

ANNALS OF THE WARS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY,

COMPILED

From the most Authentic Histories of
the Period.

BY THE

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THE SIXTEENTH (QUEEN'S) LANCERS.

"By reading you will be distinguished : without it your abilities will
be of little use."

GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER'S *Advice to a Young Officer.*

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THE WARS

OF

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1810.

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1. PENINSULAR WAR.

It is possible even for the French people to tire of glory; and they, as much as any other nation, wish for some relaxation of their toils, some leisure to enjoy their triumphs and vaunt their prowess, and to plume themselves on their national superiority, in a season of repose. This was never more evident than in the year whose military annals have now to be recorded. Napoleon, at the age of forty-one, could enjoy his young wife with all the rapture of the present, while he lived upon his unprecedented good fortune of the past. So, instead of buckling on his armour again, and leading his legions to the conquest of the Peninsula, he resorted to his pen: "When I shall show myself beyond the Pyrenees," he modestly proclaimed to the

French nation, "the leopard in terror will plunge into the ocean, to avoid shame, defeat, and death." But he resolved to spare himself the trouble of driving the leopard into the sea, and enjoyed himself in a tour with his bride through Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy, accompanied by a brilliant cortège, composed of the Queens of Naples and Westphalia, the Viceroy, and the Princes of Würzburg, Schwarzenburg, and Metternich. Massena was the only one of his marshals whose antecedents afforded him the surest confidence; and he therefore appointed him to take his place at the head of the French armies in Spain. Massena had been in harness continually for twenty years, and now begged his Sovereign to excuse him, and to confide the task to some younger chief, alleging that his health was impaired, and his mental energy weakened by the state of his health; that he was indeed unequal to assume a command over marshals who were all squabbling with each other, and were become so independent that they would assuredly ill obey anyone except the Emperor himself; but Napoleon, who was gifted with the most persuasive tongue, and had a familiar ascendancy over the military comrades who had shared all his glory, now placed before his old friend every inducement that his genius could suggest to overcome his unwillingness, and finally prevailed on the Marshal to repair to Spain, and assume the command of the army destined to wrest the Peninsula from the leopard, and drive him into the sea. Massena, on reaching Salamanca, saw no preparations to warrant the hope of such a result. He found his army without an able staff, without a competent military intendency, without hospitals, transport, siege train, or military chest. The Emperor, on his return from Vienna, had looked a little into his accounts, and discovered that his treasury had fallen to so very low an ebb as to oblige him to give his Marshals to understand that they must more than ever live upon the countries in which they were to act. There was little or no money, however, to be had in Spain. Corn, wine, and cattle might be seized in bulk for the requirements of the army, but the precious metals had been already pretty well dissipated. Massena, in this emergency, affords us another example of the value of energy and activity in leaders of armies. Finding that his letters to Napóleon, which used to be answered by himself, with all his fire and genius, were now turned over to Berthier, who only replied to his complaints with form and evasion, he resolved to act for himself. He had obtained, at his own desire, the assistance of M. Lambert as *Ordonnateur en Chef*, and of the Generals Eblé and Lazowski for the command of the artillery and engineers, and of Fririon as Chief of the Staff; and while he employed them, in their respective departments, to restore the efficiency and discipline of the army, he denounced in strong terms the peculation of those generals who had shown more assiduity in providing for themselves than for their troops, and he issued stringent orders that there should be paid into the military chest every species of contribution that was levied, without the deduction of a single real. It required all his old habits of

authority, however, and all the prestige of his great name, to enforce this command. All was soon changed. Mules were everywhere purchased, and brought into the head-quarters at Salamanca, in order to be organised in brigades; wheel-carriages were collected for the transport of siege matériel, and implements, ammunition, and stores of all kinds for the troops. Great exertions were made to procure green food for the horses, for hay was no longer to be had. Immense herds of cattle were assembled, and bakeries everywhere established for the regular supply of bread. In a word, he did what Napoleon had done at Lobau, and what Wellington was doing at this very time at Lisbon, and what every great commander of armies must in like manner condescend to carry out, by looking into matters themselves, if they desire to maintain an efficient army in the field, fit for extensive military operations; and the world must put on one side the pretensions of heaven-born generals and strategical doctors, who would carry on war by rules of theory, instead of those of practice and experience.

It is worth while to carry our views a short way back into the Peninsular contest. After the battle of Talavera, five French corps, comprising 80,000 combatants, were concentrated in the valley of the Tagus. Madrid had been delivered, and nothing stood between the French and Lisbon; for the British army was gone south of the river, as well as the army of Cuesta. "King Joseph ought," says Jomini, "to have left one corps at Toledo, and to have marched with the other four into Portugal." Napoleon, writing from Schönbrunn, exclaimed: "Quelle belle occasion on a manquée! 30,000 Anglais à 150 lieues des côtes devant 100,000 des meilleurs troupes du monde. Mon Dieu! qu'est ce qu'une armée sans chef. On n'entend rien aux grands mouvements de la guerre à Madrid." Wellesley has recorded his expectations that they would have invaded Portugal,* and has stated in his despatches the bold and hazardous plan that he contemplated if the French had moved on Lisbon. There were, nevertheless, two obstacles not readily to be overcome, and which must for ever enter into the strategy of the greatest generals. The French army, hastily collected, were without supplies of any kind, and scarcely any troops could have been kept in the field during the great heats which exhaust human energies in Spain throughout the hot season. These considerations, doubtless, influenced Joseph, notwithstanding the advice of Soult. The Emperor, nevertheless, superseded Marshal Jourdain, by appointing Marshal Soult as Major-General to the intrusive King; but, before this change occurred, the French armies had separated; Joseph had returned to Madrid, Ney had retraced his steps into Leon, and Soult and Mortier now occupied cantonments at Talavera, Oropesa, and Placentia.

Napoleon had given a general plan for the future conduct of the war in the Peninsula. Knowing the country and the climate, and estimating at its true value the peculiar capability of the Spaniards for irregular warfare, and the evils such a method of offence must

* Wellington Despatches, August 6, 1809.

bring upon the communications of his armies, the directions he gave Massena were to make it his first consideration to possess himself of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. In vain Marshals Ney and Junot, with their characteristic fire, urged upon their superior their opinion that the better plan was to march at once against the British army and drive them out of the country; he steadily adhered to the orders of Napoleon, and made his preparations accordingly; and it may be noticed, in passing, as a strong proof of his mighty genius, that the Emperor had very early correctly comprehended the peculiar qualities of the antagonist with whom they had to deal, and warned his lieutenant accordingly. Wellington had remained in the valley of the Guadiana until after he heard of the loss of the battle of Ocana by the Spaniards, when he resolved to cross the Tagus and march to the north, but with commendable prudence brought up the main strength of his army no farther than the celebrated position of Guarda, which shuts out all approach on Lisbon, except by the two great roads which lead north and south of the great Sierra de Estrella, in order that some days' march might intervene between him and the French armies, which might enable him to carry out with the same steadiness as his adversary a plan for the campaign that should admit of being consistently followed up. He now resolved to refuse all unnecessary fighting and to retire before any advance that might be made by the enemy upon his base at Lisbon, keeping his army well in hand.

The Spanish armies, under the Duc d'Albuquerque, the Marquis della Romagna, Blake, Castanos, Vanegas, and Cuesta, likewise separated; the last breaking up his army, and resigning his command. He had been one of the earliest and leading officers of the old Spanish army, before it had been deceitfully worked upon, divided, and defeated, and we would therefore pause a moment to take leave of him, and to consider his military character.

2. **MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE SPANISH CAPTAIN-GENERAL, CUESTA.**

Don Gregorio Garcia de Cuesta sprang from a noble family in Old Castille, where he was born, in 1740. He entered early into the military service, and had obtained the rank of Marescal del Campo in 1793, at which period he had acquired the reputation of being one of the most promising men of the Spanish army. He had a successful affair against the French Republican troops in 1795, when in possession of La Cerdagna, and drove them across the border; but while he thought of pursuing them into France, the peace of Bâle was ratified, and he returned to his Sovereign with all the honours of success. He was afterwards given the Captain-Generalship of Old Castille, in which office the war of Spanish Independence found him in 1808. He resisted what he deemed a revolutionary attempt to proclaim Ferdinand VII. king, in the place of Carlos IV.; but, intimidated by threats of popular vengeance, he placed himself at the head of the Junta of the province after he had assembled it at Oviedo, and, collecting an

army, advanced against Marshal Bessières, by whom he and Blake were defeated at Rio Seco. He afterwards thought to recover his reputation by repairing to Madrid, and offering to act with Castaños, then in the ascendant; but the conqueror of Baylen refused to fall into so palpable a trap, and Cuesta, always intemperate and ill-judging, having displeased the Supreme Junta by an unwarrantable act of violence against two of their own members, was summoned to Aranjuez to give account of his conduct, where he was superseded by General Egnia, and sent under arrest to Seville. In 1809, however, in the midst of new disasters, the popular voice once more turning in favour of Cuesta, he was made General-in-Chief of the Spanish forces, and repaired to Badajoz to collect an army. He was attacked and defeated by Marshal Victor at Medellin, but, with characteristic obstinacy and a noble resolution, he was the last to quit the field, although wounded and "three score years and ten." He again made Badajoz the rallying place of a new army, and accompanied the British forces under Wellesley to Talavera, and was so infatuated by the appearance of a change of fortune, that he followed the French on the road to Madrid, in opposition to the views of his British coadjutor, and only got back with difficulty to take part in the victory of the 27-28th. But his utter incompetency and impracticability induced Wellesley to resolve never to act with him again. This resolution lowered him in the estimation of the Supreme Junta, who gave him the cross of the order of Carlos III., but urged his resignation, and he accordingly retired to Palma, where he died in 1812, aged seventy-two years.

As a general, it must be admitted that he had the great disadvantage of being too old for work. He made a campaign in a lumbering carriage, drawn by six mules, and, while acting through the eyes of his subordinates, was pompous, and absolute, and obstinate to an absurd degree. He was courageous by nature, and ever ready to cut the Gordian knot of hesitation and doubt by fighting, which brought upon him continual reverses, with such troops as he could alone command, in this severe crisis of his country's history. He might certainly have rendered it better service had he rested more on the defensive, but he continued, notwithstanding his repeated defeats, to command the respect of his followers, and it is believed that his country still retains a regard for his memory.

3. THE FRENCH ADVANCE INTO ANDALUSIA — SEVILLE SURRENDERS — CADIZ CLOSES HER GATES.

The intrusive King, contented with the Emperor's limited plan of campaign, had returned to his bottle and his pleasures in the palace of Madrid; but after the defeat of the patriot armies, and the capture of the Spanish strong places, he began to think it time that the South, which still remained under the undisputed rule of the Central Junta, should be brought into obedience. The patriot government, retaining neither much respect nor power, blindly thought that behind the giant

range of the Sierra Morena they could oppose an impenetrable barrier to the enemy's advance across it. All the native forces which remained for its defence had been collected under Ariesege, who promised to guard the pass of Despena los Perros. Joseph ardently desired that this road should now be forced, and found a ready agent for the work in Soult; for that marshal, unlike Massena, was not at all tired of war, and was never so happy as when in the saddle. Besides, he desired to wipe out the little stain that had attached to his independent command at Oporto, and was conscious of his own genius and abilities for military operations. He therefore made a personal request to the Emperor that he would employ him in Spain; and, accordingly, the divisions of Victor, Sebastiani, and Mortier, with that of Dessolles for a reserve, were intrusted to the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, who now appeared in the field, and already on the 20th of January was in the pass of Despena los Perros, whence he drove Ariesege's army before him with scarcely any resistance. The pass was fortified and mined, but the explosions and the epaulements did not retard the march of the French army a quarter of an hour. General Sebastiani followed across the Sierra Susanna to Alcala-la-Real, whence one portion of his corps took the road to Grenada and the other half to Murcia. Joseph, who was now in the field, opened the campaign with all the state of a Louis XIV.: four ministers, twelve councillors of state, his ordinary household, and a cloud of livery servants, formed his court, which followed after the army, and was established at Cordova on the 28th. On the 31st, Soult's advanced guard appeared before Seville, which opened its gates on the 1st; and the intrusive King made his triumphal entry into that city the same day. The Supreme Junta, on the approach of the French army, fled to the Isla de Leon; and Soult followed them, but gave orders to General Sebastiani to proceed in pursuit of the Spanish army on the side of Grenada, and to occupy the Alhambra with a garrison of 15,000 men. It required little fighting to clear the road, and cut off the wreck of the armies of Ariesege and Frere from this ancient capital; and, having fulfilled the Marshal's orders, Sebastiani proceeded on the 4th of February to put down a gathering of some thousands, collected under the command of a Capuchin friar and an old field officer of the name of Aballo, whom he came up with between Antequerra and Malaga, and on the 5th took possession of the last-mentioned city, after a bold but ineffectual resistance.

