and placed the lifeless body beneath a tree, so that he might readily find it when the battle was over. As soon as the battle was ended, his remains were conveyed to Brussels. On their arrival in England, they were interred in the family vault, in the burial-ground of St. George's, Hanover-square, situate in the Bayswater Road. A monument was erected to his memory in the north-west transept of St. Paul's Cathedral; as also a few years after, a similar memorial in the town of Carmarthen.

This sketch cannot be more appropriately closed than with the following extract of captain Marryat's memoir, which appeared in the *Metropolitan Magazine* for December, 1835.

"When Picton fell, England lost a soldier never surpassed in bravery, and seldom equalled in genius. He was a soldier every inch of him; his character as such was never mistaken—as that of a man, greatly. His country appeared to know him only when it lost him; and the revulsion in his favour became as great as was formerly the prejudice against him. That he was a man of the kindest disposition, the numerous instances narrated in these volumes, and the still more numerous ones with which we were ourselves acquainted, evidently prove. But early in his career, he had been misrepresented by many, and most foully slandered by a base few. The few obtained a temporary credence, and then Thomas Picton coated his heart with a mail—not impenetrable, as a thousand instances show, but which offered a harsh and hard exterior to most, while all was generous and soft within."

The observation of the same generous

critic that "unfortunately for the brave, appointments are no longer bestowed and honours granted on the battle-field still slippery with gore, but in the essenced hall, and in the courtly chambers, among silken parasites and luxurious hangers-on," is admirably calculated to console Picton's representatives for the omission of his honourable name in the list of the batch of peers selected from among the Peninsular heroes." The truth and application of this reflection are forcibly demonstrated by the following case:—

Among those who first scaled the walls of the castle of Badajos, was lieutenant Macpherson of the 45th regiment, closely followed by sir Edward Pakenham. He arrived unharmed to within a few rounds of the top, when he discovered that the ladder was about three feet too short. Still undaunted he called loudly to those below to raise it more perpendicularly; and while he with great exertion pushed it from the wall at the top, the men with a loud cheer brought it nearer to the base; but this was done so suddenly that Macpherson was on a level with the rampart before he could prepare for defence, and he saw a French soldier deliberately point his musket against his body; and, without having the least power to strike it aside, the man fired. The ball struck one of the Spanish silver buttons on his waistcoat, and broke it in half; and thus, its deadly direction being diverted, it glanced off, not however before it had broken two ribs, the fractured part of one being pressed in upon his lungs so as almost to stop respiration. Still he contrived to hold by the upper round of the ladder. He was not, however, able to advance. Pakenham strove to pass him, but was in the effort severely wounded. Almost at the same moment the ladder broke; destruction seemed inevitable, for a *chevaux-de-frize* of bayonets was beneath. Still, even at this appalling moment, their presence of mind was unshaken. Pakenham, taking the hand of the wounded Macpherson, said, "God bless you, my dear fellow! we shall meet again." And they did meet again, but not where Pakenham meant, for they both recovered from their wounds.

Macpherson then contrived, by getting to the back of the ladder, to descend to the ditch in safety, where he lay for a short time insensible. When reason returned he found himself attended by two of his men, one supporting his head upon his knees, and

the other holding a cup of chocolate to his lips; the shots were ploughing up the ground in every direction around them; but unmoved and unhurt, they continued their friendly occupation. Macpherson made a violent effort to rise, during which the bone that had been pressing on his lungs was forced from its place, and he obtained instant relief. He arose, and again mounted a ladder; but the walls were now gained: he therefore directed his steps towards the tower, on which he had in the morning seen the French flag waving in proud defiance; his object was to gain it. But all was now confusion and slaughter; the enemy continued to defend every tenable post, and the infuriated soldiers were bayonetting them without mercy. "I at length (to use his own words) found my way to the tower, where I perceived the sentry still at his post. With my sword drawn, I seized him, and desired him in French to show me the way to the colours. He replied, "Je ne sais pas." I then gave him a slight cut across the face, saying "Vous le savez à présent," on which he dashed his arms upon the ground, and striking his breast, said, as he raised his head, and pointed to his heart, "Frappez, je suis Français," his manner at the time indicating that the colour was there. I could not wait to provide for the safety of this brave fellow; so I called out loudly for a non-commissioned officer to take charge of him, so that he should not be hurt. One stepped forward; when, giving instructions to protect the gallant soldier, I ascended the tower; but my precaution was in vain, for I afterwards discovered that this noble fellow was among the dead."

On reaching the top of the wall, Macpherson was rewarded by finding the French colour still flying. He instantly tore it down; when, for lack of anything else, he took off his red jacket, and hoisted it on the staff as an honourable substitute for the British flag.

Notwithstanding this heroic exploit, Macpherson still remained a lieutenant at the time of the battle of Orthes. In the skirmishing preceding that battle, Macpherson, in his anxiety to do his duty, was left almost the last man in the retirement of the skirmishers on the line; and at the same moment perceived one of the enemy's tirailleurs, within about twenty yards, raising his piece to take a deliberate aim at him. "I saw the man (to adopt his own description) taking a deliberate aim at me.

What to do I did not know. I could not get at him before he could fire, while to run would have been equally useless—I should then be shot in the back; for I knew that he was one of those picked men who never missed anything; in fact, I could think of nothing else to do but stand firm. The fellow was a confounded long time taking his aim, as if determined to make sure of his mark; so I put myself in an attitude, by presenting my right side to him, putting my arms straight down to cover me, and screwing myself up as small as possible—but I can assure you I felt smaller than I looked, as I thus stood like a target to be shot at by a fellow that could hit any one of my buttons that he pleased. At last bang went his piece, and I felt in a moment that he was all right. I did not fall, but staggered a few paces backwards, and staggered towards the line, when an Irishman named Kelly, one of our crack shots, seeing that I was hit, ran forwards to support me, at the same time desiring me to point out the man who did the harm. Pointing in the direction in which the shot had come, Kelly observing the fellow deliberately reloading to have another shot, quitted hold of me for a moment, fired, and the French soldier fell dead."

Still Macpherson at the close of the war remaining a lieutenant, after the return of peace, he addressed a memorial to the war-office for a company; but a cold official reply was the only notice taken of his application.

Though unknown to sir Thomas Picton in any other way than as a meritorious soldier; while at Bordeaux suffering from a severe wound he had received at the battle of Orthes, the general invited him to dinner. Whilst at table he was taken ill, on account of his debilitated condition, and compelled to retire. He had neither heard nor seen anything of the general, until, observing him coming towards him in Pall Mall, when passing him as he thought unnoticed, Picton seized his arm, and in his sharp though friendly manner, exclaimed—"D—e, sir! are you going to cut me?" "No, sir," replied Macpherson, bowing, "any officer who served under sir Thomas Picton's command would be proud of the honour of being recognised by him. But I thought you might have forgotten me." "Forgotten you," replied Picton; "no! no! sir, I have not forgotten you. But come along, sir," and he took his arm; "come home with me, I

have got something I want you to copy." On reaching his residence he put a memorial into Macpherson's hand, reciting all his services, which he desired him to copy in a more legible hand, that he might send it to the Horse-guards. Picton receiving a mere official reply to his application that

there was no vacancy, but that his friend should be appointed to the first vacancy, desired Macpherson to come to the Horse-guards on a levée day. Within a week from that time, Macpherson was gazetted as captain. This was not a solitary instance of the kindness of Picton's disposition.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE, K.B.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE was the eldest son of Dr. John Moore, M.D., the author of *Zeluco*, and other works of a miscellaneous nature. He was born at Glasgow in 1761, and having received the rudiments of education in his native city, was placed under the care of a Swiss clergyman to learn the French and German languages. While resident in Switzerland, his father had obtained the appointment of travelling tutor to the young duke of Hamilton, and Moore having, through the same interest, been appointed ensign in the 51st regiment of foot, the duchess was desirous that he should accompany her son during his travels, with whose years his own nearly corresponded. In the company of his father and his pupil he visited France, Italy, and the German states. He obtained the successive commissions of lieutenant and captain in the 82nd regiment; and, being shortly after appointed paymaster of that corps, obtaining leave of absence, he placed himself as amateur clerk in a Glasgow mercantile house for the purpose of learning the method of keeping accounts. In 1784 he was reduced on half-pay, but in the following year was appointed to a full-pay company in the 100th foot. While on half-pay, he was, through the Hamilton interest, returned to parliament for the boroughs of the Lanark district. In 1788 he was promoted to the majority of the 4th battalion of the 60th foot, but soon after negotiated an exchange into the 51st. In 1790 he succeeded by purchase to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 51st. In 1794 he accompanied the expedition under general Stuart to Corsica, for the purpose of assisting Paoli in expelling the French from that island, where he distinguished himself at the siege of Calvi, and received his first wound in storming the Mozello fort. On the reduction of that island, he was appointed adjutant-general of the British troops serving there; but, disagreeing with the governor, sir George Elliot, he was recalled.

In 1796, he went out as brigadier-general, under the command of sir Ralph Abercrombie, who, on the reduction of St. Lucia, appointed him its governor, he having had a principal share in its capture. During general Moore's command in that island, the mortality of the English troops was so fearful, that in the course of a single year, the 31st regiment alone dwindled away from an effective strength of 915 men to 74.

The West India campaign, in which general Moore had two narrow escapes from yellow fever, having been completed, he surrendered his command, and returned to England in 1797. In November of that year, sir Ralph Abercrombie having been appointed the commander of the forces in Ireland, Moore was placed on his staff, on which he continued to serve, under lord Cornwallis, as major-general, till the end of June, 1799, when he was ordered to join the expedition about to sail under the duke of York, to rescue Holland from the power of the French. That expedition consisted of the advanced corps under sir Ralph Abercrombie, a second division under the duke of York, and about 18,000 Russians, who were to be transferred from the Baltic, and after landing at Yarmouth, to sail direct to the Helder. In this disastrous expedition Moore took command of a brigade in the first, or sir Ralph Abercrombie's division of the army, amounting to 12,000 infantry, and a few troops of cavalry. In the second week of August, the fleet quitted its anchorage, and early on the morning of the 29th effected a landing, after a resolute opposition of the enemy. In the subsequent action fought on the 19th September, general Moore received two wounds; one in the thigh, the other in the face. On the evacuation of Holland by the British troops, in consequence of the convention, general Moore returned to England.

In 1800, general Moore again accepted a command in the expedition collected at

Minorca for the recovery of Egypt from French dominion. In the action of the 1st of March, 1801, at the landing of the troops, general Moore received a musket-ball wound in the leg, which prevented him taking an active part in the operations of the Egyptian campaign until after the surrender of Cairo. In the battle of Alexandria, he received a shot in the thigh, and had his horse killed under him.

In consequence of the death of sir Ralph Abercrombie, and his successors, generals Hutchinson and Cradock, both falling sick at that time, Moore succeeded to the command, and the anomalous duty devolved on him of escorting an army of double the amount of the one to which it had surrendered. That duty required great firmness and prudence; and every precaution had to be taken against a breach of faith or a surprise; more especially as the French retained their arms and field-artillery. By strict discipline, however, and allowing no intercourse between the different nations, the British troops at the same time being kept ready for action, everything was satisfactorily accomplished—and on the 29th of July, the French reached the neighbourhood of Rosetta, and the embarkation immediately commenced.

Buonaparte's possession of Egypt was now drawing to a close. A reinforcement of above 1,800 men had arrived from England, and general Hutchinson prepared to besiege Alexandria, the last stronghold now held by the French. The fortifications were strong, and the place was in a condition to make a resolute defence, but Menou, despairing of relief, imitated the example of Cairo, and capitulated early, obtaining favourable terms; it being stipulated that the French, with all their private property, should be conveyed back to France.

There being now nothing more to be done in Egypt, Moore acceded to the wishes of his family, and returned to England. After having received the wound, before Alexandria, the duke of York had written to him, requesting him to come home, and arrangements would be made for him: but that letter Moore kept back, determined not to leave while he could be useful in the service of his country. He had a prosperous voyage to England, and arrived shortly after the peace of Amiens had been concluded.

Soon after Moore's return to England, he lost his father; but had the gratification to feel that his presence had afforded great consolation to his aged parent.

On the recommencement of hostilities after the short peace of 1802, he was employed in a camp of instruction on the Kentish coast, in a system of light infantry manœuvres. Besides the light infantry brigade, consisting of the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th rifles, which attained so high distinction in the peninsular war, he trained the 51st, 68th, 85th, and the second battalion of the 78th. The absurd pointing of the toe, the springing of the foot in marching, the stiff neck, and pedantic protrusion of the chest of the martinets of the time, gave place to an easy and a graceful posture, and a free and unrestrained movement of the body in all the evolutions of the soldier.

In 1806, he proceeded with a reinforcement of troops to join general Fox in Sicily; and on the recal of that officer, the command of the troops in the Mediterranean devolved on him.

In May, 1808, he sailed with 10,000 men to Sweden, with the view of aiding Gustavus Adolphus IV. in the defence of his dominions against the designs of Buonaparte. Moore's orders restricted his operations to Norway, but the Swedish king required him to march his army to Stockholm. Moore refusing to comply, was put under arrest; but contriving to make his escape, he withdrew his army on shipboard, and directed his course homeward.

On Moore's arrival in England he was coldly received by the ministers, and it was understood that his conduct was not approved of. His reception, however, by the duke of York, was highly gratifying. That prince informed him that the king thought it most fortunate that the army had been placed in the hands of one who had the firmness to resist the importunities of the king of Sweden.

The next service in which Moore was employed was in the Spanish peninsula. Shortly after he had returned from Sweden, he received a note from the secretary of state, requesting his attendance at three o'clock, and desiring that he should make arrangements to leave town as soon as possible. Moore ordered a carriage to be ready at five o'clock, and waited on the secretary at three.

In Moore's MS. journal he states, that at this interview lord Castlereagh informed him that sir Arthur Wellesley had sailed for Cork on the 12th of July, and might be expected off the Tagus on the 20th. That it was intended he should land, if, by the intelligence he received of the enemy's force,

he should find himself strong enough; if not, that he should wait for the arrival of the troops under Moore, and of others which were ordered; when the command would be assumed by sir Harry Burrard, as it was not apprehended that sir Hew Dalrymple would have arrived by that time.

Sir John Moore was much surprised at the indignity which was thus indirectly put on him, by placing him subordinate to other officers, after he had commanded in chief in Sicily and Sweden. He determined, however, not to refuse going on the service of his country; but felt it imperative to mark his sense of the manner in which he had been treated. Addressing lord Castlereagh, he said,—‘My lord, a post-chaise is at my door, and on leaving this place I shall proceed to Portsmouth, to join the troops. It may, perhaps, be my lot never to see your lordship again—I therefore think it right to express to you my feeling of the unhand-some treatment I have received.’ Lord Castlereagh replying that he was not sensible of what treatment he alluded to, sir John continued—“Since my arrival in the Downs, if I had been an ensign, I could hardly have been treated with less ceremony. It is only by inference that I know how I am to be employed; for your lordship has never told me in plain terms that I am appointed to serve in an army under sir Hew Dalrymple. And coming from a chief command, if it was intended to employ me in an inferior station, I might expect that something explanatory should be said. You have told me that my conduct in Sweden was approved of, but from your conduct I should have concluded the reverse. His majesty’s ministers have a right to employ what officers they please; and had they on this occasion given the command to the youngest general in the army, I should neither have felt nor expressed that the least injury was done to me. But I have a right, in common with all officers who have served zealously, to expect to be treated with attention, and when employment is offered, that some regard should be paid to my former services.”

The secretary of state for the war department having little to say to this straightforward and manly statement, contented himself with repeating that he was not sensible of having given him any cause of complaint.

Moore at once proceeded to Portsmouth, and on his way called to see his aged mother.

When sir Harry Burrard arrived at that port, sir John resigned to him the troops he had hitherto commanded, and the fleet shortly after set sail for Portugal.

The fleet was met by a frigate when within sight of Cape Finisterre, bringing intelligence that sir Arthur Wellesley had already landed in the Mondego river. Sir Harry on receiving this intelligence went on board a frigate to proceed at once to Oporto, and directed Moore to sail to and lie off Vigo, with the troops, whither fresh orders would be sent. The wind rendering this impossible, Moore sailed to Oporto, and then to Mondego Bay, where he received a letter from sir Harry, directing him to disembark his troops. The result of the triplicate succession of generals to the command of the British army in the course of a few hours, and of the disgraceful convention of Cintra, by which Junot and his army, with all his pillage and plunder, though completely at the mercy and in the power of Wellesley, were transported in British bottoms to be landed in another part of the peninsula, and thus, in a few weeks, were enabled to meet British resistance, has been already stated.

On the return of sir Hew Dalrymple, sir Harry Burrard, and sir Arthur Wellesley to England to attend the court of inquiry at Chelsea, relative to the Cintra convention, Moore received the appointment of the command of an army consisting of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, “to co-operate with the Spanish armies in the expulsion of the French from that kingdom.” With that army, but with a commissariat “much in want of experience,” as he expressed himself in a letter to lord Castlereagh, he began his march from Lisbon in October, 1808.

The details of that disastrous campaign have been given in an early part of this work; but this personal sketch would be incomplete without some reference to the particulars of that important epoch in the life of sir John Moore. In the earlier part of the Peninsular War the English ministers much over-rated the importance of the exertions which the Spaniards were either able or willing to make for the liberation of their country from the grasp of the French; and an idea was very general that Spanish patriotism, if judiciously aided, was able to expel every foreign foe from their soil. The object, therefore, of the British government was to stimulate a national feeling, and to induce the Spanish people, by rendering

them every assistance in their power, to assert their independence. The instructions to sir John Moore were, therefore, "to cooperate with the Spanish armies in the expulsion of the French from that kingdom.

The first movement of the British army was an unfortunate one. Under the erroneous belief that the passage of artillery was impracticable by the direct route to Salamanca, the batteries and cavalry were separated from the main army, and moved by Badajos on the Escorial, a movement which entailed on the troops an additional march of upwards of 150 miles; and therefore it was not till near the middle of November that sir John arrived in Salamanca. Here his eyes were opened to the amount of assistance that was to be reckoned on from the native troops. The raw forces of count Belvidere had been completely routed; Blake's army had been dispersed; and the magazines at Reynosa taken. Madrid was also expected to fall into the hands of the enemy in a few days. Deceived in his expectation of being assisted by a covering army of 70,000 men, and distracted by false information from sources on which he ought to have been able to place the utmost reliance, he was obliged to remain inactive. That inactivity was blamed by the British envoy; and

the army but ill concealed their impatience at not being led against the enemy. Moore therefore determined to make a movement on the capital, and attack Soult, who was at Saldanha. Nothing could have been more pleasing to the army than this decision of their general, but he was entirely unsupported. The British general advanced, unaided by or in communication with any Spanish force, except the remains of the army of the left, under the marquis de Romana, who continued to occupy Leon with that weak and inefficient force; this, with about 5,000 Asturian recruits under general Ballasteros, which had not yet been engaged, being the only Spanish force now in the field in the whole north of Spain. Sir John Moore had no friendly corps to protect his flanks—no reinforcements to expect. He commanded an army brilliant in appearance, yet weak in numerical strength; but on that and that alone, was dependence to be placed for the successful result of a bold advance. The result was, as already said, the arduous retreat on Corunna, and the ever-memorable and glorious battle fought under the walls of that city, in which its talented and high-minded leader fell in the maintenance of his country's honour, and the support of her oppressed and insulted ally.

GENERAL LORD HILL, G.C.B., ETC.

LORD HILL was born in the year 1772. After having received the rudiments of education in different schools in the county of Cheshire, he was sent to a military academy at Strasburg, for instruction in the military art. While in that academy, he was presented, in the sixteenth year of his age, with an ensigncy in the 38th regiment; and, in 1791, he obtained a lieutenancy in the 53rd, or Shropshire regiment of infantry. In 1793, he received his commission as captain. At the siege of Toulon he was aid-de-camp, successively to lord Mulgrave, general O'Hara, and Sir David Dundas. In 1794, he obtained a majority in the 90th regiment, raised by the late lord Lynedoch; and in 1795, he was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of that regiment. In 1801, he proceeded in command of his regiment, with sir Ralph Abercrombie's expedition, to Egypt, and was wounded in a cavalry charge made on the 90th, on the morning of the 18th of March. In the following year he returned

with his regiment to England, and, in 1803, was appointed a brigadier-general on the staff in Ireland. In 1805, in the expedition to the Weser, under lord Cathcart, he was in sir Arthur Wellesley's brigade, which formed a part of that force; but the great successes of the French on the continent rendering the debarkation of the troops hazardous, the expedition returned to the English shores on the commencement of the following year. From this period he was employed, first in the command of a brigade, consisting of the 9th, 45th, and 62nd, on the northern coast of England; and afterwards as major-general on the staff in Ireland. In the summer of 1808, he embarked from the Cove of Cork, with his brigade, in the expedition under sir Arthur Wellesley, destined to liberate Portugal from the dominion of the French. In the battles of Roliça and Vimiera, which ensured the success of that expedition, major-general Hill bore a distinguished

part. When sir John Moore succeeded to the command of the British troops in Portugal, general Hill continued in command of his brigade, and during the advance and retreat of the British army in Spain, he continued indefatigable in his exertions. After the battle of Corunna, he protected, with a corps of reserve, the embarkation of the army. Towards the end of January, 1809, he returned with the suffering troops to Plymouth. But he was not allowed to have much repose. In the following February he was directed to take the command of the troops then about to embark at Cork to join sir John Cradock in Portugal. In the passage of the Douro he had his full share of honours. The wounds he received at the battle of Talavera he thus describes in a letter addressed to his sister:—"On the 27th my horse was shot—two shots through the withers, and one in the saddle—and I myself had a narrow escape from the hands of a French soldier, who had caught hold of my right arm, and would have captured me, if my horse had not, at the moment, sprung forward. The Frenchman fired at me, but did not touch me." On the 28th, "My horse" was wounded early in the action. Shortly before the enemy gave up the action, I was struck by a musket-ball near my left ear and the back of the head. My hat saved my life." Towards the end of the year he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. He now received so severe an attack of fever and jaundice, that he was compelled to return to England, where he arrived on February 6th, 1811.

His return to the Peninsula, in the following May, was welcomed by lord Wellington and "the eager rejoicings of the army." In March, 1812, he was invested with the order of the Bath, for his successful exploit against general Gerard, at Arrago de Molinos. "When he was knighted," says an officer of his staff, "such was the simplicity of his nature, there was not one of us dared, for nearly six months, to call him *sir Rowland*; he was quite distressed at being called anything but *general*, and it was only very gradually that he could be driven to bear his honour." At the dissolution of parliament, in 1812, he was elected member for Shrewsbury. In May, 1814, he was created baron of Almaraz and of Hawkstone, and an annuity of £2,000 per annum was voted to him by parliament. In the same year the inhabitants of Shropshire erected, at Shrews-

bury, a splendid column to his memory. In August, 1814, he was appointed to take the command of an expedition destined to act against the United States; but the negotiation of peace with that power superseded the necessity of his assuming the command. In the spring of 1815, he sailed to Brussels, to take the command of the corps of the army assembling in the Netherlands to oppose Buonaparte on his second usurpation of the French throne. His services in the battle of Waterloo received the cordial acknowledgments of the duke of Wellington. His conduct on the closing scene of that contest is thus described by an officer of his staff:—"He placed himself at the head of his light brigade, consisting of the 52nd, 71st, and 95th, and charged the flank of the imperial guard, as they were advancing. The light brigade was lying under the brow of the hill, and gave and received volleys within half pistol-shot distance. Here lord Hill's horse was shot under him, and, as he ascertained the next morning, was shot in five places. The general was rolled over and buried; but in the *melée* this was unknown to us for about half an hour. We knew not what was become of him. We feared he had been killed; and none can tell you the heart-felt joy when he rejoined us not seriously hurt. After the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, he was appointed second in command of the army of occupation, and remained there till the evacuation of that country by the allied armies. In 1827, a command was offered him in India, as also the master-generalship of the ordnance, both of which he declined. In 1828, on the resignation of the duke of Wellington as commander-in-chief, on his appointment to be first lord of the treasury, lord Hill was appointed the general commanding-in-chief of the army, which post he held under several ministries. On resigning the office of general commanding-in-chief, he was raised to the dignity of viscount, in 1842. His death happened on the 10th of December in the same year.

Lord Hill having been applied to by a nobleman of high rank to supply information relative to the Peninsular War, for Southey's history of that war, wrote to the duke of Wellington the following letter:—

"October 18, 1821.

"My dear lord duke.—Some days ago, I received the accompanying note from

—; and, as it relates to the general proceedings of your army in Spain and Portugal, I cannot think of sending an answer to it without your sanction. It has been rumoured that Mr. Southey had been furnished with documents on the subject by your grace's permission; if that be the case, I cannot give him fresh information; and if it is not the case, I am sure I ought not to supply him with any memoranda I may have. I have destroyed, since I came home, many papers relative to our operations in the Peninsula. I have, however, several papers still in my possession, and amongst them the valuable instructions I received from your grace at various times. I beg, however, to state, that I would not on any account allow them, or any part of them, to go out of my hands, particularly for publication, unless it is your wish that I should do so.—I am, &c. "HILL."

The duke's reply was:—

"London, October 25, 1821.

"My dear Hill.—In respect to Mr. Southey, I have heard that he was writing a history of the war; but I have never received an application from him, either directly or indirectly, for information on the subject. If I had received such an application, I would have told him what I have told others, that the subject was too serious to be trifled with; for that if any

real authenticated history of that war by an author worthy of writing it were given, it ought to convey to the public the real truth, and ought to show what nations really did when they put themselves in the situation the Spanish and Portuguese nations had placed themselves; and that I would give information and materials to no author who would not undertake to write upon that principle. I think, however, that the period of the war is too near; and the character and reputation of nations, as well as individuals, are too much involved in the description of these questions for me to recommend, or even encourage any author to write such a history as some [I fear] would encourage at the present moment.

"This is my opinion upon the subject in general, and I should have conveyed it to Mr. Southey, if he and his friends had applied to me. In respect to your reference to me, I receive it, as every thing that comes from you, as a mark of your kind attention to me. Unless you approve of the principle which I have above stated, there is nothing to prevent you from giving Mr. Southey any information you please; but I should wish you not to give him any original papers from me, as that would be in fact to involve me in his work without attaining the object I have in view, which is a true history.—Believe me ever yours most sincerely.
WELLINGTON."

GENERAL LORD LYNEDOCH, G.C.B., Etc.

THIS amateur soldier remained a private country gentleman, cultivating the estate of his ancestors, and indulging himself in classical studies and the enjoyments of an accomplished leisure, till the mature age of forty-two. His grief for the death of his wife in 1792, tending to the injury of his health—to alleviate the one and restore the other, he was induced to try change of scene and a variety of objects. On reaching Gibraltar, he proposed to lord Hood, who was about to sail for the south of France, to accompany him as a volunteer. In 1793, he served as extra aid-de-camp to lord Mulgrave, the general commanding-in-chief at Toulon. During the siege of that city, he was always foremost in the attack; and, on one occasion, at the head of a column, when a private soldier fell, he took up his

musket and supplied his place in the front rank. On returning to Scotland, he raised the first battalion of the 90th regiment, of which he was appointed colonel-commandant. In 1795 he proceeded with his regiment to Gibraltar. While stationed in that garrison, he obtained permission to join the Austrian army, in which he continued during the summer of 1796. In 1797, he rejoined his regiment at Gibraltar, whence he proceeded to the attack of Minorca, in the expedition under sir C. Stuart. In 1798, he was appointed, with the local rank of brigadier-general, having under his command the 30th and 89th regiments, together with some foreign corps, embodied under his immediate direction, to lay siege to the island of Malta, which, after a resistance of two years' duration, surrendered. In 1808, he proceeded

with the expedition under sir John Moore, to Sweden. In 1810, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. In 1811, he took the command of an expedition to attack the rear of the French army, which was then blockading Cadiz; an operation which led to the battle of Barossa. In 1813, he commanded the left wing of the British army at the battle of Vittoria; and in the same year, was employed in the siege and capture of St. Sebastian. He finished his career in the Peninsula, by leading the fifth division across the French frontier. In 1814, he was appointed to a command in Holland; but his failure at Bergen-op-Zoom,

marred that campaign. As a divisional general he possessed considerable merit, but his abilities to command an army were not of the first order. The issue of the battle of Barossa was more attributable to the unconquerable courage of British soldiers than to generalship. Together with some other peninsular officers, he was raised, in 1814, to the peerage, with an annual pension of £2,000. He was successively colonel of the 14th foot and the royals, and was governor of Dumbarton castle. He represented in parliament the county of Perth, from 1796 to 1807. He died in 1843, at the advanced age of ninety-four.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE COOKE, K.C.B.

SIR GEORGE COOKE was appointed ensign in the 1st foot-guards, in 1784. In 1794, he embarked, as captain and lieutenant of that regiment, for Flanders, in the army under the command of the duke of York, and was present in the various affairs that took place between the French and the allied army in the course of that service. In 1798, he attained the rank of captain and lieutenant-colonel, and was present with the 3rd battalion of guards, in the expedition under sir Ralph Abercrombie to the Helder. In 1809, he proceeded with the expedition under lord Chatham, in command of the 3rd battalion, to South Beveland. In 1811, he sailed to Cadiz with that battalion;

and in June of that year, was appointed major-general on the staff there. When sir Thomas Graham and major-general Disney left Cadiz, he succeeded to the command of that station and a division of lord Wellington's army. About the end of 1813, he landed with a brigade of guards at Schwerin, near the Hague, was present at the escalade of Bergen-op-Zoom, under general Graham, and was there taken prisoner. In 1815, he was in command of the 1st division of infantry at the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, in which last-mentioned action he lost his left arm. He was successively colonel of the 77th and 40th regiments of foot. He died in 1837.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FREDERICK PONSONBY, K.C.B.

THE honourable Frederick Ponsonby was appointed to a cornetcy in the 10th dragoons, in 1800; and in 1807, obtained a majority in the 23rd dragoons. At the battle of Talavera, he led that regiment in its desperate attack on Villatte's column and the brigade of chasseurs-à-cheval. At the close of the battle of Barossa, he made a brilliant attack with two squadrons of the German legion on the French cavalry, as they were covering the retreat of the infantry. On the 11th of June, 1811, in command of the 12th, 14th and 16th light dragoons, he effected, at Usaque, one of the most brilliant cavalry affairs of the war, capturing several officers and 128 privates,

besides inflicting a heavy loss in killed and wounded on the enemy. His conduct at Waterloo and providential escape have been already mentioned. In 1824 he was appointed major-general, and was successively colonel of the 86th regiment of foot and the royal dragoons. He was governor and commander-in-chief at Malta, from 1827 to near the end of 1836. He died in 1837.

This gallant officer was the relative of sir William Ponsonby, who was slain at the battle of Waterloo. It is with regret, that the author of *The Campaigns and Battle-fields of Wellington and his Comrades*, cannot present to the reader any satisfactory details of that officer's career.

GENERAL SIR BRENT SPENCER, G.C.B.

SIR BRENT SPENCER entered the army as ensign in the 15th regiment, in the seventeenth year of his age, and obtained the rank of major about the breaking out of the French revolutionary war. In 1799, he commanded the 40th regiment, in the expedition serving in Holland under the duke of York, as also during the whole of the Egyptian campaign under sir Ralph Abercrombie and lord Hutchinson. In 1805, he obtained the rank of major-general, and in 1807, was appointed to the staff of the expedition under lord Cathcart, to Copenhagen. In 1808, in the battles of Roliça and Vimiera, in Portugal, he commanded a brigade under sir Arthur Wellesley. In 1809, he was created a knight of the Bath; and in 1810, was appointed second in command to the army in Portugal, under lord Wellington, with the rank of lieutenant-general; but was soon superseded in that command. He died in 1829.

GENERAL THE HON. SIR CHARLES COLVILLE, G.C.B.

SIR CHARLES COLVILLE obtained an ensigncy in the 28th foot, in 1787. In 1791, he was captain of the 13th foot, with which regiment he served three years in the West Indies. In 1796, he became lieutenant-colonel of the 13th, and commanded that regiment in Egypt, in the battles of the 8th, 13th and 21st of March. In 1808, he commanded a brigade under sir George Beckwith, in the operations against the French West Indian Islands. In 1810, he obtained the rank of major-general and the command of a brigade of infantry in the 3rd, or Picton's division. In the course of the Peninsular war, he was successively in command of the 4th, the 3rd, and the 5th divisions. In 1815, he was appointed to the command of the 4th division in the army of the Netherlands. In 1819, until the end of 1825, he was commander-in-chief at Bombay; and he was governor of the island of the Mauritius, from the middle of 1828 till the beginning of 1833. He was successively colonel of the 5th garrison battalion, of the 94th, the 74th, the 13th and the 5th regiments. He died in 1843.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER, BART., G.C.B.