The intrusive King now called together a council of war at Carmona to resolve whether he should fix his court in Seville, in order to establish the royal authority in that capital upon the wreck of the relinquished authority of the Supreme Junta, or whether he should proceed with Soult's army, by forced marches, to get possession of Cadiz. It had been apprehended that, after the example of other great towns, Seville would have barricaded her streets and barred the communications in their rear, if the French should heedlessly advance without securing the possession of so important a place, which opinion Soult appears to have entertained.

saying, "Répondez moi de Seville, et je vous réponde de Cadiz." It was not so much the spirit of the inhabitants which was to be apprehended in Seville, as the numberless bands of troops who, after the defeats of the armies, rallied under the guns of Gibraltar, Cadiz, and Badajoz, and rendered the whole region a battle-field, in which there was every day a conflict. Joseph, nevertheless, took courage and resolved to occupy the city, while Soult sent Mortier across the mountains to watch the road that led thence towards the fortress of Badajoz and the province of Spanish Estremadura. The remainder of the army pursued its march to Cadiz, and the King, satisfied with the ovation he had received at Seville, moved his court back to Grenada to hold his state in the Moorish palace of Alhambra, leaving Marshal Soult to pursue the military operations as marked out for him by the Emperor's instructions.

4. MARSHAL SOULT BLOCKADES THE ISLA DE LEON.

On the irruption of the French into Andalusia, General Castaños, who knew that many of the members of the Junta had been won over to the French interests, sent a confidential communication to the Duc d'Albuquerque apprising him of these suspicions, and urging him to proceed with the utmost rapidity to secure possession of the Isla de Leon. At the same moment, Albuquerque received the commands of the Junta to move in a quite contrary direction. The Duke was in the valleys of the Sierra with 10,000 or 12,000 men, and convinced, by these contradictory orders, that the suspicions of Castaños were correct, he sent the heavier portion of his troops and matériel across the mountains by way of Llerena to Badajoz, while with the lighter portion he crossed the Guadalquivir at Benevada and moved with alacrity by Carmona and Arcos on Cadiz. As he quitted Carmona, he was followed by the French cavalry as far as Lebrixa, where they gave up the pursuit, and on the 3rd of February he passed with about 8,000 soldiers into the Isla, without the loss of a man, and took possession of it. Cadiz stands at the extreme end of a tongue of land seven miles long and less than half a mile broad, flanked on one side by the ocean, where the steepness of the shore renders it inaccessible, and on the other by the bay which forms the harbour. The Isla de Leon, to which it is attached, is an irregular triangle, of which the town is the apex, and the canal of Santa Petra the base. This latter (navigable for the largest ships) is a channel ten miles long and only crossed by the one bridge of Zuazo, an old structure of the time of the Romans, which connects the Isla with the continent over impassable marshes. Having crossed this watery obstacle and along the causeway, an enemy who would make himself master of the Isla must possess a slight elevation of ground, surmounted and flanked with batteries and mines, that protects the further approach to the city, itself defended by regular fortifications. There were scarcely more than 1,000 men garrisoned in the Isla when Albuquerque entered it; but these he was enabled to animate by his presence, while he provided by the force he brought for a systematic resistance against

the French. He at once destroyed the bridge of Zuazo over the canal; but had Soult not lingered at Seville, he might have obtained possession of this much-desired post. So near was he, indeed, to attaining this object, that the very next morning (the 4th) the advanced guard of Victor's division was seen advancing from the side of Chichlana.

The members of the Supreme Junta, on reaching Cadiz, were received with all the coldness of suspicion and unpopularity. General Castaños had arrived in the Isla to assume the command, and he now exerted himself to introduce order in a city and port that numbered 300,000 souls, composed of the people from the neighbouring country and from the shipping of the different nations in the harbour. A Council of Regency was nominated, consisting of the General; the Bishop of Orense; Señor Saavedra, minister of finance; Señor Escano, minister of marine; and Señor de Leon, minister of the interior, who afterwards gave way to Don Miguel de Lardizábal to represent the South American States. The government of the kingdom was transferred to these five persons, awaiting the assembling of the Cortes, which had been already summoned by the Supreme Junta of Seville. General Vanegas, the governor of the city, was deposed, and the town and fortress committed, *ad interim*, to a Junta of the inhabitants. On the alarm given of the approach of the French, and until the arrival of the Duc d'Albuquerque, the gates had been closed against the increasing suppliants for admission. Between the troops brought by the Duke and the garrison of the city, together with the disbanded soldiers which now flocked to his standard, the force collected for the defence of this once-proud city, "first to be free and last to be subdued," and for the refuge and last hope of the nation, consisted of 14,000 men. The Marquess Wellesley had arrived as ambassador from Great Britain, and forthwith threw himself into the patriotic cause with all his wonted wisdom and energy. He was enabled to promise, on the part of King George, efficient succour; and, on application for the countenance of British soldiers in aid of the garrison, General Graham with 5,000 men were disembarked at Cadiz. A British fleet had been for a long while riding in the bay, and, thus encouraged, Cadiz determined to risk a siege, with what eminent success will appear hereafter.

The allied soldiery were all quartered in the Isla, where there were two considerable towns, one called San Carlos, consisting almost entirely of barracks and government buildings, well suited for military quarters, and the other the royal arsenal. The French were now seen advancing in force on every side, and on the 6th their head-quarters were at Puerto de Sta Maria, and fire was opened against the city from Santa Catarina and Matagorda. On the 10th a summons was sent in to Albuquerque to surrender the Isla, and he was advised by the French Marshal to distrust British assistance, which, he said, was only given for the purpose of obtaining possession of the port for the use of their fleet. The Duke, in reply, counselled the Marshal to renounce the idea of sacrificing his troops to no purpose, and assured him that the magnanimous British nation had not, as he insinuated, any design of seizing the port, but came to Cadiz to contribute to its defence

by all those means of defence which it so abundantly possessed, and which were received with gratitude by the Spaniards, who knew well how to defend their country themselves, but would be grateful for the support afforded them by the British and Portuguese in their generous resolution. On the 16th of February the Junta received a written message from the intrusive King by a flag of truce, and returned for answer: "The city of Cadiz, faithful to its principles, renounces any other king than Ferdinand VII."

Marshal Soult saw that it was necessary to sit down in form before Cadiz, and he at once narrowly blockaded every approach to the city from the land. He hoped to establish himself firmly in the south of Spain by means of this fortress, and therefore turned all his thoughts to its acquisition, abjuring for the time all the views he once entertained on Badajoz. Seville had been the great arsenal and school of artillery of the old monarchy, and contained still about 240 great guns, with founderies, powder-mills, and all the matériel required for a siege. He now brought down everything offensive that he could find the means of moving, and he calculated to arm with these resources an extensive line of contravallation, measuring ten leagues in extent, from Rota opposite Cadiz on the north-west to the tower of Barnejan on the south-east. Thus, at the same juncture and for totally different ends, Wellington and Soult were constructing vast lines of fortifications round the two principal ports of the Peninsula upon the shores of the Atlantic. The object of the British lines is intelligible, and has been already explained. What the object of such an extensive work could profit the French, unless as a protection against guerillas, has never been suggested. Rota, Santa Maria, Puerto Real, and Chichlana were fortified with closed lines, and intrenched camps established with intervals between them; and upon the point of the Isla San Louis, called Trocadero, huge mortars (of which one stands on the parade of the Horse Guards in London) were placed in battery to throw shells into the city. The distance was nearly 5,000 yards, and only an occasional shell ever reached the walls. With the increased artillery power of these days, doubtless a serious impression might have been here made upon a crowded population, which might have altogether changed the result.

Major-General Graham gave all the assistance of his vigorous mind to add to and strengthen the works for the greater security of the Isla; and a canal with this object was cut across the isthmus between Torre Gorda and Puntales. Albuquerque set his Spaniards to work with the British and Portuguese at the fortifications; but when he applied to the Junta of the inhabitants for clothes, accoutrements, pay, and the tools required for the work, they absolutely refused to provide him, alleging that it was not in their power to furnish the necessaries demanded. The Duke, perhaps over-haughty, and naturally resolute and arbitrary, declared publicly that he would not remain at the head of an army thus left in want of everything with which it ought to be provided. What undercurrent of intrigue was set in motion under these circumstances has not transpired, but the Regency, induced by the Junta, at once superseded him in the command of the army by

appointing him ambassador to the Court of London, and naming General Blake to act in his stead under General Castaños. Such base treatment made a deep and painful impression on the mind of the high-souled Spanish grandee. Animated by the same patriotism which restrained him from employing his military power, as he might have done, when he first arrived, to dissolve the municipal Junta and even the Regency itself, he repaired forthwith, in obedience to the sovereign authority, to his post at London; but after the Cortes had assembled he appealed to that body, and they recalled him. His nerves, however, were so shaken by all through which he had passed in the anxious interval, that he sickened before he could return, and died at London on the 18th of February, 1811, in the 37th year of his age. He was buried at Westminster Abbey with great ceremony, and a numerous attendance of princes, ministers, and nobility; and his eulogium was eloquently pronounced in Parliament by Lord Wellesley.

5. OPERATIONS OF THE ARMIES IN ARAGON AND CATALONIA.

Marshal Suchet, established at Pampeluna, had done a great deal to restrain the patriots and guerillas, and had introduced something like obedience to French authority in the kingdom of Navarre, when he received instructions from Soult, in his capacity of Major-General to the Emperor, to march rapidly in two columns on Valencia, the one proceeding by Teruel and Segorba, and the other by Morell and San Mateo, but both to unite at Murviedro. Suchet marched, however, altogether unprovided with artillery, and on the 3rd of March took possession of the suburb of Grao, expecting the inhabitants to make him a ready submission. In reply to his summons General Caro, the governor, answered that Valencia had repulsed Marshal Moncey and was prepared to repulse Marshal Suchet. Some guns were consequently opened on the city, but the French Marshal's resources were inadequate to the enterprise, so that, after remaining before Valencia five days, he found it necessary to retrace his steps towards the Ebro.

O'Donnell had succeeded to the command of the Spanish troops in the provinces adjoining that river, and had shown more skill and enterprise than the generals who had preceded him. He now made a hostile attempt on Souham, while engaged in the siege of Hostalrich, and hoped to avert the fate of that fortress; but he was defeated at Vique, and judged it prudent to retire, leaving the enemy in possession of the field, but soon recommenced a series of manœuvres against the French general, by which he succeeded in achieving some successes. He first again attempted to relieve Hostalrich, but without success, and that important place, after undergoing a siege of four months and a dreadful bombardment, and having done all that could be effected by fortitude and zeal, at length surrendered, although the strong old castle still held out.

The Marquis della Romagna had put into some state of defence the town of Astorga, and had thrown into its garrison 3,000 men,

under Colonel Santoçildes. On the 11th of February, General Bonet summoned that place, but was refused admission by the Governor. On the 26th, General Clausel, belonging to the corps d'armée of Junot, appeared before the town, and addressed a cajoling letter to Santoçildes, but the Colonel stopped the delivery of it, stating that he had already given his reply. On the 21st of March Junot ordered Clausel to invest Astorga, which was done without any resistance, but the siege artillery was so inefficient, that, after opening trenches and raising a battery opposite the cathedral, the breaching guns could not tell with any effect against the old wall, and it was resolved to attempt an escalade on the 20th of April. This was so steadily resisted, that the French were driven back and obliged to continue their trenches, and it was not till after these had been opened eleven days that Astorga surrendered on the 28th of April.

On Suchet's return to Zaragoza from Valencia on the 17th of March, he received the reiterated command from the Emperor himself to proceed to the siege of Lerida. Two roads of approach lead to that place from Zaragoza, the one by Meguinenza, and the other by Monzon. The former town was in the hands of the patriots, and garrisoned by 1,500 men; the latter was therefore selected by Suchet, and the old castle there was converted into a fort, and garrisoned by the division Habert to defend it, and cover the parc of artillery, magazines, &c. Marshal Suchet arrived with his army before Lerida on the 12th of April, and established his headquarters at Villanueva, on the Monzon road. Lerida is a city of some 18,000 or 20,000 inhabitants, situated on the right bank of the Segre, a broad river not fordable, across which there is a stone bridge. It possesses some strategic importance from its situation in the midst of the plains of Urgel, called the Huerta de Catalonia. It is, moreover, situated midway between the ranges of the Pyrenees and the mountains of Aragon, and is celebrated in the wars of Cæsar against Pompey as the field of a memorable combat. The external wall of the town is flanked with old towers, but it has neither ditch nor covered way. Within, upon the summit of the hill, stands a castle of considerable height, surrounded with a good enceinte, bastioned and solidly built, with fourteen yards of escarpment upon a perpendicular rock, which renders all approach to it almost impracticable. On some high ground about 600 yards to the west of the walls, is placed the Fort Garden, with a hornwork rising out of the native rock, altogether *à l'abri d'un coup de main*, and having before it, on the edge of the hill, two strong redoubts, called Del Pilar and San Fernando. These works, well garnished with 110 guns, were supplied with considerable magazines, and a garrison of 10,000 men under an octogenarian governor of the name of Gonzales, but with an enterprising lieutenant under him, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Zaragoza, by name Garcia Conde. When summoned to surrender, the reply was, "Lerida had never looked to anything but its own ramparts for defence." It was, indeed, justly vain of its ancient fame, and particularly of having resisted the arms of the great Condé in 1647.

Marshal Suchet, having provided amply for the security of the besieging army on the side of Zaragoza, trusted to Augereau for protection on the side of Barcelona; but this Marshal having fallen short of provisions marched away to that city, when General O'Donnel immediately descended on Villafranca, and routed a battalion left there, whence proceeding to Manresa, he drove General Schwartz out of it, and found himself, in consequence, free to attempt something for the relief of Lerida. Suchet, deprived of Augereau's assistance, was, in truth, unable, with 13,400 men, to undertake the siege and cover it effectually, and had therefore delayed operations in the hope of calling back Augereau to his support, but that Marshal was already beyond reach, for he had marched away to Gerona. O'Donnel in the meanwhile collected his force at Montblanc and Corvona, and Suchet, hearing this, determined to return back towards Lerida on the 23rd of April. O'Donnel, however, was already in communication with the governor, and had been welcomed by the cannon of the garrison and bells of the town. Nevertheless, General Harispe on one side, and General Musnier on the side of Mequinenza, were prepared for his reception; O'Donnel's troops, however, were better than those commonly found among the Spanish armies at this period, and resisted manfully until General Broussard came up with a brigade of cavalry, who, sending forward the 13th Cuirassiers, under Colonel D'Aigremont, completely routed him, capturing 1 general, 8 colonels, 5,500 men, and 1,000 horses, with a loss of only 23 killed and 82 wounded.

Marshal Suchet, in order to take advantage of the moral effect of this disappointment to the garrison, resolved to attempt the assault of the redoubts of Pilar and San Fernando, and on the night of the 23rd-24th General Verges succeeded in obtaining possession of the first, but failed in his assault on the second. No longer under any anxiety, however, for the army of O'Donnel, the Marshal now determined to push forward the siege with vigour. Colonel Haxo commanding the engineers, and General Valée the siege train, were forthwith ordered up from Monzon, and on the 29th the trenches were opened on the side of the bastion of Madeleine at 140 toises distant from the walls.

On the 4th of May, under a heavy fire from the castle, 600 Spanish troops made a sortie from the Carmelite gate, but, after a sharp contest, were driven back again without having destroyed the French battery erecting there. The besiegers, however, being greatly annoyed by the fire of the *tête du pont* upon the zigzags which were carried along the low land near the river, brought up a couple of field-pieces to silence it. On the 7th, 10 cannons and 8 mortars were placed in battery, and opened fire upon Lerida. The rain was incessant, and under its effect not only were the besiegers hindered, but the besieged were enabled to make frequent attempts to disturb their works. On the 12th, nevertheless, 15 guns and 19 mortars effected a practicable breach on the bastion of the Carmen, and silenced the fire of the guns on the Madeleine; but Marshal Suchet, having heard from spies that the population were preparing to

defend the access of all the streets of the town leading from the breach, and were resolved to resist an assault, determined on counteracting this resolution by making another attempt on the hill on the other side of the city. General Verges was, therefore, sent, on the night of the 12th, with the same troops that had failed before, and the Colonel commanding the assault got into the hornwork, while, on the other side, the redoubt of San Fernando was carried, but not without bloodshed. These advantages having been secured, General Harispe, the following night, led the assault against the main breach at the very moment that the garrison was about to attempt the recovery of the hornwork, and, after a considerable conflict, got possession of the gate and the works, and drove the inhabitants into the castle. Suchet now ordered this to be heavily bombarded during the night from all the guns in battery around the town; and when the morning light of the 14th broke, a miserable mass of townspeople and soldiers were seen to be shut out from the castle by the raising of the bridges, and thus exposed to a fearful fire. Gonzales and Garcia Condé saw the hopelessness of any further resistance, and therefore the white flag was raised upon the donjon keep. The sudden fall of this celebrated fortress gave rise at the time to strong suspicions of treachery, but they are admitted to have been unfounded; for the garrison had resolutely and honourably defended the place, and, indeed, had lost 2,000 men in the defence, which had been only overcome by the enemy taking advantage of the extreme length of the works from the redoubts to the bastion of the Carmen, and distracting the garrison by attacks at both ends successively. Marshal Suchet has been reproached for the bombardment of the castle, but it can scarcely be denied that everything is fair in war which can bring to an end an operation against an enemy.

The consternation which the fall of so considerable a fortress as Lerida excited in the Catalonians was so extreme, that Suchet immediately proceeded against the castle of Mequinenza, situated on the top of a steep rock at the confluence of the Segra with the Ebro, against which General Musnier's division appeared on the 20th. The rock on which it stands is so hard, that the engineers reported that it could not be worked by their tools, and at the same time so scarp'd that there was scarcely room for a foot soldier to stand or walk. Indeed, the pathway leading over it to Fraga and Penelba is scarcely passable; nevertheless, Suchet ordered the siege to proceed. It required a fortnight to make a practicable road across the adjoining mountains, by which to bring up the artillery; and all the approaches had to be blown out of the solid rock by the indefatigable perseverance of the sappers and miners. The only access to Mequinenza is from the west, on which side there is a regular polygonal face made more salient by a hornwork, all *revêtée* in masonry, with a good ditch cut in the solid rock, and a palisaded covered way. While one sap was directed against this side, another was carried across the summit of the Montenegro, upon the *tracé* facing the Ebro. On the 1st of June batteries were with

much difficulty established within 300 yards of the place, and on the 2nd the garrison made sorties; but on the 4th the town was carried by assault, and fresh *boyaux* run up to the glacis of the castle. On the night of the 7th-8th, 16 guns opened close to the castle-works, yet the besieged responded sharply to the fire, and, seconded by the tirailleurs from the flanking parapets, disconcerted the Sappers considerably. However, at 10 on the morning of the 8th, the white flag was hung out in token of surrender. The English Colonel Doyle, with a regiment of miguelets and Aragonese, clothed and armed under his supervision, marched out of the castle with the rest of the garrison and deposited arms as prisoners of war.

While these successes attended the French arms under Suchet, his brother Marshal, Augereau, Duke de Castiglione, was indulging himself in the vanity of making a public entry into Barcelona. Covered with decorations, among which shone the Grand Cordon of the Spanish Order of Carlos III., he had surrounded himself with all the pomp belonging to the state of Captain-General of Catalonia, and occupied the magnificent palace in the city, before which he had himself 30 years before mounted sentry as a private in the Walloon Guards. All this pomp and circumstance occasioned expense, and he was charged with having countenanced gross abuses in his government in order to obtain the requisite means. He justified himself by laying the blame on General Duhesme, whom he had sent into France. The Emperor, however, was greatly dissatisfied with Augereau, who, while he indulged in this absurd display at Barcelona, had allowed Souham to be very nearly defeated by O'Donnell, and had left the garrison of Hostalrich to occupy the entire attention of the Italian division under Severoli. It was considered of great importance for the French army to obtain possession of Hostalrich, for, while it remained in the hands of the Spaniards, it was a support to the miguelet and guerilla bands, and imposed the obligation of victualling Barcelona direct from France. The town had, it is true, by this time fallen; but the fort, which was on an inaccessible height, still held out, and could only be reduced by blockade. An attempt was made by O'Donnell on the 2nd-3rd of May to introduce subsistence into the castle, but without success, and the garrison still continued to defend Hostalrich with honourable fortitude; till, at length, having consumed the whole of their provisions, these brave men determined to cut their way through the enemy's investment. Taking advantage of a thick fog in the night of the 12th of May, they sallied forth, and surprised and killed the most advanced Italian sentinel; and though his comrade gave the alarm, it was not before they had nearly passed through the French lines. Nevertheless, only an inconsiderable portion effected their escape, for their leader, Don Julian de Eschada, and about 300 men, were made prisoners or killed. Augereau, aroused to his duty, now directed a division to take possession of the island of Las Medas, and had just accomplished this when an order came *from the Emperor for his recall*, and Macdonald arrived to command

the army of the frontier. To Suchet, who appeared to have so much excelled in the conduct of sieges, was now assigned the duty of possessing himself of all the strong places in Aragon, and his instructions were to lay siege first to Tarragona and Tortosa.

6. MARSHAL MASSENA BESIEGES CIUDAD RODRIGO AND TAKES IT.

In the beginning of April Lord Wellington was apprised of some movements in the French army which indicated their intention of advancing against Ciudad Rodrigo. He heard that two *corps-d'armée* under Marshals Ney and Junot had marched into Salamanca, and it was clear that 66,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry were concentrated for no trifling object. It appeared that on the 25th a French division had encamped on the Pedro Toro, another at Val de Carras, a third between them, while a fourth was established on Monte de Ibaurey; all a few miles distant from the fortress. The British army was therefore advanced, and head-quarters placed at Celorico. General Hill still remained in the neighbourhood of Abrantes with 14,000 men, to be in communication with Romagna near Badajoz, and to keep watch over the movements of Generals Regnier and Mortier, who had about an equal amount of force in Estremadura. The division of Picton was advanced to Pinhel to support the light division of Craufurd, consisting of the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th, and two regiments of Portuguese Caçadores, with the 14th and 16th Light Dragoons and 1st German Hussars, to whom was confided the whole outpost duty along the Aqueda. It required no little military skill and activity for 4,000 men to cover a distance of twenty-four miles, but the masterly arrangements of this most accomplished general of outposts enabled him to effect this object. Napier, who was under Craufurd in this duty, says that "at night he always drew in his picquets and concentrated his division; but that such was the quickness and intelligence introduced in this distinguished division, that seven minutes sufficed for the whole of it to get under arms in the middle of the night; and a quarter of an hour, night or day, to bring it to the front in due order of battle with the baggage loaded, and all ready. Nor was this merely as an experimentary trial but at all times." The cavalry pushed patrols as far as Ciudad Rodrigo, and kept vigilant watch over all the fords and passages across the Aqueda, occasionally exchanging shots with parties of the enemy, and restraining them from advancing upon Craufurd's most advanced posts. The siege of Ciudad Rodrigo was now confided to Marshal Ney. That place was held by 5,500 ill-disciplined Spaniards, under the command of Andreas Herrasti, a respectable veteran, still endowed with some of the energy of youth, a loyal man and faithful to his trust. The town stands on a slightly-elevated mound above the river Aqueda, and its fortifications consist of an ancient towered wall thirty-two feet high, standing on a steep slope, or *faussebraye*, with a modern enceinte before it of little saliency and a ditch *réveté*, but without a covered way; but no countermines had

been prepared below its imperfect glacis. The place was commanded on the north side by a considerable height called *El Teson grande*, and by a smaller one called *El Teson chico*. The works were in tolerable condition, and, as it had constituted formerly one of the principal depôts of the monarchy with the artillery school within its precincts, there was no deficiency of guns or ammunition. The Duke of Elchingen invested the place on the 6th of June, having duly summoned the governor, who replied by a civil request that the Marshal would not repeat it, as it would be answered by cannon. Colonel Conché, the commandant of engineers, and General Rutz, of the artillery, now reconnoitred the place and proposed to open the trenches on the higher *Teson* and to work down the hill, between the convents of Santa Francisco and Santa Cruz, upon the two faces of the enceinte on this side of the town. Masena came down from Salamanca, with Junot's corps in reserve, and approved of the plan of attack; so that all having been made ready for the siege, ground was opened on the night of the 15th and 16th. The first parallel was completed on the 20th, and six batteries marked out for breaching. The famous Guerilla chief, Don Julian Sanchez, who had been inadvertently shut into the place, judging his own uselessness in a siege defence, determined to make his escape, and having gallantly succeeded in doing so, on the night of the 22nd, by a brisk attack upon the outlying picquets of the besiegers, had safely reached Fuente Guinaldo.*

On the night of the 24th-25th the breaching batteries opened, but an explosion of one of the magazines occasioned a great diminution of their fire till the 28th, when a breach twenty-five yards in length was effected. The two convents to the right and left of the trenches, which had been hitherto occupied with considerable inconvenience to the besiegers, were now assaulted and carried, and as the works were already advanced very near the place, the French artillery began to bombard the town, which did great mischief to the streets and houses; but the old Moorish wall resisted the artillery wonderfully. Ney again sent in a summons desiring Herrasti "to choose between an honourable capitulation and the terrible vengeance of a victorious army," but the old general returned a firm refusal.

The British army, witnesses of the stout resistance opposed by the besieged, were desirous of striking some blow, that they might not appear to be indifferent, by abandoning the garrison and its brave governor to their fate. The Spaniards and Portuguese, indeed, demanded openly that an effort should be made in their behalf, as a proof of the good faith of the British; but Lord Wellington steadily refused to compromise his whole plan of the campaign to save a town

* Some notion of the resolute character of the Spanish women during this war may be formed from the fact that on this occasion two of Don Julian's men being married carried their wives, each armed with a pistol, on their horses behind them. Full of adventure, they espied in their flight a post of French cavalry, and resolved to get possession of their horses. In the *mêlée* one of the women, named Maria Frayle, thought her husband required her assistance, and shot a French dragoon dead, whom she saw about to attack him from the rear.

by no means indispensable to its success. He wrote, in answer: "I should be very neglectful of my duty to my king and the common cause, if I could permit myself to be influenced by public clamour to modify the system of operations which I have resolved upon after mature deliberation." Massena, having probably become informed of these premises, issued proclamations taunting his opponent with fear, in order to provoke him to action; but the British General had courage enough to resist criticism and to bide his time. Firmness like this is, in real truth, a greater military quality than the courage which consists in man's braving death amidst the excitement of a battle-field and talking a vast deal about it. Antiquity presents us but with a single instance of equal firmness. "If you are a great general," said Sylla to Marius, "come and fight." "If you are a great general," answered Marius to Sylla, "compel me to fight." The Spanish historian Torenó does ample justice to the British General on this occasion. "Wellington here acted as a prudent captain, for if to raise the siege it was necessary to risk a battle, the battle, though gained, could only have saved Ciudad Rodrigo for a time, but not have decided the fate of the war; and, if lost, the defeat of the British army would have laid Lisbon open, and would have struck the Spanish cause to the ground."