SIR CHARLES NAPIER was born in London, in 1782. In 1794, he was, at the age of twelve, gazetted as ensign, and in May of the same year, was lieutenant. In 1803, he became captain—boys in those days obtaining their companies before they had obtained their beards. In 1806, he acquired the rank of major in the 50th regiment. His early services were:—in the suppression of the Irish rebellion in 1798, and in that of the insurrection of the year 1801. In the Peninsular war, which was then in its commencement, he served with his regiment, in the army under sir John Moore, throughout the campaign—terminating with the battle of Corunna, where he was made prisoner, after receiving no less than five wounds. Of this affair, his brother, sir William Napier, gives the following account in his *History of the War in the Peninsula*—

“The 50th giving way under an overwhelming charge of French bayonets, major Napier, encompassed by enemies and denied quarter, received five wounds, but he still fought and struggled for life, until a French drummer, with a generous heat and indignation, forcibly rescued him from his barbarous assailants.”

He is described as advancing over broken ground, armed with a musket, and calling on his men to follow him. Three of the four who obeyed him fell in the attempt, the fourth was wounded, and the rest hung back. Napier was in the act of helping the wounded man when he was struck by a musket-ball, which broke one of the shank-bones. Throwing down his musket, he was hobbling along, leaning on his sword, when a cowardly Frenchman ran his bayonet into his back. The hurt, however, not being serious, Napier turned round and disarmed

his assailant, and gallantly faced him until he was knocked down senseless by the butt-end of a musket, and was about to be despatched outright, when the gallant French drummer interfered, and dragged him out of the mêlée. On his capture, marshal Soult, after the recovery from his wounds, allowed him to go home on his parole. When he landed on the English coast he read a gazette, in which his name appeared in the list of the slain at Corunna. His friends having gone into mourning, and administered to the will, he had to prove his identity at Doctor's Commons, and recall the premature documents. Towards the end of the year 1809, he returned to the Peninsula, having previously obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was present, as volunteer, at the passage of the Coa, where he had two horses shot under him. At Busaco he was shot in the face, and, without waiting for the wound being dressed, and the ball remaining in it, he rode a hundred miles before he could obtain surgical assistance. After the battle of Toulouse he returned home; but as he had an unquenchable love of fighting and scars, in the war with America, which followed the pacification of Europe, off he went (1813), on a cruise to harass, pick up, and cut out merchantmen, and make predatory descents on the American coasts. He served in the campaign in the Low Countries, in 1815, but he was one day too late to be present at the battle of Waterloo. Soon after, he obtained the government of Cephalonia, one of the Ionian isles. Being recalled, he was appointed commander of the forces in the northern district of England. In 1841, he was appointed to the command of the army of Bombay. At Meanee, February 17th, 1843, he defeated, with less than 3,000 men, the army of the Belooches, consisting of 20,000 infantry and 10,000 irregular horsemen, organised and commanded by the Ameers, the princes of Scinde. His little army had been materially reduced by colonel Outram's escort and a strong baggage-guard detached; but, full of enthusiasm and confident of victory, 1,600 Englishmen and Sepoys, including officers, advanced to the attack, the Belooches being hidden behind their fortifications in the bed and on the bank of a dried-up river. Suddenly, sir Charles perceived a wall with only one opening, not very wide, behind it swarmed the Beloo-

ches, and the general saw in an instant that they intended to rush out through the opening. Detaching the grenadier company of the 22nd, he told their captain, Tew, that he was to block that opening, or die in it if it were necessary. The gallant captain did die; but the opening was blocked, and the action of 6,000 men was paralyzed by the skilful disposition of eighty. Captain Leonidas Tew, in fact, won the battle at this Thermopylæ. Sir William Napier has described this battle as splendidly as sir Charles fought it:—

“The vast multitude of Belooches rushed upon the 22nd with a terrific cry, waving their swords and covering themselves with their shields. But, with shouts as loud and arms as strong, the gallant Irish 22nd met them with ‘that queen of weapons,’ the musket, and sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood. During this struggle the English sappers fought gallantly, protecting the artillery, which, having gained the flank, swept diagonally with grape the crowded masses of the Belooches, who gave their breasts to the shot, and leaping at the guns, were blown away by twenties at a time.” This horrible slaughter absolutely lasted three hours and a-half, when sir Charles, seeing that the battle must be won or lost within twenty minutes, directed a desperate charge of cavalry on the right of the Belooches, while the infantry made one more final dash at the enemy, who at length gave way, the grape-shot still pouring into their dense masses, and the soldiers still using their bayonets with the ferocity of men actually steeped in blood and maddened by the fury of the fight.

Six of the Ameers surrendered next day to “the Brother of the Devil,” as they designated their conqueror. But Shere Mohammed, the most powerful of those princes, refusing to surrender, the “Devil's Brother,” on the 21st of March of the same year, attacked him at Hyderabad, and with 5,000 British and native troops, overthrew 25,000 Belooches, with frightful slaughter; and thus completed the conquest of Scinde. Early in 1845, with a force consisting of about 5,000 men of all arms, he took the field against the mountain and desert tribes situated on the right bank of the Indus to the north of Shikarpoor, and, after an arduous campaign, effected the total destruction of those robber tribes. In 1847, in consequence of his paper war with the governments at home and in India, he returned

to England; but on account of the panic which lord Gough's reverses had occasioned, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in India. Shortly after his arrival, commencing again his paper contests with the governments, he returned home "indignant and sulky." As sir Charles Napier must, from temperament, be always fight-

ing, either with the pen or the sword, he died as he had lived—in a fight, August 29th, 1853—being at the time busily engaged in inditing a pamphlet on Indian affairs in commemoration of his services and supposed ill-usage. No man, was better known and more distinguished after Wellington, Hill, and Picton, than sir Charles Napier.

MARSHAL MASSENA.

MASSENA* was born at Nice, in 1758, where his father was a dealer in wines. When young, he made two voyages with a relation, who was captain of a merchant vessel; but preferring the army, he enlisted in the royal Italian regiment, in 1775. Having attained only the rank of sergeant and adjutant after fourteen years' service, he, in 1709, returned to his own country and to private life. At the commencement of the revolution, he re-entered the French service, and was nominated adjutant by the troops of the regiment in which he engaged. In 1792, he became chief of a battalion, and soon after, was successively general of brigade and of division, in the army of Italy; and in 1796 and 1797, contributed much to the success of the Italian campaigns of those years; and so effectual did Buonaparte consider his services, that in a letter addressed to him he said, "Your corps is stronger than those of the other generals; your own services are equivalent to 6,000 men." At the battle of Lodi, he headed the French troops in their terrible onset. His uninterrupted career of success in those campaigns, obtained for him, from Buonaparte, the title of "l'enfant gâté de la victoire," or, as it is sometimes written, "l'enfant chéri de la victoire,"—the fortunate child of victory. In 1799, he was appointed by the directory to the command of the army of Helvetia. At Zurich, he totally routed the Austro-Russian army, under the archduke Charles and general

Korsakow, and thus broke the coalition between Austria and Russia. At Voitri, in Italy, he was beaten by the Austrian general, Melas, and after a brave defence of Genoa, was, on account of the frightful famine to which the garrison and the inhabitants were subject, compelled to surrender that city to the same general. In 1804, he was created a count and marshal of the empire. In 1805, being entrusted with the defence of Italy, he beat the archduke Charles at Verona, and finally drove him out of that country. In 1807, for his services in the command of the right wing of the French army at the battle of Eylau he was created duke of Rivoli. In 1809, he distinguished himself in the battles of Eckmühl, Essling, and Wagram; and, for his services in that campaign, was rewarded with the title of prince of Essling. In 1810 and 1811, he was engaged in the Portuguese and Spanish campaigns, against the duke of Wellington, in every action of which he opposed himself to the British general—he was completely worsted, though the spoiled or fortunate child of victory had undertaken to "drive the Sepoy general and his nation of shop-keepers and cotton-spinners into the sea," and "drown the leopard." His Spanish campaign terminated his military career. After the battle of Waterloo, and the second abdication of Buonaparte, he was made commander-in-chief of the national guard of Paris. He died in 1817, at the age of fifty-nine.

* Massena was an inveterate depredator; it was not possible for him to keep his hands from plunder and pillage; his avarice was insatiable; he plundered not only the conquered countries but also the troops whom he commanded. "Not a garment, not a cup of wine, not a mouthful of food, could reach the private soldier without paying a tax to his rapacity. In the like spirit he stripped the inhabitants of the conquered countries of every vestige of property, and inflicted the most savage punishments on them. In his retreat from Portugal military licence was let loose in its most odious and frightful shapes—and

the crimes that were there committed embraced all that is horrible to humanity. But if the curtain is dropped on these horrors, and Massena is regarded merely as a military leader, his pretensions were great. In the work of his despotic master, when surrounded by the fire and disorder of battle, he was eminently great. The sound of the guns cleared his ideas and gave him understanding, penetration, and cheerfulness. He was endowed with extraordinary courage and firmness, which seemed to increase in excess of danger."—*Las Casas*, vol. i. p. 296.

MARSHAL MARMONT.

MARMONT was born at Châtillon-sur-Seine, in 1774. His family was nearly allied to the first nobility of France. At the age of fifteen, he was sub-lieutenant in a regiment of infantry; but, in 1792, was transferred to the artillery service. Like Buonaparte, he made his first essay in arms at the siege of Toulon. In Buonaparte's brilliant Italian campaigns, Marmont highly distinguished himself. At the battle of Lodi, he carried off, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, the first piece of cannon taken from the enemy. As general of brigade, he accompanied him in his Egyptian expedition. For his well-timed assistance, on Buonaparte's appointment to the consular dignity, Marmont was appointed councillor of state, and commander-in-chief of the artillery. He highly distinguished himself in the battles of Marengo and of Ulm, in the siege of Ragusa. For his gallant conduct at Znaim, he was made a marshal on the field of battle. In the campaign of 1809, against Austria, he took an active part. At the battle of Wagram, he commanded the advanced guard of the grand army; and at the close of the campaign

was created duke of Ragusa, and promoted to the governor-generalship of the Illyrian provinces. In 1811, he succeeded Massena in the command of the army of Portugal; but in consequence of his wounds at the battle of Salamanca, he returned to France. In the German campaigns of 1813, he distinguished himself at the battles of Lutzen, Bautzen, Dresden, and Leipsic. When the allies besieged Paris in 1814, he was entrusted with the defence of that city. His efforts in that defence immortalizes his name. He acted a distinguished part in the Parisian tragedy of 1830, occasioned by the ordinances of Charles X. for abolishing the liberty of the press, annulling the election of deputies, and abridging the right of election. For the part he took in the restoration of Louis XVIII., he incurred so great odium among his countrymen, that the troop of body-guards of which he was appointed captain, was distinguished by the wits of the day by the appellation of *Companie de Judas*, and the new verb, *raguser*—a word intended to express the extreme of baseness, tergiversation, and treason—was added to the French language. He died in 1845.

MARSHAL NEY.

NEY, "the bravest of the brave," was the son of a poor tradesman at Sarre-Louis, where he was born, in 1769. When young, he entered as a private in a regiment of hussars, and at the battles of Nerwinde, Louvain, Valenciennes, and Grand-Près, his conduct was so gallant, that he was made lieutenant.

In 1796, while serving in the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, he displayed multiplied examples of skill and courage. For those services he was promoted to a generalship of brigade. In the battle of Neuwid, in 1797, and in the invasion of Switzerland, in 1798, he commanded the French cavalry as general of division; but was taken prisoner in the first-mentioned affair, in consequence of his horse falling under him. In November, 1799, while in the command of the cavalry of the army of the Rhine, he distinguished himself by one of the boldest adventures even of that adventurous period. The city of Manheim, considered the key of Germany, was at the

time defended by a numerous garrison. While the French generals were deliberating as to the best mode of attacking the place, Ney, from the hope of being able to surprise it with a small trusty band, determined to reconnoitre the enemy's position in person. For this purpose, assuming the dress of a Prussian peasant, he crossed the river one evening: entering the town, and examining all the posts, he returned without discovery. Selecting 150 companions, in the dusk of the evening he passed the Rhine, and falling furiously on the outposts, the garrison made a sally to repel the invaders, but being repulsed, Ney and his party entered the gates together with the fugitives. After a short but desperate struggle, the possession of the city was the reward of the gallant little band of invaders.

In 1800, he shared in the victories gained by Moreau at Möskirch and Hohenlinden. The impetuous audacity with which he pursued a column of the enemy in the thickest

part of the Black Forest, contributed greatly to the success of that memorable day.

In 1804, Buonaparte conferred on him the dignity of marshal, and the command of the camp at Boulogne, designed for the invasion of England. On the renewal of the war with Austria, he quitted the sea-coast, and commanded the sixth corps at the battle of Elchingen, in memory of which he was created duke of Elchingen. In the campaign of 1806-7, which terminated in the defeat of the Prussians at Jena and Austerlitz, and the compelling of Russia to make peace at Tilsit, the fame of Ney exceeded that of all his previous ones, and obtained for him, with the unanimous voice of his companions-in-arms, the title of "the bravest of the brave."

In 1808, he joined the army of Spain. In Massena's retreat from Portugal, he commanded the rear of the French army, and displayed great ability in the incessant assaults made on him by the British vanguard.

In 1812, he commanded the third corps in the calamitous expedition to Moscow. In the battle of Mojaisk, the "bravest of the brave" earned the title of the prince of Moskwa, with which title he was rewarded on the field of battle. In the deplorable retreat which followed the possession of Moscow, the station of that admirable soldier was in the extreme rear. With a handful of worn-out followers, destitute of every necessary, he repelled the assaults and resisted the progress of countless legions; and, with his heroic little band, daily diminished by cold, hunger, and lassitude, secured the escape of the remnant of the French army. In 1813, he powerfully contributed to the success at Lutzen, Bautzen, and Dresden; and after the fatal battle of Leipsic, he fought with undiminished zeal and energy in the various contests which preceded the first abdication of Buonaparte.

On the return of Buonaparte from Elba, he solicited from Louis XVIII. the commission of opposing the invader. In a misguided moment, he transferred his allegiance from the Bourbon to that of "the legitimate dynasty," to adopt the language of his order of the day to his soldiers. In the enemy's hostilities at Waterloo, he even exceeded his usual impetuous valour. Five horses were shot under him; his clothes and hat were pierced with balls; his whole person was disfigured with blood and mud: yet he would have continued the contest on foot while life remained, had he not been forced

from the field by the dense and resistless columns of the fugitives from that ever-memorable and desperately-contested battle. On his return to Paris, he fled to Lyons, with the intention of withdrawing into Switzerland, and thence emigrating to the United States; but being discovered by the Turkish sabre which Buonaparte had presented him on his marriage, and which he had left on a sofa in a room open to strangers, he was arrested, and being conducted to Paris, was tried by the chamber of peers. His advocates, Berryer and Dupin, attempted to justify his conduct, on the ground that he was not amenable to French laws, as Sarre-Louis, his native town, had recently been dissevered from France. Ney nobly exclaimed—"I am a Frenchman, and will die a Frenchman." Being found guilty, he was condemned to death. The marshal, on hearing the preamble of his sentence read by the officer, enumerating his titles, interrupted the recital by saying, "Why cannot you simply call me Michael Ney—now a French soldier, and soon a heap of dust?"

At eight o'clock on the morning (December 7th), that intrepid soldier, with a firm step and an air as calm as if he had been on a battle-field, descended the steps leading to the court of the Luxembourg, and entering a coach, was conveyed to the place of execution, outside the garden-gates. He alighted and advanced towards the file of soldiers who were to shoot him. To an officer who proposed to bandage his eyes, he replied, "Are you ignorant that, for twenty-five years, I have been accustomed to face both ball and bullet?" He then took off his hat, and raising it above his head, said, with a firm voice—"I declare, before God and man, that I have never betrayed my country: may my death render her happy! Vive la France!" Then, turning to the soldiers, and striking his right hand on his heart, he gave the word—"Soldiers—fire!"

Thus, in the forty-seventh year of his age, the man "who had fought five hundred battles for France—not one against her—was shot like a traitor!"

Ney was sometimes a stern, never an implacable enemy. He was sincere, honest, and even blunt. He was, with few exceptions, merciful to the vanquished; and while so many of the marshals and generals of imperial France dishonoured their country by rapine, extortion, and cruelty, Michael Ney lived and died—poor, just, and honest.

MURAT, KING OF NAPLES.

JOACHIM MURAT, or Joachim *Napoleon*—the cognomen assumed by all the princes of the Buonapartean dynasty—as he styled himself on his accession to the throne of Naples, was born in 1771, at Bastide-Frontonière, a little village near Cahors, where his father was the keeper of a humble country inn. Through the interest of the ancient and wealthy family of the Talleyrands, to whom his father had been steward, he obtained a scholarship in the College of Cahors, for the purpose of qualifying him as a priest; but his inclination was so averse to that mode of life, that he returned to his father's house, where he was employed in attending to the horses. Though he had been no favourite with his teachers, he had acquired the admiration of his fellow-students for his daring spirit and open and generous disposition. While in his father's employment his skilful and fearless horsemanship was the subject of the conversation of the neighbourhood. Every stage of his life partook of the extravagant and romantic. In his twentieth year, "the Abbé Murat," as he was facetiously designated even while exercising his unsacerdotal occupation of a jockey, falling desperately in love with a pretty girl of Toulouse, fought for her, carried off his prize, and lived with her in concealment till his last sou was dissipated, when he enlisted in the regiment of the Chasseurs of the Ardennes, then marching through Toulouse. Taking, however, a leading part in an act of insubordination, he was soon after his enlistment dismissed from the regiment. He returned to his previous occupation in his father's stables, but longing for more active employment, he travelled, in company with Bessières, subsequently one of Buonaparte's dukes (Istria) up to Paris in the year 1793. In that city, the subsequent grand duke of Berg and king of Naples, engaged himself as a waiter at a restaurateur's. When the revolution broke out, Murat and his fellow-companion entered as privates in the constitutional guard of Louis XVI; from which the two adventurers soon became sub-lieutenants in regiments of dragoons. During the Reign of Terror, Murat, being a stern and violent republican, soon rose to the respective ranks of captain, major and lieutenant-colonel. In 1795 he was of great service

to Buonaparte in the affair of the Sections, and, as a reward, accompanied his patron, on his assuming the command of the army of Italy, in 1796, as his aid-de-camp. From that moment the fortune of the "preux chevalier," or "handsome swordsman," as Murat was called, may be dated. Proud of his distinction, he caused the words "honour and the ladies" to be engraved on his sword's blade. Throughout the short and brilliant Italian campaign, his conduct was conspicuous. At Millesimo, Dego, Rivoli, &c., his cavalry exploits procured for him the rank of chief of brigade; in the exercise of which rank he accompanied his patron in the expedition to Egypt. But the immense extent of desert plains and the harassing assaults of the Mamelukes—who, with the rapidity of the wind, rushed forward or retreated, was more appalling than the most destructive fire of artillery, and the charge of hostile squadrons and battalions—so irritated and dispirited the French army, that there were few who did not long to return to France. Murat strongly participating in that wish, joyfully acceded to the proposal of his chief to prepare for that attempt. On his return to France, for the assistance which he had rendered in the affair of the Sections, on the 18th Brumaire, and now in the formation of the consular government, he was promoted to the rank of general of division, and obtained Caroline, the youngest sister of the consul in marriage, with a dower of thirty thousand francs. On the ascension of his brother-in-law to the imperial throne, he was created marshal and prince of the empire for his services in rendering the innovation popular among the soldiery of the empire. In 1806, he was raised to the dignity of a sovereign prince by the investment of the grand duchy of Berg and Cleves, and recognized as such by the great continental powers. In the campaigns of Prussia and Poland, as in the previous ones in Italy, Egypt, and Austria, he commanded the cavalry, and highly distinguished himself at the battles of Eylau and Friedland. In 1808, he headed the French army engaged in the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, and, as a reward for his services, in September of that year, he was proclaimed king of Naples, on the elevation of Joseph Buonaparte to the Spanish

throne. Though at the pressing solicitation of his brother-in-law, he engaged in the expedition of "the grand army" to Russia, and was the most active of all the French generals in the pursuit of the Russian army as it retreated through Poland and Lithuania, he condemned the impolicy of the measure in such strong terms, as to draw a reply from Buonaparte, which stung the brave soldier to the quick. "A march to Moscow at this season of the year," exclaimed the gallant and feeling-hearted Murat, "will be the destruction of the army;" and, before the words had scarcely passed his lips, he furiously spurred his horse under the fire of a Russian battery, as if he were desirous of meeting death rather than witness the destruction and misery of his brave companions-in-arms. There, desiring his staff to withdraw, he stood immovable, anxiously awaiting the death which would relieve him from the painful sight he expected he would be doomed to witness, until the pressing persuasion of Belliard induced him to retire from the perilous situation in which he had so chivalrously placed himself.

In all the desperate battles which ensued, his courage and daring shone conspicuously. In the armistice which was agreed to on the French army reaching the heights overlooking Moscow, Murat, arraying himself in the most magnificent of his costumes, and having his horse adorned in its splendid trappings, advanced towards the Cossacks, who were under the walls of the city, while the Russian rear was evacuating it, and was received by those wild warriors with loud peals of applause; and, pressing around him with tumultuous enthusiasm, they called him their "hetman." The homage of those children of the wilderness so gratified the vanity of Murat, that he distributed amongst them, first, all the money he had about him, then all he could borrow from the officers of his staff, and, lastly, his own watch and those of his companions. Irritated and disheartened with the reverses and sufferings of the wretched worn-out remnant of the grand army, on the 17th of January, 1813, he threw up his command, at Wilna, and returned to Italy. In the Saxon campaign of the following year, dazzled by the brilliant victories of Lutzen and Bautzen, he commanded the French cavalry at the battle of Dresden, to the gaining of which he materially contributed. In his incursion across the Elbe, in pursuit of Blucher, "I could not help,"

says one of his lieutenants, the son of Wolfe Tone, "admiring the personal prowess of this brilliant warrior. His eyes would sparkle at the random discharge of a tirailleur's carbine. Without counting the enemy, he would cry—'Chassez-moi ces canailles là!' (Drive off that rabble), nor could he refrain, covered over with gold and feathers, and remarkable as he was by his singular and theatrical dress, from dashing in among the sharp-shooters. He was an admirable swordsman, and when he singled out some wretched Cossack, would dart on him like a falcon on his prey."

On his return to Naples after the battle of Leipsic, he renewed his overtures, made on his return from the Moscow campaign, of combining his future political proceedings with those of the Austrian cabinet, and acceding to the European alliance against his brother-in-law; and, in January of the following year, he concluded a treaty, by which the emperor of Austria recognised his right to the Neapolitan throne, on condition of his furnishing 30,000 troops in furtherance of the common cause. But though he had entered into this treaty, he held secret connections with Buonaparte, as appears evident from two letters addressed to him by his brother-in-law, dated Nangis, February 18th, and Craonne, March 5th, 1814. But how disappointed were Murat's hopes by the results of the congress at Vienna! The delay of the convention of the "holy alliance" in the recognition of his regal titles exciting his suspicions, he again united his fate and fortune to those of Buonaparte, who had escaped from Elba, and was triumphantly marching on the French capital. For this purpose, and in the hope of eventually proclaiming himself sovereign of the whole Italian peninsula, he put an army of 50,000 men in motion, and advanced on Tuscany. Being compelled, in the combats of Caprino, Ponte Corvo, Mignano, and San Germano, by the Austrians and English to fall back towards his own kingdom, and being abandoned by a large portion of his troops, he hurried *incognito*, to Naples, on the evening of May 18th, and as soon as he was in presence of his queen, he exclaimed, with emotion, "All is lost, Caroline, except my own life, and that I have been unable to throw away." Failing to rouse the Neapolitans in his behalf, on the evening of the 19th, he, with a few attendants, all in disguise, left Naples,

and sailed for the island of Ischia. After the battle of Waterloo and the second abdication of Napoleon, fearing the consequences of the reward of 48,000 francs, which the Bourbon Neapolitan government had set upon his head, he determined to leave his retreat at Ajaccio, in Corsica, and attempt the recovery of his lost kingdom. On the 28th of September, he embarked, with 250 followers, on board six small vessels, on the perilous attempt; but the little squadron being dispersed in a heavy gale, on the night of October 6th, he, with a few faithful followers, landed at Pizzo on the 8th. Some fishermen recognising him, shouted, "Long live king Joachim," and the peasantry joined the townspeople in his favour. Advancing rapidly to Monte-Leone, the capital of the province, he encountered one Trenta-Capella, a captain of gendarmes, at the head of a number of his men. Murat, advancing towards his assailants, hailed them, but the only answer he received was a shower of balls. Attempting to escape to the vessel from which he had just disembarked, being again assailed, and almost every one near him being either killed or wounded, Murat was seized, and being thrown into prison, was, on the 13th, tried by a military commission, and being found guilty of treason against the existing Neapolitan Bourbon dynasty, was condemned to death. The natural eloquence and loftiness of his defence, which concluded with the impressive words, "at this hour of my death, I have no other wealth than that of my actions: they are all my glory and my consolation," excited the admiration of even his heartless and faithless judges. When the fatal moment arrived, he walked with a firm step to the place of execution, as calm and as unmoved as if he had been going to an ordinary review. He stood proudly in front of the soldiers, and kissing and fixing his eyes upon the cornelian seal bearing the head of his queen, which was found grasped in his right hand after death, he gave the order to fire. Thus perished one who was another victim to legitimate clemency and justice, whom death had respected in two hundred combats, and whose errors must be ascribed to a defective education.

The description of the *personnel* of Buonaparte's "best cavalry officer in the world," whose costume imitated the ancient knights whom Ariosto and Tasso have so romantically portrayed, is too interesting to be omitted. It was on account of his fantastic style of

dressing that his imperial brother-in-law called him a "*roi de théâtre*," and used the other terms of ridicule which so annoyed Joachim Napoleon, that he often felt an inclination to declare war against his relative, had he not been restrained by the counsels of his queen.

"He was a Paladin," said Napoleon, "in the field, but in the cabinet destitute either of decision or judgment. He loved, I may rather say adored me: he was my right arm; but without me he was nothing. In battle, he was perhaps the bravest man in the world; left to himself, he was an imbecile without judgment." The external appearance of Napoleon formed a striking contrast to that of his royal brother-in-law. When they rode together along the front of the troops, Murat attracted universal attention by his commanding figure, his superb theatrical costume, the splendid trappings and beautiful figure of his horse, and the military dignity of his air. This dazzling display contrasted strangely, but characteristically, with the three-cornered hat, dark surtout, leather breeches, huge boots, corpulent figure, and careless seat on horseback, which have become immortal in the representations of Napoleon. The imposing aspect of Murat was, however, weakened, rather than heightened, by the rich and fantastic dress which he wore. Dark whiskers on his face contrasted with piercing blue eyes; his abundant black locks spread over the neck of a splendid Polish dress, open above the shoulders; the collar was richly adorned with gold brocade, and from a splendid girdle of the same material hung a light sabre, straight in the blade, after the manner of the ancient Roman, with the hilt set in diamonds. Wide pantaloons, of a purple or scarlet colour, richly embroidered with gold, and boots of yellow leather, completed this singular costume, which resembled rather the gorgeous trappings of the melo-drama, than the comparatively simple uniform of modern times. But its greatest distinction was a large three-cornered hat, surmounted by a profusion of magnificent white ostrich feathers, rising from a broad gold band, which enclosed besides a superb heron plume. His noble charger was set off with gorgeous bridle and stirrups, richly gilt after the Turkish fashion, and enveloped in trappings of azure blue, the tint of the Italian sky, which also was the prevailing colour of his liveries. Above this fantastic

but dazzling attire, he wore, in cold weather, a magnificent pelisse of dark-green velvet, lined and fringed with the richest sables. When he rode beside Napoleon, habited after his simple fashion, in this theatrical costume, it appeared a living image of splendid folly contrasted with the naked majesty of thought. But with whatever sentiments the fantastic magnificence of the king of Naples might be regarded on peaceful parades, they yielded to an involuntary

feeling of respect when his white plume was seen, like that of Alexander the Great, ever foremost in the ranks of war, plunging into the thickest of the hostile ranks, regardless of the shower of cannon-balls for which it formed a never-failing mark; or when he was beheld returning from a charge, his sabre dripping wet with the blood of the Cossacks, whom, in the impetuosity of overflowing courage, he had challenged and slain in single combat."

MARSHAL SOULT.

JEAN-DE-DIEU SOULT was born of humble parents, at St. Amand, in the department of the Tarn, in 1769, the year which gave birth to Wellington and Buonaparte. At the age of sixteen he enlisted in a regiment of infantry, and at the breaking-out of the revolution, became a sub-lieutenant of grenadiers. At the battle of Fleurus, in 1794, he highly distinguished himself. In 1796, he obtained the rank of general of brigade, and in 1799, served under Massena in the defence of Genoa.

When the invasion of England was meditated, he commanded the army encamped from Boulogne to Calais. At Austerlitz and Eylau, his courage and talents were eminently displayed, and it is not exceeding the truth to say that both of those decisive battles were gained by his penetration and forethought, particularly the last-mentioned: Buonaparte having been so discouraged at the heavy loss he had sustained, that he was contemplating falling back to effect a junction with the corps advancing to his assistance, when Soult exclaimed, "Beware of doing so, sire; let us remain the last in the field, and we shall have the honour of the day; from what I have seen, I suspect the enemy will retreat in the night." The event justified his suggestion. Soon afterwards he was created duke of Dalmatia. He had obtained his marshal's staff in 1804.

In 1808, he was engaged in the war with the patriot armies of Spain, but from the imbecility of the Spanish generals, met with no effectual resistance, until he advanced against the British army under sir John Moore, to whose memory he caused the inscription to be engraved on a monument near the spot where the hero fell, which has already been stated in an early part of this work.

The signal discomfiture and calamitous flight, as also the consummate ability displayed in those transactions by the subject of this biographical sketch at the passage of the Douro, as also his defeat and gallant defence at the sanguinary and memorable battle of Albuera, have been already detailed; and, it is hoped, with that impartiality which ought to characterise historical composition, when narrating the conduct and pretensions even of an enemy. His reprehensible severity while engaged in the statesmanlike administration of the Andalusian provinces, has also been there stated with that truth and condemnation which the credibility of history demands.

In 1813, Soult was recalled from Spain to assist in the maintenance of the tottering throne of his imperial master. In the Saxon campaign, he exhibited his usual talent and courage. But when the defeat at Vittoria left no obstacle to the advance of Wellington and his victorious comrades into France, Soult was appointed to rally the dispersed French armies, and defend the passage of the Pyrenees, to prevent "the sacred soil of France" from being dishonoured by the conquering footsteps of the hated "Sepoy general" and his comrade "cotton-spinners and shopkeepers." But how impossible, the preceding narrative has fully shown. Truth and time have incontestably proved the fallacy of the gallant and talented marshal's pretensions to the claim of victory, in the well-contested and crowning battle of Toulouse; and all the empirical devices of subscriptions and monuments will never invalidate the legitimate right of the victors in that memorable contest.

On the restoration of the legitimate government, as it has been strangely termed, of Louis XVIII., Soult received the portfolio

of the minister at war. On the return of Buonaparte, he accepted a seat in the new chamber of peers, and exercised the functions of major-general at the battle of Waterloo. On the abdication of Charles X., he gave in his adhesion to the government of Louis Philippe, and, in the same year, was appointed minister at war in the new *régime*. He died in 1852.

War, as it has been said with truth, had not been an unprofitable game to the revolutionary duke of Dalmatia. By his

marauding ingenuity he had contrived to possess himself of large estates, and to adorn his splendid hotel with the finest specimens of art, rifled from the galleries of Spain. His person is thus described by one to whom he was not unknown—"Had I encountered such a figure (namely Soult) in London, I should rather have guessed him to be an honest East or West India captain, than one of the far-famed marshals of France." He was bow-legged, and an awkward horseman.

MARSHAL SUCHET.

SUCHET was born at Lyons, in 1770, where his father was a tradesman. At the age of twenty, he embarked in a volunteer battalion raised in his native town at the breaking-out of the French revolution. In 1793, he commanded a battalion at the siege of Toulon. He was present in most of the battles of the first Italian campaign. In 1798, he obtained the rank of general of brigade, for his conduct in the campaign against the Swiss. In the campaigns of Germany, particularly at the battles of Austerlitz and Jena, he greatly contributed to the success of the French arms. In 1808, he was raised to the dignity of count

of the empire. In the campaigns against the Spanish patriots, his movements were a succession of victories against the imbecile generals and perfidious civil authorities of that unhappy and misgoverned country. For his services he received the marshal's bâton, and was created duke of Albufera. Napoleon, while at St. Helena, speaking of Suchet, said, "if I had had two such field-m Marshals as Suchet, I should not only have conquered, but have kept the Peninsula"—"it is a pity," added he, "that a sovereign cannot improvise men of his stamp." Suchet died in 1826, at the age of fifty-six.

MARSHAL AUGEREAU.

AUGEREAU was the son of a greengrocer, in the faubourg of St. Marceau of Paris, and born in 1757, in that city. At an early age he enlisted in the Neapolitan service, but not being able to obtain any promotion, he, in the thirtieth year of his age, quitted that service, and taught fencing at Naples. At the breaking-out of the French revolution, he became a volunteer in the republican army of the south, and rapidly rose from grade to grade, till he became brigadier-general, in 1794, in the army of the Eastern Pyrenees. In all the battles of the first Italian campaign he served with distinction—at Lodi, Castiglione, and Arcola, he exhibited unparalleled courage and bravery. At Arcola, seeing the French columns giving way, he snatched a standard, and rushing on the bridge at the head of two battalions of grenadiers, contributed essentially to the glory of that day.

For his seasonable assistance in the affair

of the Sections, on the 18th Brumaire, he was, after the establishment of the empire, rewarded with a marshal's staff, and the ducal title of Castiglione. In the campaign against Austria, in 1805, and that against Prussia, in 1806, Augereau greatly distinguished himself: on the plains of Jena, and in the dreadful struggle at Eylau, he performed acts of heroism. In 1809, he superseded Gouvain St. Cyr, in command of the eastern army of Spain, from which he was recalled on account of his want of success arising from his cruelty and speculation. "The Fructidor-general," as he was sarcastically termed, in reference to his descent, on the return of Louis XVIII. to France, in his proclamation issued at Lyons, described that monarch as the object of every Frenchman's affection; and his benefactor, Buonaparte, as "an odious despot, of whom all France was glad to get rid—a mean coward—one who had feared to die

as became a soldier." At an accidental meeting, when Buonaparte was on his triumphant march from Cannes to Paris, on his escape from Elba, "his own little Augereau"—"the Paris Boy," as the ingrate termed himself, contemptuously turned his

back on his late master whom he once flattered and fawned on. The thirst for gold of this contemptible individual was insatiable; his avarice unbounded; his pillage and plunder endless. He died in the midst of his ill-gotten wealth, in the year 1816.

MARSHAL BESSIÈRES.

BESSIÈRES was born of humble parents at Preissac, the capital of the department of the Lot, in 1768. Travelling in company with Murat to Paris, on reaching that capital, they entered as privates in the constitutional guard of Louis XVIII., and on the dissolution of that body Bessièrés was transferred to a cavalry regiment attached to the legion of the Pyrenees. In 1796, he joined the army of Italy, as captain of chasseurs, and in the course of the extraordinary achievements of that campaign, attracted the notice of its youthful leader, Buonaparte, by his great personal bravery. On the formation of the corps of *Guides*, Bessièrés was selected for its command, and from that instant he was always at the head of the consular and imperial guards in charges of the reserve, one time deciding the battle, another profiting by the victory by their impetuous and irresistible attacks. For his services he was made a marshal in 1804, and in 1808 raised to the dignity of the duke of Istria.

In the course of the Spanish campaigns, Bessièrés, by his decisive victory at Medina del Rio Seco, over the imbecile and headstrong Cuesta, opened the way to Madrid,

and placed Joseph Buonaparte on the Spanish throne. In 1809, he was present in the battles of the German campaigns; at Wagram, a cannon-ball tore open his clothes, from the top of the thigh to the knee, running in a zig-zag form like a thunder-bolt. In 1812, he was present in all the contests of the calamitous Russian campaign; and in the Saxon campaign, in the following year, he assumed the command of the cavalry of the whole French army. At the battle of Lutzen, a musket-ball which struck him on the breast, extended him lifeless on the ground. The humanity and benevolence of spirit of this gallant soldier formed a striking contrast to the ferocity and spoliation of the generality of the French generals. Throughout his career he exerted himself to mitigate the horrors and desolation of war. So mild had been his conduct in Spain, where the French name had become odious from the atrocities of the generals and soldiers of France, that the inhabitants of several of the towns, on hearing of his death, assembled to offer up masses for his soul. He left his family not only poor, but in debt. What a contrast to the Soult, the Massenas, the Junots, &c.!

MARSHAL GOUVAIN ST. CYR.

GOUVAIN ST. CYR was born at Toul, in the department of the Meurthe, in 1794. He was designed for an artist, but at the breaking out of the revolution, he enlisted in a company of volunteers, from which he was soon sent to join the French armies on the Rhine. On account of his consummate skill as a tactician, his promotion was rapid; in 1795, he was a general of division; in 1798, he served in the army of Italy; and in the following year in that of the Rhine. At the battle of Hohenlinden, he materially contributed to the victory. In the campaigns of Poland and Prussia which followed, he participated in all their memo-

orable battles. In 1809, he was appointed to the command of the French army in Catalonia, but being by nature humane, and by principle honourable, indicating an unwillingness to put into execution the stern orders of Buonaparte, and support his army by the plunder and spoliation of the inhabitants, he was superseded by Augereau, a fit instrument for the purposes of a tyrant. He accompanied the French army to Russia, and in the course of that disastrous campaign, he was, for his services, raised to the rank of marshal of the empire. In the succeeding Saxon campaign he distinguished himself, particularly at the battle of Dres-

den. On the first restoration of Louis XVIII., he was raised to the chamber of peers, and on the second restoration of that monarch, he was, in 1817, appointed minister of

marine, from which office he passed in September of the same year, to the war-office. He died, universally respected and esteemed, in the year 1830.

MARSHAL GROUCHY.

GROUCHY, a count of the ancient *régime*, was born at Paris, in 1766. At the commencement of the revolution, he was a sub-lieutenant in the royal body-guard, but adopting the republican service, he was appointed colonel of the Condé regiment of dragoons. But scarcely had he served his first campaign, when the decree against persons of aristocratical birth compelled him to resign. Unable to restrain his military predilection, he enlisted as a private in the national guards, and marched against the royalists of La Vendee. For his zeal and talent displayed in that service he was employed in the army of the west, and, in 1795, became general of division. In 1796, he engaged as second in command in the expedition under general Hoche against Ireland, but the fleet being dispersed in a storm, only a portion of the armament landed at Bantry Bay, under Grouchy. On account of the inadequate means, it is unnecessary to say that the attempt failed. According to the testimony of the planner of the expedition, who was a native of Ireland, and accompanied Grouchy, though the armament consisted of 6,500 men, "we had not one guinea in the military chest and our pockets: not a tent—not a horse to draw our four pieces of artillery; and all our baggage consists of the arms on our hands, the clothes on our backs, and a good courage; but we are all as bold as larks, and confident of success. Huzza!" Though this is the right spirit which should actuate the soldier, the sad absence of the *munimenta et stomachi et belli* could not but damage the enterprise.

From this period, Grouchy's services were called into action in various countries. In 1798, he was commander-in-chief of the army in Piedmont. In 1799, he was present in the fierce engagement between Moreau and Suwarrow at Novi, where he was wounded and taken prisoner; and, under the same leader, he fought valiantly at Hohenlinden, and was one of those who most contributed to the success of that day. In 1807, he commanded the cavalry of the left

wing of the French army at the battle of Friedland. He was soon afterwards created count of the empire. In 1808, he was engaged in the Spanish campaign, and was the officer in command on the occasion of shooting the inhabitants of Madrid for the insurrection in that city on the 2nd of May. In the Italian campaign of 1809, he served with distinction; and, in the same year, he contributed much to the victory at Wagram. In 1812, he was wounded at the battle of Borodino; and, in the retreat from Moscow, was appointed to the command of "the sacred squadron," whose special duty was to watch over the safety of Napoleon Buonaparte. In 1814, he took an active part against the allies in their advance to Paris, and was wounded at the battle of Craonne. Though he gave in his adhesion to the Bourbon government, he hastened to the Tuilleries on the return of Buonaparte, and published a proclamation, calling on the national guard to join "the great military family." For those services he received the marshal's bâton. The current story of his treachery to Buonaparte at the battle of Waterloo is as idle as it is untrue, and disproved by Buonaparte himself, who, in the *Mémoires*, dictated to Gourmand at St. Helena, confined his condemnation to the want of energy and enterprising genius—an accusation as unfounded as that made against Ney, whom he accused, as he did Grouchy, of having become timorous and circumspect in their operations—an accusation as unjust as it was ungrateful to the men who struggled to the last in the field long after their traducer had fled from it. The query of Scott, in his *Life of Buonaparte*, is a complete refutation of the slander uttered against those two faithful adherents to their faithless master: "Is it consistent with human nature to suppose, that those whose fortunes and safety depended on the victory, should have loitered in the rear when their fate was in the balance?" Another circumstance of disproof is, that on the second restoration of Louis XVIII., Grouchy emigrated to the United States.

MARSHAL VICTOR.

VICTOR was born of humble parents at Marche, in the department of the Vosges, in 1766. At the age of fifteen he enlisted in the artillery. In the army of the Eastern Pyrenees he obtained the rank of general of brigade. In the various battles of the first Italian campaign, he displayed great bravery. A sabre of honour was the reward of his services at the battle of Marengo. He was wounded at the battle of Jena; and, in the following year, his gallantry at Friedland procured him the marshal's bâton. In 1808, he entered on the Spanish campaign; and, as in the case of all the other French generals, dispersed the

scared patriot armies, under their imbecile and arrogant leaders, like chaff before the wind: but at Talavera, his triumphal progress was arrested by Wellington and his comrades. In 1812, he was created duke of Belluna, and summoned to assist in the Russian campaign. He was present at the battle of the Beresina, and in the ensuing Saxon campaign. He fought nobly at Dresden, Leipsic, &c., as well as in the advance of the allies to Paris in 1814. He, Marmont, Macdonald, Oudinot, and Mortier, were the only marshals who adhered to the fortunes of Louis XVIII. when he retreated to Ghent. In 1821, he was made minister-at-war.

MARSHAL MACDONALD.

MACDONALD, the descendant of the family of Clanronald, who, on account of their having participated in the rebellion of 1745, fled to France, after the battle of Culloden, was born at Sancerre, in the department of the Cher, in 1765. After receiving a liberal education, becoming his descent, he entered the regiment of Dillon, which was one of those in the French service chiefly composed of Irish and Scotch, and to which the French arms were mainly indebted for any partial advantages they may have gained over those of England. At the battle of Fontenoy, the foreign brigades, consisting of the regiments of Dillon, Renwick, Clare, Lally, Buckley, Ruth, and the horse of Fitzjames, when the French line, which was broken by the first charge of the British, fell back on these redoubtable soldiers, saved the signal discomfiture of the French army, and occasioned the partial repulse of the English. In the imperial service of France, the Scotch and Irish refugees contributed, in no trifling degree to the victories of the empire.

The subject of the present biographical sketch was present at most of the actions fought in the Low Countries. At the battle of Jemappe he was made colonel, for the zeal and talent he exhibited on that occasion. In the memorable winter campaign of 1794, under Pichegru, he effected the passage of the Waal, on the ice, under a terrible fire from the batteries of Nimeguen, for which gallant exploit he was made general of brigade. For the services rendered to Bu-

naparte, in the affair of the Sections on the 18th Brumaire, he was appointed to the command of the army of the Grisons; but, in 1802, having the courage and honesty to reprobate the conduct of Buonaparte towards Moreau, he lost the favour of the French consul, and was doomed to inglorious inaction till 1809, when the critical state of affairs induced the French chief to give him the command of a corps under the order of Eugene Beauharnais. At Wagram, he forced the Austrian centre, though defended by 200 pieces of cannon, but with a tremendous loss. In the morning of that hard-fought day (July 6th) he had gone into action with 18,000 men; but, at two o'clock, only 4,000 survived. On this occasion, he was presented with his marshal's staff, and, when he returned to Paris, was created duke of Tarentum. In 1810, he assumed the command of Augereau's corps in Catalonia, and in the stead of a system of blood-thirsty vengeance substituted one of mercy and mildness, by which he conciliated the good-will and obedience of the natives. In 1812, he commanded the tenth corps, in the expedition to Russia; and, in the Saxon campaign of the following year, he was eminently conspicuous in the battles of Lutzen, Bautzen, Dresden, and Leipsic. On him devolved the arduous duty of covering the rear of the French army in its retreat to Paris, which he executed with so much skill and spirit as to obtain the applause of the enemy. On Buonaparte's escape from Elba, this gallant soldier continued faithful to Louis.

Macdonald's conduct, in all his proceedings, exhibited a striking contrast to the rapacity and atrocities of the generality of the French marshals and generals; but it was the contrast which always appears between the conduct of the educated and well-descended man, and that of the low-origined ruffian, when he is invested with power and office. When that honourable man was on the eve of quitting his government of Gratz, the inhabitants presented him with 100,000 francs and a valuable box of jewels,

intended as a wedding present for one of his daughters; but the high-minded marshal refused to accept them, saying to the deputation, "Gentlemen, if you consider yourselves under any obligation to me, the only way to repay it is to take care of the three hundred sick soldiers whom I am compelled to leave behind me." Glad indeed would the historian be to have it in his power to record similar conduct of the French generals and marshals of imperial France.

MARSHAL MONCEY.

MONCEY—one of Plutarch's men—for, in the early period of the revolution, when war was waged nobly and disinterestedly, not for pillage and spoliation—while he enacted that discipline and subordination on which the perfection of the military character depends, visited with exemplary punishment any infraction by his troops, of justice and probity towards the inhabitants of the invaded and conquered countries—was born, in the year 1754, at Besançon, where his father practised as advocate in the parliament of that city. Being designed for the same profession as that of his parent, he received an appropriate education; but before he completed his studies, he enlisted in the Conti regiment of infantry. In the course of a few months, his father procured his discharge; but so strong was the predilection of the high-spirited youth for a military life, that he re-entered the service in the regiment of Champagne, in which he served as a private till June, 1773, when, deeming his services to have been neglected, he purchased his discharge, and followed the profession of his father in his native town. But so unrestrainable was his love of the profession to which he had devoted his maiden services, that he, a third time, re-entered the army as a private soldier.

In 1789, at the age of thirty-five, Moncey—a man of high education, lofty mind, and spotless conduct—was merely a sub-lieutenant of dragoons. At the breaking out of the revolution, he was draughted into a battalion of light infantry. In 1791, he was captain; in 1794, chief of battalion; and, in less than two years, a general of division. On the establishment of the consular government, he was appointed to the

command of the 15th military division at Lyons, but his moderation and observance of the laws of justice and dictates of conscience so incurred the ill-will of the Jacobins at that period, that he soon procured his removal to the army of Italy, where he was in command in all the celebrated battles of the First Italian Campaign. In 1804, he was appointed marshal of the empire, and created duke of Conegliano, honours obtained for less dubious services than those of any of Buonaparte's *marechals* and nick-named *nobles!* In 1808, he entered on service in Spain, and was appointed to the odious task of besieging Saragossa; but his promise, in his summons of surrender, to grant the inhabitants every privilege compatible with his feelings and his duty, caused the supercession of his command, and its transfer to the less conscientious and honourable Junot. Being, in 1810, recalled to France, he was appointed to the command of the northern army of reserve. In 1812, he partook in the dangers and horrors of the Russian campaign, as also in those of the Saxon campaign in the following year. In 1814, he commanded the national guards in the preservation of the tranquillity of the capital.

Moncey, throughout his life, acted the part of an honourable man, unstained by any of those atrocities which were the emphatic and super-eminent characteristics of the Buonapartean generals and *nobles!* But the testimony of the junta of Oviedo, in 1808, of that really great and good man—for true greatness consists in moral worth, not in the gaudy glitter and gorgeousness of the misnomered greatness—too frequently the offspring of wickedness, oppression, and disregard of the convictions of conscience

and the dictates of honour and justice—is his best escutcheon and motto.

“We know that this illustrious general detests the conduct of his companions. We offer him the tribute of truth and honour; and we invite this generous soldier to aid us by the addition of his talents and bravery. If the respect which he pays to the mandates of nature do not permit him to take up arms against his unworthy companions,

yet he shall be considered by us as a just and an honourable man, and our love and our esteem shall follow him wherever, in the vicissitudes of his life, his lot shall be cast.” What a galling lesson and a humiliating reflection must this testimonial of an honourable soldier’s conduct have been to the Soult, the Massenas, the Junots, *et id genus omne* of warrior-no-bility!

MARSHAL JOURDAN.

JOURDAN was the son of a surgeon, and born at Limoges, in 1762. At the age of sixteen, he enlisted in the regiment of Auxerrois, and served in that corps in the American war of independence. At the breaking out of the revolution, he was appointed commandant of the second battalion of Upper Vienne, with which he joined Dumourier, at the battle of Jemappes. In 1793, he obtained the victory of Wattignies, after a conflict of forty-eight hours; and when in command of the army of the Moselle, he gained that of Fleurus, which opened Belgium a second time to the republican armies. In 1795, he carried on a brilliant campaign beyond the Rhine against the archduke Charles; but being defeated by him in the following year, near Ratisbon, he was recalled, and superseded by Bournonville. In 1797, he was appointed to the command of the army of the Danube, but in March of

the year 1799, being defeated by the archduke Charles at Stockbach, he was superseded by Massena.

As he took no part in the affair of the Sections, on the 18th Brumaire, he was placed on the proscribed list; but in 1802, he was appointed to the command of the army of Italy. In 1804, he was created a marshal and count of the empire. In 1808, he accompanied Joseph Buonaparte to Spain, as his major-general, and was one of the triad or trinity of officers who assisted the pseudo-intrusive and illegitimate king, as he has been strangely termed, as if all kings have not, in the strictest acceptation of the words, been intruders, illegitimate and pseudo, in respect of the laws of nature and the expediency of justice and right—who assisted Joseph against Wellington and his comrades at the battles of Talavera and Vittoria.

MARSHAL MORTIER.

MORTIER was the son of a farmer, and born at Cambrai, in 1768. At the commencement of the revolution, he obtained an ensigncy in a volunteer regiment of cavalry, and soon obtained the rank of adjutant-general in the republican army. On the Rhine and in Switzerland, under Pichegru, Moreau, and Massena, he fought his way up to the command of a division, and served with the grand army in the Russian and Prussian campaigns, to the close of that on the plains of Friedland. But he tarnished his military reputation by the severity with which he enforced the iniquitous injunctions of his despotic master against the plundered and oppressed city of Hamburg. For his seizure of Hanover, on the rupture of the

peace of Amiens, he was rewarded with a marshal’s baton.

In 1808, he was created duke of Treviso, and appointed to a command against the Spanish patriots. In his transactions in the Peninsula, he was distinguished for his observance of the humanities of war, and his mild treatment of his Spanish prisoners. In the expedition to Russia in 1812, he commanded the young guard, and fought gallantly at the battles of Lutzen and Dresden, in the Saxon campaign of the following year, as also in that of the advance of the allies to Paris. He was to have commanded the young guard at Waterloo, but was prevented by an attack of sciatica, which confined him to his bed.

MARSHAL OUDINOT.

LOUDINOT was born at Bar-sur-Ornain, in 1767. For some time he followed his father's trade of brewer; but having enlisted his services, among those of other young men, for the purpose of preventing the excesses of the insurgents to plunder and rob Bar, he became so enamoured of a military life, that he obtained a commission and rapidly rose to the rank of general of division. On the Rhine, in Switzerland, and in Italy, under Pichegru, Moreau, Massena, and Buonaparte, he greatly distinguished himself. In 1804, he was created count, and presented by Buonaparte with a million of francs, to enable him to support,

as it is called, the title. The skill and talents he exhibited at Wagram, procured for him the title of duke of Reggio; and in 1809, he obtained the marshal's truncheon. In 1812, he commanded the 12th corps in the expedition to Russia; and he fought gallantly in the succeeding Saxon campaign, particularly at the battle of Bautzen. Though he had repeated opportunities, particularly in the Low Countries, of enriching himself with pillage and spoliation, after the fashion of his master and his brother marshals and generals, to his honour and that of his descendants be it said, he died poor, and inferentially, *honest*.

JUNOT.

JUNOT, the son of a small farmer and miller, was born at Bussy-les-Forges, in 1771. At an early age this non-marshalified specimen of Buonapartean patronage enlisted in the army; at the siege of Toulon his good fortune began. While conducting a battery under the fire of the besiegers, Buonaparte, who was then commandant of the artillery, having occasion to prepare a despatch to the governor, asked for some one who could write. Junot stepped forward, and while writing the despatch on the breastwork, a shot striking the ground, covered the paper with loose earth. "That's lucky," said the gay-hearted soldier, "we shall have no need of sand." The collected gaiety of Junot attracted the attention of Buonaparte—he soon became a commissioned officer, and in 1796, his benefactor's aid-de-camp.

In the campaign of Italy, the miller's son obtained the rank of colonel, and was there distinguished for his rapacity and pillaging propensities. In Egypt, whither he accompanied his patron, he distinguished himself, particularly at the battle of Nazareth, where he routed several thousand Franks with only three hundred men, and obtained as his reward the rank of general of brigade. In 1806 he accompanied his patron in the Prussian and Russian campaigns, and was present at the battles of Jena, Eylau, and Friedland. In 1807, he was appointed to the command of the army of Portugal, destined for the seizure of that kingdom from the imbecile Don Jon and his besotted

government and dastardly army. In that ill-fated country his extortion, robbery, and pillage knew no bounds. He severely punished all persons who dared to speak against his tyrannical measures, and allayed revolts by the bloodiest executions. For his "doings" he was decked with the nickname of duke of Abrantés. But while he was dreaming of clapping the Lusitanian crown on his noddle, all his reveries were dissipated by the "Sepoy general and his nation of shop-keepers," at the "*shandies*" of Roliça and Vimiera. In 1812, the quondam miller commanded the eighth corps, but according to Rapp, "the brave of the brave," slumbered amidst the sound of the cannon in that disastrous affair, instead of participating in its dangers and horrors. But perhaps the absence of spoil and pillage—even boxes of "the indigo, starch, soap, and candles" of his Portuguese exploits—repressed the energy and activity of the *ci devant* miller's "*gift*" for pillage and plunder. This man died in a paroxysm of insanity in 1813. His excesses and extravagant conduct had long indicated his derangement. He would fire with anger at the most trifling demand from a creditor, and threaten to liquidate the debt with his sword. One day, while governor-general of Illyria, he furiously drove, for several hours, his barouché, to which six horses were harnessed, preceded by a picquet of cavalry, from one end of Goritz to the other, in the midst of a crowd of astonished inhabitants.

MARSHAL LANNES.

LANNES, who was the son of a poor mechanic, and intended for a like course of occupation, was born at Lectoure, in Normandy, in 1769. When about to be apprenticed, he absconded, and enlisted in the army. In the commencement of the revolution, the regiment to which he belonged was employed on the Pyrenean frontier. After passing through the intermediate grades, he attained the rank of chief of brigade in 1795.

For the aid he furnished Buonaparte in the affair of the Sections, he received his patronage, and accompanied him in his first Italian campaign; in which, at the battle of Millesimo, he so distinguished himself, that he was made colonel on the battle-field. At the bridge of Lodi he was the first man who reached the opposite side; Buonaparte being the second: for those services he was made general of brigade, and, soon afterwards, that of division. In the Egyptian expedition, he was ever foremost; at Aboukir and Acre, he fought valiantly. On his return to France, he accompanied his patron in his second Italian campaign, and was present in all the great battles—Montebello, Marengo, &c.—of that brilliant military operation. In 1804, he was presented with a marshal's truncheon, and created duke of Montebello. In the Prussian and Russian campaigns, he participated in all the sanguinary battles—Austerlitz, Jena, Pultusk, Preuss-Eylau, Friedland, &c.—which occurred during that

period. In 1808, he was appointed to the command of the army, with which Monecy had commenced the siege of Saragossa; but the siege of that heroic town was conducted with a different spirit by the uneducated mechanic's son to that with which it had been commenced by the liberal-born and highly-educated Monecy. When the ill-fated city surrendered, the unfortunate but heroic Saragossans were exposed to all the exaction, pillage, and contumely in which low-born ignorance and presumption love to indulge. In the campaign against Austria, in 1809, this rough-natured but truly brave soldier, accompanied his insatiably ambitious master. He fought bravely at Eckmühl and Essling; but, in the last-mentioned action, he lost his life, a cannon-ball having carried away the whole of his right leg and the foot and ancle of the left. The rude and boisterous character of the man was strongly exemplified during the few days he lingered preceding his death. When told that he could not live—"Not save a marshal of France, and a duke of Montebello!" exclaimed the ignorant, thoughtless man, to the surgeon, "then the emperor shall hang you." Not a few of Buonaparte's marshals, generals, and officers, of all grades and ranks, were equally ignorant, equally destitute of correct and refined feeling, and equally stern and unrelenting in the execution of their insatiably ambitious master's designs.

GENERAL LOISON.

LOISON, who could neither read nor write, was, at the breaking out of the revolution, a private in the royal guards. For his services in heading the mob which attacked the Tuilleries, he obtained from Robespierre, when in power, the command of a battalion. In 1795, he became a general of brigade for his services in the affair of the Sections. In 1808, in the course of his services in Portugal, under Junot, his conduct was of the most flagitious nature. He not only massacred in cold blood those who bore arms, but also old men and children, and sanctioned the violation of the women. His march from Almeida to Abrantés was one continued scene of pillage, conflagration,

slaughter, and violence. His enormities knew no bounds. His disposition for theft was so insatiable, that he broke off the gold and silver clasps of the books in the episcopal library of Evora. Even the author of the *War in the Peninsula* admits, that he was held in so great detestation by the Portuguese, that "the execrations poured forth at the mention of the bloody Maneta, as, from the loss of his hand, he was called, proves that he must have committed many heinous acts." This odious soldier assisted, in 1813, in putting into execution the orders of the blood-thirsty and savage Davoust at Hamburg, as well as in other places in the Low Countries.

SUPPLEMENTAL DESPACHES.

For the purpose of rendering the series of "The Wellington Despatches" relative to the immortal battles and the glorious sieges of the Peninsular war, complete and entire, those which, for the sake of condensation, and the fear, in printing phraseology, "of driving out the matter," were omitted in the early part of the first division of this work, are here introduced—an introduction which no one who loves his country and has its honour at heart can regret. These documents are proud memorials of England's heroism and prowess—of her martial fame and glory—of her invincibility and courage. When all other monuments of her greatness and influence on the theatre of human affairs have perished and are forgotten, her martial power and renown will alone remain to remind future ages that she once existed. Let her sons anxiously cherish the remembrance and tenaciously preserve the memorials of the heroic deeds of their ancestors.

BATTLE OF ASSAYE.

"Camp at Assye, 24th Sept., 1803.

"My Lord—I was joined by major Hill with the last of the convoys expected from the river Kaitna, on the 18th; and on the 20th was enabled to move forwards towards the enemy, who had been joined, in the course of the last seven or eight days, by the infantry under colonel Pohlman, by that belonging to Begum Sumroo,* and by another brigade of infantry, the name of whose commander [M. Dupont], I have not ascertained. The enemy's army was collected about Bokerdun, and between that place and Jaffierabad. I was near colonel

Stevenson's corps on the 21st, and had a conference with that officer, in which we concerted a plan to attack the enemy's army with the divisions under our command on the 24th, in the morning, and we marched on the 22nd, colonel Stevenson by the western route, and I by the eastern route, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jaulna.

"On the 23rd I arrived at Naulniah, and there received a report that Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, had moved off in the morning with their cavalry, and that the infantry were about to follow, but were still in camp at the distance of about six miles from the ground on which I had intended to encamp. It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed; and having provided for the security of my baggage and stores at Naulniah, I marched on to attack the enemy. I found the whole combined army of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar encamped on the bank of the Kaitna river, nearly on the ground which I had been informed they occupied. Their right, which consisted entirely of cavalry, was about Bokerdun, and extended to their corps of infantry, which were encamped in the neighbourhood of Assye. Although I came first in front of their right, I determined to attack their left, as the defeat of their corps of infantry was most likely to be effectual; accordingly, I marched round to their left flank, covering the march of the column of infantry by the British cavalry in the rear, and by the Mahratta and Mysore cavalry on the right flank. We passed the river Kaitna at a ford beyond

* This old *she-warrior* was the foster-mother of the late notorious Daniel Ochterlong Dyce Sombre or Sumroo. The history of that old lady and her adopted son is:—"A French adventurer named Gaultier Reignard, was originally a private in the company of Switzers in the British service at Calcutta, from which he deserted to the Nabob of Oude. Among his countrymen he obtained, on account of his sallow physiognomy, the name of *Sombre*, or the *gloomy*. In the course of time he contrived to establish for himself an independent principality on the north-western part of India, at Surdhana, about thirty miles from Delhi. He married one of his

Cashmerian dancing girls. This was Begum Sumroo, who succeeded to the principality, and having no children herself, adopted the daughter of her husband by a Mahomedan concubine. This daughter the Begum married to the father of the late eccentric Dyce Sombre, who was the half-caste son of captain Dyce of the Indian army. After the battle of Assaye, she entered into a treaty by which she agreed that, on her demise, her principality should lapse to the British government, but that her personal property should be at her own disposal, which she bequeathed to her foster-son D. O. Dyce Sombre."

the enemy's left flank, and I formed the infantry immediately in two lines, with the British cavalry as a reserve in the third, in an open space between that river and a nullah running parallel to it. The Mahratta and Mysore cavalry occupied the ground beyond the Kaitna on our left flank, and kept in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry which had followed our march from the right of their own position.

"The enemy had altered the position of their infantry previous to our attack; it was no longer, as at first, along the Kaitna, but extended from that river across to the village of Assye upon the nullah, which was on our right. We attacked them immediately, and the troops advanced under a very hot fire from cannon, the execution of which was terrible. The piquets of the infantry and the 74th regiment, which were on the right of the first and second lines, suffered particularly, from the fire of the guns on the left of the enemy's position near Assye. The enemy's cavalry also made an attempt to charge the 74th regiment at the moment when they were most exposed to this fire, but they were cut up by the British cavalry, which moved on at that moment. At length the enemy's line gave way in all directions, and the British cavalry cut in among their broken infantry; but some of their corps went off in good order, and a fire was kept up on our troops from many of the guns from which the enemy had been first driven, by individuals who had been passed by the line under the supposition that they were dead. Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, with the British cavalry, charged one large body of infantry which had retired and was formed again, in which operation he was killed; and some time elapsed before we could put an end to the straggling fire, which was kept up by individuals from the guns from which the enemy were driven. The enemy's cavalry also, which had been hovering round us throughout the action, were still near us. At length, when the last-formed body of infantry gave way, the whole went off, and left in our hands ninety pieces of cannon. The victory, which was certainly complete, has, however, cost us dear. Your excellency will perceive by the enclosed return, that our loss in officers and men has been very great, and in that of lieutenant-colonel Maxwell and other officers, whose names are therein included, greatly to be regretted.

"I cannot write in too strong terms of

the conduct of the troops; they advanced in the best order and with the greatest steadiness, under a most destructive fire, against a body of infantry far superior in number, who appeared determined to contend with them to the last, and who were driven from their guns only by the bayonet; and notwithstanding the numbers of the enemy's cavalry, and the repeated demonstrations they made of an intention to charge, they were kept at a distance by our infantry. I am particularly indebted to lieutenant-colonel Harness and lieutenant-colonel Wallace, for the manner in which they conducted their brigades; and to all the officers of the staff, for the assistance I received from them. The officers commanding brigades, nearly all those of the staff, and the mounted officers of infantry, had their horses shot under them.

"I have also to draw your excellency's notice to the conduct of the cavalry, conducted by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, particularly that of the 19th dragoons. The enemy are gone off towards the Adjutee ghaut, and I propose to follow them, as soon as I can place my captured guns and wounded in security. Colonel Stevenson arrived this morning at Bokerdun, and I imagine he will be here this evening.

"I have the honour to be &c.,

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

Proclamation addressed to the Portuguese nation by the commanders-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's land and sea-forces, employed to assist the loyal inhabitants of the kingdom of Portugal, on sir Arthur Wellesley assuming the command of the allied army:—

"People of Portugal—The time has arrived to rescue your country, and restore the government of your lawful prince. His Britannic majesty, our most gracious king and master, has in compliance with the wishes and ardent supplications for succour from all parts of Portugal, sent to your aid a British army, directed to co-operate with his fleet, already on your coast. The English soldiers who land upon your shores, do so with every sentiment of friendship, faith, and honour.