The fate of Ciudad Rodrigo was therefore sealed; the only sign from without consisted in Wellington advancing his head-quarters to Alverca, in consequence of his receiving still more urgent appeals and a billet from Governor Herrasti, couched in these words: "O venir luego! luego! luego! á socorrer esta plaza." The besiegers, indeed, began to find their ammunition fail, and the Prince d'Essling, fatigued with the slowness of the operations, changed those intrusted with the direction both of the artillery and engineers, and gave the duties over to Eblé and Valozé. These "new brooms" gave more life to the progress of the attack, and a new breaching battery was ordered to be elevated on the lesser Teson, at 80 toises from the wall; but this did not at all accelerate matters, for it required a delay of eight days before they could reach the counterscarp by the flying sap, and this was seriously impeded as well by the cannon fire as by the hand grenades which the besieged threw upon it. On the 4th of July, Massena made a reconnoissance against the British army to ascertain if they were seriously thinking of disturbing the siege. He had observed a review of the British force the previous day, which was, perhaps, intended by Craufurd to impress the Marshal with awe; but he was too old a fox to be caught in such a trap, and determined to try what really was the strength of the British army, perhaps with a further view of convincing the besieged that they had nothing to expect from them. This proceeding brought on an affair which might far better have been avoided for any good it produced to either side.

The French marched on Gallejos, and Craufurd, with 11 battalions and 8 squadrons, retired before them under the cannon of Fort Conception, where a rash charge of the 14th Light Dragoons occasioned the death of Colonel Talbot and 32 troopers. A rather

sharp contest took place near a bridge which crossed a brook. This bridge was so extremely narrow that the French column were obliged to cross it in file. Captain Crackenbourg, however, of the German Hussars, saw his opportunity, and led two squadrons upon the enemy, charging with such promptitude and vigour that one officer was killed and several were put *hors de combat*, while the rest were driven *pêle môle* upon the column.

It was the night of the 8th-9th before the miners could reach the counterscarp against which they had sapped, but it was at length blown in 25 feet, and a breach was in consequence effected by the joint operation of the battery and the mines, while the guns of the besiegers gained a great ascendancy over those of the town. An assault was therefore ordered by Ney, and the columns of attack were already formed for the assault, when Herrasti convoked a meeting of all the civil and military authorities at the summit of a postern of the town, close to the very breach itself. This council, recognising the hopelessness of relief, the impossibility of making an escape sword in hand through such a force as that of the besiegers, and the needless waste of life in standing an assault, under all the circumstances, agreed to raise the white flag, which was, in fact, only done at the very moment when the forlorn hope was almost at the foot of the breach. General Simon was forthwith sent to Governor Herrasti to invite him to a conference, which he accepted. The principals then concluded verbally the terms of surrender, which were highly honourable to the garrison, and the articles were sealed by a hearty grasp of the hand of the old general, who was reconducted to the fortress up the breach, and treated with all the honour due to one who had made a most strenuous and gallant defence of 24 days. Eighteen thousand cannon balls and 11,859 shells are said to have been poured upon the place in that interval, and 1,800 soldiers and inhabitants had been sacrificed in the ruins. The loss of the French was only 182 killed, and 1,048 wounded.

7. SIEGE OF ALMEIDA — COMBAT ON THE COA.

Ciudad Rodrigo having now fallen, Massena directed his views to the siege of Almeida, a fortress on the Portuguese frontier, intended by its construction to watch its Spanish neighbour. The French army already began to want subsistence, for they had exhausted the country between Salamanca and where they now rested. It was, moreover, necessary not only to provide for their daily exigencies, but to form ample magazines before they could penetrate into Portugal, which is an arid country naturally, and which Wellington was known to have, upon principle, thoroughly exhausted. The siege of Ciudad Rodrigo also had demanded so great a supply of all the munitions of siege, that it was necessary to renew the amount of shot, powder, and lead beyond what the arsenal of that place could supply, and what was, in effect, required, *had now* to be transported all the way from France. The army *was also short of spades and mattocks*, which the engineer Lazowski

had, with great providence, ordered to be collected in the district, but the want of money, which at this period hampered the French military operations in the Peninsula, had forced them to leave all kinds of supplies behind in some of the towns upon the line of march, for lack of mules and pack-horses to bring them on. The country between Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida abounds in corn, and Massena resolved to gather in the harvest with his army before he moved forward; and, as this would take some time, he proposed to Ney to invest the latter fortress, in order to put his men under the protection of huts during the great heats, and in the meantime to introduce a good regimental system of harvesting, so that each corps might provide itself in its encampments.

There was a boldness in the attitude taken by Craufurd's division during the siege and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo which induced the presumption that it was a stronger force than it appeared, and Massena's first object was to ascertain whether Fort Conception, five leagues on the way to Almeida, and upon the actual frontier, was of strength sufficient to require a regular siege before he should undertake that of the larger fortress. He therefore directed Ney to make a reconnoissance against it on the 21st. Lord Wellington had directed that it should not be defended, and accordingly, on the advance of the French reconnoissance, the fort was blown up. Craufurd, therefore, who still covered that place, retired before the French, under the walls of Almeida, and took up his ground with his left resting on an unfinished tower 800 yards from the town, and his right on some broken ground, while nearly a mile behind him ran the river Coa in a deep and precipitous bed, crossed by the single bridge of Pinhel. As a position, none could be more dangerous; for the ground in Craufurd's front was sufficiently open to admit of the rapid formation and movement of the enemy, while that by which alone he could retire before a superior force was broken and enclosed. Three days had elapsed when it was reported from the outposts that a force composed of 25 squadrons of cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and a correspondent force of guns, had been observed in movement beyond the Turones. Craufurd's orders were to re-cross the Coa, but from headstrong ambition he occupied the bank of it with 4,000 infantry, 1,100 cavalry, and 6 guns. Ney, having for object to invest Almeida, advanced on the morning of the 25th to drive Craufurd back, who immediately contracted his line and took it back to the edge of the ravine. Here were many small walled enclosures very favourable to defence, into which single regiments threw themselves. Ney saw at a glance Craufurd's false position, and advanced with vehemence against his centre and left, regardless of the guns of the fortress. A storm of fire wasted the field, for the French artillery opened with grape shell; and their cavalry galloped right across the open to the very glacis of the enceinte. The British within the enclosures extricated themselves with singular intelligence from their little fastnesses, and, scrambling over crags and vineyards, gained the bridge and crossed the river. But this passage soon became

choked with the guns and cavalry, and the enemy rushing down also to the bridge, gathered together in great numbers to prevent the infantry regiments from reaching it. Very imminent was the danger, when Major M'Cleod, of the 43rd, a young man endowed with a great genius for war, suddenly turned his horse upon the pursuers, and, calling on his regiment to follow, rushed with a shout against the French scouts. The suddenness of the attack, the gesture of the man, and the effects of an animated leader upon all troops in action, checked the isolated parties of the enemy, and the bridge was cleared for the passage of the whole division, who, as they passed, posted themselves in loose order on the opposite side of the river, opening a rifle fire on the assailants, while the artillery, from some high ground, sent well-directed shot over the heads of the skirmishers. Marshal Ney, however, was not the man to be satisfied with having only driven the enemy back, but resolved to force their position; and soon the monotonous tones of a French drum were heard, and a column, headed by a dashing officer, rushed down to the bridge. Two-thirds of the passage was already won, when the British, having ascertained the correct range of their fire, so accumulated it on the head of the column, that the killed and wounded rolled together into a heap, which was nearly even with the parapet, until it rendered the bridge altogether impassable. In half an hour another column, more numerous than the first, again came down to the bridge; but ere half the distance along it was accomplished, the multitude was torn, shattered, dispersed, or slain, and the passage again choked up. The combat, nevertheless, was continued, for the Marshal made it a point of honour to effect his purpose; but this time the elements turned against him; torrents of rain, such as fall nowhere so heavily as in the mountains of the Peninsula, perfectly flooded the pans of the soldiers' muskets, and with the necessary cessation of fire the fight also ceased. Craufurd, however, sustained a grievous loss, and would have been severely punished for his temerity, but for one of those very absurd differences which so frequently disgraced the French generals. Monthron, with his cavalry, refused the orders of the Duc d'Elchingen upon the pretext that he took orders only from the Prince d'Essling. On the other hand, considerable dissatisfaction was also felt at the British head-quarters, and some discord also ensued on the side of the British leaders. General Craufurd asked General Picton, who had come up to the scene of the conflict alone, why he had not brought up the Third Division to his support, and a sharp altercation ensued, when Picton resolutely refused its aid. These examples of military insubordination in high places are grievous; and there is no conduct so truly reprehensible in war as that of generals who draw back from the consummation of a combined movement in the very heat of action. Pettishness on such occasions is unpardonable, and subordination is imperative. At length the firing ceased, and Craufurd, having halted in his last assumed position till evening, retreated under cover of the darkness with great coolness and a resolute bearing. To balance the discord of

the chiefs, an anecdote may be given of a private soldier of the British Light Division, who, though a bold turbulent Irishman, was a most shrewd observer, and was heard to give to his comrade this short account of the battle in which he had been engaged:—"General Craufurd wanted glory, so he stopped on the wrong side of the river, and now he is knocked over to the right side. The French general won't be content until his men try to get on the wrong side also, and then they will be knocked back. Well, both will claim a victory, which is neither here nor there, but just in the middle of the river. That's glory!" The remark was true to the letter; a more brilliant affair was never more idly nor more unprofitably hazarded.

While the fight was going on, a dragoon was seen to try the depth of the stream from above, and General Lamotte with some cavalry soon got across by an upper ford, which, threatening Picton's flank at Pinhel, he fell back as soon as General Lamotte presented himself at the bridge next morning, and the investment of Almeida was thus rendered complete on the 25th. The British army became concentrated upon the line of mountains from Guarda to Trancoso, and the head-quarters were re-established at Celorico, the advanced outposts of the army being at Alverca and Freixda, awaiting the siege of the fortress, which it was calculated would last some time. This, as has been stated, was intrusted to Ney, who placed his head-quarters at Malpartida. Massena, in order to prevent any disturbance to the siege from the British army, determined to threaten its rear, and accordingly ordered General Regnier to cross the Tagus at Alcantara, and to march to Coria, while Montbrun, with his cavalry, was sent to advance towards Alfayates to unite that corps with his army. Junot was also directed to disturb the left flank of the British by crossing the Aqueda to the north, and General Serras, with 10,000 men, took possession of Sanabria, beyond the Douro. Hill, as soon as he observed that Regnier had crossed the river, did likewise, and stood on the banks of the Zezere, prepared to cross it and march northward, should circumstances require it.