"The glorious struggle in which you are engaged is for all that is dear to man—the protection of your wives and children; the restoration of your lawful prince; the independence, nay, the very existence of your kingdom; and for the preservation of your

holy religion. Objects like these can only be obtained by distinguished examples of fortitude and constancy. The noble struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France will be jointly maintained by Portugal, Spain, and England; and in contributing to the success of a cause so just and glorious, the views of his Britannic majesty are the same as those by which you are yourselves animated.

“ARTHUR WELLESLEY,

“CHARLES COTTON.

“Lavaos, 2nd August, 1808.”

The official despatch addressed to viscount Castlereagh, secretary of state, descriptive of the battle of Roliça:—

“Villa Verde, 17th Aug., 1808.

“My lord—The French general, Laborde, having continued in his position at Roliça, since my arrival at Caldas on the 15th instant, I determined to attack him in it this morning. Roliça is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley, which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southward by mountains which join the hills forming the valley on the left. Looking from Caldas, in the centre of the valley and about eight miles from Roliça, is the town and old Moorish fort of Obidos, from whence the enemy's piquets had been driven on the 15th, and from that time he had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of his army, which was posted on the heights in front of Roliça, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence, on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains on his rear.

“I have reason to believe that his force consisted of at least 6,000 men, of which about 500 were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon, and there was some reason to believe that general Loison, who was at Rio Mayor yesterday, would join general Laborde by his right in the course of the night. The plan of attack was formed accordingly, and the army having broken up from Caldas this morning, was formed into three columns. The right, consisting of 1,200 Portuguese infantry, and 50 Portuguese cavalry, destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear. The left, consisting of major-general Ferguson's and brigadier-general Bowes' brigade of infantry, three companies of riflemen, a brigade of light artillery, and twenty British and twenty Portuguese cav-

alry was destined, under the command of major-general Ferguson, to ascend the hills at Obidos, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of his post at Roliça. This corps was also destined to watch the motions of general Loison on the enemy's right, who, I had heard, had moved from Rio Mayor towards Alcoentre last night. The centre column, consisting of major-general Hill's, brigadier-general Nightingall's, brigadier-general C. Craufurd's, and brigadier-general Fane's brigades (with the exception of the riflemen detached with major-general Ferguson), and 400 Portuguese light infantry, the British and Portuguese cavalry, a brigade of nine-pounders, and a brigade of six-pounders, was destined to attack general Laborde's position in the front.

“The columns being formed, the troops moved from Obidos about seven o'clock in the morning. Brigadier-general Fane's riflemen were immediately detached into the hills on the left of the valley, to keep up the communication between the centre and left columns, and to protect the march of the former along the valley, and the enemy's posts were successively driven in. Major-general Hill's brigade, formed in three columns of battalions, moved on the right of the valley, supported by the cavalry, in order to attack the enemy's left; and brigadier-generals Nightingall and Craufurd moved with the artillery along the high road, until at length the former formed in the plain immediately in the enemy's front, supported by the light infantry companies, and the 45th regiment of brigadier-general Craufurd's brigade; while the two other regiments of this brigade (the 50th and 91st), and half of the nine-pounder brigade, were kept up as a reserve in the rear.

“Major-general Hill and brigadier-general Nightingall advanced upon the enemy's position, and at the same moment brigadier-general Fane's riflemen were in the hills on his right, the Portuguese in a village upon his left, and major-general Ferguson's column was descending from the heights into the plain. From this situation the enemy retired by the passes into the mountains with the utmost regularity and the greatest celerity; and notwithstanding the rapid advance of the British infantry, the want of a sufficient body of cavalry was the cause of his suffering but little loss on the plain. It was then necessary to make a disposition to attack the formidable position which he had

taken up. Brigadier-general Fane's riflemen were already in the mountains on his right; and no time was lost in attacking the different passes, as well to support the riflemen as to defeat the enemy completely.

"The Portuguese infantry were ordered to move up a pass on the right of the whole. The light companies of major-general Hill's brigade, and the 5th regiment moved up a pass next on the right; and the 29th regiment, supported by the 9th regiment, under brigadier-general Nightingall, a third pass; and the 45th and 82nd regiments, passes on the left. These passes were all difficult of access, and some of them were well defended by the enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 29th and 9th regiments. These regiments attacked with the utmost impetuosity, and reached the enemy before those whose attacks were to be made on their flanks. The defence of the enemy was desperate; and it was in this attack principally, that we sustained the loss which we have to lament, particularly of that gallant officer, the honourable lieutenant-colonel Lake, who distinguished himself upon this occasion. The enemy was, however, driven from all the positions he had taken in the passes of the mountains, and our troops were advanced in the plains on our tops. For a considerable length of time the 29th and 9th regiments alone were advanced to this point, with brigadier-general Fane's riflemen at a distance on the left, and they were afterwards supported by the 5th regiment, and by the light companies of major-general Hill's brigade, which had come upon their right, and by the other troops ordered to ascend the mountains, who came up by degrees.

"The enemy made some most gallant attacks upon the 29th and 9th regiments, supported, as I have above stated, with a view to cover the retreat of his defeated army, in all of which he was, however, repulsed; but he succeeded in effecting his retreat in good order, owing principally to my want of cavalry; and, secondly, to the difficulty of bringing up the passes of the mountains, with celerity, a sufficient number of troops and of cannon to support those which had first ascended. The loss of the enemy has, however, been very great, and he left three pieces of cannon in our hands. I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of the troops throughout this action. The enemy's positions were formidable, and he took them up with his

usual ability and celerity, and defended them most gallantly. But I must observe, that although we had such a superiority of numbers employed in the operations of this day, the troops actually engaged in the heat of the action were, from unavoidable circumstances, only the 5th, 9th, 29th, the riflemen of the 95th and 60th, and the flank companies of major-general Hill's brigade; being a number by no means equal to that of the enemy. Their conduct therefore deserves the highest commendation.

"I cannot avoid taking this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgments for the aid and support I received from all the general and other officers of this army; I am particularly indebted to major-general Spencer, for the advice and assistance I received from him; to major-general Ferguson, for the manner in which he led the left column; and to major-general Hill, and brigadier-generals Nightingall and Fane, for the manner in which they conducted the different attacks which they led. I derived most material assistance also from lieutenant-colonel Tucker and lieutenant-colonel Bathurst, in the offices of deputy-adjutant and deputy-quartermaster-general, and from the officers of the staff employed under them. I must also mention that I had every reason to be satisfied with the artillery under lieutenant-colonel Robe. I have the honour to enclose herewith a return of killed, wounded, and missing."

Official despatch of the battle of Vimiera, dated Vimiera, August 21st, 1808, addressed to lieutenant-general sir Harry Burrard, Bart.:—

"Sir—I have the honour to inform you, that the enemy attacked us in our position at Vimiera this morning. The village of Vimiera stands in a valley, through which runs the river Maceira; at the back, and to the westward and northward of this village, is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, and the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road which leads from Lourinha, and the northward to Vimiera. The greater part of the infantry, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 8th brigades were posted on this mountain, with eight pieces of artillery. Major-general Hill's brigade being on the right, and major-general Ferguson's on the left, having one battalion on the heights separated by the mountain. On the eastern and southern sides of the town is a mill, which is entirely commanded, par-

ticularly on its right, by the mountain to the westward of the town, and commanding all the ground in the neighbourhood, to the southward and eastward, on which brigadier-general Fane was posted with his riflemen, and the 50th regiment, and brigadier-general Anstruther with his brigade, with half a brigade of six-pounders, and half a brigade of nine-pounders, which had been ordered to the position in the course of last night. The ground over which passes the road from Lourinha commanded the left of this height, and it had not been occupied, excepting by a piquet, as the camp had been taken up only for one night and there was no water in the neighbourhood of this height. The cavalry and the reserve of the artillery were in the valley, between the hills on which the infantry stood, both flanking and supporting brigadier-general Fane's advanced guard.

"The enemy first appeared about eight o'clock in the morning, in large bodies of cavalry on our left, upon the heights on the road to Lourinha; and it was soon obvious that the attack would be made upon our advanced guard and the left of our position; and major-general Ferguson's brigade was immediately moved across the ravine to the heights on the road to Lourinha, with three pieces of cannon; he was followed successively by brigadier-general Nightingall, with his brigade and three pieces of cannon, brigadier-general Acland, and his brigade, and brigadier-general Bowes, with his brigade. These troops were formed (major-general Ferguson's brigade in the first line, brigadier-general Nightingall's in the second, and brigadier-general Bowes' and Acland's in columns in the rear) on those heights, with their right upon the valley which leads into Vimiera, and their left upon the other ravine, which separates these heights from the range which terminates at the landing place at Maceira. On the last-mentioned heights the Portuguese troops, which had been in the bottom near Vimiera, were posted in the first instance, and they were supported by brigadier-general C. Craufurd's brigade. The troops of the advanced guard, on the heights to the southward and eastward of the town, were deemed sufficient for its defence, and major-general Hill was moved to the centre of the mountain, on which the great body of the infantry had been posted, as a support to these troops, and as a reserve to the whole army; in addition to this support, these troops had that of the cavalry in the rear of their right.

"The enemy's attack began in several columns upon the whole of the troops on this height; on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and they were checked and driven back only by the bayonets of that corps. The second battalion of the 43rd regiment was likewise closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimiera; a part of that corps having been ordered into the churchyard, to prevent them from penetrating into the town. On the right of the position they were repulsed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment, which corps was successfully supported by the second battalion of the 52nd, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in flank.

"Besides this opposition given to the attack of the enemy on the advanced guard by their own exertions, they were attacked in flank by brigadier-general Acland's brigade, in its advance to its position on the heights on the left, and a cannonade was kept up on the flank of the enemy's columns by the artillery on those heights. At length, after a most desperate contest, the enemy was driven back in confusion from this attack, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. He was pursued by a detachment of the 20th light dragoons, but the enemy's cavalry were so much superior in numbers, that this detachment has suffered much, and lieutenant-colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed.

"Nearly at the same time the enemy's attack commenced upon the heights on the road to Lourinha: this attack was supported by a large body of cavalry, and was made with the usual impetuosity of French troops. It was received with steadiness by major-general Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments, and these corps charged as soon as the enemy approached them, who gave way, and they continued to advance upon him, supported by the 82nd, one of the corps of brigadier-general Nightingall's brigade, which, as the ground extended, afterwards formed a part of the first line by the 29th regiment, and by brigadier-general Bowes' and Acland's brigades; whilst brigadier-general C. Craufurd's brigade and the Portuguese troops, in two lines, advanced along the height on the left. In the advance of major-general Ferguson's brigade, six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many prisoners, and vast numbers were killed and wounded.

"The enemy afterwards made an attempt to recover part of his artillery, by attacking the 71st and 82nd regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken. These regiments retired from the low grounds in the valley to the heights, where they halted, faced about, and fired, and advanced upon the enemy, who had by that time arrived in the low ground, and they thus obliged him again to retire with great loss.

"In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed, under the command of the duc D'Abrantes in person, in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, and in which not more than half of the British army was actually engaged, he has sustained a signal defeat, and has lost thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition waggons, with powder, shells, stores of all descriptions, and 20,000 rounds of musket ammunition. One general officer has been wounded (Brenier) and taken prisoner, and a great many officers and soldiers have been killed, wounded and taken.

"The valour and discipline of his majesty's troops have been conspicuous upon this occasion, as you, who witnessed the greatest part of the action, must have observed; but it is a justice to the following corps to draw your notice to them in a particular manner: viz., the royal artillery, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Robe; the 20th light dragoons, which has been commanded by lieutenant-colonel Taylor; the 50th regiment, commanded by colonel Walker; the second battalion of the 95th foot, commanded by major Travers; the fifth battalion of the 60th regiment, commanded by major Davy; the second battalion of the 43rd, commanded by major Hull; the second battalion of the 52nd, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Ross; the 97th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lyon; the 36th regiment, commanded by colonel Burne; the 40th, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Kemmis; the 71st, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Pack; and the 82nd regiment, commanded by major Eyre.

"In mentioning colonel Burne and the 36th regiment upon this occasion, I cannot avoid adding that the regular and orderly conduct of this corps throughout the service, and their gallantry and discipline in action, have been conspicuous.

"I must take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the general and

staff-officers of the army. I was much indebted to major-general Spencer's judgment and experience in the decision which I formed in respect to the number of troops allotted to each point of defence, and for his advice and assistance throughout the action. In the position taken up by major-general Ferguson's brigade, and in its advances upon the enemy, that officer showed equal bravery and judgment; and much praise is due to brigadier-general Fane and brigadier-general Anstruther for their gallant defence of their position in front of Vimiera, and to brigadier-general Nightingall, for the manner in which he supported the attack upon the enemy made by major-general Ferguson. Lieutenant-Colonel G. Tucker, and lieutenant-colonel Bathurst, and the officers in the departments of the adjutant and quartermaster-general, and lieutenant-colonel Torrens and the officers of my personal staff, rendered me the greatest assistance throughout the action.

"P.S. Since writing the above I have been informed that a French general officer, supposed to be general Thiébault,* the chief of the staff, has been found dead upon the field of battle."

Sir Arthur Wellesley's letter of thanks to the general officers, who contributed to the subscription for the testimonial of their respect and esteem for their leader:—

"To the General Officers.

"Zambujal, Sept. 3rd, 1808.

"Gentlemen—I have had the honour of receiving your letter of this day, and I assure you that it is a source of great gratification to me, to find that my conduct in the command, with which I was lately entrusted by his majesty, has given you satisfaction.

"As my efforts were directed to forward the service on which we were employed, I could not fail to receive your support and assistance; and to the cordial support and friendly advice and assistance which I invariably received from you collectively and individually, I attribute the success of our endeavours to bring the army in the state in which it was formed to meet the enemy on the days on which the gallantry of the officers and soldiers was stimulated by your example, and their discipline aided and directed by your experience and ability. Under these circumstances my task has been comparatively light, and I imagine

* It was not general Thiébault.—Gurwood.

that its difficulty has been overrated by your partiality; but I have a pride in the reflection that as I should not deserve, so I should not possess, your regard, if I had not done my duty; and with these sentiments, and those of respect and affection for you all, I accept of that testimony of your esteem and confidence which you have been pleased to present to me."

Sir Arthur Wellesley's letter, addressed to captain Pulteney Malcolm, H.M.S. *Donegal*, disclaiming his approbation of the Cintra convention:—

"Zambujal, Sept. 5th, 1808.

"My dear Malcolm—I received your letter of Saturday, this morning, having been at Cintra yesterday morning, and not having returned here till late in the evening. I lament the situation of our affairs as much as you do, and I did everything in my power to prevent it; but my opinion was overruled. I had nothing to do with the convention as it now stands; and I have never seen it to this moment. I have not heard from your brother yet, but I suppose his letter is coming to me. I will see you soon, if I can. I have stronger reasons, public as well as private, but I shall not decide hastily or in anger on any subject.

"Believe me, &c.,

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

"P.S.—Give my best love to Cadogan, and tell him that I lament the result of our labours as much as he does, but that it is not my fault. I have only to regret that I put my name to an agreement of which I did not approve, and which I did not negotiate. If I had not done it, I really believe that they would not have dared to make such a convention as they have made: notwithstanding that that agreement was never ratified, and is now so much waste paper. "A. W."

Official despatch relative to the passage of the Douro and the capture of Oporto, dated, Oporto, 12th May, 1809, and addressed to viscount Castlereagh, secretary of state.

"My lord—I had the honour to apprise your lordship on the 7th instant, that I intended that the army should march on the 9th from Coimbra, to dispossess the enemy of Oporto. The advanced guard and the cavalry had marched on the 7th, and the whole had halted on the 8th, to afford time for marshal Beresford with his corps to arrive upon the Upper Douro.

The infantry of the army was formed into three divisions for this expedition, of which two, the advanced guard, consisting of the king's German legion, and brigadier-general R. Stewart's brigade, with a brigade of six-pounders, and a brigade of three-pounders under lieutenant-general Paget; and the cavalry under lieutenant-general Payne; and the brigade of guards, brigadier-general Campbell's and brigadier-general Sontag's brigades of infantry, with a brigade of six-pounders, under lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, moved by the high road from Coimbra to Oporto: and one, composed of major-general Hill's and brigadier-general Cameron's brigades of infantry, and a brigade of six-pounders, under the command of major-general Hill, by the road from Coimbra to Aveiro. On the 10th, in the morning, before daylight, the cavalry and advanced guard crossed the Vouga, with the intention to surprise and cut off four regiments of French cavalry, and a battalion of infantry and artillery, cantoned in Albergaria Nova and the neighbouring villages, about eight miles from that river; in the last of which we failed; but the superiority of the British cavalry was evident throughout the day. We took some prisoners and their cannon from them; and the advanced guard took up the position of Oliveira. On the same day major-general Hill, who had embarked at Aveiro on the evening of the 9th, arrived at Ovar, in the rear of the enemy's right; and the head of lieutenant-general Sherbrooke's division passed the Vouga on the same evening.

"On the 11th, the advanced guard and cavalry continued to move on the high road towards Oporto, with major-general Hill's division in a parallel road which leads to Oporto from Ovar. On the arrival of the advanced guard at Vendas Novas, between Souto Redondo and Grijó, they fell in with the outposts of the enemy's advanced guard, which were immediately driven in; and shortly afterwards we discovered the enemy's advanced guard, consisting of about 4,000 infantry and some squadrons of cavalry, strongly posted on the heights above Grijó, their front being covered by woods and broken ground. The enemy's left flank was turned by a movement well executed by major-general Murray, with brigadier-general Langwerth's brigade of the king's German legion; while the 16th Portuguese regiment of brigadier-general R. Stewart's brigade attacked their right, and the rifle-

men of the 95th, and the flank companies of the 29th, 43rd, and 52nd of the same brigade, under major Way, attacked the infantry in the woods and village in their centre. These attacks soon obliged the enemy to give way; and brigadier-general the honourable C. Stewart led two squadrons of the 16th and 20th dragoons, under the command of major Blake, in pursuit of the enemy, and destroyed many, and took several prisoners.

“On the night of the 11th the enemy crossed the Douro, and destroyed the bridge over that river. It was important, with a view to the operations of marshal Beresford, that I should cross the Douro immediately; and I had sent major-general Murray in the morning with a battalion of the king’s German legion, a squadron of cavalry, and two six-pounders, to endeavour to collect boats, and, if possible, to cross the river at Avintas, about four miles above Oporto; and I had as many boats as could be collected brought to the ferry, immediately above the towns of Oporto and Villa Nova. The ground on the right bank of the river at this ferry is protected and commanded by the fire of cannon, placed on the height of the Serra convent at Villa Nova; and there appeared to be a good position for our troops on the opposite side of the river, till they should be collected in sufficient numbers. The enemy took no notice of our collection of boats, or of the embarkation of the troops, till after the first battalion (the Buffs) were landed, and had taken up their position, under the command of lieutenant-general Paget, on the opposite side of the river. They then commenced an attack upon them, with a large body of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, under the command of marshal Soult, which that corps most gallantly sustained, till supported successively by the 48th and 66th regiments, belonging to major-general Hill’s brigade, and a Portuguese battalion, and afterwards by the 1st battalion of detachments belonging to brigadier-general R. Stewart’s brigade.

“Lieutenant-general Paget was unfortunately wounded soon after the attack commenced, when the command of these gallant troops devolved upon major-general Hill. Although the French made repeated attacks upon them, they made no impression; and at last, major-general Murray having appeared on the enemy’s left flank on his march from Avintas, where he had crossed; and lieutenant-general Sherbrooke,

who by this time had availed himself of the enemy’s weakness in the town of Oporto, and had crossed the Douro at the ferry between the towns of Villa Nova and Oporto, having appeared upon their right with the brigade of guards and the 29th regiment; the whole retired in the utmost confusion towards Amarante, leaving behind them five pieces of cannon, eight ammunition tumbrils, and many prisoners. The enemy’s loss, in killed and wounded, in this action has been very large, and they have left behind them, in Oporto, 700 sick and wounded. Brigadier-general the honourable C. Stewart then directed a charge by a squadron of the 14th dragoons, under the command of major Hervey, who made a successful attack on the enemy’s rear guard. In the different actions with the enemy, of which I have above given your lordship an account, we have lost some, and the immediate services of other valuable officers and soldiers. In lieutenant-general Paget, among the latter, I have lost the assistance of a friend, who had been most useful to me in the few days which had elapsed since he had joined the army. He had rendered a most important service at the moment he received his wound, in taking up the position which the troops afterwards maintained, and in bearing the first brunt of the enemy’s attack. Major Hervey also distinguished himself at the moment he received his wound in the charge of the cavalry on this day.

“I cannot say too much in favour of the officers and troops. They have marched, in four days, over eighty miles of most difficult country, have gained many important positions, and have engaged and defeated three different bodies of the enemy’s troops. I beg particularly to draw your lordship’s attention to the conduct of lieutenant-general Paget, major-general Murray, major-general Hill, lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, brigadier-general the honourable C. Stewart; lieutenant-colonel De Lancey, deputy-quartermaster-general, and captain Mellish, assistant-adjutant-general, for the assistance they respectively rendered general the honourable C. Stewart in the charge of the cavalry this day and on the 11th; major Colin Campbell, assistant-adjutant-general, for the assistance he rendered major-general Hill in the defence of his post; and brigadier-general the honourable C. Stewart in the charge of the cavalry this day; and brigade-major Fordyce, captain Currie, and

captain Hill, for the assistance they rendered general Hill.

"I have also to request your lordship's attention to the conduct of the riflemen and of the flank companies of the 29th, 43rd, and 52nd regiments, under the command of major Way, of the 29th; that of the 16th Portuguese regiment, commanded by colonel Machado, of which lieutenant-colonel Doyle is lieutenant-colonel; that of the brigade of the king's German legion, under the command of brigadier-general Langwerth; and that of the two squadrons of the 16th and 20th light dragoons, under the command of major Blake, of the 20th, in the action of the 11th: and the conduct of the Buffs, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Drummond; the 48th, commanded by colonel Duckworth; the 66th, commanded by major Murray, who was wounded; and of the squadron of the 14th dragoons, under the command of major Hervey, in the action of this day. I have received the greatest assistance from the adjutant-general, and quartermaster-general, colonel Murray, and from all the officers belonging to those departments respectively throughout the service, as well as from lieutenant-colonel Balthurst and the officers of my personal staff; and I have every reason to be satisfied with the artillery and officers of engineers. I send this despatch by captain Stanhope, whom I beg to recommend to your lordship's protection: his brother, the honourable major Stanhope, was unfortunately wounded by a sabre whilst leading a charge of the 16th light dragoons on the 10th instant."

To his Grace the Duke of Richmond.

Oporto, 22nd May, 1809.

"My dear duke—I have just returned from the most active and severe service. I have been in the pursuit, or rather chase, of Soult out of Portugal. We should have taken him if Silveira had been one or two hours earlier at the bridge of Mortagoa, or if the captain of militia of this province had allowed the peasants, as they wished, to destroy it. We should have taken his rear-guard on the 16th if we had had a quarter of an hour's more daylight, but, in the dark, our light infantry pursued by the road to Ruivaes instead of that by Mortagoa. But, as it is, I think the chase out of Portugal is a *pendant* for the retreat to Corunna. It answers completely in this weather. It has rained in torrents since the 12th.

Official despatch relative to the battle of Talavera, dated, Talavera de la Reyna, 29th July, 1809, addressed to viscount Castlereagh, secretary of state.

"My lord—General Cuesta followed the enemy's march with his army from the Alberche, on the morning of the 24th, as far as Sta. Olalla, and pushed forward his advanced guard as far as Torrijos. For the reasons stated to your lordship in my despatch of the 24th, I moved only two divisions of infantry and a brigade of cavalry across the Alberche to Cazalegas, under the command of lieutenant-general Sherbrooke, with a view to keep up the communication between general Cuesta and myself, and with sir Robert Wilson's corps at Escalona.

"It appears that general Venegas had not carried into execution that part of the plan of operations which related to his corps, and that he was still at Daymiel, in La Mancha; and the enemy, in the course of the 24th, 25th, and 26th, collected all his forces in that part of Spain, between Torrijos and Toledo, leaving but a small corps of 2,000 men in that place. The united army thus consisted of the corps of marshal Victor, of that of general Sebastiani, and of 7,000 or 8,000 men, the guards of Joseph Buonaparte, and the garrison of Madrid; and it was commanded by Joseph Buonaparte, aided by marshals Jourdan and Victor, and by general Sebastiani. On the 26th, general Cuesta's advanced guard was attacked near Torrijos and obliged to fall back; and the general retired with his army on that day to the left bank of the Alberche, general Sherbrooke continuing at Cazalegas, and the enemy at Sta. Olalla. It was then obvious that the enemy intended to try the result of a general action, for which the best position appeared to be in the neighbourhood of Talavera; and general Cuesta having consented to take up this position on the morning of the 27th, I ordered general Sherbrooke to retire with his corps to its station in the line, leaving general Mackenzie with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry as an advanced post in the wood, on the right of the Alberche, which covered our left flank.

"The position taken up by the troops at Talavera extended rather more than two miles: the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height, on which was placed *en échelon*, as the second line, a division of infantry under the orders of major-general Hill. There was a valley

between the height and a range of mountains still farther upon the left, which valley was not at first occupied, as it was commanded by the height before mentioned; and the range of mountains appeared too distant to have any influence on the expected action. The right, consisting of Spanish troops, extended immediately in front of the town of Talavera, down to the Tagus. This part of the ground was covered by olive-trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The high road leading from the bridge over the Alberche was defended by a heavy battery in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues of the town were defended in a similar manner. The town was occupied, and the remainder of the Spanish infantry was formed in two lines behind the banks on the road which led from the town, and from the right to the left of our position.

“ In the centre, between the two armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, on which we had commenced to construct a redoubt, with some open ground in its rear. Brigadier-general Alex. Campbell was posted at this spot with a division of infantry, supported in his rear by general Cotton’s brigade of dragoons and some Spanish cavalry. At about two o’clock on the 27th, the enemy appeared in strength on the left bank of the Alberche, and manifested an intention to attack general Mackenzie’s division. The attack was made before they could be withdrawn; but the troops, consisting of general Mackenzie’s and colonel Donkin’s brigades, and general Anson’s brigade of cavalry, and supported by general Payne with the other four regiments of cavalry in the plain between Talavera and the wood, withdrew in good order, but with some loss, particularly by the second battalion of the 87th regiment, and the second battalion of the 31st regiment, in the wood. Upon this occasion, the steadiness and discipline of the 45th regiment, and the fifth battalion of the 60th regiment, were conspicuous, and I had particular reason for being satisfied with the manner in which major-general Mackenzie withdrew his advanced guard.

“ As the day advanced, the enemy appeared in larger numbers on the right of the Alberche, and it was obvious that he was advancing to a general attack upon the combined armies. General Mackenzie continued to fall back gradually upon the left of the position of the combined armies, where he was placed in the second line, in

the rear of the guards, colonel Donkin being placed in the same situation farther upon the left, in the rear of the king’s German legion. The enemy immediately commenced his attack, in the dusk of the evening, by a cannonade upon the left of our position, and by an attempt with his cavalry to overthrow the Spanish infantry, posted, as I have before stated, on the right. This attempt entirely failed. Early in the night, he pushed a division along the valley on the left of the height occupied by general Hill, of which he gained a momentary possession; but major-general Hill attacked it instantly with the bayonet, and regained it. This attack was repeated in the night, but failed; and, again, at daylight, on the morning of the 28th, by two divisions of infantry, and was repulsed by major-general Hill. Major-general Hill has reported to me, in a particular manner, the conduct of the 29th regiment, and of the first battalion of the 48th regiment, in these different affairs, as well as those of major-general Tilson and brigadier-general R. Stewart. We lost many brave officers and soldiers in the defence of this important point in our position; among others, I cannot avoid mentioning brigade-major Fordyce and brigade-major Gardner; and major-general Hill was himself wounded, but I am happy to say but slightly.

“ The defeat of this attempt was followed about noon by a general attack with the enemy’s entire force upon the whole of that part of the position occupied by the British army. In consequence of the repeated attempts upon the height upon our left, by the valley, I had placed two brigades of British cavalry in that valley, supported in the rear by the duke de Albuquerque’s division of Spanish cavalry. The enemy then placed their light infantry in the range of mountains on the left of the valley, which were opposed by a division of Spanish infantry, under lieutenant-general Bassecourt. The general attack began by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley, with a view to attack the height occupied by major-general Hill. These columns were immediately charged by the 1st German hussars and 23rd light dragoons, under brigadier-general Anson, directed by lieutenant-general Payne, and supported by brigadier-general Fane’s brigade of heavy cavalry; and although the 23rd dragoons suffered considerable loss, the charge had the effect of preventing the execution of that part of the enemy’s plan.

“At the same time he directed an attack upon brigadier-general Alex. Campbell’s position in the centre of the combined armies, and on the right of the British. This attack was most successfully repulsed by brigadier-general Campbell, supported by the king’s regiment of Spanish cavalry and two battalions of Spanish infantry, and brigadier-general Campbell took the enemy’s cannon. The brigadier-general mentions particularly the conduct of the 97th, the second battalion of the 7th, and of the second battalion of the 53rd regiments; and I was highly satisfied with the manner in which this part of the position was defended.

“An attack was also made at the same time upon lieutenant-general Sherbrooke’s division, which was in the left and centre of the first line of the British army. This attack was gallantly repulsed by a charge with bayonets by the whole division; but the brigade of guards, which were on the right, having advanced too far, they were exposed on their left flank to the fire of the enemy’s batteries, and of their retiring columns, and the division was obliged to retire towards the original position, under cover of the second line of general Cotton’s brigade of cavalry, which I moved from the centre, and of the first battalion of the 48th regiment. I had moved this last regiment from its position on the height as soon as I observed the advance of the guards, and it was formed in the plain, and advanced upon the enemy, and covered the formation of lieutenant-general Sherbrooke’s division. Shortly after the repulse of this general attack, in which apparently all the enemy’s troops were employed, he commenced his retreat across the Albereche, which was conducted in the most regular order, and was effected during the night, leaving in our hands twenty pieces of cannon, ammunition, tumbrils, and some prisoners.

“Your lordship will observe, by the enclosed return, the great loss which we have sustained of valuable officers and soldiers in this long and hard-fought action with more than double our numbers. That of the enemy has been much greater. I have been informed that entire brigades of infantry have been destroyed; and indeed the battalions which retreated were much reduced in numbers. I have particularly to lament the loss of major-general Mackenzie, who had distinguished himself on the 27th — of brigadier-general Langwerth, of the

king’s German legion, and of brigade-major Beckett, of the guards. Your lordship will observe that the attacks of the enemy were principally, if not entirely, directed against the British troops. The Spanish commander-in-chief, his officers and troops manifested every disposition to render us assistance, and those of them who were engaged did their duty; but the ground which they occupied was so important, and its front at the same time so difficult, that I did not think it proper to urge them to make any movement on the left of the enemy while he was engaged with us.

“I have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of all the officers and troops. I am much indebted to lieutenant-general Sherbrooke for the assistance I received from him, and for the manner in which he led on his division to the charge with bayonets; to lieutenant-general Payne and the cavalry, particularly brigadier-general Anson’s brigade; to major-generals Hill and Tilson, brigadier-generals Alex. Campbell, R. Stewart, and Cameron, and to the divisions and brigades of infantry under their command respectively; particularly to the 29th regiment, commanded by colonel White; to the first battalion of the 48th, commanded by colonel Donellan; afterwards when that officer was wounded, by major Middlemore; to the second battalion of the 7th, commanded by lieutenant-colonel sir W. Myers; to the second battalion of the 53rd, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Bingham; to the 97th, commanded by colonel Lyon; to the first battalion of detachments, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Bunbury; to the second battalion of the 30th, commanded by major Watson; to the 45th, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Guard; and to the fifth battalion of the 60th, commanded by major Davy.

“The advance of the brigade of guards was most gallantly conducted by brigadier-general H. Campbell; and when necessary, that brigade retired and formed again in the best order. The artillery, under brigadier-general Howorth, was also throughout these days of the greatest service; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the assistance I received from the chief engineer, lieutenant-colonel Fletcher; the adjutant-general, brigadier-general the honourable C. Stewart; the quarter-master-general, colonel Murray; and the officers of those departments respectively; and from lieutenant-colonel Bathurst and the officers of my personal

staff. I also received much assistance from colonel O'Lawlor, of the Spanish service, and from brigadier-general Wittingham, who was wounded in bringing up the two Spanish battalions to the assistance of brigadier-general Alex. Campbell."

MEMORANDUM ON THE BATTLE OF TALAVERA.

"THE position was well calculated for the troops which were to occupy it. The ground in front of the British army was open, that in front of the Spanish army covered with olive-trees, intersected by roads, ditches, &c. The Spanish infantry was posted behind the bank of the road leading from Talavera to the left of the position. The German legion were on the left of the position in the front line. I had intended this part for the guards; but I was unfortunately out, employed in bringing on general Mackenzie's advanced guard when the troops took up their ground. The 5th and 7th battalions of the legion did not stand their ground on the evening, and in the beginning of the night of the 27th, which was the cause of the momentary loss of the height in the second line. General Sherbrooke moved his division, which was on the left of the first line, to support general Hill's attack in order to regain the height; and it was difficult to resume in the night the exact position which had been first marked out; and, in fact, on account of these circumstances, we had not that precise position till after the enemy's attack upon the height at daylight in the morning had been repulsed.

"The advance of the guards, to the extent to which it was carried, was nearly fatal to us, and the battle was certainly saved by the advance, position and steady conduct of the 48th regiment, upon which general Sherbrooke's division formed again. The ground in front of the Spanish troops would not have been unfavourable to an attack upon the enemy's flank, while they were engaged with us, as there were broad roads leading from Talavera and different points of their position, in a direct line to the front, as well as diagonally to the left. But the Spanish troops are not in a sufficient state of discipline to attempt a manœuvre in olive-grounds, &c., and if they had got into confusion all would have been lost.

"ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

Official despatch relative to the battle of Busaco, dated Coimbra, 30th September, 1810, addressed to the earl of Liverpool.

"My lord—While the enemy was advancing from Celorico and Trancoso upon Viseu, the different divisions of militia and ordenanza were employed upon their flanks and rear; and colonel Trant with his division attacked the escort of the military chest and reserve artillery near Tojal, on the 20th instant. He took two officers and eighty prisoners, but the enemy collected a force from the front and rear, which obliged him to retire again towards the Douro. I understand that the enemy's communication is completely cut off, and he possesses only the ground upon which his army stands. My despatch of the 20th instant will have informed you of the measures which I had adopted, and which were in progress to collect the army in this neighbourhood, and, if possible, to prevent the enemy from obtaining possession of this town. On the 21st, the enemy's advanced guard pushed on to Sta. Combadaô, at the junction of the rivers Criz and Daô, and brigadier-general Pack retired across the former and joined brigadier-general Craufurd at Mortagoa, having destroyed the bridges over these two rivers. The enemy's advanced guard crossed the Criz, having repaired the bridge on the 23rd, and the whole of the 6th corps was collected on the other side of the river. I, therefore, withdrew the cavalry through the Serra de Busaco, with the exception of three squadrons, as the ground was unfavourable for the operation of that arm.

"On the 25th, the whole of the 6th and the 2nd corps crossed the Criz in the neighbourhood of Sta. Combadaô; and brigadier-general Pack's brigade and brigadier-general Craufurd's division retired to the position which I had fixed upon for the army on the top of the Serra de Busaco. These troops were followed in this movement by the whole of the corps of Ney and Regnier (the 6th and the 2nd); but it was conducted by brigadier-general Craufurd with great regularity, and the troops took their position without sustaining any loss of importance. The 4th Portuguese caçadores, which had retired on the right of the other troops, and the piquets of the third division of infantry, which were posted at St. Antonio de Cantaro, under major Smyth, of the 45th regiment, were engaged with the advance of Regnier's corps in the afternoon, and the former showed that steadiness and gallantry which others of the Portuguese troops have since manifested.

"The Serra de Busaco is a high ridge which extends from the Mondego, in a northerly direction about eight miles. At the highest point of the ridge, about two miles from its termination, is the convent and garden of Busaco. The Serra de Busaco is connected by a mountainous tract of country with the Serra de Caramula, which extends in a north-easterly direction beyond Viseu, and separates the valley of the Mondego from the valley of the Douro. On the left of the Mondego, nearly in a line with the Serra de Busaco, is another ridge of the same description, called the Serra da Murcella, covered by the river Alva, and connected by other mountainous parts with the Serra d'Estrella. All the roads to Coimbra from the eastward lead over the one or the other of these Serras. They are very difficult for the passage of an army, the approach to the top of the ridge on both sides being mountainous. As the enemy's whole army was on the right of the Mondego, and it was evident that he intended to force our position, lieutenant-general Hill crossed that river by a short movement to his left, on the morning of the 26th, leaving colonel Le Cor, with his brigade, on the Serra da Murcella, to cover the right of the army, and brigadier-general Fane, with his division of Portuguese cavalry and the 13th light dragoons, in front of the Alva, to observe and check the movements of the enemy's cavalry on the Mondego. With this exception, the whole army was collected upon the Serra de Busaco, with the British cavalry observing the plain in the rear of its left, and the road leading from Mortagoa to Oporto, through the mountainous tract which connects the Serra de Busaco with the Serra de Caramula.

"The 8th corps joined the enemy in our front on the 26th, but he did not make any serious attack on that day. The light troops on both sides were engaged throughout the line. At six in the morning of the 27th, the enemy made two desperate attacks upon our position, the one on the right, the other on the left of the highest part of the Serra. The attack upon the right was made by two divisions of the 2nd corps, on that part of the Serra occupied by the 3rd division of infantry. One division of French infantry arrived at the top of the ridge, where it was attacked in the most gallant manner by the 88th regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Wallace, the 45th, under the command of lieutenant-

colonel the honourable R. Meade, and by the 8th Portuguese regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Douglas, directed by major-general Picton. These three corps advanced with the bayonet, and drove the enemy's division from the advantageous ground which they had obtained. The other division of the 2nd corps attacked farther on the right, by the road leading by St. Antonio de Cantaro, also in front of major-general Picton's division. These were repulsed before they could reach the top of the ridge, by the 74th, under the command of lieutenant-colonel the honourable R. Trench, and the brigade of Portuguese infantry of the 9th and 21st regiments, under the command of colonel Champelmond, directed by colonel Mackinnon. Major-general Leith also moved to his left to the support of major-general Picton, and aided in the defeat of the enemy by the third battalion of Royals, the first battalion of the 9th, and the second battalion of the 38th regiments. In these attacks major-generals Leith and Picton, colonels Mackinnon and Champelmond, of the Portuguese service, who was wounded, lieutenant-colonel Wallace, lieutenant-colonel the honourable R. Meade, lieutenant-colonel Sutton, of the 9th Portuguese, major Smyth, of the 45th, who was afterwards killed, lieutenant-colonel Douglas, and major Birmingham, of the 8th Portuguese regiment, distinguished themselves.

"Major-general Picton reports the good conduct of the 9th and 21st Portuguese regiments, commanded by colonel Sutton and lieutenant-colonel A. Bacellar, and of the Portuguese artillery, under the command of major Arentschildt. I have also to mention, in a particular manner, the conduct of captain Dansey, of the 88th. Major-general Leith reports the good conduct of the royals, first battalion, the 9th, and 2nd battalion of the 38th regiments; and I beg to assure your lordship that I have never witnessed a more gallant attack than that made by the 88th, 45th, and 8th Portuguese regiments, on the enemy's division which had reached the ridge of the Serra.

"On the left, the enemy attacked with three divisions of infantry of the 6th corps, on the part of the Serra occupied by the light division of infantry commanded by brigadier-general Craufurd, and by the brigade of Portuguese infantry commanded by brigadier-general Pack. One division of infantry only made any progress to the

top of the hill, and they were immediately charged with the bayonet by brigadier-general Craufurd, with the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th, and the 3rd Portuguese caçadores, and driven down with immense loss. Brigadier-general Colman's brigade of Portuguese infantry, which was in reserve, was moved up to the right of brigadier-general Craufurd's division, and a battalion of the 19th Portuguese regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel MacBean, made a gallant and successful charge upon a body of another division of the enemy, which was endeavouring to penetrate in that quarter. In this attack, brigadier-general Craufurd, lieutenant-colonels Beckwith, of the 95th, and Barclay, of the 52nd, and the commanding officers of the regiments, distinguished themselves.

"Besides these attacks, the light troops of the two armies were engaged throughout the 27th; and the 4th Portuguese caçadores, and the 1st and 15th regiments, directed by brigadier-general Pack, and commanded by lieutenant-colonel Hill, lieutenant-colonel Luis do Rego, and major Armstrong, showed great steadiness and gallantry. The loss sustained by the enemy in his attack of the 27th, has been enormous. I understand that the generals of division, Merle, Loison, and Maucune, are wounded, and general Simon was taken prisoner by the 52nd regiment; and three colonels, — officers, and 250 men. The enemy left 2,000 killed upon the field of battle, and I understand, from the prisoners and deserters, that the loss in wounded is immense. The enemy did not renew his attack, excepting by the fire of his light troops on the 28th; but he moved a large body of infantry and cavalry from the left of his centre to the rear, whence I saw his cavalry in march on the road from Mortagoa, over the mountains towards Oporto.

"Having thought it probable that he would endeavour to turn our left by that road, I had directed colonel Trant, with his division of militia, to march to Sardaô, with the intention that he should occupy the mountains, but unfortunately he was sent round by Oporto, by the general officer commanding in the north, in consequence of a small detachment of the enemy being in possession of S. Pedro do Sul; and, notwithstanding the efforts which he made to arrive in time, he did not reach Sardaô till the 28th at night, after the enemy were in

possession of the ground. As it was probable that, in the course of the night of the 28th, the enemy would throw the whole of his army upon the road, by which he could avoid the Serra de Busaco and reach Coimbra by the high road of Oporto, and thus the army would have been exposed to be cut off from that town or to a general action on less favourable ground, and as I had reinforcements in my rear, I was induced to withdraw from the Serra de Busaco. The enemy did break up in the mountains at eleven at night of the 28th, and he made the march I expected. His advanced guard was at Avelans, on the road from Oporto to Coimbra, yesterday, and the whole army was seen in march through the mountains. That under my command, however, was already in the low country, between the Serra de Busaco and the sea; and the whole of it, with the exception of the advanced guard, is this day on the left of the Mondego.

"Although, from the unfortunate circumstance of the delay of colonel Trant's arrival at Sardaô, I am apprehensive that I shall not succeed in effecting the object I had in view in passing the Mondego—and in occupying the Serra de Busaco, I do not repent my having done so. This movement has afforded me a favourable opportunity of showing the enemy the description of troops of which this army is composed; it has brought the Portuguese levies into action with the enemy for the first time in an advantageous situation; and they have proved that the trouble which has been taken with them has not been thrown away, and that they are worthy of contending in the same ranks with British troops in this interesting cause, which they afford the best hopes of saving. Throughout the contest on the Serra, and in all the previous marches, and those which we have since made, the whole army have conducted themselves in the most regular manner. Accordingly all the operations have been carried on with ease; the soldiers have suffered no privations, have undergone no unnecessary fatigue, there has been no loss of stores, and the army is in the highest spirits.

"I have received throughout the service the greatest assistance from the general and staff officers. Lieutenant-general sir B. Spencer has given the assistance his experience enables him to afford me; and I am particularly indebted to the adjutant and the quartermaster-generals, and the

officers of their departments, and to lieutenant-colonel Bathurst, and the officers of my personal staff; to major-general Howarth and the artillery, and particularly to lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, captain Chapman, and the officers of the royal engineers. I must likewise mention Mr. Kennedy, and the officers of the commissariat, which department has been carried on most successfully. I should not do justice to the service, or to my own feelings, if I did not take this opportunity of drawing your lordship's attention to the merits of marshal Beresford. To him exclusively, under the Portuguese government, is due the merit of having raised, formed, disciplined, and equipped the Portuguese army, which has now shown itself capable of engaging and defeating the enemy. I have besides received from him all the assistance which his experience and abilities, and his knowledge of this country, have qualified him to afford me. The enemy have made no movement in Estremadura, or in the northern provinces, since I addressed your lordship last."

Official despatch, announcing the retreat of marshal Massena from before the lines of Torres Vedras, dated Cartaxo, Nov. 21st, 1810, addressed to the earl of Liverpool, secretary of state:—

"My lord—The enemy retired from the position which they held for the last month, with their right at Sobral, and their left resting upon the Tagus, on the night of the 14th instant, and went by the road of Alenquer towards Alcoentre with their right, and Villa Nova with their left. They continued their retreat towards Santarem on the following day. The allied army broke up from their position on the morning of the 15th, and followed the march of the enemy; and the advanced guard was at Alenquer, and the British cavalry and advanced guard at Azambuja and Alcoentre on the 16th, and at this place on the 17th. In these movements they have made about 400 prisoners.

"Having advanced from the positions in which I was enabled to bring the enemy to a stand, and to oblige them to retire without venturing upon any attack, it is but justice to lieutenant-colonel Fletcher and the officers of the royal engineers, to draw your lordship's attention to the ability and diligence with which they have executed the works, by which these positions have been

strengthened to such a degree as to render any attack upon that line occupied by the allied army very doubtful, if not entirely hopeless. The enemy's army may be reinforced, and they may again induce me to think it expedient, in the existing state of affairs in the Peninsula, to resume these positions; but I do not believe they have it in their power to bring such a force against us as to render the contest a matter of doubt. We are indebted for these advantages to lieutenant-colonel Fletcher and the officers of the royal engineers, among whom I must particularly mention captain Chapman, who has given me great assistance upon various occasions."

* * * * *

"Throughout the period during which we occupied those positions, everything went on with the utmost regularity, and to my satisfaction, notwithstanding that the force was composed of troops of various descriptions and of different nations; and I attribute these advantages entirely to the zeal for the cause in which we are engaged, and the conciliatory disposition of the chiefs and general officers of the armies of the different nations; and I have no doubt that the same cordiality will prevail as long as it may be expedient that the armies should continue united."

Official despatch, descriptive of the battle of Fuentes d'Oñoro, dated Villa Fermosa, May 8th, 1811, addressed to the earl of Liverpool, secretary of state.

"My lord—The enemy's whole army, consisting of the 2nd, 6th and 8th corps, and all the cavalry which could be collected in Castile and Leon, including about 900 of the imperial guard, crossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 2nd instant. The battalions of the ninth corps had been joined to the regiments to which they belonged in the other three corps; excepting a division, consisting of battalions belonging to regiments in the corps doing duty in Andalusia; which division likewise formed part of the army. As my object in maintaining a position between the Coa and the Agueda, after the enemy had retired from the former, was to blockade Almeida, which place, I had learned from intercepted letters, and other information, was ill supplied with provisions for its garrison, and as the enemy were infinitely superior to us in cavalry, I did not give any opposition to their march, and they passed the Azava on that evening,

in the neighbourhood of Espeja, Carpio, and Gallegos. They continued their march on the 3rd, in the morning, towards the Dos Casas, in three columns; two of them, consisting of the 2nd and 8th corps, to the neighbourhood of Almeida and Fort Concepcion, and the third column, consisting of the whole of the cavalry, and the 6th and that part of the 9th corps which had not already been drafted into the other three. The allied army had been cantoned along the river Dos Casas, and on the sources of the Azava; the light division at Gallegos and Espeja. This last fell back upon Fuentes d'Oñoro, on the Dos Casas, with the British cavalry, in proportion as the enemy advanced, and the first, third, and seventh divisions were collected at that place; the sixth division, under major-general Campbell, observed the bridge at Alameda; and major-general sir W. Erskine, with the fifth division, the passages of the Dos Casas at Fort Concepcion and Aldea del Obispo. Brigadier-general Pack's brigade, with the queen's regiment from the sixth division, kept the blockade of Almeida; and I had prevailed upon Don Julian Sanchez to occupy Nava d'Aver with his corps of Spanish cavalry and infantry. The light division were moved in the evening to join major-general Campbell, upon finding that the enemy were in strength in that quarter; and they were brought back again to Fuentes d'Oñoro on the morning of the 5th, when it was found that the 8th corps had joined the 6th on the enemy's left.

"Shortly after the enemy had formed on the ground on the right of the Dos Casas, on the afternoon of the 3rd, they attacked with a large force the village of Fuentes d'Oñoro, which was defended in a most gallant manner by lieutenant-colonel Williams, of the fifth battalion 60th regiment, in command of the light infantry battalion belonging to major-general Picton's division, supported by the light infantry battalion in major-general Nightingall's brigade, commanded by major Dick, of the 42nd regiment, and the light infantry battalion in major-general Howard's brigade, commanded by major M'Donnell, of the 92nd, and the light infantry battalion of the king's German legion, commanded by major Aly, of the fifth battalion of the line, and by the second battalion of the 83rd regiment, under major Carr. The troops maintained their position: but having observed the repeated efforts which the enemy

were making to obtain possession of the village, and being aware of the advantage which they would derive from the possession in their subsequent operations, I reinforced the village successively with the 71st regiment, under lieutenant-colonel the honourable H. Cadogan, the 79th, under lieutenant-colonel Cameron, and the 24th, under major Chamberlain. The former, at the head of the 71st regiment, charged the enemy, and drove them from a part of the village of which they had obtained a momentary possession. Nearly at this time, lieutenant-colonel Williams was unfortunately wounded, but I hope not dangerously; and the command devolved upon lieutenant-colonel Cameron, of the 79th.

"The contest continued till night, when our troops retained possession of the whole village. I then withdrew the light infantry battalions and the 83rd regiment, leaving the 71st and 79th regiments only in the village, and the second battalion of the 24th regiment to support them. On the 4th, the enemy reconnoitred the position which we occupied on the Dos Casas river; and during that night they moved the duc d'Abrantes' corps from Alameda to the left of the position occupied by the sixth corps, opposite to Fuentes d'Oñoro. From the course of the reconnoissance on the 4th, I had imagined that the enemy would endeavour to obtain possession of Fuentes d'Oñoro, and of the ground occupied by the troops behind that village, by crossing the Dos Casas at Pozo Velho; and in the evening I moved the seventh division, under major-general Houstoun, to the right, in order, if possible, to protect that passage.

"On the morning of the 5th, the eighth corps appeared in two columns, with all the cavalry, on the opposite side of the valley of the Dos Casas and Pozo Velho; and as the sixth and ninth corps also made a movement to their left, the light division, which had been brought back from the neighbourhood of Alameda, were sent with the cavalry, under sir S. Cotton, to support major-general Houstoun; while the first and third divisions made a movement to their right, along the ridge between the Turon and Dos Casas rivers, corresponding to that of the sixth and ninth corps, on the right of the Dos Casas. The eighth corps attacked major-general Houstoun's advanced guard, consisting of the 85th regiment, under major Macintosh, and the 2nd Portuguese caçadores, under lieutenant-colonel Nixon,

and obliged them to retire; and they retired in good order, although with some loss. The 8th corps being thus established in Pozo Velho, the enemy's cavalry turned the right of the seventh division, between Pozo Velho and Nava d'Aver, from which last place Don Julian Sanchez had been obliged to retire; and the cavalry charged. The charge of the advanced guard of the enemy's cavalry was met by two or three squadrons of the different regiments of British dragoons, and the enemy were driven back; and colonel La Motte, of the 13th chasseurs, and some prisoners, taken. The main body were checked and obliged to retire by the fire of major-general Houstoun's division; and I particularly observed the chasseurs Britanniques, under lieutenant-colonel Eustace, as behaving in the most steady manner; and major-general Houstoun mentions in high terms the conduct of a detachment of the duke of Brunswick's light infantry. Notwithstanding that this charge was repulsed, I determined to concentrate our force towards the left, and to move the seventh and light divisions and the cavalry from Pozo Velho towards Fuentes d'Oñoro, and the other two divisions.

"I had occupied Pozo Velho and that neighbourhood, in hopes that I should be able to maintain the communication across the Coa by Sabugal, as well as provide for the blockade, which objects it was now obvious were incompatible with each other; and I therefore abandoned that which was the least important, and placed the light division in reserve in the rear of the left of the first division, and the seventh division on some commanding ground beyond the Turon, which protected the right flank and rear of the first division, and covered the communication with the Coa, and prevented that of the enemy with Almeida by the roads between the Turon and that river. The movement of the troops upon this occasion was well conducted, although under very critical circumstances, by major-general Houstoun, brigadier-general Craufurd, and lieutenant-general sir S. Cotton. The seventh division was covered in its passage of the Turon by the light division, under brigadier-general Craufurd; and this last, in its march to join the first division, by the British cavalry.

"Our position thus extended on the high ground from the Turon to the Dos Casas. The seventh division, on the left of the Turon, covered the rear of the right; the

first division, in two lines, were on the right; colonel Ashworth's brigade, in two lines, in the centre; and the third division, in two lines, on the left; the light division and British artillery in reserve; and the village of Fuentes in front of the left. Don Julian's infantry joined the seventh division in Freneda; and I sent him with his cavalry to endeavour to intercept the enemy's communication with Ciudad Rodrigo. The enemy's efforts on the right part of our position, after it was occupied as I have above described, were confined to a cannonade, and to some charges with his cavalry, upon the advanced posts. The piquets of the first division, under lieutenant-colonel Hill, of the 3rd regiment of guards, repulsed one of these; but as they were falling back, they did not see the direction of another in sufficient time to form to oppose it, and lieutenant-colonel Hill was taken prisoner, and many men were wounded, and some taken, before a detachment of British cavalry could move up to their support. The second battalion of the 42nd regiment, under lord Blantyre, also repulsed a charge of the cavalry directed against them. They likewise attempted to push a body of light infantry upon the ravine of the Turon, to the right of the first division, which were repulsed by the light infantry of the guards under lieutenant-colonel Guise, aided by five companies of the 95th, under captain O'Hara. Major-general Nightingall was wounded in the course of the cannonade, but I hope not severely.

"The enemy's principal effort was, throughout this day, again directed against Fuentes d'Oñoro; and, notwithstanding that, the whole of the 6th corps were, at different periods of the day, employed to attack this village, they could never gain more than a temporary possession of it. It was defended by the 24th, 71st, and 79th regiments, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Cameron; and these troops were supported by the light infantry battalions of the third division, commanded by major Woodgate: the light infantry battalions of the first division, commanded by major Dick, major M'Donald, and major Aly; the 6th Portuguese caçadores, commanded by major Pinto; by the light companies in colonel Champelmond's Portuguese brigade, under colonel Sutton; and those in colonel Ashworth's Portuguese brigade, under lieutenant-colonel Pynn, and

by the pickets of the third division, under the command of colonel the honourable R. Trench. Lieutenant-colonel Cameron was severely wounded in the afternoon, and the command in the village devolved upon lieutenant-colonel the honourable H. Cadogan.

"The troops in Fuentes were besides supported, when pressed by the enemy, by the 74th regiment, under major Russell Manners, and the first battalion of the 88th regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Wallace, belonging to colonel Mackinnon's brigade; and on one of these occasions, the 88th, with the 71st and 79th, under the command of colonel Mackinnon, charged the enemy, and drove them through the village; and colonel Mackinnon has reported particularly the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Wallace, brigade-major Wilde, and lieutenant and adjutant Stewart. The contest again lasted in this quarter till night, when our troops still held their post; and from that time the enemy have made no fresh attempt on any part of our position. The enemy manifested an intention to attack major-general sir W. Erskine's post at Aldea del Obispo, on the same morning, with a part of the 2nd corps; but the major-general sent the second battalion of the Lusitanian legion across the ford of the Dos Casas, which obliged them to retire.

"In the course of last night the enemy commenced retiring from their position on the Dos Casas; and this morning, at daylight, the whole was in motion. I cannot yet decide whether this movement is preparatory to some fresh attempt to raise the blockade of Almeida, or is one of decided retreat; but I have every reason to hope that they will not succeed in the first, and that they will be obliged to have recourse to the last. Their superiority in cavalry is very great, owing to the weak state of our horses, from recent fatigue and scarcity of forage, and the reduction of numbers in the Portuguese brigade of cavalry with this part of the army, in exchange for a British brigade sent into Estremadura with marshal sir W. Beresford, owing to the failure of the measures reported to have been adopted to supply horses and men with food on the service. The result of a general action, brought on by an attack upon the enemy by us, might, under those circumstances, have been doubtful; and if the enemy had chosen to avoid it, or if they had met it, they would have taken advantage

of the collection of our troops to fight this action, and throw relief into Almeida.

"From the great superiority of force to which we have been opposed upon this occasion, your lordship will judge of the conduct of the officers and troops. The actions were partial, but very severe, and our loss has been great. The enemy's loss has also been very great, and they left 400 killed in the village of Fuentes, and we have many prisoners. I particularly request your attention to the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Williams, and lieutenant-colonel Cameron, and lieutenant-colonel the honourable H. Cadogan; and to that of colonel Mackinnon, and lieutenant-colonel Kelly, 24th regiment; of the several officers commanding battalions of the line and of light infantry, which supported the troops in Fuentes d'Oñoro; likewise to that of major Macintosh, of the 85th, and of lieutenant-colonel Nixon, of the 2nd caçadores, and of lieutenant-colonel Eustace, of the chasseurs Britanniques, and of lord Blantyre. Throughout these operations I have received the greatest assistance from lieutenant-general sir B. Spencer, and all the general officers of the army; and from the adjutant and quartermaster-general, and the officers of their several departments, and those of my personal staff."

Official despatch, detailing the siege and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, dated Gallegos, January 20th, 1812, addressed to lord Liverpool, secretary of state.

"My lord—I informed your lordship, in my despatch of the 9th, that I had attacked Ciudad Rodrigo, and in that of the 15th, of the progress of the operations to that period, and I have now the pleasure to acquaint your lordship that we took the place by storm yesterday evening, after dark. We continued from the 15th to the 19th, to complete the second parallel and the communications with that work, and we had made some progress by sap towards the crest of the glacis. On the night of the 15th, we likewise advanced from the left of the first parallel down the slope of the hill towards the convent of San Francisco, to a situation from which the walls of the *fausse braie* and of the town were seen, on which a battery for seven guns was constructed, and these commenced their fire on the morning of the 18th. In the meantime the batteries in the first parallel continued their fire; and, yesterday evening, their fire had not only considerably injured

the defences of the place, but had made breaches in the *fausse braie* wall, and in the body of the place, which were considered practicable; while the battery on the slope of the hill, which had been commenced on the night of the 15th, and had opened on the 18th, had been equally efficient still farther to the left, and opposite to the suburb of San Francisco. I therefore determined to storm the place, notwithstanding that the approaches had not been brought to the crest of the glacis, and the counterscarp of the ditch was still entire. The attack was accordingly made yesterday evening, in five separate columns, consisting of the troops of the 3rd and light divisions, and of brigadier-general Pack's brigade. The two right columns, conducted by lieutenant-colonel O'Toole of the 2nd *caçadores*, and major Ridge of the 5th regiment, were destined to protect the advance of major-general Mackinnon's brigade, forming the 3rd, to the top of the breach in the *fausse braie* wall; and all these, being composed of troops of the 3rd division, were under the direction of lieutenant-general Picton.

"The fourth column, consisting of the 43rd and 52nd regiments, and part of the 95th regiment, being of the light division, under the direction of major-general Craufurd, attacked the breaches on the left in front of the suburb on San Francisco, and covered the left of the attack of the principal breach by the troops of the 3rd division; and brigadier-general Pack was destined, with his brigade, forming the fifth column, to make a false attack upon the southern face of the fort. Besides these five columns, the 94th regiment, belonging to the 3rd division, descended into the ditch in two columns, on the right of major-general Mackinnon's brigade, with a view to protect the descent of that body into the ditch and its attack of the breach in the *fausse braie*, against the obstacles which it was supposed the enemy would construct to oppose their progress. All these attacks succeeded; and brigadier-general Pack even surpassed my expectations, having converted his false attack into a real one; and his advanced guard, under the command of major Lynch, having followed the enemy's troops from the advanced works into the *fausse braie*, where they made prisoners all opposed to them. Major Ridge, of the 2nd battalion 5th regiment, having escalated the *fausse braie* wall, stormed the principal breach in the body of the place, together with the 94th

regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Campbell, which had moved along the ditch at the same time, and had stormed the breach in the *fausse braie*, both in front of major-general Mackinnon's brigade. Thus, these regiments not only effectually covered the advance from the trenches of major-general Mackinnon's brigade by their first movements and operations, but they preceded them in the attack. Major-general Craufurd, and major-general Vandeleur, and the troops of the light division, on the left, were likewise very forward on that side; and, in less than half an hour from the time the attack commenced, our troops were in possession, and formed on the ramparts of the place, each body contiguous to the other; the enemy then submitted, having sustained a considerable loss in the contest. Our loss was also, I am concerned to add, severe, particularly in officers of high rank and estimation in this army. Major-general Mackinnon was unfortunately blown up by the accidental explosion of one of the enemy's expense magazines, close to the breach, after he had gallantly and successfully led the troops under his command to the attack. Major-general Craufurd likewise received a severe wound, while he was leading on the light division to the storm, and I am apprehensive that I shall be deprived for some time of his assistance. Major-general Vandeleur was likewise wounded in the same manner, but not so severely, and he was able to continue in the field. I have to add to this list lieutenant-colonel Colborne of the 52nd regiment, and major G. Napier, who led the storming party of the light division, and was wounded on the top of the breach.

"I have great pleasure in reporting to your lordship the uniform good conduct, and spirit of enterprise, patience, and perseverance in the performance of great labour, by which the general officers, officers, and troops of the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and light divisions, and brigadier-general Pack's brigade, by whom the siege was carried on, have been distinguished during the late operations. Lieutenant-general Graham assisted me in superintending the conduct of the details of the siege, besides performing the duties of the general officer commanding the 1st division; and I am much indebted to the suggestions and assistance I received from him for the success of this enterprise. The conduct of all parts of the 3rd division, in the operations which they performed with

so much gallantry and exactness on the evening of the 19th in the dark, afford the strongest proof of the abilities of lieutenant-general Picton and major-general Mackinnon, by whom they were directed and led; but I beg particularly to draw your lordship's attention to the conduct of lieutenant-colonel O'Toole, of the 2nd caçadores, of major Ridge, of the second battalion of the 5th foot, of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the 94th regiment, of major Manners, of the 74th, and of major Grey, of the second battalion of the 5th foot, who has been twice wounded during this siege.

"It is but justice also to the 3rd division to report that the men who performed the sap, belonged to the 45th, 74th, and 88th regiments, under the command of captain Macleod of the royal engineers, and captain Thompson of the 74th, lieutenant Beresford of the 88th, and lieutenant Metcalf of the 45th, and they distinguished themselves not less in the storming of the place than they had in the performance of their laborious duty during the siege.

"I have already reported, in my letter of the 9th instant, my sense of the conduct of major-general Craufurd, and of lieutenant-colonel Colborne, and of the troops of the light division, in the storm of the redoubt of San Francisco, on the evening of the 8th instant. The conduct of these troops was equally distinguished throughout the siege; and in the storm, nothing could exceed the gallantry with which these brave officers and troops advanced and accomplished the difficult operation allotted to them, notwithstanding that all their leaders had fallen. I particularly request your lordship's attention to the conduct of major-general Craufurd, major-general Vandeleur, lieutenant-colonel Barnard of the 95th, lieutenant-colonel Colborne, major Gibbs, and major Napier of the 52nd, and lieutenant-colonel Macleod of the 43rd. The conduct of captain Duffy of the 43rd, and that of lieutenant Gurwood of the 52nd regiment, who was wounded, have likewise been particularly reported to me. Lieutenant-colonel Elder and the 3rd caçadores were likewise distinguished upon this occasion. The 1st Portuguese regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Hill, and the 16th, under colonel Campbell, being brigadier-general Pack's brigade, were likewise distinguished in the storm under the command of the brigadier-general, who particularly mentions major Lynch.

"In my despatch of the 15th, I reported

to your lordship the attack of the convent of Sta. Cruz by the troops of the 1st division, under the direction of lieutenant-general Graham, and that of the convent of San Francisco, on the 14th instant, under the direction of major-general the honourable C. Colville. The first-mentioned enterprise was performed by captain Laroche de Starkerfels of the first line battalion of the king's German legion, the last by lieutenant-colonel Harcourt, with the 40th regiment. This regiment remained from that time in the suburb of San Francisco, and materially assisted our attack on that side of the place. Although it did not fall to the lot of the troops of the 1st and 4th divisions to bring these operations to a successful close, they distinguished themselves throughout their progress by the patience and perseverance with which they performed the labour of the siege. The brigade of guards, under major-general H. Campbell, were particularly distinguished in this respect. I likewise request your lordship's attention to the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, the chief engineer, and of brigade-major Jones, and the officers and men of the royal engineers. The ability with which these operations were carried on exceeds all praise, and I beg leave to recommend these officers to your lordship most particularly.