While the harvest was falling to the French sickle, 65 battering guns arrived at their engineer's park before Almeida. This is but a small place, of some 1,500 souls. The enceinte is a regular hexagon bastioned, having ravelins and a covered way round an ancient castle situated on a mound within. The *tracé* was defective, the ramparts being too high for the glacis, so that the bottom of the ditch could be commanded from some near ground. There was only one powder magazine, which was placed in an old casemate in one of the bastions. The castle contained three bomb-proofs, the doors of which were not secure, but the fortress was otherwise well armed and abundantly provisioned. The ground around is rock, so difficult to work that it was necessary to have a large supply of gabions, which the soldiers manufactured from the woods of Ilex, near Fort Conception, and sand bags were supplied to carry the sap across the rock, the cloth for which the besiegers were obliged to obtain from towns as far off as the valley of the Tagus. On the 28th Massena

and Ney, with Generals Eblé and Lazowski, reconnoitred the place, and determined that the point of attack should be the bastion of St. Petro and the two ravelins adjoining; for this was the side on which the escarp was most visible, and on the plateau in front the rock was a little more covered with earth than elsewhere; but it was found necessary very early in the siege to blast the rocky surface, in order to form batteries and trenches of the requisite depth. The garrison was entirely Portuguese, under the command of an Englishman, an officer of merit and resolution, Colonel William Cox, who was constituted governor, and who promised to make an obstinate resistance. The garrison consisted of one regular and two militia regiments, a body of artillery, and a squadron of cavalry, in all 4,000 men. But there were traitors within the walls — the Marquis de Alorno, commanding the 24th Portuguese regiment, and a major who had command of the artillery, were amongst these. To carry out the saying, that "the better the day the better the deed," the birthday of the Emperor, the 15th of August, was selected for opening the trenches, but the batteries were established at first, at a very long range. A false attack was at this time directed to be made along the valley of the little Alverca stream, which flowed along the north-east front of the fortress. Eleven batteries were marked out, but it was resolved to open no artillery until they were all completely armed: this occurred on the morning of the 26th. The garrison replied to the fire with vigour; when suddenly, at 7 in the evening, a fearful explosion was heard, and an immense volume of flame and smoke was seen to rise above the town, while the concussion was sufficient to throw back the soil into the trenches of the besiegers and to cover the ground with pebbles and wreck of every description. Two shells which had fallen upon a magazine containing 15,000 lbs. of powder had produced this disaster. It is even said that out of their whole stock of ammunition only six barrels of powder remained uninjured. But although many houses in the town were destroyed, and at least 500 of the inhabitants perished, only a few rents were made in the outward defences by the shock, although all the cannon were thrown down by it. It was no sooner known within the walls that the great magazine had been destroyed, than the whole of the officers, with the Tenente-Rey, or second in command, at their head, rushed in a body to the Governor, and insisted upon an immediate surrender. Cox ordered them back to their posts; but, when he went forth to inquire into the nature of the disaster, he found that the murrain had broken out—the soldiers had laid down their arms. Whether De Alorno had in any way been instrumental in occasioning this state of things was never quite ascertained; but in the course of the night, when the troops and the people protested against the idea of remaining exposed to the evils of a siege which, it was urged by them, was for the personal objects of the British general alone, and not for Portugal, and when he found none willing to obey his commands—in such a general default he doubtless had a principal hand. The Governor proposed to cut his way

through the enemy's lines, and join the Allied army outside, but he could not find a man who would follow his steps. This was all very suspicious: and when Cox, on the morning of the 28th, accepted the terms offered by the enemy and capitulated, De Alorno and his regiment at once took service under the French; and the Major of Artillery, who had been sent out with the flag of truce to accept the capitulation, never, in fact, returned to the fortress. Wellington was deeply concerned at all these events, as is apparent from his despatches at this juncture. The fate of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida naturally threw a damp and discouragement upon the army, and at the same time produced a lively discontent at Lisbon, where one of the Regency (Souza), a man of meddling and mischievous disposition, but not otherwise ill-disposed, flattered the popular voice, which he should have directed or coerced, and raised a very dangerous sensation in the capital to the injury of the patriotic cause. The premature fall of a fortress prepared for defence, well garrisoned, and in every respect calculated to make a resolute resistance, deranged even the plans of the French Marshal, who had not got his army in hand, and did not put his troops in movement again for three weeks after the capture of Almeida.

Napoleon was set in great spirits with this commencement of Massena's operations, and wrote in flattering terms to his old comrade, urging him to follow up his success vigorously: "Hesiter serait un scandale de faiblesse qui n'est pas à craindre d'un général tel que le Duc de Rivoli et le Prince d'Essling." But it was necessary to make the fortresses he had taken safe against any *coup de main* that might be attempted by the patriots, and to organise a regular commissariat to accompany the army into Portugal, since it was known that Lord Wellington's commands to waste the country into which he was about to carry the war had been rigorously fulfilled. It was also necessary to send renewed orders to Regnier and the army of the South, who were now directed to join the main army.

8. MASSENA ADVANCES INTO PORTUGAL.

The French forces, numbering 58,956 men, of whom 7,468 were cavalry, with 84 field-pieces, broke up their cantonments on the 6th of September, and marched to Celorico. The same day Wellington's 30,000 men began their march to the rear, moving by the left bank of the Mondego on the Alva. Massena, misled, as it is supposed, by some false intelligence, adopted for his advance the longer road by Vizeu, full of natural impediments, and by many thought impracticable. He, however, deemed this line of advance preferable to that by the left bank, where he was liable to be stopped by the many positions afforded to his adversary on the spurs of the great range of the Sierra de Estrella. Lord Wellington, however, as soon as he had ascertained the direction adopted by the enemy, passed his entire army across the Mondego, and marched to occupy the strong position of the Sierra de Busaco, of which it does not

appear that Massena knew anything. Wellington, judging Massena's object to be the possession of the important city of Coimbra, ordered Hill to collect his force at Espinhal on the 20th, and Leith to come up from Thomar to Cabaços, while Picton on the same day occupied Torcera to keep up the communication between these divisions, who were still to the south of the Mondego. The first division was ordered to march back from Coimbra to Mealhada on the 23rd, and Leith to cross at the Barca de Conselha and to move to the extreme right of the position, leaving Hill to defend the valley of the Mondego at Foz d'Arouce; but on the 25th the commander of the forces closed in both these divisions, and left the valley to the care of the cavalry under Cotton.

The French had occupied Vizeu on the 21st, and passed the Criz on the 23rd, where on the 24th the outposts came into collision; and it did not escape the sagacity of Ney that the British preparations for the occupation of the Sierra were manifestly incomplete, and might therefore be disturbed with good effect; but the Prince of Essling had not come up, and when he did arrive he thought it imprudent to attack before his own army was concentrated. If Busaco could have been assailed with success, it was at this moment.

The Sierra de Busaco is a high ridge of the great range of Alçoba or Caramula, 250 feet above the immediate level of the plain, and extending in a line nearly perpendicular to the course of the Mondego, on its northern bank. At the highest point of the ridge is a convent and gardens of barefooted Carmelites. This establishment of the order of La Trappe (one of the most ascetic of Eremites), is surrounded by an extensive and almost impervious wood, situated in a sort of crater. The church, with an immense stone cross, rose in the centre of the mass of buildings, surrounded by the cells of the monks, which were detached, and to each of which was assigned a little garden with a stream irrigating the whole of them. Lord Wellington took up his head-quarters at this convent on the 26th. Nothing could be conceived more enlivening, more interesting, or more varied, than the scene from this point, as the morning of the 27th broke forth in cloudless beauty. The situation commanded a most extensive prospect to the eastward, and all the arrivals of the French army were distinctly visible to the naked eye. It was impossible for the enemy to conceal their slightest movement. The heights below were crowned with troops, cannon, and tumbrils. The widely-extended country was alive with the glittering steel of the armed host, moving forward, or gradually condensing into columns, or expanding into lines. Its appearance was imposing as to numerical strength, and the enemy's position from the convent reminded those conversant in Scripture language of the celebrated passage in Numbers: "From thence thou mayest see them: thou shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all. From the top of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him: who can count the dust of Jacob and the number of the fourth part of Israel?" It was not a mere army encamped for the night, but a mixed multitude, like bees in a continual stir: cavalry, in-

fantry, artillery, country cars, tumbrils, horses, mules, asses, soldiers, attendants, sutlers, followers of every description—all were here, marching and countermarching under the very eye of Lord Wellington, as he stood on this eminence, commanding, it may be in one sense said, both armies; 75,000 men were visible in three heavy columns, while a large encampment of cavalry was seen to the rear of the French left.

Marshal Ney arrived in front of this position at 3 in the afternoon of the 26th, and saw that, formidable as it looked, it was by no means fully manned. To form some idea of the great extent of it, it is only necessary to state, that after 50,000 men stood on the ground, a space of nearly two miles remained unoccupied between the divisions of Leith and Picton. It was in order to condense the alignment in some degree that Hill was brought across the Mondego at the last moment. Many reasons, however, had concurred to induce the British General to stand here and check the advance of the French, although he could not of course expect to prevent it altogether. The inhabitants of the country had for the most part fled, as had been commanded, but yet they had left behind them much food, and it was desirable to carry off everything portable. Time was also necessary for the removal of the army stores from Coimbra; and if Massena should fail in forcing the ridge of Busaco, he must either fall back upon the coast road leading for Aveiro, or cross the Mondego to the other side, where Wellington could meet him at Murcella, as he had previously intended, and either of these alternatives would occasion delay in the forward movement of the French into Portugal. No one but the Commanding General thought that Massena would assail such a precipice; all others expected that he would at once march to turn it on one or the other flank, but Wellington better judged the obstinacy of the old Marshal's character. In the French camp, opinions were equally divided in a sort of council of war held in the evening. Ney chafed because the auspicious moment for attack seemed past, but he thought, nevertheless, that the extent of the ridge was too great for Wellington's force, for he had no idea that Hill had arrived by the defile of Espinosa to take post upon it. When Massena had listened to the successive opinions of Ney, Junot, Regnier, Eblé, Fririon, and Lazowski, he is said to have remarked: "To-morrow we shall effect the conquest of Portugal, and in a few days we will drown the leopard." But Marshal Ney, who had been so eager for immediate attack, now recommended a retreat rather than risk the loss of a battle in such frightful gorges of the mountains. Regnier, on the contrary, though habitually circumspect, supported the views of the Generalissimo, and saw no reason why an attack should fail; and, indeed, the orders of the Emperor were so pressing, that with such a preponderance of force the Marshal determined to hazard a battle with the English under every disadvantage.

Napier relates a strange incident that occurred the same night in the British camp:—"The Light Division had established its bivouac in a pine wood, but a peasant of the country advised a removal, saying

that it was known as the Devil's Wood; that an evil influence reigned there, and that no person who had ever slept there had escaped from it. He was laughed at, but, as the result proved, he did not fable. In the middle of the night all the troops, men and officers, started from sleep, seized with a sudden frenzy, and dispersed in all directions; nor was their strange terror allayed until voices were heard crying out that the enemy's cavalry were amongst them, when the well-instructed habits of the Light Division mechanically led them to run together and form for their common protection, when the illusion was dispelled.

9. BATTLE OF BUSACO.

The Allied army was, however, now arranged in position, the first favourable opportunity which had offered for opposing the untried Portuguese levies to the veterans of France. It was only possible to pass the mountain ridge of Busaco by the two roads that led across its summit—the one passing by the convent, the other through Santo Antonio de Cantaro. The latter was protected by the divisions of Hill, Picton, and Leith, comprising the left of the British position; Sir Brent Spencer's division of Guards occupied the centre. The Light division occupied a spur or brow of ground up which the road to the convent led, overhanging a ravine so deep that the eye could scarcely discern the bottom of it; the German brigade and a Portuguese division supported Craufurd; and Cole's division, with Coleman's and Campbell's Portuguese, occupied the right. The 5th division was posted farther to the right, defending the road which crossed the ridge at Santo Antonio. The entire position was 8 miles in length, and rested its extreme right on the Mondego and its left on ravines perfectly impregnable. The main body of the cavalry, under Sir Stephen Cotton, were now moved up to Mealhada, leaving General Fane's brigade alone across the river, to repel any reconnoissance or secret movement which might be made by the enemy along the great road by Ponte Murcella.

The ground did not afford Massena any well-combined plan of attack: the simple one, governed by the roads, of ordering the 2nd corps to attack that by Santo Antonio, and the 6th that by the convent, with the 8th in reserve, the cavalry resting on the ridge beyond the stream, was determined upon, and preparations for the battle were made before daybreak on the 27th. These two attacks were, however, three miles asunder, but nevertheless were ordered to be made simultaneously—that on the left, under the command of the Duc d'Elchingen from Moira, that on the right under General Regnier from Sochal, in rear of Santo Antonio. The latter column, having less ground to measure, came first into action; the division of Heudelot taking the high road, and that of Merle and Graind'orge leading up the natural slope of the mountain; the ascent they climbed with difficulty by the aid of the bushes and projecting rocks. Six guns played along this approach with grape; nevertheless, in half an hour the French were close upon the summit, which

a misty cloud capped, so that the opposing forces could scarcely see each other as they impinged. Merle found himself fronted by the 8th Portuguese regiment, which was for the moment broken by the leading assailants; but, before the French column could penetrate to the summit, the Portuguese coolly wheeled to the right in order to sweep the top of the mountain, and then opened upon the right flank of their adversaries a heavy well-directed fire of musketry, while guns loaded to their muzzles poured grape upon their front. Even before they could form, and at the same moment, the bayonets of the 88th and 45th were in the midst of Merle's troops, who, out of breath, and exhausted with their difficult march, staggered at this sudden and overwhelming encounter. Generals Merle and Graind'orge, and Colonels Desgrainors and Merle, were all struck down, as well as many inferior officers and soldiers, almost in an instant; and the Portuguese having now rallied, came down upon the enemy with a charge that was so effective, that the French troops wavered, when General Foy brought up to the top of the road the advance of Heudelot's division and kept firm; but Leith, with the 38th and 9th, under Colonel Cameron, without firing a shot, ran in upon the French grenadiers as they came up, and down went in a moment Colonel Desmeuniers of the leading regiment, and General Foy severely wounded, both of whom had to be carried away, while 2,500 men were now put *hors de combat*, so that Regnier thought it prudent to lead the rest of his division back again down the slope to await the further directions of his chief. The excellent discipline of the British restrained all pursuit, lest the crest of the position should be lost, and Hill only arrived at the summit in time to pour in some telling volleys upon the retreating columns. At this very moment Wellington came up to the spot and exclaimed, "If they attempt this again, Hill, give it them in volleys and charge bayonets, but don't let your people follow them far down the hill."