"Major Dickson of the royal artillery, attached to the Portuguese artillery, has for some time had the direction of the heavy train attached to this army, and has conducted the intricate details of the late operation, as he did that of the two sieges of Badajoz in the last summer, much to my satisfaction. The rapid execution produced by the well-directed fire kept up from our batteries, affords the best proof of the merits of the officers and men of the royal artillery, and of the Portuguese artillery, employed on this occasion; but I must particularly mention brigade-major May, and captains Holcombe, Power, Dynely, and Dundas, of the royal artillery, and captains Da Cunha and Da Costa, and lieutenant Silva, of the first regiment of Portuguese artillery. I have likewise particularly to report to your lordship the conduct of major Sturgeon of the royal staff corps.—He constructed and placed for us the bridge over the Agueda, without which the enterprise could not have been attempted; and he afterwards materially assisted lieutenant-general Graham and myself in our reconnaissance of the place, on which the plan of the attack

was founded; and he finally conducted the second battalion of the 5th regiment, as well as the 2nd caçadores, to their points of attack.

“The adjutant-general, and the deputy quarter-master-general, and the officers of their several departments, gave me every assistance throughout this service, as well as those of my personal staff; and I have great pleasure in adding that, notwithstanding the season of the year, and the increased difficulties of procuring supplies for the troops, the whole army have been well supplied, and every branch of the service provided for during the late operations, by the indefatigable exertions of commissary-general Bissett, and the officers belonging to his department.

“The Marischal de Campo, Don Carlos de España, and Don Julian Sanchez, observed the enemy’s movements beyond the Tormes during the operations of the siege; and I am much obliged to them, and to the people of Castille in general, for the assistance I received from them. The latter have invariably shown their detestation of the French tyranny, and their desire to contribute, by every means in their power, to remove it. I shall hereafter transmit to your lordship a detailed account of what we have found in the place; but I believe that there are 153 pieces of ordnance, including the heavy train belonging to the French army, and great quantities of ammunition and stores. We have the governor, general Barré, about 78 officers, and 1,700 men, prisoners.”

MEMORANDUM FURNISHED BY COLONEL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR-GENERAL BAIRD FOR HIS ASSISTANCE AND DIRECTION IN HIS OPERATIONS IN THE RED SEA.

“The object proposed by Mr. Dundas and by the governor-general, in the expedition to the Red Sea, are—1st. To get possession of the forts and ports which the French may have on its shores: 2dly. To urge and encourage the natives of Upper Egypt (Mamelukes and Arabs) to commence operations against them: 3rdly. To assist the operations of the natives, by giving them arms and ammunition; or by a junction with them, either of a part, or of the whole of the force.

“The advanced state of the season renders it probable that it will be so difficult to reach Suez, that the object is not attainable. It is possible, however, that the force which left Bombay in December last, under the orders of admiral Blanquet, may have succeeded in effecting the objects in view, when it was fitted out, so far as they relate to Suez. Cossier will then be the first object of attention, and the operations of the army ought to be directed in the first instance, to gain possession of that place. The general is already acquainted with the measures which have been taken to facilitate these operations, and it is needless to enumerate them here; and I shall now proceed to the second object of the expedition; viz., to encourage the natives of Upper Egypt to shake off the French yoke, and to act on our side.

The success of this measure, it is evident, will operate most forcibly in favour of sir Ralph Abercrombie, and it appears to me to be the principal object of the expedition.

“From the intelligence lately received from the Red Sea, I am induced to believe that after the Turkish army was beaten by general Kleber, in March last, and after colonel Murray had evacuated Suez, Morad Bey made peace with the French, and that the latter ceded to him all Upper Egypt. He is now stationed there, and from the accounts and distribution of the French force in Egypt, which I have occasionally seen, I am induced to believe that they have no troops in Upper Egypt, except such as are necessary to watch Morad Bey, who are encamped with him, and such as are necessary to keep up the communication with their post at Cossier. It is probable that when sir Ralph Abercrombie commences his operations, they will draw to Lower Egypt all the troops not absolutely necessary for their safety in Upper Egypt; and thus they will leave to Morad Bey the power of acting as his sense of his own interests may point out. I have always understood this man to be the head of the Mamelukes; and certainly, until the French made peace with him, he was supposed to

be a friend of the English; and showed his power in doing injury to the French, by keeping in constant employment a large part of their army under general Dessaix, in pursuit of him. It is very probable that he does not deem his tenure in Egypt very secure. He must be aware that, as soon as the French gain quiet possession of Lower Egypt, they will have the power to break their engagement with him; and from his own experience of their fidelity in adhering to treaties, he must expect that they will use that power to his disadvantage. Indeed, the fact that the French have found it necessary to have a body of their troops encamped with Morad Bey's army, is a clear proof that they do not place much faith in him; and that as he must know that he is suspected and watched, he has still stronger reason to expect that, as soon as the French have the power, they will not fail to exert it to get rid of a neighbour and an ally in which they have so little confidence.

"Without being too sanguine, we may expect then that, as soon as Morad Bey shall perceive a prospect of driving the French from Egypt, he will co-operate and join with those employed in that object. For this reason, the very first opportunity ought to be taken to open a communication with him; his situation and his prospects, if the French should remain in Egypt, ought to be clearly pointed out to him; and he ought to be urged in the strongest manner to exert himself to shake off the yoke. The power of the armies employed on the side of Lower Egypt ought to be made known to him; their prospects of success, founded as well on their own strength, as on the impossibility that the French should receive assistance, ought to be stated to him: and, finally, an offer ought to be made to supply him with arms and ammunition, and even to join him with a part or the whole of the army in the Red Sea, in order to ensure the speedy success of the objects, which he, as well as the English, must have in view.

"The possession of the port of Cossier, and of the navigation of the Red Sea, will be a strong inducement to Morad Bey, as the governor of Upper Egypt, to be favourable to the English. The trade in corn is carried on by this port to Jedda, in Arabia; and this trade is such an object both to Upper Egypt and Arabia, and to Mecca, in particular, that it may be expected that the governor of Upper Egypt will not be disinclined towards those who will have it so

much in their power to annoy him. Having now stated the reasons that induce me to believe that it will not be difficult to urge the head of the Mamelukes to shake off the French yoke, I proceed to the consideration of the third object of the expedition, viz., to assist the natives with arms and ammunition, and even to join them with a part or the whole of the army.

"The first question which I shall consider, and which will lay the grounds for the consideration of, and decision upon others, is, whether it would be practicable, or even desirable, to cross the desert from Cossier at all, if that operation is not performed in concert and co-operation with a body of the natives posted upon the Nile. It is useless to enter into a statement of the difficulties to be apprehended in crossing the desert; they are certainly great, but I imagine not insurmountable. But, if it is not certain that the army or detachment which may cross the desert, will partake of the plenty of the banks of the Nile, when they reach them; if they should be certain of having water only, and such forage as their cattle should be able to pick up, I apprehend that the difficulty will become so great that the operation ought not to be attempted. It is impossible that the Mamelukes in Upper Egypt can be neutral in the contest in contemplation; they must take part with the French or with us. If they take part with the French, the army will be in the situation in which I have above described it, enjoying no advantage from having reached the banks of the Nile, excepting water, and probably no forage; and it is needless to point out that, if the desert is to be crossed under such circumstances, care must be taken not only to send with the body of troops which may cross a very large proportion of provisions, but means must be adopted to add to them, until the operations of this body shall have given them such a hold of the country as to leave no doubt of their steady supply of provisions. It is obvious that this will require a great number of cattle—a number much greater than the government of India, with all the zealous exercise of their power and means, can supply—but there is another consideration connected with this subject besides the supply of cattle, and that is, the means of feeding them when landed from the ships.

"On this point I need only call to the general's recollection the difficulties to which he has been a witness in moving large sup-

plies of stores and provisions, even in fertile, cultivated, and inhabited countries, well supplied with water, and every other advantage of arrangement, in the supply, distribution, care, and food of the cattle; and draw a comparison between such difficulties and those to be expected in a march through a desert. But this is not the worst to be apprehended; the cattle will of course land in weak condition, on a desert, and it must be expected that even those which survive the voyage will starve, or at least be in such a state before they commence their march as to render it very probable that they will not carry their loads to the end of it; upon the whole, then, I am decidedly of opinion, that if the Mamelukes are not on our side, no attempt ought to be made to cross the desert. This opinion, the general will observe, is by no means founded on the impracticability of crossing with troops, because I am convinced that it can be done; but it is founded upon the danger that the troops will starve if they do not return immediately, and upon the inutility of the measure if they do.

“It may be imagined that, supposing the Mamelukes to be wavering, if an attempt is not made to cross the desert, the advantage of their co-operation will be lost. Upon this point I observe that a knowledge of our strength, not of our weakness, will induce them to come forward, and that it might be expected that the sight of our weakness, occasioned by our march over the desert without concert with them, might induce them to take advantage of it and to join the French. But those who will urge this consideration must suppose it possible that the Mamelukes can be neutral for a moment, and this their history from the beginning of time, particularly since the French invasion, will show to be impossible. I come now to consider the propriety and mode of crossing the desert, supposing that the Mamelukes should be inclined to shake off the French yoke and to co-operate with us.

“The first point for the general to ascertain is their sincerity in the cause, of which, as I have above stated, there is every probability. As soon as he shall have ascertained this, it will be necessary that he should

make arrangements with them for posting a supply of water on that part of the desert where it is most wanted, and for having a supply of provisions ready on the Nile, that he might cross over with a part of his army immediately. The first object on his arrival on the Nile should be to establish a post at Ghennah, and, if possible, another in the desert, between that place and Cossier, in order to ensure his communication between the sea and the Nile. At Ghennah he should make his depôt of his stores, &c., which might be brought across the desert by degrees, and then he might commence his operations against the enemy. On the consideration of the question regarding the crossing of the desert, I have omitted to mention the interruption which may be given to that operation by the enemy, because it is entirely distinct from the difficulties which are peculiar to the operation itself. It is obvious, however, that if the Mamelukes are not on our side, and if they should not have driven out of Upper Egypt the small French force supposed to be in that country before the operation is attempted, that force, however small, will greatly increase the distress of the British troops who may cross the desert.

“I have not adverted to the supply of arms and ammunition to be given to the natives. As long as their co-operation is doubtful these supplies ought to be withheld, but promised; when they have shown their sincerity in our cause, the arms may be given to almost any extent.

“ARTHUR WELLESLEY.”

In the preceding admirable document of instructions, are evident all the qualifications which so eminently distinguished the late duke—great political foresight and penetration—and a profound knowledge of human affairs and character. The duke no politician! Did ever the silly babblers know a great general who was not an equally great politician? All history demonstrates the fact. The two qualifications are part and parcel of the same endowment. According to their due adjustment and amalgamation is the perfection of the military character.

CORRESPONDENCE ON THE MOVEMENT OF THE FOURTH DIVISION AT THE BATTLE OF ALBUERA.

MANY of the subscribers to *The Campaigns and Battle Fields of Wellington and his Comrades* having addressed the author of that work, requesting to be informed respecting the source whence the correspondence settling the respective claims of sir Lowry Cole and major (now lord) Hardinge to the merit of ordering the fusileer brigade to advance against the French army, who were sweeping the field with the besom of destruction, and driving the scared Spaniards before them at the battle of Albuera could be obtained; and when advised that that information was to be found in the *United Service Journal*, expressing their inability to procure that work—its introduction here, it is presumed, will not be unacceptable to any of our readers, as it will enable the public to determine who was the man to whom the merit is attributable. The correspondence that took place relative to that affair was as follows:—

The following passages appear in the third and fourth volumes of colonel Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula*, relative to the advance of the fourth division at the battle of Albuera:—

In vol. 3, p. 539—"While he [lord Beresford] hesitated, colonel Hardinge boldly ordered Cole to advance."

In vol. 6, p. 53—"Justificatory notes.—In the most critical part of this great and awful battle of Albuera, sir Henry Hardinge took it upon himself to win it for you."

"Ordering an advance, which gained the day."

Colonel Wade, who had been aid-de-camp to sir Lowry Cole at that battle, made the following communication to the editor of the *United Service Journal*:—

"Mr. Editor,—There is very material error in these passages. Sir Lowry Cole received no order to advance from sir Henry Hardinge. It is necessary to explain here why, when the third volume of the *History* originally appeared, I did not at once seek to have this error corrected; but I cannot permit it to be now repeated in the sixth volume without affirming—

"First,—That during the whole of that eventful day, from the time the fourth division was posted by the quartermaster-general, sir B. d'Urban—as described in

lord Beresford's despatch—sir Lowry Cole received no order whatever, either from sir Henry Hardinge or from any other officer.

"Secondly,—That the whole merit and responsibility of the advance of the fourth division belonged exclusively to sir Lowry Cole.

"It is quite true that the advance of the division was recommended, and very urgently so, both by lieutenant-colonel Rooke and lieutenant-colonel Hardinge—the former assistant adjutant-general to the united British and Portuguese force, and the latter deputy-quartermaster-general to the Portuguese troops—and I may add, also, by every staff officer attached to sir Lowry Cole. The general, however, stood in need of no such suggestions: the state of the battle, at the time they were offered, rendered it as evident to him as to all those around him, that the troops under his command could not very much longer remain inactive spectators of the contest. But then sir Lowry had received the strictest injunctions not to move his division from the very important position upon which it had been posted, without the express orders of marshal Beresford; and to obtain them he had despatched an aid-de-camp (the late major de Roverea), when those reverses happened on our left which had been elsewhere described. Poor de Roverea was, however, as it afterwards appeared, severely wounded in the head while proceeding in search of the marshal, and never reached him; and sir Lowry was, with the greatest anxiety, looking for his return, when that crisis of the battle arrived when, not only the expected orders could no longer be waited for, but when the general commanding the fourth division could no longer hesitate to take on himself the responsibility of acting on his own judgment. Sir Lowry accordingly decided on the advance of his division, and led the fusileer brigade to that attack which has been so eloquently described by Napier, and which, he truly asserts, gained the day.

"I have, &c.

"J. WADE, colonel,

"Late aid-de-camp to sir Lowry Cole."

Sir Henry Hardinge, in his reply to

colonel Wade's letter, and addressed to the editor of the *United Service Journal*, having stated that "the proposal to attack the enemy's flank column with the fourth division having originated with himself," and that sir Lowry Cole, on his return from the Cape of Good Hope to England, had, in the spring of 1834, used these words in a conversation with him, "I fully admit that the merit of originating the movement rests with you, but the credit of having incurred the responsibility is mine,"—the following letters from colonel Wade and sir Lowry Cole appeared in the same journal, in the number for April, 1841:—

Colonel Wade's communication on the subject:—

"Mr. Editor,—I have already explained the cause of my silence since the appearance of sir Henry Hardinge's letter in your October number, and I have now further to state that sir Lowry Cole, fearing that my time would be too much occupied to permit of my resuming the correspondence, determined on doing so himself; and the annexed letter from him, containing explanations which I should otherwise have given, was intended for your February number, but was, at my request, withheld until the present time. In his letter of the 2nd July, colonel Napier, after expressing his regret (which, I assure him, I fully partake of) that I did not, at an earlier period, correct the error into which I have stated he has fallen in the third volume of his *History*, p. 539, relative to the advance of the fourth division at the battle of Albuera, proceeds to produce his authorities for the version he has given of that affair. These are, first, his recollections of a conversation he had, several years since, with sir Henry Hardinge; secondly, extracts from sir Benjamin d'Urban's printed *Memoir on the Battle of Albuera*, and written at the request of colonel Napier by sir Henry Hardinge. In the extracts, I find no allusion whatever to any *order* having been given. Sir Benjamin d'Urban's expression, "Hastened to point it out to general Cole (seeing the necessity of the movement,)" is a strictly correct one, and is admitted to be so by sir Henry Hardinge in his letter of the 9th of September; and, as regards the conversation, it is also distinctly admitted in the same letter, that no *order* was given; consequently, that my assertion in my former letter, that "sir Lowry Cole received no order to advance from sir Henry Hardinge,"

was a correct one, which is further confirmed—as are also my other statements as to the necessity for the advance of the division having been felt by sir Lowry Cole before sir Henry Hardinge came from the hill, and as to major de Roverea having been sent to lord Beresford for orders to advance—by the following extracts from a *Brief Account of the Marches and Movements of the Fourth Division*, (printed, but not published), by sir C. B. Vere, assistant-quartermaster-general of the division, and to which I have had access since the publication of my former letter.

"General Cole continued anxiously to watch the progress of the contest, and he sent his aid-de-camp to sir William Beresford to request authority to carry his division to the support of the troops engaged. Colonel Rooke, the deputy adjutant-general, and also major Hardinge, deputy quarter-master-general, had suggested, and the latter strongly urged on the general the necessity of his advancing to re-enforce the second division; but they brought no *order* from sir William Beresford, neither did his aid-de-camp [captain de Roverea] return any answer. General Cole was impatient at being compelled to withhold support from an evident demand for succour; and such at length appeared to be the critical state of the conflict, that he took on himself the responsibility of moving his division to re-enforce the battle without receiving any order from his superior to do so."

"There is one other observation I feel called on to make on this part of the subject, because it strikes me that some passages in sir Henry Hardinge's letter may be misunderstood as implying that, although no order was given, there was on his part on the occasion in question, something partaking of an authoritative interference. When, in my former letter, I stated that sir Lowry Cole received no order to advance from sir Henry Hardinge, I did not intend to make in any respect a qualified assertion—I meant to affirm unequivocally, as I now do, that sir Lowry Cole received no order, "positive," or other, from sir Henry Hardinge, and with sir Lowry rested the whole responsibility, whether, in obedience to the commands of lord Beresford he remained in his position (notwithstanding the representations and suggestions of sir Henry Hardinge), or, in violation of those commands, he advanced from it. Sir Henry Hardinge—as do also lord Beresford and colonel

Napier—give sir Lowry Cole ample credit for the manner in which the movement was executed. I claim for him something more than encomiums, which could not justly have been withheld from him, had he been merely an executive officer leading his division to an attack, under the eye, and in compliance with the express orders, of his commander-in-chief. The fourth division was placed by lord Beresford in a position which, under any circumstances, would have been a most important one, but was rendered infinitely more so in consequence of the defence of the principal heights having been entrusted to the Spaniards. The importance of the position is correctly shown both in the *Strictures* and in lord Beresford's *Refutation*. The extreme value of it was, in all its bearings, fully understood by sir Lowry Cole, and he was well aware of all the consequences of abandoning it. When, therefore, it became a question, whether he should remove his troops from it without lord Beresford's orders, and engage them in a most difficult and hazardous movement and attack, it became him—whatever weight he might attach to the reports and suggestions of sir Henry Hardinge or colonel Rooke, or to the advice and opinion of his own invaluable friend and assistant-quarter-master-general sir Charles B. Vere—to assume an undivided responsibility, and to decide—as he did decide—solely on his own judgment; and, excellent as were the arrangements for, and brilliant the execution of, the movement, and fully deserving of all the encomiums which have been lavished upon them, the moral courage which, under all the circumstances, determined on attacking, was of a very different and far more exalted character, and, in my humble judgment, at least deserving of a far higher meed of praise.

“When speaking in his despatch of sir Lowry Cole's conduct on this occasion, lord Beresford uses the terms ‘very judiciously,’ and ‘most opportunely.’ But the true value of the movement has been best described by sir Henry Hardinge in the letter (a copy of which sir Lowry Cole has given) to which he has alluded, as containing the opinion, given by him to sir Lowry Cole within a week after the action. ‘The fusileers,’ he writes, exceeded anything that the usual word *gallantry* can convey; and your movement on the left flank of the enemy unquestionably saved the day, and decided the victory;’ an unqualified opinion that needs no comment, and may well, I can

conceive, terminate the controversy. Before I take leave of it, however, it may be permitted me to express a hope that no one will so completely misunderstand me as to suppose that, in anything I have said, I have been influenced by a desire to detract from the high reputation to which his conduct on all occasions, and never more conspicuously than on the field of Albuera, has so fully entitled sir Henry Hardinge; and further to remark, that were I to attempt to add to the reputation of sir Lowry Cole, at the expense of any other human being, I should pay him the very worst of compliments, and only prove my utter ignorance of a character that I have had ample opportunities of observing, and which, I trust, I duly appreciate.”

To the extracts I have already given from sir C. B. Vere's “brief account,” he adds—

“And the manner in which he (sir Lowry Cole) directed the line should be moved forward, was such as showed his desire to effect with promptness the immediate object of the movement; and, at the same time, his care to secure to the army the protection on its right of the extended formation of his division to that flank, which was one of the advantages afforded in his position in the reserve.”

Sir Lowry Cole himself explains his arrangements for the advance of the division. I will, therefore, only further add sir William Blakeney's statement:—

“When we reached the part of the position allotted to us, the action in our front had been going on very severely. A fog and heavy rain prevented our seeing actually what had occurred; but, when it cleared up, which was in about ten minutes, we saw the French columns placed an *echelon* on our side of the hill, with the artillery—twenty-three pieces—above, and an *echelon* of cavalry on their left flank, covering the whole plain with their swords. The second division of British infantry was to our left and front, and had, just as we arrived, been most severely handled by the cannonade and Polish lancers. A squadron of these Poles had moved close to us, when a British squadron charged and drove them back. At the most critical movement, sir Lowry Cole ordered the brigade to advance. The word coming from the left, the 1st battalion of the royal fusileers moved first; my battalion—the 2nd fusileers—next; and the 23rd Welsh fusileers on the right. We moved steadily towards the enemy, and

soon commenced firing. The men behaved most gloriously, never losing their ranks, and closing to their centre as casualties occurred. From the quantity of smoke, I could perceive very little but what was immediately in my front. The first battalion closed with the right column of the French, and I moved on and closed with the second column, the 23rd with the third column. This appeared to me to be the position of the three battalions for a few minutes, when the French faced about at thirty or forty yards from us. Our firing was most incessant; and we kept following the enemy till we reached the second hill, and the position they had previously occupied. During the closest part of the action, I saw the French officers endeavouring to deploy their columns, but all to no purpose; for as soon as a third of a company got out they immediately ran back, to be covered by the front of the column. Our loss was, of course, most severe; but the battalions never for an instant ceased advancing, although under artillery firing grape the whole time.

“I have, &c.,

“THOMAS WADE,

‘Late Aid-de-camp to Sir Lowry Cole.’”

(SIR LOWRY COLE'S Communication.)

“Mr. Editor—Having remained so many years without having taken any part in the controversy between lord Beresford and colonel Napier on the subject of the battle of Albuera, I should probably have continued to abstain from so doing, were it not that an erroneous construction has been put on my silence.

“I had received colonel Napier's third volume of the *Peninsular War* previously to leaving the Cape of Good Hope, and I did not at the time take any steps to contradict the statement that ‘while Beresford hesitated, colonel Hardinge boldly ordered Cole to advance,’ being under an impression that sir Henry Hardinge would himself correct the error into which colonel Napier had fallen; and finding, on my arrival in England, that sir Henry had not done so, I availed myself of the first opportunity I had after my return to open the subject to him in the conversation to which sir Henry alludes in his letter of the 9th of September, 1840, published in the October number of the *United Service Journal*.

“There is a material difference in sir Henry Hardinge's recollection of that conversation and mine. It commenced by my

stating my reasons for not having contradicted colonel Napier's statement myself, and by my expressing my wish, if not my expectation, that he would still do so, which, however, he declined, giving as a reason that having refused a similar request made by lord Beresford, he could not comply with mine.

“Of the proposal sir Henry Hardinge states he made to me of my writing to him, and putting any question I might wish to make on the subject, I have no recollection whatever—a proposal much more consonant with my feelings, as it would probably have rendered any contradiction on my part unnecessary. Sir Henry Hardinge, although he admits in his letter that he never gave me an order, or anything approaching to one, yet appears to leave it to be understood that, from the situation he held, as deputy-quarter master-general of the Portuguese army, his opinion of the necessity of the movement considerably lessened the responsibility I took on myself in making it; and I fully admit that, as both sir Henry Hardinge and colonel Rooke came from the immediate scene of action, their opinion of the critical state of it had, no doubt, due weight with me in my ultimate decision. No man is less disposed than I am to detract from sir Henry Hardinge's merits and professional abilities; they are generally and deservedly acknowledged; but it is now nearly thirty years since the battle of Albuera took place; and the advice of colonel Hardinge at twenty-three or twenty-four (his age, I believe, at that time), without much professional experience, could not have carried with it the weight and authority which, in later years, it might have been entitled to.

“Sir Henry Hardinge, in the conversation I had with him, gave me no reason to suppose it was on his authority that colonel Napier made the statement in question, and having some time after had reason to believe that it was on information derived from sir Henry Hardinge that colonel Napier relied, I felt too strongly on the occasion to permit me to renew the subject with him; although it is quite true, as he states, that we have frequently met since.

“The movement itself was hazardous and difficult to execute without exposing the right flank of the fusiliers to an acknowledged great superiority of cavalry, ready to take advantage of any error that might occur. In moving forward to the attack, the fusiliers advanced in *echellons* of battalions from the left—a manoeuvre always

difficult to perform correctly, even on a common field-day; and as the Portuguese brigade in advancing had two objects to effect, namely, to show front to the enemy's cavalry, and at the same time to preserve its distance from, and cover the right of the fusilier brigade, its movement was even more difficult to effect than the former. Thinking it desirable (with all due confidence in the Portuguese brigade) to have some British troops on the extreme right of the division, I directed the light companies of the fusilier brigade to form in column on the right of the Portuguese, where I also placed the brigade of guns, and sent the Lusitanian legion to the left of the fusiliers.

"I make these remarks, which may by many be considered unnecessary, to prove that I was fully aware of the difficulties attending the movement, as well as alive to the great responsibility which I took on myself in moving at all, after the positive orders I had received from the marshal *not* to leave the position in which I had been placed without his special instructions. In this attack, and in carrying the enemy's position, the fusilier-brigade lost 1,000 men

(47 serjeants and 953 rank and file) out of 1,500 rank and file, and 45 officers, among whom three were commanding officers—an example of steadiness and heroic gallantry which history, I believe, cannot surpass, and which is fully deserving the encomiums passed on it by colonel Napier in his account of the battle of Albuera. In the very high state of discipline of the fusilier brigade, commanded by officers of the acknowledged professional merits of the late sir William Myers and colonel Ellis, and the present sir Edward Blakeney, I can claim little merit for the execution of the movement; but I feel I have an undivided claim to all credit that may attach to the responsibility of undertaking and directing it, under the circumstances here mentioned. My silence on the points in dispute, has not, as colonel Napier supposes, proceeded from indifference, but from a strong objection I have always felt to bring myself before the public, and which has not been lessened by the bitterness of the controversy between lord Beresford and himself.

"I have, &c.,

"G. LOWRY COLE, General."

WELLINGTONIANA;

OR,

ANECDOTICAL REMINISCENCES OF "THE DUKE."

IN addition to the various anecdotes respecting the duke which have been introduced in the preceding columns, the following, which did not admit of convenient introduction, will probably not be deemed uninteresting by the reader:—

"*The Wellington-tree,*" and "*the Duke*" at the *Battle of Waterloo*.—From his headquarters at "the Wellington-tree," which was an elm, situated in the centre of the British line, the duke, as circumstances required, hurried to the scenes of danger, visited personally every square of infantry—one while restraining the impetuosity of some regiments, at others encouraging the spirits of those whose ranks had been deplorably thinned during a desperate struggle of six

hours, animating all by this species of ubiquity and unconcernedness of danger. To the shattered ranks of some of his brave regiments, whose officers reported to him the exhausted state of their men, he said, "Everything depends on the firm countenance and unrelaxed steadiness of your men; they must not wave." When the enemy's battalions and squadrons were advancing, in thick array, to attack the corps in his front, he rode up to the line, and said, in his loudest and firmest tone, "Stand fast, 95th—we must not be beat; what will they say in England!" The effect of this allusion to their free homes was electric on the hearts of those to whom it was addressed. Passing along the line to the very thickest

of the fight, he said, in a jocose and half-serious manner, "Hard pounding this, gentlemen; let's see who will pound longest!" As the balls whizzed past, and struck the stem of the "Wellington-tree,"—"That's good shooting," he playfully exclaimed—"I think they fire better than in Spain." To the impatience of those regiments desirous of measuring themselves with the foe, his reply was,—“not yet, my brave fellows—not yet; be firm a little longer; you shall have at them presently!” Throughout the day, his exertions were unremitting: one while he was leading a column of attack, at another bringing up reinforcements to a position that was violently assaulted; again resuming the dignity of commander-in-chief, and directing the attention of his officers to the general and preconcerted plan of the battle. The tree under which “the duke” took his station in the battle of Assaye, was the butt of the enemy's shot, as that at Waterloo was. During a conversation respecting “the Wellington-tree,” the duke said that he remembered the tree, and that a sergeant of one of the Scotch regiments approaching him, requested, that as it was a mark for the enemy's artillery, he would move from it. A lady, with apparent concern, exclaimed, “I hope you did, my lord.” The duke's reply was, “I really forget, but I know I thought it very good advice.”

“*The Duke,*” *Dr. Hutton, and Chantrey.*—The duke, when master-general of the ordnance, intending to select an officer of the royal corps of engineers to fill a post requiring considerable scientific attainments, and who had been one of Dr. Hutton's pupils, requested the doctor to favour him with a call, to hear his opinion. Dr. Hutton, who was prone to make prosy speeches, got up a laboured exordium, embellished with a few of the flowers of rhetoric, and arrayed with geometrical precision. At the interview, “the duke,” addressing the doctor, said, “I have given you the trouble of coming here, doctor, to ask if —— is fit for ——.” The doctor, clearing his throat with a preparatory hem, commenced his well-concocted speech. “No man more so, my lord duke” —“That is quite sufficient, doctor,” taking up his hat, “I know how valuable your time is; mine, just now, is equally so. I will not, therefore, detain you longer:” at the same time making his obeisance.—Chantrey, the sculptor, is said to have met with a similar rebuke. While modelling the duke for the statue which

now adorns the Exchange, desirous of attracting the attention of the duke to the attitude of the horse, which he considered original—“The horses in statuary,” said the sculptor, still retaining the duke, who had sat his couple of hours, and wanted to be off, “have hitherto been represented in a prancing attitude, and we sculptors have gone on copying each other for ages. Here your grace will observe an exception to the rule, and such an exception that I mean to make it my rule for the future. All my horses shall be represented in a quiet attitude—in the repose of nature—and not strained and distorted, as we see them so often in statuary. And permit me to remark, that I feel highly honoured in having so distinguished”——. The duke, unable to listen any longer to the self-laudation of the prosy orator—cutting him short, by saying, “I suppose, Mr. Chantrey, you model your horses one way, and other sculptors model their's another way; that's what you mean, isn't it?”—abruptly left him to his own meditations.

“*The Duke's*” *Reproof of Clerical Vanity.*—The bishop of Nova Scotia, having demanded of the governor of that province that the military on duty should salute him in the same manner as they do military officers, the governor, thinking the demand not quite in accordance with the humility of the lowly-minded Author of the christian dispensation, communicated “the right reverend” gentleman's modest demand to the war-office, and requested instructions for his guidance. The hero of Waterloo's response was, “The soldiers are to attend only to the bishop's sermons.”

“*The Duke's*” *Notion of Military Gentility.*—While the British army was retreating to the celebrated “Lines of Torres Vedras,” some of the officers of the army having expressed their fears of the result of the duke's operations, and written home to their friends to that effect, the duke, to calm their apprehensions, and animate their despondency, was in the habit of saying that he would, if necessity compelled him, take his army out of Portugal like gentlemen; that they should not sneak up the area steps, or slink out of the back door, but should go out at the hall-door. This *bon mot* was in allusion to the preparations he had made, should circumstances require the untoward event, for the embarkation of the army without being exposed to the molestation of the enemy. For this purpose, in case the two fortified lines of defence should be forced, he had

formed an intrenched camp near Lisbon, encircled by an outer line, and within this again was a second camp, so that, had the British army been compelled to leave Portugal, they would have embarked without molestation from the enemy.

"*The Duke*" "*the Luckiest Fellow in the World.*"—When the duke was at Madrid, receiving, while at table, the notification of his appointment as colonel of the horse-guards, blue; in announcing his good fortune to his guests, he said, "I am the luckiest fellow in the world; I must have been born under some extraordinary planet!"