Ney's attack had no better success. Three heavy masses were seen to approach the ground, where Craufurd had made the most masterly dispositions to receive them, and there an extensive abattis protected the Portuguese regiments. One column under General Marchand attempted to turn the right, and General Loison with another came straight up the road, while a third under Mermet formed the reserve. The attack was made with wonderful alacrity. General Simon, leading a whole legion, fell upon the Portuguese and took their guns; and as they continued to ascend, the musketballs whizzed in an increasing sharper key upon the ears of the Light Division placed near Moira, when the British skirmishers, begrimed with powder, came rushing over the edge of the ascent to meet the enemy. Craufurd stood alone on a rock, watching the attack and preparing his own means to repel it, when, seeing the moment now opportune, he ordered the 43rd and 52nd, whom he had concealed in a scoop of the ravine, to charge. A horrid shout startled the brigade Ferey, who, nevertheless, coolly turned upon their foes, and fired with destructive effect upon the leading rank; 1,800 British bayonets were not, however, to be easily stopped, and pressing onward they

shattered the wavering mass, and a long trail of broken arms and bleeding carcasses marked the line of flight, as it was rendered plain to the eye down the hill side. The regiments were, in the spirit of Wellington's commands, speedily called back, and the German brigade was ordered forward to skirmish. General Simon, being wounded, was left on the summit a prisoner. Loison, who succeeded him, did not renew the fight, but one of his divisions, that of General Marchand, had turned to the left, where he was opposed by Spencer, at the head of M'Bean's and Pack's Portuguese, who had the foot guards in support; the guns, all the time vomiting grape upon the attacking columns, told with deadly effect on their thick masses on the side of the mountain, while on every side rifles and muskets opened upon them from cottages and embrasures and decimated the ranks. Brigadiers Ferey and Maucune endeavoured to renew the action, but were driven down to the foot of the mountain by the intensity of the fire maintained against them. Marshal Ney, heading the attack, longed to attempt to carry by storm the convent that he knew to be the head-quarters of Wellington, but found himself obliged to withdraw from any such attempt, and, like his colleague on the other flank, he now rested to await Massena's further orders. Towards evening a French company, with signal audacity, returned and seized the outlying village of Sul, which was not occupied, resisting, as they advanced, the fire of twelve guns, which Craufurd directed to be played upon their approach. He subsequently sent down a company of the 43rd, which cleared the village in a few minutes, and drove the daring fellows down the hill with prodigious slaughter. The expression of one of the French soldiers in this fight was national enough: "Qu'il se laisse rouler du haut en bas de la montagne sans savoir comment il s'échappa." The loss to the French, including Generals Graind'orge, Simon*, Merle, Loison, and Maucune, is stated at 4,500 men; the British loss, according to the official statement, was 197 killed, and 1,072 wounded and missing.

The battle of Busaco produced a prodigious moral effect at the period at which it was fought. For the first time it brought the Portuguese troops, officered by British, into collision with the enemy. They had now stood side by side with the British in a pitched battle, and had shared in the glory of defeating the soldiers whose fame had filled the world, and they were pronounced by Wellington as "worthy of contending in the same ranks with British soldiers in this interesting cause, which they afford the best hopes of saving." It may safely be affirmed, that after Busaco every Portuguese soldier might be counted double of what he had been worth before it. The British soldiers shared in the benefit of their success, and saw with renewed hope the auspicious change it pro-

* This General was carried to England and sent to Odiham, in Hampshire, on his parole; but he disgracefully broke it, and entered into a scheme with a French surgeon, for the purpose of liberating all the French prisoners in England. The General and the Doctor were apprehended together in a back kitchen in Camden Town, Jan. 15, 1812, with a number of fugitive prisoners. These were sent to the hulks, and General Simon was made a close prisoner at Dumbarton, in Scotland.

duced upon the allied numbers ; and it dispelled all desponding feeling regarding the usefulness of these comrades in future fights. Massena and the French army were deeply mortified at this failure ; Regnier hung his head ; Ney blustered ; but Massena preserved his erect bearing, and showed his high soul amidst the declamatory and conflicting counsels of his lieutenants : nevertheless, though he felt he had sufficiently erred in risking the attempt of forcing such a position, he resolved to push forward to Lisbon, in spite of the check he had received, and searched about for the means of advance by evading the mountain. He suspected the existence of a road on the right, where the land sloped downward towards the sea, and accordingly directed General Montbrun to take Colonel St. Croix's regiment of cavalry and explore the paths leading around the Sierra de Alcoba, in order to learn whether he could thus push the army along the coast into Coimbra. Here, in effect, they found a road as practicable for wheels as most Portuguese roads are, leading from Vizeu by the defile of Boyalva, across the Sierra de Caramula to Sardoal, where it joins the high road from Oporto to Lisbon. This communication had been destined by Lord Wellington to be watched and occupied by an independent corps of Portuguese under Colonel Trant, but General Sylveira had, without the Generalissimo's knowledge or sanction, ordered them back to Oporto, and the road was therefore now open to Massena's march towards the coast. For this movement Wellington, from the information he had received, soon became prepared ; and, as soon as it was correctly ascertained, his army was ordered to defile to their left and commence a further retreat. To mask the advance, a warm skirmishing and an ostentatious display of men was made by the French in the early part of the 28th, so that a renewal of the battle was even expected ; but Wellington, from the convent, saw the whole truth, and set his troops in motion by the road across the mountains. He was sensible that the Sierra de Busaco was in effect turned on his left flank, and accordingly gave orders to his army to quit the mountain and make the best of their way through Coimbra, marching as direct as possible upon Torres Vedras. The French army followed close upon the British, and on the morning of the 29th, Junot, leading the French advance, cleared Boyalva and descended into the plain. Coimbra was entered soon after the British rear-guard quitted it, but there was not found an inhabitant in it, though there was still left a small amount of household property, which the townspeople had not time to exhaust or remove. The French, already famishing, entered the abandoned houses, and, vexed at finding nothing to eat, destroyed all that was left of value, broke into the cellars, drank the wine they found there, wasted the little grain that was discovered in the magazines, and in the three days during which they occupied the city, they committed such devastations, that the supplies which, had they been husbanded, might have afforded rations for a few weeks, were exhausted in a few days. The houses, though deserted, were at once made applicable for hospitals, and about 3,000

sick and wounded of the French army were lodged and left behind at Coimbra, where they were placed under medical superintendence and under the protection of a small detachment.

10. THE ALLIED ARMY ENTER THE LINES OF LISBON, OR TORRES VEDRAS.

Massena marched out of Coimbra on the 4th of October on Condeixa, and followed Wellington on the road by Pombal and Leyria. Strange and incredible as it may appear, there is scarcely a doubt but that the French Generalissimo only learned at this latter place the existence of the very important defences, which had been erected, and were about to shelter the British in their further retreat, although they had been in progress for upwards of six months. The retreat of the British army was not distinguished by any incident more remarkable than this, that it was followed by the entire population of the Portuguese province of Beira, carrying with them all they were able to transport, after having destroyed all they were unable to remove. It is truly marvellous that a foreign general should have obtained sufficient influence and authority to exact from a population not attached to the British by religion or blood so generous a sacrifice, and it testifies to the moral superiority of a master mind, as well as to the genuine patriotism which at that time animated the unfortunate Portuguese. The British nation afterwards nobly requited and repaid such devotion, by one of the most liberal and generous subscriptions ever sent in aid of a foreign people. The column of march of the Allies on the 1st of October presented an extraordinary scene, which it is difficult to describe. The divisions of the army were kept as near as possible to each other, the right retiring by the main road, the left by a parallel one; by which arrangement one wing was ever at hand to support the other, should circumstances require it. Both routes were absolutely and continuously covered to their entire extent, but it is impossible to form any idea of their unusual aspect; not only troops of all arms and their camp followers and all their ordinary incumbrances, but "a mixed multitude" of the nobility and gentry of the land, travelling each conformably to their rank, and a horde of peasantry with their families, household stuff, flocks, and herds, "and very much cattle," all pressing forward with the troops from one station to another in one apparently interminable mass. Nevertheless, all things considered, there was not much confusion; and a retreat was never carried out in better order, for the weather was fair and the roads free from mud; but there likewise journeyed in company whole convents of monks and friars, seeking the protection of British heretics rather than putting trust and confidence in the unbelievers, whose coming was now expected. These last fell principally into the track from Batalha and Alcobaca. About two leagues from the town of Leyria stands the former, an extensive handsome Gothic edifice, built entirely of Carrara marble, and embellished with much curious sculpture and statuary. It stands in the midst of an ex-

tensive heath, situated in a broad expanse of cultivated land, producing corn, wine and oil; and trees and orange-groves give it shade and luxuriance. Batalha had been founded by the first John, King of Portugal, in commemoration of the victories gained by him in 1385. It has attached to it a mausoleum, in which the remains of that King and his wife Philippa of Lancaster, of King Emanuel and the pious Leonora, and of John II., who succeeded him on the throne of Portugal, were deposited. The embalmed figure of the last monarch had been exhumed, and now remained exposed to view. It presented a singular appearance. The flesh of the face was still so perfect that it yielded to the hand, the teeth and nails were unchanged, and the costly habiliments in which the body was arrayed remained undefaced. Altogether, it had more the appearance of recent death, than of a relic of inanimate mortality 400 years old. For this long period the Dominican friars had occupied these walls and cared for these kingly remains, with the swords, helmets, and armour which had been deposited with them; but the brothers now deserted the even course of monastic life, which had rolled on so tranquilly from generation to generation, and left their charge behind them. A British general ordered the relics to be conveyed to a place of security, when he established his quarters in the deserted halls.

Alcobaca had been founded by King Alfonso Henriquez, in obedience to the vow he made when proceeding against the Moors in the middle of the twelfth century. It is a very extensive Gothic building, surrounded by a large garden, planted with trees and shrubs, and laid out in pleasant walks. It was possessed by the friars of the order of St. Bernard. There had been an amazing income attached to it, and the convent was enriched with one of the finest collections of pictures in the kingdom. These were all now abandoned. At Thomar also there was a remarkably fine convent of the order of Christ, endowed richly, and very superb in its church and buildings, which was also "rompéed."

Immediately after crossing the bridge at Coimbra you arrive at the Quinta de San Jorge, at which commences the defile of Condeixa, cut through high rocks, and presenting a formidable position as the road emerges out of it. Massena had no sooner entered Coimbra than he formed under Monthbrun a strong advanced guard of all his cavalry, and pushed them forward to occupy this pass, which secured his occupation of the city. The British cavalry held their ground before Coimbra until the arrival of this advance on the 1st of October, when they were driven rather hastily through the defile, which, it was feared, from the countenance maintained by the British, it was their intention to dispute. They, however, quietly retired, and the retreat was thenceforward continued without the slightest interference from the enemy. On the 2nd, head-quarters were established at Leyria, where they continued till the 4th, when Massena again put his army in motion. In fact, the French army gave themselves so much up to pillage and debauch at Coimbra that they could not be set in movement.

sooner ; indeed, the British could not resist the temptation of abandoned magazines, but at Leyria showed such lamentable signs of disorder and drunkenness that Wellington ordered three men taken in the very act of plundering to be hanged on the spot, and some regiments, who were considered to be more tainted than others with this vice, were forbidden to enter any village on the march. Three roads are available from Coimbra on Lisbon : one goes to Torres Vedras by the seaboard ; the middle one, by Leyria, crosses the Monte Junto, and leads on Alemquer ; and the third passes by Pombal and descends into the valley of the Tagus. By the last of these roads, Hill was directed to march and to pass along the banks of the river, where he moved away everything that floated, or which might assist the enemy in forming a bridge. The divisions of Spencer and Leith marched along the middle road, that of Cole and Picton by that of the seashore. The French advance under Saint Croix followed close upon the heels of the British, but were at fault as to which road to pursue when they reached Leyria. At length they adopted the way by Alemquer, near which, at Sobral, on the 10th, a considerable cavalry affair took place between the armies, when 30 French squadrons fell upon 10 British squadrons, and of course repulsed them. The French continued to advance until they saw their adversary disappear behind entrenchments as if by magic. Wellington entered his fortified camp with 22,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 30,000 Portuguese.

The French army had scarcely quitted the Mondego when Trant (who, as above stated, had been so untowardly removed from Boyalva to Oporto) suddenly returned upon his steps, and surprised Coimbra, in which city he found Massena's depôts, and all his sick and wounded. This bold *coup-de-main* was a serious blow to the French plan of invasion ; it isolated their army altogether from the rest of the Peninsula, and separated it from its proper base of operations. In its consequences, it was of more importance than the *contretemps* by which Massena was enabled to turn the heights of Busaco, for it has been questioned whether that marshal had attempted to move farther towards Lisbon, had he known of the Lines of Torres Vedras, or had he been obliged to fight another battle to force back the British army across the Mondego ; and military authorities decide that he ought not to have gone forward under any circumstances after losing the battle of Busaco. The occupation of Coimbra happened on the 7th, but the Prince of Essling, notwithstanding, continued his march without apparently noticing or trying to repair the evil, and presented himself before the celebrated *ne plus ultra* of Portugal on the 10th of October.