"*Wellington Nights.*"—It is remarkable that almost all the duke's great battles were fought on Sunday, and generally on regular "Tam-O'-Shanter" nights. Storms, preceded by thunder, lightning, and rain, ushered in the night previous to the battle of Waterloo, and almost all those in the Peninsula. Busaco and Vittoria were exceptions: but in the others, all the fire-engines in the world seemed to be playing on the lightning and the devoted heads of those exposed to it. At the battle of Talavera, the storm of thunder, lightning and rain was almost appalling, but not a drop of rain had fallen from the moment the British army entered Spain to the night preceding the battle, during which time six weeks had elapsed. The author of *Camps and Quarters* says, that the reason of the Wellington battles having been fought on Sundays was to be thus accounted for:—"The French, who were generally the assailants in all the great Peninsular battles, as also that of Waterloo, selected the time and place, and made choice of the holiest day, from motives peculiar to themselves; not because 'the better the day the better the deed,' but from the circumstance of being under the auspices and more immediate guidance of some favourite or patron saint. Vimiera, Fuentes d'Oñoro, Salamanca, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, Toulouse, and Waterloo, were all fought on Sundays from this reason."

The probable moving cause of "the Duke's" devotion to the service of the God of Battles.—While Arthur Wellesley was at Eton, lady Mornington took him with her abroad, and left him with a friend at Douay, while she proceeded on her journey. This place is a fortified town, with all the array and glorious circumstance of arms, and was taken by Marlborough. Perhaps these circumstances determined the future hero's choice of a profession.

"*The Duke's*" *first Victory.*—While Arthur Wellesley was engaged in "noble strife" with the heroes of antiquity—the authors of the immortal classical writings of Greece and Rome—the masters of thought and language, and the parents of patriotism and liberty—that is, in every-day language, while he was at school—he won his first victory. His antagonist was his school-fellow, and rejoiced in the christian style and title, but the oddly-sounding patronymic of—Bobus Smith, *alias* the late canon of St. Paul's, "the unclown-footed" priest, Sidney Smith; who, when Arthur had conquered wherever he fought, used to say facetiously—whenever the train of conversation admitted the observation—"I was the Duke's first victory? One day at Eton, Arthur Wellesley and I had a fight, and he licked me soundly."

"*The Duke*" *a Fabulist!*—While the duke, his brother the marquis of Wellesley, and lord Maryborough, were at Eton, they were invited to spend the approaching holidays with lady Dungannon, in Shropshire. During their journey thither, being full of fun, and desirous of surprising her ladyship with some "spicy" news, they proposed that they should tell her that their sister Anne had run away with the footman, and begged her not to mention the circumstance to anybody, as their sister might return home. Her ladyship appeared sadly affected with the narrative, but in a short while, being prompted by the woman's itching and unrestrainable propensity of not being able to conceal a secret, pretending that she had promised to pay a visit to her neighbour, Mrs Mytten, begged they would excuse her absence for a short time. On her return, "Oh! my dear boys," she said, with affected concern, "ill news travel apace, Mrs. Mytten knew all about poor Anne." It may be easily conceived how dreadfully sorry the young fabulists were for their ingeniously trumped-up story to surprise the old lady.

"*The Duke's*" *Misgivings of his Picture Connoisseurship.*—The Duke having purchased one of sir William Allan's pictures of "Waterloo," desired the artist to call on him at the Horse-guards for payment. On sir William's appearance, the duke began to count out the stipulated price in bank notes. The artist begged leave to suggest that a cheque on the banker would save the duke's time in counting the notes. The reply was, "do you think I would allow Coutts' people to know what a fool I had been."

"*The Duke's*" fidelity to the Banners of *Cupid*."—The duke's fidelity to the banners of the "Blind God" was no less strict and enduring than that to the "God of Battles." Having formed an attachment to the honourable Catherine Pakenham, the daughter of the earl of Longford—and both the votaries of love being but little favoured with Mammonian endowments—the future pacificator of India and saviour of European independence proposed that they should remain in "single blessedness" until he should be able, from the recompense his country might award him for his services, to settle a sufficient provision on "the object of his choice," so as to secure her independence should he not escape the chances of war. He had not been long in India before he accumulated from his pay, prize-money, and salary arising from his official employments, £20,000. Happy to add to another's happiness, he apprised his expectant bride that he was prepared to fulfil his promise of betrothal. The lady, in reply, informed him that she had had that sad ravager of female beauty, the small pox, and, the disease having left deep ravages of its virulence on her countenance, it was not likely that she would be so acceptable to him as she had been, and therefore she released him from the engagement. The generous soldier, influenced by that high sense of honour which his actions invariably evinced, replied, that he felt the obligation of its fulfilment now more strongly than ever, and was ready to prove his sense of it by fulfilling the original contract. On his return to England he performed his promise.

"*I should expect a good thrashing*."—An opinionative general officer, on his joining the army in Spain, was invited by the duke to dinner—a custom he always observed on the arrival of a new-comer, for the purpose of ascertaining "what sort of stuff he was made of"—venturing his opinion freely on the operations of the war and the movements of the hostile armies, and expressing deep anxiety for the critical position in which the English army was placed at the time; the duke gratified his loquacious vanity so far as to ask him to show how it might be extricated. The self-sufficient son of Mars, assuming a face and tone of magisterial importance, said, pointing with his finger on the table-cloth, "if the French moved, and then did this, and then that, which they would inevitably,"—with an air of triumphant military skill and science, ex-

claimed, "then what would your lordship do?" "Give them the most infernal thrashing they have had for some time," said the English chief.

"*I wish I may cross him*."—"I have met him."—"The invincible Napoleon"—"the immortal emperor"—whose "destiny was to conquer the world, and free mankind from slavery and superstition," when he uttered the fanfaronade, "I wish I may cross him"—"I vais me mesurer avec Vilainton"—"I shall send a good account of him"—little expected that his truly great and high-minded opponent would soon be enabled to give expression to the modest and magnanimous "Thank God! I have met him." This was a sad disproof of the Buonapartean sarcasm, that "the Sepoy-general could contend only with sultans and rajahs;" the result seemed to show that he could not only contend with braggarts and mountebanks, but in his own phraseology, give them "a confounded good thrashing."

"*The Duke's*" *Interpretation of General Picton's Hanging Threat*.—The delinquencies and inattention of the officers of the commissariat department had, at one period of the Peninsular War, become so notorious, that general Picton, irritated at the neglect of a deputy-commissary-general attached to his division, sending for him, threatened to hang him if the supplies were not ready for delivery on the morrow. The man, arraying himself in his best attire, waited on the commander-in-chief, and apprised him of general Picton's threat. "Did general Picton really threaten to hang you?" said sir Arthur. "He did," replied the deputy-commissary, in an impassioned tone, thinking that the commander-in-chief participated in his feelings. "Then," said sir Arthur, "I would advise you to go and exert yourself, and get up the stores, for general Picton is just the man to do what he threatens." The poor deputy-commissary, taking the hint, set earnestly to work, and the provisions were up in time, so as to save the necessity of the verification of the commander-in-chief's interpretation.

"*The Duke's*" *Commentary on General Ferguson's Breach of Etiquette*.—Soon after the landing of the troops at Mondego Bay, general Ferguson, finding his brigade not provisioned, went to the quarters of the commissary-general to inquire the cause. Entering the room where that official was regaling himself with a *recherché* dinner, the general, seizing the table-cloth by the cor-

ner, pulled the whole concern on the ground, expressing his anger at the neglect with which his men were treated. The commissary, indignant at the treatment, went to sir Arthur Wellesley to make his complaint. "You had better not quarrel with Ferguson," said the commander-in-chief to the excited commissary, "for he is very positive when he takes anything in his head."

"*The Duke's*" *Race-sight of Ten Thousand Men.*—At the battle of Toulouse, the Spanish general, Freire, with the usual presumption of his countrymen—who imagine that they are invincible, and that soldiers not born Spaniards cannot beat Spaniards—requested of the duke that his countrymen might lead the battle; but no sooner had they began to ascend the heights of Calvignet, than they fled, panic-stricken, at the sight of the French; and, in their headlong flight, broke into a thousand parties, each endeavouring to be first away from the unpleasant charge of the French. The scene of the scared runaways drew the ironical reproof from the British chief, that "he had seen many curious sights, but never before saw ten thousand men running a race;" and that "he wondered whether the Pyrenees would bring them up to a halt."

"*The Duke's*" *comparative Estimate of Royal Pretension and Military Patriotism.*—While the duke was in Paris, a military guard was stationed in his hotel to protect him from similar attempts to that of the assassin Cortillon. The duke, with that courtesy for which he was distinguished, was attentive to the accommodation of the officer of the guard. There was a cover for him laid every day at the duke's table. The restoration of Louis XVIII. was accompanied, as far as possible, with the absurdities of the old time, from the court being under that influence; and a monarch, even poor gormandizing old Louis, was a *dieu mortel* in their eyes, and all others were to esteem him so. The late king of Prussia visited Paris in 1817, *incog.*, as the count de Rappin. The duke of Wellington invited the king-count to dinner; Louis XVIII. invited himself to meet him. Covers were laid for six only. A sort of *avant-courier* of old Louis' proceeded to the duke's to examine whether all was *en règle*. On being told that six covers were laid—said, "if I recollect rightly, the duke de Richelieu and sir Charles Stuart, with the two kings and the

duke, make up five of the party"—"Who," the officious official asked, "is the sixth cover for? I must announce it to his most Christian majesty." He was told it was for the officer of the guard, a French captain. He at once declared that the king could not dine that day with a subject in such a station; it was contrary to all rule, all etiquette. The duke of Wellington was appealed to, who replied he could not alter the rule of his house, and have his table changed; that he was a soldier himself. The official went back to the Tuilleries and made his report. The courtiers then attempted to prevent the king from going, but old Louis cared nothing about the matter, observing, "I must go"—an observation which shocked some of his old courtiers in no slight degree, the relics of the race who thought France was ruined for ever when Necker came to court with strings in place of buckles in his shoes. On the present occasion, it may be added, that none was more surprised than the officer of the guard himself, to be seated at table so unexpectedly with two crowned heads.

"*The Duke's*" *participation in resemblance to Homer and Cæsar.*—Smyrna and many cities contended for the honour of the birth of "the father of immortal verse." So Bâsle and Rotterdam did for that of Erasmus; and Stratford-on-Avon and Eastcheap for that of Shakspeare. So Dangan Castle, Trim, and the city of Dublin, divide the claim of the locality of the birth of the great duke; and even three different parishes (namely, St. Peter, Andrew, and Anne) and three different streets (namely, Upper Merion, Gower, and Molesworth) in the last-mentioned place, dispute the honour. His similarity to the Roman dictator, Julius Cæsar, besides his consummate military talent and uninterrupted success, is, that they were both, in early life, of delicate constitutions; but prudent conduct and abstemious habits so strengthened their bodies, that they were both enabled to endure great fatigue and exertion. The case of the illustrious Roman is instructive. That consummate soldier and accomplished scholar had to struggle, in early life, with the weakness and depression of bodily infirmity. But though he was "a weak man," as Plutarch informs us, "and had a white and soft skin, was somewhat distempered in his head, and subject to the falling sickness, he did not make his indisposition of body a pretext for effeminacy, but made

his wayfaring a medicine for his infirmity, whilst, by indefatigable journeying, spare diet, and living out in the fields, he struggled and waged war, as it were, even with his disease, and kept his body so guarded by this strict regimen, that it was very hard for illness to attack him." Though not exactly by these means, yet it was by great abstemiousness and well-regulated habits that the "great English captain" was able to bear the vicissitudes of various and trying climates, the trials and fatigues of war, and obtained his advanced age, and outlived even the greater part of his young companions-in-arms, as also the vanquished in those "glorious sieges and immortal battles," and which will ever be rendered "glorious and immortal"—notwithstanding the puling and imbecile nonsense uttered about them by the Peace Society folks and their apostles. Napoleon Buonaparte is also said to have had a very delicate constitution when a boy.

"*The Duke*" and his *Scottish Admirer*.—A native of North Britain, desirous of seeing the duke, called on a friend, who was a clerk in the Ordnance-office, and requested him to introduce him to the duke, who was then master-general of the ordnance. "I—I introduce you to the duke: it is perfectly impossible, my good friend," replied the ordnance clerk; "but, possibly, if you go to Apsley-house, and make known the purport of your visit, the porter may be able to procure you an interview." Having presented his card to the porter and being shown into a room, the duke soon appeared, saying, "Mr. Robertson, what is your business with me? I can afford you ten minutes." "Your grace," said the venerable visitor, with his silver locks hanging on his shoulders, "I have attentively watched your grace's career from the day you were an ensign up to the present hour. I am now, as your grace sees, a very old man, and must soon leave this world; but I felt I could not be gathered to my fathers in peace without having beheld your grace. I arrived from Scotland this morning for this sole object. The only wish I had on earth is now gratified, and to-morrow morning I shall set off on my way home again."—"Well, Mr. Robertson," said the duke, "next to the honours I have received from my sovereign, this is certainly the greatest compliment ever paid me. I am obliged to leave you; but you will come here to dinner at seven o'clock; and to-morrow I am going

down to Windsor, and shall be happy to take you with me." "No," replied Robertson, "I have seen your grace—the longing of my heart is gratified—I want nothing else." And, with a profound bow, he took his leave of England's greatest captain, and the most successful general who ever appeared on the theatre of ancient or modern history.

"*The Duke*" and his *home-sick Generals*.—During the most critical period of the war—namely, Massena's retreat from Portugal, sir Arthur Wellesley was occasioned much disquietude by his generals of division indicating a *maladie du pays*, or, in plain English, a home-sickness, and on the alleged ground of private affairs* requiring their presence. Some of those gentlemen, namely, Hill and Fane, were compelled by real sickness to apply to the commander-in-chief for leave to go home; and he acceded to their request in the promptest and most affectionate manner. To his would-be-sick, or home-sick military patients, he administered a course of regimen of the tonic kind of the most powerful and effective nature. His letters addressed to those gallant officers, and which appeared in an early part of this work, while distinguished for their fine and well-tempered edge of rebuke, are models of gentlemanly reproof, and are perfect specimens of castigatory composition. And here it may not be misplaced to say a few words on the general style of composition of that really great and best of England's sons. The duke's style of composition is plainness, simplicity, and precision, and though not altogether free from fault, is a model for matters of business. The surprise is that his various diplomatic papers relative to Indian and Spanish affairs, to finance, and a multiplicity of other matters—many of them written during the progress of military movements—amidst even the very din and tumult of arms—are so little disfigured by imperfection and defect. There is not an unnecessary line, scarcely a word, in any of his despatches and correspondence—it would be difficult to express his meaning in fewer words.

"*The Duke's*" *decision as to who was the bravest Man in the British Army*.—About

* The duke was so enraged by applications from officers desiring leave of absence, that on one occasion while the army was in cantonments, in consequence of the numerous applications, he said, "I never knew an army whose officers had so many private affairs."

twenty years after the termination of the war, the duke was waited on at Apsley-house, by two gentlemen, who announced to him, that as executors of the will of a deceased friend, who had left £500 to "the bravest man in the British army," they begged leave to present him a check for that amount. The duke declined to receive the money, alleging it could not have been expressly intended for him, as the British army contained many men as brave as himself. His visitants wished him to mention the person on whom the bequest should be conferred. The duke desired two or three days to consider the matter. At the time appointed, the executors again made their appearance at Apsley-house, when the duke told them, that as major sir James Macdonnell had, with the most chivalrous bravery, defended Hougoumont, the key of the position at the battle of Waterloo, he deemed him the party best entitled to the legacy. The executors, in compliance with the duke's suggestion, repaired to the major, and acquainting him with the decision of the duke, tendered him the bequest. Sir James expressed himself highly flattered by his grace's selection, but said as there was a man whose bravery in the same affair was equal to his, he must share the bequest with him. That person, he said, was a serjeant-major of the Coldstream guards, of the name of Fraser, who had assisted him in closing the gates of Hougoumont on the enemy. If permitted to share the reward with that gallant man, he said he would accept the bequest. To this proposal the executors assented, and the £500 was equally divided between the major and the serjeant-major.

"*The Duke*" frightened! or, in school-boy phrase, in "a funk!"—The duke's repulse in his attack on the enemy's advanced posts on the Sultaan-pettah or Greve, during the siege of Seringapatam, is alleged by some liberal-minded critics on his character, to have resulted from his having been in "a funk." The refutation of this ignorant and audacious slander cannot be too often reprehended and held up to public scorn and indignation. At the risk, therefore, of the imputation of repetition, the remarks which appeared in an early portion of this work are introduced again to the reader's notice:—"At the time, much ill-natured and misapplied criticism took place on colonel Wellesley's first attack on the Sultaan-pettah, and silly comparisons were made between his failure and Baird's scouring the

post the preceding night, without any loss. The circumstance excited the sneers of the find-fault writers of the time, and is still alluded to by those liberalised patriots who love to depreciate their country's military renown. But, without alluding to the hazardous nature of night attacks, especially when the enemy is prepared and waiting for you, the best answer is to be found in the following playful remark of one capable of explaining the cause of such failures:—"Men moving gently in the dark, may consult the stars, and read their high decrees; but nothing disturbs planetary observations more than a shower of musketry, accompanied with a flight of rockets." The fabulous circumstances alluded to by the late Mr. Theodore Hook, in his *Life of Baird*, and adopted by Mr. Alison, in his *History of Europe*—and the startling scene which they credulously state as having taken place early in the morning of the 6th, partake, as a judicious writer has properly said, of the same character as those which are generally related of the early career of nearly every brilliantly-successful general. 'We have seen,' adds the same writer, 'in French books, and have heard from French lips, stories about young Buonaparte's skulking at the siege of Toulon, during which he first made his name known to the world.' Mr. Hook's story of colonel Wellesley's being frightened, 'spreading like wild-fire through the camp,' and Mr. Alison's tale of his falling fast asleep upon a dining-table after his return from the night attack on the pettah, are as fabulous as 'the solemn whispers' which Mr. Lushington, in his *Life of Lord Harris*, facetiously tells us he heard 'in the Poligar counties, in 1800, to the same effect.'

"*The Duke's*" Personal Appearance and Temperament.—The duke was a little above the middle height, well-limbed, and muscular; with little incumbrance of flesh beyond that which gives shape and manliness to the outline of the figure. When in the vigour of manhood, with a firm tread, an erect carriage, a countenance strongly patrician, both in feature, profile, and expression, and an appearance remarkable and distinguished, few could approach him on any duty, or on any subject requiring his serious attention, without being sensible of something strange and penetrating in his clear bright eye. Nothing could be more simple and straightforward than the matter he uttered; nor did he ever in his life affect any peculiarity or pomp of manner, or rise to any coarse, overbearing loudness in his

tone of voice. It was not so he gave expression to excited feeling. There was nothing of the truncheon about him; nothing full-mouthed, important, and fussy. His temper was equable; his manners unaffected and gentlemanlike. There was a composed smile on his countenance, and an intelligence, which, without the appearance of searching, seemed to read the thoughts and intentions of every one who approached him. The following anecdotes are a proof of the duke's equanimity of temperament:—When the battle of Quatre Bras had ceased, lieutenant-colonel Ponsonby passing, with the 12th dragoons, the duke's quarters, near the roadside—found him busily engaged in reading aloud some of the English newspapers, and indulging in many a hearty joke at the expense of the fears of the home government and the croaking despondency of the editors.—One of his companions in arms, while describing the battle of Salamanca, says—"I saw him late in the evening of that great day, when the advancing flashes of cannon and musketry, stretching as far as the eye could command, showed in the darkness how well the field was won; he was alone; the flush of victory was on his brow, and his eyes were eager and watchful, but his voice was calm, and even gentle."—Such are the indicia of true greatness.

"*The Duke's*" *Sword*.—Several years ago a subscription was raised among the members of the Senior United Service Club for the purpose of procuring a picture of the duke of Wellington. His grace had been so frequently asked to sit, that the members of the committee to whom the management was confided did not feel themselves warranted in requesting such a favour, and it was resolved that a copy of the head and face from some acknowledged portrait by sir Thomas Lawrence should be made, but that his grace should be respectfully asked for the use of his sword, glass, cloak, &c., so that there might be as much real originality in the picture as possible. A young and rising artist, Mr. W. Robinson (since dead), was selected to do the work. A three-quarter portrait by Lawrence, belonging to the late Mr. Arbuthnot, was lent for the head, and one of the committee was commissioned to speak to the duke, and to request the use of the appointments alluded to. When the circumstances were made known to him he assented immediately, and, with the greatest good humour, said that he would give as

many sittings as might be necessary to make the picture an original. This offer was gratefully accepted, and, the picture having been as much advanced as possible, his grace gave the sittings required. He ordered that the cloak, &c., should be sent, but the sword was missing, and nowhere to be found. It was one with a very peculiar silver hilt, which had been mounted in India, which he afterwards very generally wore during the whole of the Peninsular war, and for which he had a particular value. It had been painted in the picture by Lawrence belonging to sir Robert Peel, from which a hasty eye-sketch was made from memory, in order to convey some idea to the artist of its peculiar shape. Mr. Robinson had been occasionally employed by sir Thomas Lawrence, and still had some acquaintance with the person who had been his servant. As this chance (remote as it was) of learning something about the sword thus offered itself, Mr. Robinson took the pencil-sketch to the man, who said that there was an immense number of swords, canes, whips, parasols, &c., left in sir Thomas's house at the time of his death, unreclaimed; which were still collected, and were to be sold with various effects in a very short time. They visited the store, and (from the sketch) identified the very sword, which had never been sent back to the duke, who was not aware of its loss, and totally ignorant of where it was—and, as it had no name, or cypher, or ticket attached to it, it was utterly unknown and unnoticed, and would have been sold by auction without comment or observation in a very few weeks, if it had not been for this fortunate circumstance. Application was immediately made to the executor—and the sword was returned to the duke, very much to his surprise and gratification, at his last sitting.

Reminiscences of "the Duke."—Lord Ellesmere once took the liberty of inquiring from his grace, whom he considered the greatest military hero of whom we had record, and his reply was decided:—Hannibal; but of Hannibal we had few memorials. We knew that he loved Carthage, but we also knew that he hated Rome as much as he loved Carthage; and in this respect even our most distinguished naval hero—Nelson himself—formed a marked contrast to Wellington; for, while the one was a scourge to all the enemies of our country, the other was like the watch-dog of England, silent and respectful to all friends,

but eagerly ready to pounce upon every foe. In private life, he knew none who was more jealous of the honour and good name of another than the duke, who never could be betrayed into an envious or unguarded expression of opinion, even towards the declared enemies of our country. He had once ventured to inquire of the duke how many guns he might have taken during his numerous engagements. The reply was, about 3,000, and he recorded it as an unparalleled fact, that throughout the whole of the duke's military operations, not one gun of the English had been taken. Of his punctuality and attention to his duty, he might mention that, after the vacation of the office of secretary for Ireland, when he left England for Spain, and narrowly escaped shipwreck on the voyage, he wrote, before disembarking, to the judges, enclosing the heads of the Dublin police bill, which he was charged to draw up, and which has since become the model of that excellent system of social regulation which ramified London, spread over our colonies, was to be found in Malta and Australia, and kept that audience in peaceful security in that court-house. He had once met in Scotland an old blind man, who had applied to his grace, shortly before the battle of Waterloo, for a commission for a son, founding his claim on the fact of his being a relative of one Maxwell, who had distinguished himself in one of the duke's campaigns. For a long period the applicant received no reply, until at length the duke informed him that "he had been very busy of late; but that he had sent his application to head-quarters, with a recommendation." Of the duke's sensibility to distress, lord Ellesmere said, that a lady in that room had on one occasion directed his grace's attention to the case of a distressed needlewoman of Nottingham, whose privations had been recorded in the *Morning Chronicle*. The duke made some remark at the time, but communicated to lord Ellesmere next morning, that he had written to the editor, directing that she should have a passage at his expense to the colonies, which was all she required. And, further, recent police reports in London showed, unfortunately, that the duke had been imposed upon by specious charitable pretences to the extent of £400.

"*The Duke*" declines to present petitions. —Some time ago, a public meeting was held in a certain district in Kincardineshire, for

the purpose of petitioning parliament. Mr. C. sent the petition to the duke for presentation, and, in doing so, took occasion to congratulate his grace on his convalescence from a recent illness. The following reply was given, in the duke's handwriting, by return of post:—"The duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. C. The duke returns thanks for Mr. C.'s good wishes. The duke will not long be convalescent or in existence if he is to undertake to manage the whole business of the presentation of petitions from every village in the country—from John-o'-Groat's house to the Land's-end. The duke begs leave to decline to present to the house of lords petitions from individuals of whom, or from communities of which, he has no knowledge. The duke begs leave to return the petition."

"*The Duke*" not a collector of debts.—About seven years ago, a young officer connected with a regiment then stationed in —, was indebted a considerable sum for camp and barrack outfit. The debt being overdue, and after repeated promises to pay, but all to no purpose, it was found necessary to prosecute him. Decree was obtained in absence, and charged upon, but in the meantime, and before the days of charge had expired, the debtor had exchanged for another regiment, and was leaving for Ireland. To obviate further expense, it occurred to the agent of the creditor to address a short narrative of the case to the late commander-in-chief of the army, and in the course of post he received a holograph reply from his grace, as quoted below: "Walmer Castle, September 24th, 1846.—F.M. the duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. —. The duke is the commander-in-chief of the army, but he has no power, authority, or jurisdiction over the pockets of the officers thereof, neither is it any part of his duty to collect the debts due by them to tradesmen, shopkeepers, or others, who think it advantageous to themselves to give credit to those who take their goods. He must proceed against his debtor in the manner pointed out by the law."

Miscellaneous Anecdotes of "the Duke."—

"On one occasion his deafness was alluded to by lady A—, who asked if she was sitting on his right side, and if he had benefited by the operations which she heard had been performed, and had been so painful to him. He said, in reply, that the gentleman had been bold enough to ask him for a certificate, but that he had really been

of no service to him, and that he could only answer him by saying, 'I tell you what, I won't say a word about it.'"

"He sometimes read aloud, commenting upon such works as were interesting to him, and was never seen to lounge about, or to be entirely idle. I have heard that lord Douro one day found him reading his own early despatches, and that he said, 'When in India, I thought I was a very little man; but now I find that I was a very considerable man.' What greatness there is even in this simplicity!"

"His letters, after the battle of Waterloo, to lord Aberdeen, on the death of sir Alexander Gordon, and to the duke of Beaufort, on lord Fitzroy Somerset losing his arm, show how much he was attached to those about him. Lord Fitzroy landed with him in Mondego Bay, and was with him in all his great actions. It was during the long fight at Talavera, that the duke, turning to him, said, 'Well, Fitzroy, how do you feel?' To which the other quietly answered, 'Better than I expected.'"

"The one-armed were among the duke's greatest favourites. Sir Felton Hervey, who headed a charge of the 14th light dragoons, when the French officer was magnanimous enough not to cut him down, and lord Hardinge, are instances that will be easily remembered."

"The duke's opinion did not operate in favour of medals and decorations—as he said we had always done our duty without them, and that the feeling throughout the army was, that they would be given (perhaps with few exceptions) to the aids-de-camp and relations of such general officers as were serving. He has also described the difficulty he himself experienced in distributing the orders conferred by the allied sovereigns:"

"The duke, to the last, often visited lord Wellesley, who would as frequently keep him waiting; but his only remark was, 'I believe my brother thinks he is still governor-general of India, and that I am only colonel Wellesley.'"

"On asking sir Charles Napier to take the command in India, I have been told that the duke handed him a short paper of instructions, and on his returning them to him, he said, 'Well, then, if you understand them, go out and execute them.'"

"All who knew Apsley House, must have seen the celebrated statue of Napoleon bearing a Fortune upon a globe in the right hand, a tribute often paid to successful commanders. Lord Bristol, when he first saw the statue in Canova's studio, admired it excessively; his only criticism was, that the globe appeared too small for the figure. Canova, who was a great admirer of Napoleon, addressing an English nobleman, answered this very happily, 'Vous pensez bien, my lord, que la Grande Bretagne n'est pas comprise.'"

"On the day that intelligence reached Vienna of Napoleon's escape from Elba, it happened that a great diplomatic dinner was given by prince Metternich; and, as the guests arrived, all were anxious to detect, by the duke's manner, if he had heard the news. His countenance, however, gave no sign; but, waiting patiently till all the company had assembled, he said, 'Gentlemen, have you heard of the emperor's escape?' Then, approaching prince Talleyrand, and placing his hand on his shoulder, he added, 'Quant à moi, Monsieur de Talleyrand, je suis soldat du Roi de France;' thus promptly declaring his resolution, and leading the minds of all to that alliance which proved so successful in all its results."

TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE TO THE PENINSULAR OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS,
AND THEIR VINDICATION FROM SLANDER AND OBLOQUY.

"Thus the war in the Peninsula terminated, and with it," as the eloquent and high-minded historian touchingly observes, "all remembrance of the veteran's services!"—all sense of gratitude and obligation to those who had devoted the best part of their lives—sacrificed their health and strength—and cheerfully scattered their limbs, and poured out their life's blood, in rolling the tide of battle from the shores of their country, and protecting it from the horrors and desolations of war.

As an appropriate, aye, an indispensable prologue to the narrative of the Peninsular War—a war unequalled in the pages of history for its brilliance, its intensity, its influence, and its operation on the interests and welfare, moral and political, of the nations of Europe—(a war, too, which, in the language of its most eloquent and classical historians, "is its great and inappreciable glory, was in strict conformity with the highest principles of justice, as with those of sound state policy—for no views of aggrandisement were entertained, either at its commencement or during its course, or at its termination; conquests were not looked for; commercial interests were not required; it being a war defensive, necessary, and retributive, engaged in, not only as the best means of obtaining curity for ourselves, but having also the immediate object of 'loosing the bands of wickedness'—'breaking the yoke of oppression,' and 'letting the oppressed go free;')—it seems but an act of justice to apprise the reader of the disparagements and defamation, the calumnies and vituperation to which its gallant actors and their illustrious leader were exposed during their arduous and patriotic career of service—in scenes of the most daring and desperate warfare to be found in the annals of history—in those bloody battles and those glorious sieges—battles and sieges such as were never dreamt of by Marlborough and Turenne, by Cohorn and Vauban—those dreadful stormings, that succession of signal overthrows, during seven successive campaigns, unparalleled for intensity and interest of event and exertion, amongst the many recorded in the world's annals:—in a word, in "the greatest and most vital wareverwaged—

a war which was a struggle, a deadly contest for the life or death of national independence, national honour, and national happiness."

Few persons in the present generation, I apprehend, are aware, and fewer still can easily believe, that, during the arduous and memorable struggle in the Peninsula, there were those among their countrymen who could feel inclined to traduce their country's fame and honour, rob it of its military glory and renown, and slander and depreciate those who had saved it and them from being reduced to a state of vassalage—from enduring that overbearing and supercilious demeanour which has ever been characteristic of the French towards conquered nations—from seeing their houses in flames, their property pillaged, their wives and daughters defiled and dishonoured, their children wantonly massacred before their very eyes—their selves insulted, humbled, and degraded! Yes, readers, there were; and not a few, too—and what aggravates the case, they were not the low and the ignorant, but they were peers of the realm, members of parliament, corporate bodies, gentlemen of the press, and even some recreant members of the military and naval professions. In their craven-hearted fears and consternation, their abject pusillanimity and puny spirit, their stupid hallucination of French invincibility, and their fanatic wonder and idolatry of their "great and magnanimous Napoleon," and his "famed and dreaded"—his terrible legions;" those foolish and chicken-hearted Englishmen could find pleasure in endeavouring to break the spirit and traduce the reputation of those who had dissipated the spell and baffled the designs of the tyrant and his agents.

I will briefly prove this allegation:—On the motion for a public acknowledgment of the services which had been rendered by sir Arthur Wellesley to his country, much rancorous feeling was displayed by some of the members of each house of parliament. Earl Grey denied that the battle of Talavera was a victory, and declared that sir Arthur "had betrayed want of capacity and skill in its direction." Lord Grenville talked of "gilded disasters, and denominated the blooming laurels that hung over

the grave of its gallant victors, "cypresses indicating their country's sense of its grief for the dishonour sustained." That Jack-tar tyrant, St. Vincent, prated about the arrogance of those who, by drum and trumpet, contrived to noise abroad their petty deeds. In the lower house, Ponsonby called for impeachment, and Whitbread dissolved into tears for "the blood that had been sacrificed to folly and incapacity." Tarleton—as "the soldier, but luckily not a general in the Peninsular war," was profuse in his reproof and exposition of sir Arthur Wellesley's incapacity, and said, that the attempt to defend Portugal was "the climax of error." Bankes predicted, that "all fresh levies to the army would tend only to swell the triumphs of Napoleon's invincible legions; and that if we did win a battle, every defeat of the French was to be considered a snare to draw the English further into Spain." Calcraft denounced the patriot hero, and foretold "ruin and defeat would be the inevitable consequence before three months passed over the British chief's head; and for these reasons he refused his assent to a pension for so grievous a blunder as the battle of Talavera."