Wellington's retreat of nearly 200 miles was complete at the point he had now attained, and it had been executed with a masterly regularity : no march could have been conducted with greater ease to the troops ; not a straggler had been taken ; not a gun abandoned ; not an article of baggage lost ; the infantry had never been seen by the enemy except at Busaco, where they had been seen and felt ;

and the cavalry, in their several outpost conflicts, had taken more prisoners than they had lost men. These are circumstances (all of them) which rarely occur in the retreat of an army before an enemy. But the entry within the "Lines" was almost as unexpected to the British as to the French armies, and both were quite astounded at the foresight which was here evinced by the British general, and at the skill with which the position had been rendered not only impregnable, but even unassailable.

When Wellington entered within the "Lines" they consisted of 126 closed works, defended by 29,751 men and 247 pieces of cannon. The interior works, opposite San Julien, intended to cover the point of embarkation, required a garrison of 5,350 men, and were mounted with 94 guns. Feeling that nothing should be omitted to render their defence still more imposing, the Marquis de la Romagna was summoned by Wellington to come in, and thus 6,000 Spaniards were added to the defences on the 20th of October. Altogether 130,000 persons received daily rations at British cost at this period; beside the entire multitude of fugitives who had followed the allied arms, amounting to nearly 400,000 souls, all of whom were sufficiently provided with subsistence. "The military annals of no age of the world record such an incident; and it was worthy of England, who had taken the lead in the cause of European deliverance, thus to show forth to Europe her undiminished vigour in the eighteenth year of the war."

An unusually violent storm of wind and rain, with thunder and lightning, introduced the British into their matchless encampment, which not only caused great discomfort, but very much impeded the settlement of the men in their bivouacs and the transmission of orders; accordingly, great confusion prevailed, from the ignorance in which both generals and subordinates were placed as to the parts they were expected to play in this entirely "new drama." It has been thought that, had this been known to Massena, he might have carried everything before him by a sudden onslaught, but the same causes most probably produced similar consequences in both camps. Nevertheless, when day broke, with a most lovely morning, on the 11th, intelligence arrived of the approach of the enemy, and all were under arms in the British Lines, in good heart and in perfect order; all were found at their respective posts and at their assigned points of assembly, and everything was fully prepared to resist an attack, if it had been made. It was, however, late in the afternoon of the same day when Marshals Massena, Ney, and Junot, attended by a crowd of officers on horseback and dragoons with led horses, and escorted by a detachment of cavalry, were seen to make their first reconnoissance opposite Sobral. They appeared to dismount from their horses and to seat themselves in examination of a large map before them. The line in their front extended from Alhandra on the Tagus to the river Zisandra, passing by Torres Vedras. The weakest point was near Runa, where the Monte Agraca came abruptly down upon it, but ample care had been taken to correct this natural defect. "De quelque côté que la vue se portât on

découvrait des hauteurs couronnées de redoutes : on en voyait sur le versant qui vient aboutir au Tage, et en passant sur le versant opposé on en apercevait également jusqu'à la mer. Les habitans parlaient de cette ligne armée de plusieurs centaines de pièces de canon ; puis d'une seconde encore plus forte, qu'il faudrait emporter si on était venu à bout de la première ; et enfin d'une troisième, fort resserrée, laquelle couvrait un port d'embarquement. Ce fut pour l'armée une pénible surprise que de voir l'ennemi qu'elle poursuivait lui échapper subitement et s'enfermer dans un asile d'un aspect si formidable ! Nous en viendrons au bout, disaient les soldats."* But the Prince of Essling judged otherwise. He determined to hold his ground, and to send Foy to Paris to give an account of the obstacle and to solicit new instructions, and in the meanwhile to straiten the position of the British general as much as possible. On the 13th, General Solignac was ordered to drive the British advance out of the village of Sobral, which was held by an Anglo-Portuguese detachment ; and being, in truth, not within "the Lines" properly so called, it was yielded up after a slight resistance and occupied by the French, under Général Gretier ; but apparently this gain was found to be of little advantage, for in the night this division was withdrawn and the village was again occupied by the British. This little conflict was, however, instrumental in showing the engineers some weaknesses and imperfections, which were forthwith remedied, against a future visit from the enemy. Massena established his head-quarters at Alemquer, and on the following day made a reconnoissance on the opposite flank with somewhat similar results. In order to straiten as much as possible the position adopted by the English army, the French troops were distributed in the following manner : Junot at Sobral, Regnier at Villa Nova, and Ney at Alemquer ; Aveyros was designated as the point of concentration, if the British should come forth in force to attack any of them separately. On the 14th a sharp skirmish took place with the picquets between Sobral and Zibrina. Here a reconnoissance was in progress, when a rocket was suddenly thrown up, and some light guns were unexpectedly opened from a redoubt, constructed à l'improviste of some casks and lumber opposite a British quarter. Immediately the 71st, under Colonel Cadogan, leaped over their epaulement, and rushing forward to the charge carried the cask redoubt. The consequence was a combat of light troops, which continued through the day. Every morning, two hours before daybreak, the British troops stood to their arms at their respective posts until Lord Wellington had been able to make an ocular observation of the foe, and had assured himself that all was ready in his own lines to repel an attack, and that no hostile change appeared in those of the enemy, when the troops were everywhere ordered by telegraph to "turn in" and resume their daily duties. On the 16th, Marshal Massena was on one of these mornings seen to make a close reconnoissance near Callandrix, and to be intent in observing the prospect through a

* Thiers.

telescope placed on a garden wall. He remained here some time, with a numerous staff, opposite a battery, whence he was distinctly seen by the officer in charge of the guns. Thinking he had been there long enough, the artillerymen fired a gun so truly as to hit the wall on which the glass rested, when the Marshal mounted his horse, raised his hat in acknowledgment of the hint given him, and removed out of range.

The outlying parties of the Portuguese, under Trant, Miller, and Wilson, had been pushed as far as Leyria on the road from Coimbra, and the garrison which held Abrantes also made sorties; all which seriously incommoded the rear of the French army on one and the other side, so that Massena moved a considerable force upon Salvatierra, which succeeded in establishing there a bridge across the Tagus, and thus laid open to their foraging parties the province of Alemtejo; indeed, a rumour prevailed of an intended attack from that side upon Abrantes. This place was, however, so well supplied and garrisoned as to leave little ground to apprehend any danger thence, and therefore Wellington determined to adhere to his defensive system, but prevailed on Don Carlos and España to cross the Tagus and act on the side of Castello Franco, and to draw down all the militia and ordenanza of the north upon the French rear; and having done this he remained convinced that "his strength was to sit still;" for every day's delay at that season of the year strengthened his line of defence, so that, when the winter should set in, no numbers of the enemy could dare to assail him. On the other hand, the French situation became from day to day more unpromising, for the supplies grew scarcer, and the difficulty of obtaining them increased proportionably, nor was there any direction into which Massena could move his intendants and foragers without encountering an enemy or endangering their safety. It had therefore become clear to the *enfant gâté de la Victoire*, that with an army reduced to little more than 45,000 men by the losses in the battle and in the advance, with increasing casualties in the rear, with a camp so skilfully selected, strengthened, armed, and garrisoned in his front, with disease and despondency in his quarters, and with the cold, damp rainy weather now setting in, it would be impossible for him to proceed any farther towards Lisbon *par vive force*. The Emperor's commands had been, however, so unequivocal, that the Prince of Essling dared not altogether renounce the object and withdraw his army, since there existed many ways of bringing up reinforcements, if he could for a while hold his ground, and so place himself as at some future opportunity to be in a situation to advance again towards the "Lines." He therefore now studied the country well between Santarem, Thomar, and Abrantes, with a view of removing his army a short way to the rear, thus securing his communications across the Tagus with the army of Andalusia, and obtaining supplies for his soldiers. He sent his intendants to this district, where they found provision still left in the valleys as well as in the adjacent country, where, notwithstanding its abandonment by the peasantry, much provender

had been left in the barns and outhouses; he also sent his engineers to throw up defences on the ground, which is by nature very strong about and at Santarem, established his hospital there, and made extensive preparations beforehand for the accommodation and victualling of his forces. Such, however, was the desolation of the district, and such the wants of the army, that it required all the ready resources and ingenuity of French soldiers to meet them. To obtain timber and planks and to fell trees soon became impossible, for they neither had saws, hatchets, nor hammers, nor the means of making them, for the people, in removing, had taken everything away with them. These difficulties were at length overcome by General Eblé, who united with his military knowledge a great mastery of common expedients.

11. MASSENA, UNABLE TO FORCE THE LINES, WITHDRAWS FROM BEFORE THEM.

At the same time that Santarem was garrisoned by General Delaborde, and d'Eblé was preparing it for the occupation of the French army with untiring activity, Massena ordered General Montbrun to push a strong reconnoissance upon Abrantes. This intrepid cavalry officer got across the Zezere by a temporary bridge, so fragile as scarcely to bear him, penetrated into Punhete, where he secured a stock of provision, and even reached the gates of the fortress, which he found so vigilantly occupied by an Anglo-Portuguese garrison, that nothing short of a siege or a blockade could secure its possession. Rumours now reached Wellington that 15,000 or 20,000 men were coming up as a reinforcement to Massena, and that they had already reached Sabugal. It was therefore greatly to the surprise of the British Commander-in-Chief, when news came in that Massena had, on the 14th of November, broke up his army from before the Lines of Lisbon, and that not a man was to be seen in front of them, either at the outposts or along the whole position. The French marshal, of course, expected that his adversary would immediately follow him, and therefore he had employed considerable artifice in this operation. Ney was quietly drawn back on Thomar in the morning; and, at nightfall, Junot, followed by Regnier, fell back to Santarem, while Massena had quietly removed his head-quarters to Torres Novas. It was not, however, the policy of Lord Wellington to seek to destroy his enemy by the sword; he trusted to the more potent agency of starvation to effect the desired work. Accordingly, on learning the departure of the French army from his front, the division of General Hill was crossed with all speed to the south bank of the Tagus, to move up to Abrantes, while the bulk of the British army moved forward by the great road to Cartaxo, where the head-quarters were established on the 16th, and the troops placed in cantonments at Alcoentre, Rio Mayor, and Villa Franca, with the cavalry outposts as far advanced as Caldas; Picton being left, as a measure of precaution, to hold the Lines at Torres Vedras. Wellington says, in

one of his despatches: "I do not propose to make any movement by which I shall incur the risk of a general action, on ground less advantageous than that which I had fixed upon to bring the contest to an issue. I should forward the views of the enemy by placing the result of a general action on ground chosen by them, instead of on that selected by me. I shall therefore engage in no serious affair in this part of the country. Our business is not to fight the French army, which we certainly cannot beat out of the Peninsula, but to give occupation to as large a portion of the enemy as we can in Portugal, while we leave the war in Spain to the guerillas. I think it very immaterial whether the French are in Spain or Portugal. Indeed, in adverting to the greater difficulties they have in subsisting in the latter country, and in keeping up their communications, it is, I believe, more advantageous that they should remain where they are. Their numbers are certainly diminishing daily, while they do us no mischief. It is certainly astonishing that the enemy have been able to remain where they are so long; and it is an extraordinary instance of what a French army can do. It is a positive fact that they brought no provision along with them down to the Lines, and have not received so much as a letter from any quarter since they entered Portugal; nevertheless, I assure you, I could not have maintained one division of my army for two months in the district in which they have found food for 60,000 men and 20,000 animals for two months." Generals Hill and Fane caught the fever of the country in the middle of December, and were both obliged to retire to Lisbon, and subsequently to England. During the absence of the former, Sir William Beresford crossed to the south of the Tagus, and took charge of the division and the direction of affairs in the Alemtejo. While Wellington was at Cartaxo, the Marquis de la Romana died there. He was the only Spanish general who had really assisted the British commander, and, in reporting home his death, he said: "I shall always acknowledge with gratitude the assistance I have received from him, as well by his operations as by his counsel, since he has been joined with this army."

General Foy had, on his passage through Spain, given orders to General Gardanne, commanding on the Aqueda, to carry down a supply of ammunition for the immediate wants of the Prince d'Esling's army; and that general accordingly marched with 3,000 men to Castello Branco, which circumstance had been notified to Wellington; but, on the 14th of November, when he had nearly reached the French posts on the Zezere, the report of Massena's retreat on Santarem came to his ears, magnified by the customary aggravation that he had been defeated in front of the Lines by the British. Gardanne accordingly retraced his steps, abandoning his convoy, and was much harassed in his retreat by the Portuguese militia, though he reached Penamacor on the 29th. The first division of the ninth corps, commanded by Comte d'Erlon, had, under the same impulse, quitted Valladolid on the 12th of October, to join Massena's army, but having encountered en route this retrograding detach-

ment, they now determined to unite, and effect together their junction with the army of Portugal, which they did on the 26th of December. General Clarapède, posted at Trancoso, who would also have joined Massena, was attacked on the 30th by Sylveira, with a corps of 5,000 militia, and driven back across the Doaro with considerable loss.