The earl of Suffolk, in the abundance of his profound sapiency, propounded this wonderful discovery, that the reason the French artillery fell into the possession of his countrymen was, "that it had not been convenient for the French to remove it;" and, therefore, they had left it as a waif of insignificant value, to be picked up by their enemies. Even that profoundly sagacious corporate body, the mayor, aldermen, and council of the city of London, having, no doubt, called to their assistance and direction those wondrous specimens of military science, "the trained bands," and the "Lumber Troop," expressed their disapprobation, and recorded their condemnation. Nor were these vagaries confined to "the hereditary counsellors," "the collective wisdom," and "the corporate respectability" of the nation.* The croakings and gloomy predictions of the factious brawlers and disaffected demagogues of "the fourth estate of the realm,"

* That vagaries of the kind should have been given birth to by factious and ignorant civilians, and chattering *he-grandmamas*, cause no great surprise; but that they should have found acceptance among men pretending to military attainments, is rather strange. But let it be recollected, that those "military men" were *peace campaigners*, whose notions and experience of "the troublous incidents of the *horrida bella* of actual service"—

as the gentlemen of the press are pleased to designate themselves, especially during the early period of the Peninsular war, and their libels against the British army and its illustrious chief were endless and disgusting. Those prophetic spirits and martial geniuses, omening the gloomiest results, talked loudly and largely of "a shade having been thrown over the British arms"—ridiculed the idea of a British army being enabled to contend against the legions of France—laughed at our military knowledge, and prophesied disaster and disgrace. On the retreat of the English army to the confines of Portugal, for the purpose of occupying "the lines of Torres Vedras," the factious and disaffected part of the periodical press again raised its inauspicious and incendiary voice—and in its exultation of the supposed disastrous aspect of affairs in the Peninsula, and "the predicament," as its stupid phraseology termed it, "into which Wellington had brought himself and his army by the unwise prosecution of his scheme for the deliverance of Portugal," and "his folly in presuming to oppose himself to 'the *redoubted* Massena,'" it prophecied that "the protection even of Lisbon was hopeless, much less the deliverance of the Peninsula; and in the supposed verification of its silly and presumptuous vaticinations "of his erroneous judgment, and the utter impracticability of his plans," the unnatural and craven-hearted scribes called on the government to recall the English army and save it from absolute destruction, by "the invincible legions of France, and the superior genius of the [aforesaid] *redoubted* Massena." Their unnatural and unpatriotic attempts to break and humiliate the spirit, subdue the bearing of the soldiery, and depreciate the military character of the country, were, as I have already said, deemed by Napoleon Buonaparte so admirably adapted to reconcile the French nation to the unpopularity of his Spanish war, and to prove the incapability of England to contend with him, that he caused the various papers containing the heartless and disgraceful calumnies to be reprinted at the "imperial" press, and cir-

the perils and hazards of the "glorious tented field" had been confined to the dire and dangerous feats of birth-day reviews in Hyde-park, on Wimbledon-common, or Wormwood Scrubs, or to that consumption and highest effort of feather-bed soldiery—a sham fight and storming of the lines at Chatham; or, at most, whose whole share of a battle had been the seeing of the smoke and the hearing of the noise of the conflict, at a comfortable and respectable distance.

culated throughout France, and the states subject to his control and influence.*

The consequence of this *unpatriotic*, this *un-English*, this demoniac spirit of depreciation and endeavour to crush and humiliate the tone and bearing of the soldier, and detract from the character of the army,—conduct that could have originated only from a want of patriotic feeling, or, at least, from a stupid and culpable affectation of liberalism, a slip-slop sentimentalism—was, that British prowess and British military skill were ridiculed abroad and despised, or at least, undervalued at home. General Foy tells us, “that that ignorant and mischievous mode of thinking caused the English to be universally considered by foreign nations as semi-wolves, unskilful, perplexed, and powerless, the moment they set their foot upon land; and that that unjust stigma continued until, by their gallantry and indomitable spirit in the Peninsular war, they had fought themselves into favour and esteem.”† But after labouring under years of calumny, misrepresentation, and reproach—when, instead of having its energies wasted in petty and desultory warfare (such as the expedition of sir John Moore to the Baltic, that under sir James Pulteney, which, in general Foy’s playful phraseology, “was disembarked near Ferrol, saw the walls of the place, and took to their heels to the shipping;”) and in paltry expeditions against sugar and coffee islands, it was presented with a proper arena for action, then its military skill and endowments shone forth conspicuous, and in the brightest splendour; it was then proved that modern English soldiers had not degenerated from the character of their forefathers; it was then demonstrated that they had been libelled and traduced. General Foy has candidly and generously said, “that when the national energies were turned to the standards of the land army, which had been so neglected, the dormant energies and innate courage of the British soldier shone pre-eminent.” Jomini also says, that “the

battle of Talavera at once restored the reputation of the British army, which, in the estimation of foreigners, had, during a century, declined.”‡ “It was now ascertained,” he adds, “that the English infantry could dispute the palm of victory with the most veteran troops in Europe.” Berthier, the minister of war, in his despatch to marshal Jourdan (and, of course, he expressed the sentiments of Napoleon Buonaparte), says, “whoever attacks good troops like the English, when in a good position, without a positive assurance of success, leads them to certain destruction.” His precise expression is—“Tant qu’on voudra attaquer de bonnes troupes comme les troupes Anglais, dans bonnes positions, sans les reconnaître et s’assurer, si on peut enlever, on conduira des hommes à la mort en pure perte.” Surely these acknowledgments should make the vilifiers of their country’s military fame—which forms the brightest and most brilliant pages in the historic annals of England, just as its literature forms the proudest and most durable of its glories—those oracular worthies and military geniuses, who, in their self-complacent wisdom, considered it perfectly chimerical to contend with “French invincibility, and French military talent”—who predicted discomfiture and disgrace to their countrymen’s efforts and gallantry—who foreboded that “Wellington would be taken with his whole army—cut to pieces, or driven into the sea,”—be ashamed of their stupid calumny and abuse of his fair fame and of their craven-hearted fears and abject admiration of foe of their country. The heartless oaf who can feel the inclination to decry the glory of his country, and who can discolour the verdure of its laurels by vilifying and defaming the men who broke the spell of French invincibility, which had fascinated continental Europe into thralldom and slavery, and had prostrated the greatest military powers at the feet of their victorious idol—who attempts to break the spirit of the British soldier, and disenchant him of

* These opinions, as the most classical author of the *History of the Peninsular War* observes, “were circulated throughout the country with pestilent activity, and deeply touched the public mind. Daily and weekly, monthly and quarterly, that poison was administered, with the most mischievous perseverance, in newspapers, magazines, and reviews. Never was an opinion more fatal to the honour, interest, safety, independence, and existence of the country; yet it was propagated and enforced with a confidence which boldly affirmed that nothing but folly

or madness could presume to doubt the prediction of its authors. Suicidal as the belief was, no effort was omitted by its authors for encouraging the enemies of their country, and for deadening the hopes, and thereby the exertions of those who felt a desire to uphold the honour and independence of the land of their birth.”—*Southey*.

† *Histoire de la Guerre de la Péninsule sous Napoleon*.

‡ *Précis de l’Art de la Guerre*.

the faith of his invulnerability, is a curse to his country, and a scorpion in its bosom—and such cannot but be the opinion of every rightly constituted mind, whether native or foreign. And these calumnies are, even in the present day, still given birth to. There are men who can slander and traduce the British army and its late illustrious leader. In the first two Sundays' publication of a London Sunday journal* for September, 1845, the editor, after venting his malevolence in much abuse and falsehood against the late duke of Wellington and the British army, asserted that the duke's victories in the Peninsular war were "dubious and equivocal, and the French troops engaged in that war were raw, the veterans having been withdrawn on the departure of Napoleon from Spain for his German wars;" and he moreover asserted, that Napier, in his *History of the War in the Peninsula*, made the same allegations. In reply to this calumny, my answer is—

"I have carefully read Napier's work, and have no recollection of his having made an assertion of the kind; and had he uttered so great an untruth, the assertion would be nugatory—as the fact is, that the only troops Napoleon Buonaparte withdrew on that occasion, was that part of the imperial guard which was at the time in Spain, and the light infantry, &c., amounting in all to 40,000 men. So says every trustworthy authority who has written on the Peninsular war, and such every well-informed officer who served in that war knows to have been the case.

Having shown the amount of troops withdrawn, I shall proceed to state which army contained the veterans, and which the raw and inexperienced levies; and then produce sufficient authorities to determine whether Wellington's victories were 'dubious and equivocal,' or decisive and certain. Both these points are unequivocally proved even in Napier's history, partial as he evidently is to French military repute, and laudatory as he is of French heroism and military talent. The opinions of all other authors qualified to form a correct judgment, who have written on the subject,

* Slander and falsehood of this kind would never have been given birth to, had that journal—assuredly the most truth-speaking and independent (the *Examiner* excepted) extant—been under the guidance of the present enlightened and talented writer of its leading articles.

coincide with his. Among above a score of authorities, the following will be sufficient for the purpose.

A correspondent of the highest credibility, and who was an eye-witness of the truth of his statement, of the *United Service Journal* for 1829, volume ii., of that year, furnishes the following information, the truth of which can be confirmed by every officer who was present in the campaign of 1809.

In his account of the battle of Talavera, that gentleman says—"the troops generally consisted of men who had been drafted from the militia, and of the second battalions of the regiments which had been present at the battle of Corunna.† With the exception of the guards and a few others (namely, the buffs and the 61st), there were more knapsacks with the names of militia regiments on them, than of numbered regular regiments of the line. Whereas, the French army was composed of regiments that had marched from victory to victory under Buonaparte, in Italy, Germany, and Egypt. Neither, also, had the corps of Victor, nor that of Sebastiani, nor the reserve under Desolles, formed parts of the armies which had been defeated at Roliça, Vimiera, Corunna, or the passage of the Douro, and therefore they had no recollection of British prowess, or misgivings at those recollections, to shake their national vanity, or diminish their good opinion of themselves." Such was the opinion of one who was well informed on the subject respecting which he gives information; and with his opinion Napier coincides in his second volume, and to the word "knapsacks," appends "and accoutrements."

And all the service seen by the other portion of the men composing the army which won the battle of Talavera, was that of expelling Soult and his five-and-twenty thousand odd hundred veterans from Oporto, and chasing the fugitives out of Portugal; and even not two-thirds of that gallant band of English had been present in those operations.

That the French were not raw and inexperienced troops, the following facts will prove:—

† The reason that the correspondent to the *United Service Journal* mentions second battalions, is to imply that they were troops who, generally, had not seen foreign service; second battalions being generally left at home, from which the casualties of first battalions were replenished.

Supposing that they were not "the veterans who had marched from victory to victory," in Italy, in Germany, in Holland, and every state of Europe, had they not had sufficient time, in the course of the eight months they had been in Spain, and in the incessant series of battles and victories which they had encountered since entering that country to become veterans? They entered Spain in 1808, and the battle of Talavera was fought July 28th, 1809. Buonaparte himself said, that the German recruit required more years than the French conscript did months to qualify him for active and efficient service; and general Foy tells us, in his *Histoire de la Guerre de la Péninsule*, that the French soldier was perfect in his duties in six weeks; whereas the other soldiers of Europe required above three months for the same purpose. But the French soldiers in the Peninsular War entered Spain "as gallant soldiers accustomed to battle"—(even Napier makes the admission)—besides having had eight months' service in the Peninsula before the raw and inexperienced levies of England had to contest with them the palm of victory. The same author (Napier) also, when speaking of the flight of Soult from Oporto, says, "Napoleon's veterans were so experienced, so inured to warfare, that no troops in the world could more readily recover from a surprise; hence, (*query*, phraseology), before they reached Vallonça, their columns were again in order, with a regular rear-guard covering the retreat."—Vol. ii., p. 284. The French conscripts were seldom or ever brought into action. Napoleon Buonaparte understood the art of war too well to bring raw and inexperienced levies into action, when he had hundreds of thousands of veterans at his beck. In Spain and elsewhere, the conscripts replaced the veteran troops in the line of communication, and in relieving the garrisons, while the veterans joined the corps d'armée.

The two following quotations are also confirmatory that Wellington's victories were not "dubious or equivocal."—

"The most diligent research furnishes no instance of the French having, at the conclusion of any of their various attacks in the Peninsula, retained possession of any principal post or prominent feature of ground previously occupied by the British; nor in their defensive actions, of their having maintained any position from which the British made an effort to dislodge them."*

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Roli a, Vimiera, the passage of the Douro, Talavera, Busaco, the defence of the lines of Torres Vedras, Fuentes D'Oñoro, Salamanca, Vittoria, the battles of the Pyrenees, Toulouse, and the glorious sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and St. Sebastian, with many other exploits, confirm the truth of this assertion, and prove the diabolical, the demoniac malignity of the caitiff who has asserted otherwise.

"In all his [Wellington's] proceedings, his judgment and firmness were as manifest as his skill and genius; and the proof is, the *unvarying success that attended all his measures*, however unpromising the appearances were at the outset. He not only conceived great designs, but he carried them into execution with the most splendid success."†

It is, however, some consolation, that this unnatural and un-English, this heartless and mischievous disposition to calumniate and depreciate those who were the saviours and protectors of the calumniators—calumniators, too, of the men who had displayed the stern and stubborn courage that braved the horrors of Badajos—the fiery resolution and triumphant heroism that won the battles of Albuera, Salamanca, Vittoria, and Waterloo; "whose actions," as an eminent journalist has eloquently and touchingly said, "live in every mind, whose praises are in every mouth, and whose services, like the images of Brutus and Cassius, in the Roman camp of old, are but the more conspicuous as they have been unnoticed and neglected,"—the leader and his companions-in-arms, who—to adopt the expression of one of the noble brotherhood of arms—"were what Alexander's Macedonians were at Arbela, Hannibal's Africans at Cannæ, and Cæsar's Romans at Pharsalia;"—who were never excelled, if ever rivalled, by the legions of Rome or the phalanxes of Macedonia: the one having had to compete with the most skilful and accomplished generals of the age, and that, too, with forces vastly inferior in numbers, a deficient and often impoverished exchequer, a defective and vicious commissariat, want of the requisite *matériel* and equipment for the prosecution of his operations, a narrow-policied administration at home, and perverse, temporizing, inefficient, and not unfrequently false and faithless allies abroad, *and yet was always*

* Jones's *Account of the Peninsular War*.

† Jackson and Scott's *Life of the Duke of Wellington*.

successful; the OTHER having had to contend with the most enthusiastic, impetuous, and veteran troops that had ever enlisted under the banners of martial strife and glory, and always conquered; yet, with all those odds against them, did that general and those soldiers pluck the laurels from the brows of heroes decorated with the trophies of Italy, Egypt, and Germany, and who had laid all the kingdoms of Europe prostrate at the feet of their insatiable and ambitious leader: implies an obliquity of understanding—an unnaturalness of heart—a faculty so prodigious of overlooking the truth, and of misapprehending the duty and allegiance they owe their country, that it is not possible but to suppose that persons so inclined are ashamed of their country, or, more correctly speaking, that their country is ashamed of them: or, to speak as leniently as possible, that there is something wrong—some twist or infirmity in the ordinary powers of their understanding. The war waged against Napoleon Buonaparte was, as has been just seen, for the vital welfare of mankind; and, in respect of ourselves, for the life or death of national independence and honour—of domestic morals and happiness—and “all those holy feelings which are comprehended in the love of our native land.”—“That Englishmen should have been found mean and abject enough,” indignantly exclaims the eloquent and patriotic author of *Military Memoirs*, “to endeavour to traduce their country’s fame and honour, and despoil it of its military glory and renown—to worship before the throne of the enemy of their country—to stand before it with sealed eyes, in a trance of wonder and admiration, has been reprobated by all high-minded authors in the most indignant language.”

Such has been the conduct—such the services they have rendered to their country—such the recompense to the soldiers of the Peninsular war. Have they been treated fairly and honestly? Let us enquire. What is the reward of the soldier? Is there any lack of the spectacle among the votaries of arms, after long service, exposed to pesti-

lential climates, and an expatriated life, passed among the toils and hardships of warfare—who,

“With half their limbs in battle lopp’d away,
Beg bitter bread through realms their valour sav’d?”

Englishmen!—

“Ye gentlemen who live at home at ease!”

—is this justice and christian charity to those by whose heroic courage and devoted patriotism the sacred soil of England has been unprofaned by the footsteps of foreign foes, the sanctity of your hearths and homes are inviolate, your national feelings uninsulted, your peace and happiness undestroyed? And, as a tasteful military writer has, with inexpressible beauty and touching pathos, observed: While all the nations of continental Europe were involved by French aggression and violence in all the dreadful visitations of war, all the horrors, miseries, and devastation which the evil passions of lust, rapine and cruelty could inflict—England, for a series of centuries, by the elevated patriotism and noble self-sacrifice of her soldiers and sailors, who went forth from her bosom to fight her battles and maintain her honour and independence, dwells in security, and breaks her daily bread in peace; seed-time and harvest never fail: domestic happiness, human loves and human friendships are never interrupted or broken; and, on the recurrence of each revolving sabbath, her village bells calmly and peacefully invite her population to the house of prayer and thanksgivings! As England then, happily, knows little or nothing of the horrors and miseries of war—the massacres, the violations, the burnings, the pillage, and other atrocities which are perpetrated with impunity and unchecked by the soldiery of foreign armies—a favoured country, knowing nought else of warfare but the sight of hostile standards as trophies of national renown; never hearing the roar of cannon and the roll of musketry, but as signals of national triumphs—surely your brave, war-worn, and patriotic defenders, ought not to be calumniated and traduced! Surely they are entitled to your gratitude and good report at least!

RECAPITULATION.

FOR the purpose of calling to recollection the various incidents and transactions detailed in the course of this work, and impressing them indelibly on the memory of the reader, it is deemed advisable to close this "Division" of it with the following panoramic view of the acts and deeds, military and political, of England's greatest captain and real patriot.

- 1769, May 1. Birth of the Pacificator of India and the Saviour of European Independence. In the same year Napoleon Buonaparte and Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, were born.
1781. Arthur Wellesley left Eton College, and after remaining six years at the military academy at Angers, returned to England, and was a few months under the tuition of a clergyman at Brighton.
- 1787, March. Obtained his ensigncy in the 74th regiment; 25th of December of the same year, his lieutenancy; his captaincy, 30th June, 1791; his majority in the 33rd regiment, 30th April, 1793; and his lieutenant-colonelcy in the same regiment, 30th September, 1793.
1791. Returned to the Irish parliament for the family borough of Trim, and appointed aid-de-camp to the earl of Westmoreland, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland.
- 1794, June. Sailed from Ostend to join the English army which had been sent to Flanders under the duke of York.
- 1795 Jan. First service in Belgium in covering the retreat of that army that had been driven by the French into Holland, and on his return in October to England, embarked with the 33rd regiment for the West Indies; but after being six weeks at sea, was compelled to return to port, in consequence of the heavy equinoctial gales.
1796. Joined the 33rd at the Cape of Good Hope, and reached India with that regiment, February, 1797.
1799. Appointed to the command of the subsidiary force of the Nizam to co-operate against Tippoo Sultaun, and defeats Tippoo's "cushoon," namely, his choice infantry, with the 33rd at the battle of Mallavelly. May 4th. At the storming of Seringapatam, commands the reserve in the trenches, and, on the announcement of its surrender, marches a portion of it into the town to prevent the excesses of the soldiery. May 6th, appointed civil and military governor of Seringapatam; and, on July 9th, of that part of the Mysorean territory—equal in extent to two-thirds of France—which, on the settlement of the Mysorean affairs, was assigned to the East India Company; and devotes himself to the civil and military organization of the country.
- 1800, July. Takes the field against his duplicate majesty, the freebooter, Dhoondiah Waugh; after "a royal chase" of two months, coming up with "the king of the two worlds," he overthrew him by a single line charge of cavalry, and directed the corpse of that extra specimen of royalty, by "divine right," to be lashed to a galloper gun, and carried into the English camp.
- 1802, April. Appointed to the local rank of major-general in India.
- 1803, Feb. 27th. Appointed to the command of the army to act against the Mahratta chiefs, Holkar, Scindiah, and the Rajah of Berar, in defence of the Peshwah, who

had appealed to the East India Company. In the prosecution of his Mahratta campaign, he overthrew, September 23rd, in the battle of Assaye, the Mahratta army, consisting of above 10,000 infantry, commanded by French officers, and 30,000 cavalry, with 100 pieces of artillery, served also by French officers, with a force not exceeding 4,500 men, and the only Europeans in it being the 19th dragoons and the 74th foot; thus surpassing Clive's glories of Arcot and Plassey, and displaying that prompt and energetic decision of character which so pre-eminently distinguished his after-career in Europe; captured, August 11th and December 19th, the strong and almost inaccessible fortresses of Ahmednuggur, Asserghur, and Gawelghur; conquered on the 11th of August, 21st of October, and November the 29th, and completely crushed, in the battle of Argaum, fought November 29th, those restless and aspiring potentates. For this important service he was appointed, September the 1st, 1804, a knight companion of the bath.

- 1805, Mar. 8th. Offended at the treatment he had received in being superseded in the command of the expedition destined to act against Buonaparte in Egypt, and having resigned his military and political powers, he left India, with the blessings of the Mysorean population for his just and judicious administration—the inhabitants of Seringapatam, in the parting address, imploring “the God of all castes and nations to hear their constant prayer, to bestow on him health, glory, and happiness;” and expressing an earnest hope of his speedy return to India, once more to extend and uphold that protection which they had enjoyed under his government. The European officers who had served under him, in their address, expressed their “admiration of his exalted talents and splendid achievements; of his consideration and justice in command, which had made obedience a pleasure; and of that frank condescension in the private intercourse of life, which it was their pride individually to acknowledge.” On February the 21st, of the preceding year, the inhabitants of Calcutta presented him a sword of 1,000 guineas' value, and on the 26th of the same month, the officers of his division voted him a golden vase, afterwards changed to a service of plate, with the word “Assaye” to be embossed upon it. In September of the same year, after an absence of nine years, he arrived in England; and in the following year he went, with the command of a brigade, on lord Cathcart's expedition to Hanover, to make a diversion in favour of the Russians and Austrians who were engaged with the French on the banks of the Danube.
1806. Returns to England in February; in the same month appointed to the command of a brigade of infantry in the Sussex district; and elected member of parliament for Newport, in the Isle of Wight. In January, he was appointed colonel of the 33rd regiment. April 10th, married the honourable Catherine Pakenham, third daughter of the earl of Longford; by whom he had issue two sons, Arthur (now duke of Wellington), born February the 3rd, 1807, and Charles, born January the 16th, 1808.
1807. April 3rd. Appointed chief secretary for Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, lord-lieutenant; and in July, appointed to the command of a brigade, in the expedition under lord Cathcart to Copenhagen, where he commanded the second division of reserve; routed the Danish forces at Kioge; and took a principal part in the settlement of the terms of the capitulation. On his return to England, he resumed his official duties as Irish secretary, and also his parliamentary duties.
1808. In consequence of a memorandum submitted to the government, pointing out the feasibility of defending Portugal and freeing it from the French, who were then in possession of it, he was appointed, July 12th, to the command of an expedition for the purpose. Nine thousand men sailed from Cork, and were disembarked, August 3rd, at the mouth of the Mondego, which is about midway between Lisbon and Oporto. August 17th, won the battle of Roliça, which dissipated the illusion of French invincibility and military supremacy; and, having been previously joined by Acland and Anstruther's brigades, on the 21st of the same month, won the

battle of Vimiera, and would have captured and soon compelled the French army to lay down their arms, as his reserve was two miles nearer to Torres Vedras than the French were, had he not been frustrated by the fears and incapacity of his "do-nothing" superior officer, sir Harry Burrard. Indignant at the old gentleman's folly, turning round to one of his staff, he in bitter irony, said, "We had as well see about getting some dinner, as there is nothing more to do for the soldiers this day;" and, on the signing of the convention of Cintra, August 30th, by which the enemy were allowed to depart with all their spoilation, and be conveyed to France in English ships—in the same indignant feeling, he returned to England, October 4th; and, in the following month, attended the Court of Inquiry at Chelsea. Both the army and the nation were sensible of his merits. The general and field-officers, who served under his command at Vimiera, voted him a piece of plate, of the value of £2,000, commemorative of the battles of Roliça and Vimiera; and the house of commons bestowed a flattering panegyric on his services. In the meantime, he had resumed his duties as Irish secretary and member of parliament.

1809. On the return of sir John Moore's army from Corunna, in consequence of the solicitations of the Spanish and Portuguese deputies, and sir Arthur's repetition on the capability of the expulsion of the French from Portugal, he was appointed to the command of the British forces in that country. Resigning his secretaryship, he sailed for Portugal, and landing at Lisbon—April 22nd, assumed the command, and immediately marched against Soult, who, with 24,000 men at Oporto, was preparing to cross the Douro, and advance on Lisbon, while Victor and Lapisse were, with an army of 30,000 men, to co-operate in the attack from the contiguous provinces of Estremadura and Leon. On the 7th of May occurred the combat with the French advanced corps at Grijo. On the 12th of May, the British army, about 20,000 men, reached the southern bank of the Douro, and on the same day effected a passage of the river and fought the battle of Oporto; Soult fleeing into Spain, with the loss of above a fourth of his army, and the whole of his artillery, ammunition, baggage, and military chest. Sir Arthur then marched against Victor, and being joined by the Spanish army under Cuesta, engaged the French army commanded by Joseph Buonaparte and Victor at Talavera de la Reyna, and defeated it, in "the sternly-fought, so hardly-won" battle of Talavera, on July 28th, with the loss of 700 prisoners and seventeen cannon; but the French armies advancing in concentric lines against him, he retreated to the frontiers of Portugal, to defend it against the threatened invasion of the French. Ascertaining that Soult and Ney were advancing by rapid marches on his rear, and knowing that by Cuesta's retreat from Talavera, Joseph Buonaparte and Victor would advance on his flank, he crossed the Tagus by the bridge of Arzobispo, and established a line of defence behind the Guadiana. September 4th, he was created an English peer by the title of baron Douro and Wellesley, with a pension of £2,000, limited to his two succeeding heirs male. On this occasion, instead of the family motto, "unica vertus necessaria,"—"virtue alone is necessary," he adopted "porro unum necessarium"—"one thing more is necessary." On July 6th, he had been appointed marshal-general of the Portuguese army.

1810. The campaign of this year is one of the most memorable of "the duke's." Massena had collected above 100,000 men on the north-eastern frontier of Portugal, for the invasion of that country, and for the purpose of "driving the leopard into the sea," which he engaged to do "in three months." To protect Lisbon, "the duke" had constructed the celebrated triple entrenchments or fortifications, called "the lines," from the coast of the Alberche, through Torres Vedras, to the bank of the Tagus, a little above Lisbon. Massena having reduced Ciudad Rodrigo, advanced against the English, then posted on the Coa. "The duke," after the brilliant affair of the light division under major-general Craufurd on that river, slowly retired towards "the lines," but, halting his army on the strong mountainous position of Busaco, a position in front of Coimbra, to give the Portuguese time to remove their families and property, and also to inspirit his troops by a successful passage of arms, was attacked by the French marshal, September 27th. The French army was defeated,

with the loss of above 4,000 men. "The duke" then resumed his march, and, in *echellons* of divisions, entered "the lines," October 10th, followed by the French army, which remained posted in front of that strong-hold until the 16th of November, when, to use "the duke's" words, "the redoubted Massena" of the scribes of the English press, "finding himself in a scrape," he retreated in the night to Santarem, and was pursued on the following morning by the light division and the cavalry. In August of this year, "the duke" was appointed a member of the Portuguese regency.

Massena continues his retreat. During the retreat, the following combats occurred between the hostile armies:—at Pombal, March 11th; at Redinha, March 12th; at Casal Nova, March 14th; at the passage of the Coa and at Foz d'Arouce, March 15th; and at Sabugal, April 3rd. Before he reached the frontiers, Massena had lost nearly one-half of his army. Battle of Fuentes d'Oñoro, May 3rd and 5th; fall of Almeida, May 11th. Battle of Albuera, May 16th, in which scarcely a fourth of the English force engaged were standing at the termination of the action,—“so terrible a hole,” as “the duke” said, having been made in their ranks”—a loss chiefly occasioned by the panic-stricken Spaniards rushing in their fright on the ranks of “los nos amigos de España” (the best friends of Spain). First investment of Badajoz, siege of Badajoz raised, June 10th; combat of El Bodon, September 25th; surprise of the French at Arroyo di' Molinos, by Hill, October 28th; license to accept the Portuguese title of conde do Vimiera and the insignia of knight grand cross of the tower and sword, October 26th.

Ciudad Rodrigo, siege of, commenced, January 9th; captured, January 19th, being not half the time taken by Massena in the execution of the same operations; created by the regency duke de Ciudad Rodrigo and a grandee of Spain, February 10th; created earl of Wellington, with an additional pension of £2,000 per annum, February 18th; Badajoz, siege and capture of, April 6th, being just half the time Soult, with an ample staff of engineers, sappers and miners, was occupied in the same operations; forts at Almaraz taken by general Hill, May 19th; battle of Salamanca, July 22nd; preceded by a series of manœuvres which presented the finest military spectacle ever exhibited, 100,000 combatants moving for successive days, in parallel lines, often not half-cannon range from each other; the order of the golden fleece conferred by the regency of Spain; enters Madrid, August 12th; appointed generalissimo of the Spanish armies and created marquis of Wellington, August 18th; created marquis of Torres Vedras; siege of Burgos commenced September 4th; broke up, October 22nd; parliamentary grant of £100,000, to be laid out in land, to support the dignity of the peerage, December 7th; created by the Portuguese regency duke da Victoria, December 18th.

Appointed colonel of the regiment of horse-guards, January 1st; elected a knight of the garter, March 4th; advances into Spain, May 6th; battle of Vittoria, June 21st; promoted field-marshal, July 3rd; St. Sebastian, commencement of siege, July 17th; second assault and capture, August 31st; battles of the Pyrenees, which were the most desperate and protracted of the Peninsular War, Sorrauren, July 28th; passage of the Bidassoa and entrance into France, October 7th; surrender of Pamplona, 31st of October; passage and battle of the Nivelle, November 10th; passage of the Nive, December 9th; attack by Soult of the right and left of the British army, and his defeat, 10th to 18th of December.

Battle of Orthez, February 27th; passage of the Adour at St. Sever, March 1st; permission granted by the prince regent to wear the insignia of the grand cross of the imperial order of Maria Teresa, of the imperial Russian military order of St. George, of the royal Prussian military order of the black eagle, of the royal Swedish military order of the Sword, March 4th; battle of Toulouse (Sunday), April 10th. On the evening of the 12th, despatches from Paris arriving and announcing the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, and the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Paris in May 30th, all further hostilities ceased; raised to the dignity of mar-

quis of Douro, and duke of Wellington, and prince of Waterloo by the king of the Netherlands. From Paris repaired to Madrid, and subsequently to England, where he arrived on the 23rd of June, and was welcomed with every manifestation of national gratitude. On taking his seat in the house of peers, on the 28th, his several patents of nobility were recited, and he received the thanks of the house, "for his great, signal, and eminent services he had rendered to his country and to Europe." The house of commons appointed a deputation to congratulate him, and on the 1st of July the duke attended in person to express his thanks. His appearance was considered one of the most animated scenes ever witnessed within the walls of the House of Commons. The whole of the members simultaneously rose as he entered the chamber, and uncovering, enthusiastically and continuously cheered him. On the 15th of the same month appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France.

1815. On the reappearance of Napoleon Buonaparte upon the soil of France, on the 1st of March, "the duke" on the 11th of April, joined the allied army at Brussels. The crowning day of Waterloo (18th June) may be said to have terminated his military career, by the permanent restoration of peace to Europe. October 22, appointed commander-in-chief of the allied armies of occupation in France, and representative of Great Britain at "the holy alliance" congress at Vienna.
1818. Appointed representative of Great Britain at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, and marshal in the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian armies, and master-general of the ordnance.
1822. Appointed representative of Great Britain at the congress of Verona.
1826. Proceeds on a special embassy to St. Petersburg.
1827. Appointed, January 22nd, commander-in-chief of the British forces; April 1st resigns; but re-appointed August 27th.
1828. Resigns the appointment of commander-in-chief, and, February 15th, accepts the office of first lord of the Treasury.
1830. Resigns, in October, the office of first lord of the Treasury.
1839. Appointed lord warden of the Cinque Ports.
1834. Elected chancellor of the University of Oxford, and executed all the ministerial offices of the state.
1835. Resigns the appointment as secretary of foreign affairs in April, from which he continued in the cabinet without office till July 6th, 1846, when he retired on the resignation of the Peel ministry.
1852. Death at Walmer Castle, and state funeral.