12. OPERATIONS OF OTHER FRENCH ARMIES IN SPAIN—SIEGE OF TORTOSA.

Marshal Soult established himself in viceregal state at Seville, while he confided to Victor Duc de Bellano the close blockade of Cadiz, who obtained possession of the fort Matagorda after a short defence by the English Captain, Maclaine. Since he could not force his way inside the Isla, he proceeded to fortify the French cantonments at Chichlana, Puerto Real, and Puerto Sta. Maria, and at length succeeded in arming a battery on the Trocadero point with a new kind of mortar invented by Colonel Villantroys, of the French artillery, which attained a range of 3,000 toises, and actually projected hollow shells into the city itself, to the consternation of the inhabitants. The French investing force was, however, in no sense equal to undertake serious operations against the Isla. Even had the military arm been equal to the undertaking, they had not the elements of a flotilla, nor had they the remotest expectation of obtaining the countenance of a fleet which could enter the roads and assist the besiegers in passing the watery obstacles between the Trocadero and the city; while, on the other hand, the besieged within the Isla already threatened a sortie against the French encampment, and the heads of the columns of attack were, in fact, now ready to pour into the *terra firma*.

Marshal Mortier, whose command extended from Seville to the north of Sierra Morena, tried to alarm the governor of Badajos and its *alentours*; while Sebastiani kept guard over Malaga with the 4th corps, and also held high state in the Alhambra at Grenada, babbling in proclamation to the citizens about the Abencerrages and the Moors. Dessoles garrisoned Madrid; and Regnier, with the 2nd corps, kept watch at Talavera over the whole valley of the Tagus. Thus a force of about 80,000 men were scattered over the provinces of Andalusia, Murcia, and New Castile, utterly unable to supply a man to assist Massena in the arduous task of conquering Portugal and driving the British into the sea.

On the 14th of October a flotilla, consisting of two 74's, four frigates, and two brigs, was despatched with 4,000 Spanish troops, commanded by Lord Blayney, to besiege the castle of Fuengirola, about four leagues from Malaga. The expedition having disembarked at Cala Moral, marched, on the 15th, to the castle, which was situated on the coast, and the ships opened fire against it. Captain Mlokosrevitz, who commanded the garrison, refused the summons, and contrived to let Sebastiani know of his danger, who immediately sent down 3,000 men to his assistance. Utterly

ignorant of this march, or, as it would seem, of any French force in the neighbourhood, Blayne went on for two days incessantly hammering at the castle with the guns, while the garrison received this accession of strength, which having obtained, they now fell upon the Spanish troops, routed them, and took Lord Blayne prisoner, with 200 officers and men; a few of the detachment got back to the boats as they could, and the squadron sailed away. In Murcia partial encounters took place between Blake, still at the head of some sort of army, and a French detached force under Generals Rey and Milhaud. The operations of the French in Catalonia were opposed with more or less success by the guerilla leaders by land, and by the British cruisers, who narrowed, cramped, and hampered them by sea, so that supplies could only be obtained for the troops in their strong fortress by land convoys, which, at best, must ever be slow and insufficient, but under the eye of such vigilant and ruthless enemies were precarious. It was necessary to array quite an army to throw a convoy into Barcelona, and while Macdonald was engrossed by this service, the Spanish General O'Donnell, and the Sommatines harassed the adjoining communications, but, nevertheless, were unable to prevent its reaching its destination in July. Macdonald, in order to protect his troops from the heats of summer, cantoned them in the villages situate in the plains about Cerrera to the north of Tarragona, in which fortress he placed his head-quarters. On the 6th of September, O'Donnell quitted Tarragona and marched against him at Mataro; and the dragoons of San Yago fell on a French detachment under Colonel Duvernois in an ambuscade and nearly destroyed it, but Colonel Deloit, with a detachment of French cavalry, overturned the regiment of San Yago and cleared the way. O'Donnell then directed his march with so much promptness and expedition against the brigade of General Schwartz, cantoned at Bisbal, near Gerona, that on the 14th he took that General prisoner, although he was severely wounded himself in the encounter. He carried him in triumph into Tarragona, and his grateful country accorded him the title of Conde de la Bisbal for this exploit, which was, however, the last of his rather brilliant career, for he was obliged, in consequence of his wound, to resign his command to the Marquis of Campoverde.

The chief object of the French in this quarter of Spain was the reduction of Tortosa. Marshal Suchet had begun his preparations for this important siege as early as June, but had been led to expect, from the despatches he had received from the Imperial Major-General Berthier, that the army of Catalonia would be ordered to hold Tarragona completely invested during the siege, to cover his operations. Marshal Macdonald was not at liberty to come to his assistance until the 29th of August, when he commenced to draw from Mequinenza all the siege guns, gabions, fascines, &c., which were required; but the waters of the Ebro were so low that he could not transport them by boats, and in attempting to move them by land an attack was made upon them by some Catalans in the defile of Las Armas, where there was great difficulty in saving them from capture. X.

was the 3rd of November before the waters of the river permitted the embarkation of the siege materiel in 17 boats, escorted on both banks by troops. The stream, however, was swifter than the troops, and on arriving at Ribaroya, 700 Spaniards came upon them in a defile, when two of them were captured and the rest ran aground. Generals Habert and Abbé drove off the Catalans from the stream, and thus the convoy at length reached its destination, though two more boats were sunk in the passage. Suchet sent a detachment on the 19th to destroy the Spanish camp at Falset, where 400 Spanish soldiers and 14 officers were made prisoners. On the 26th the army of Valencia, consisting of 8,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, under General Basselour, attacked General Muesnier at Ulcedona, but were repulsed and driven back to the bridge over the Cónia, where 1,200 men were slain or drowned, and 2,800 taken prisoners; the rest fled to Peniscola. A convoy assembled at Gerona still required the presence of the whole of Macdonald's army to get it safe into Busulosa, where, after much difficulty, it arrived on the 28th of November; and at length, on the 13th of December, the Marshal Duke of Tarretuan, with the 7th corps, comprising 15,000 men, arrived at Mora, on the Ebro, to cover the siege of Tortosa, and on the evening of the 15th the investment was effectually established, and Suchet placed his head-quarters at Xerta, notwithstanding that the mountains around it swarmed with enemies, and, indeed, a portion of the garrison was thus cut off by General Habert at the Col d'Alba, and could not get near the place.

Tortosa, strategically considered, was important, as being placed on the Ebro near its confluence with the sea on the high road from Valencia to Barcelona. Its position with reference to the Spanish armies and British cruisers made it of especial importance to the French, in order to cut off the supplies rendered to the patriots from the sea-board, and the advantage it afforded them to organise operations upon the communications of the French armies, which the possession of the fortress would prevent. Tortosa is situated on a bluff rock of granite standing above the river, and is backed by mountains of the same material, which are sparsely coated with any covering of earth. The walls run up the sides of the hills, which command the town, but after the place was taken in the war of the succession a redoubt, called Fort d'Orléans, was constructed upon the summit, which takes in reverse the entire south front of the place, and this was regularly garnished with bastions and a ravelin. On the north of the town stands an old castle strengthened with modern hornworks; there is a bridge of boats, the approaches to which, from the opposite bank of the Ebro, are protected by a *tête de pont*. The enceinte was at this time in good repair and armed with 70 pieces of cannon, and the garrison consisted of 11,000 men, under the command of the Maréchal del Campo Lilli, Count de Alacha. It was almost an impossibility to excavate the granite rocks, and the attempt to do so had rendered the former siege in 1708 long and bloody. The French engineers therefore resolved to begin their operations in the alluvial soil by the side of the river opposite the modern forts,

and a single battery was constructed on the higher ground to occupy the attention and to silence the Fort d'Orléans. This was erected on the 19th by the flying saps at 160 yards from the covered way. On the night of the 20th-21st the trenches were opened before the town, and, taking advantage of the storm and darkness of the time, the engineer Plagniol was enabled to advance as near as 170 yards from the front that was threatened, which not only shortened the labour requisite, but restrained the garrison from the facility of making sorties from this side. The trenches were extended from the plateau d'Orléans on the right across the river, so as to silence the flanking fire of the *tête de pont*. In the night of the 22nd-23rd the besiegers prepared nine batteries, but so quickly did the trenches advance, notwithstanding the effect of the fire of the garrison, who made several sorties, that on the seventh night, before a single siege gun had opened, the covered way was gained. Alarmed by the rapidity of the enemy's approaches, the governor determined, by a desperate sortie, to attempt to check this progress, and at 4 in the morning of the 27th 3,000 men sallied from the Puerta del Rastro, and endeavoured to fall upon the extreme flank of the trenches in front of the Fort d'Orléans, while another column issued from the bastion nearest to the river. The brigade Abbé encountered these last, who had penetrated even to the parallel in the plain, and had overpowered the guard of the trenches, filled in a portion of the sap and burned a number of gabions, but the French drove them back with considerable loss before they could spike the guns, which were already placed on the batteries. On the other flank the brigade Habert had succeeded in attacking a Spanish column in flank while on their march, and before they could form they overcame them, and compelled them to retreat without doing any mischief. In this affair the garrison lost 400 in killed and wounded. The batteries opened with 45 guns on the morning of the 29th. The fire against the fort actually made a breach, and that against the *tête de pont* destroyed the bridge. The fire from the castle, however, remained unsilenced, and did much injury to the works of the besiegers. On the night of the 30th-31st the counterscarp was crowned, but the fire of the place prevented a descent into the ditch. On the following morning the *tête de pont* was found abandoned and was occupied forthwith by the French. The descent at the bridge being at last effected, the miners now succeeded in destroying the escarp, but the effect of the continuous explosions by mine so alarmed the defenders, that they hung out a white flag, and an officer went forth from the governor with a proposal for an armistice for a fortnight. This proposition was rejected by Marshal Suchet, and on the morning of the 2nd of January the fire recommenced; the breach was soon enlarged and rendered practicable, so that an assault was commanded. Three flags of truce were now seen suspended from three different points, and Suchet, suspecting that this betokened some panic or a breach of discipline, took the bold step of riding forward himself to the gate of the castle, accompanied by his generals and the officers of his staff, and escorted by a company

of grenadiers. On being challenged by the sentries, he announced to them that hostilities had ceased, and ordering the drawbridge to be lowered, he demanded to be conducted to the governor. Assuming a lofty air, the French marshal rode into the castle-yard, where he found the governor's quarter. The poor man, weak in character and intimidated by the actual presence of the commander of the besieging force, hesitated and replied that he could not reckon on the obedience of the troops and that the council had refused the terms. General Habert accordingly, with a loud voice, ordered the grenadiers to advance. This bold and well-timed step brought about an immediate surrender. The unfortunate Count d'Alacha submitted and was marched off with the garrison prisoners to France. This governor was loudly declaimed against by his countrymen for his pusillanimity and tameness in surrendering this stronghold after so inadequate a defence as thirteen days of open trenches, and a court-martial at Tarragona tried him *par contumace*, and beheaded him in effigy in the market-place. On the part of the besiegers, the conduct of the siege was marked by great skill and boldness, highly honourable to the Baron de Rogniat, the French engineer.

A singular attempt to favour the escape of Ferdinand VII. from his captivity is said to have been made this year. Lord Wellesley was induced when at Cadiz to employ the Baron de Kolli to convey a letter in Latin to King Ferdinand at Valençay. Early in February he was put on board the "Implacable," 74, Captain George Cockburn, and was landed at Quiberon in the night of the 7th, with a sum of 10,000*l.* sewed up in his doublet. Cockburn was desired to hover about the French shore, to await the return of Kolli to the neighbourhood of the convent of St. Gildas (celebrated for the seclusion of Abelard). The baron and his letter, however, soon fell into the hands of Fouché's police and had no results; and rumours at length having reached the captain of the detection of Kolli and the abortion of the scheme, he returned to Spithead.*

13. WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND RUSSIANS.

The Russians having finished their war with the Swedes, and Europe having attained to an appearance of tranquillity after the French and Austrian campaigns of the last year, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, now relieved from all other wars, resolved to carry on their operations against the Turks with increased vigour. In the beginning of this year, accordingly, an Imperial ukase appeared, formally annexing Moldavia and Wallachia (which had for three years been occupied by its troops), to the Russian Empire. This decisive step was immediately followed up by the most extensive military preparations. The Muscovite army on the Danube was accordingly augmented to 100,000 men, of whom 30,000 were horse. Prince Bagrathion, whose previous campaign had not answered the expectations of the Czar, was superseded by the younger Kamenskoi,

* Brentoa.

son of the Russian commander of the armies in the Polish war with the French in 1807, and who so unaccountably went mad in the middle of it. This general was in the flower of his age and well instructed in the art of war, but of little knowledge in the field, and especially inexperienced in Turkish warfare. His plan of campaign was to push across the arid plains of Bulgaria before the unhealthy season commenced, and to make a dash upon the Ottoman camp at Schumla.

On the 14th of March a division of Russians suddenly advanced to the Danube at a place called Casemir, and threw a bridge across to the island of Ostrowa in the middle of the stream, where they surprised a garrison of 200 Turks in a strong redoubt scarped in masonry, with a good ditch. But when this first success was to be followed up in order to pass from this island to the south bank of the river, the Pacha of Widdin sent down a force which drove back the Russians into the island. In the meanwhile, the great Turkish army, commanded by the Grand Vizir in person, was assembled in the entrenched camp at Schumla. This is a town of considerable importance, containing 30,000 inhabitants, and built upon the slope of the ancient Mount Hæmus (called popularly the Balkan) which is the great mountain barrier between the Danubian provinces and the Turkish capital, separating the waters that flow into that mighty stream from those that find their way into the Sea of Marmora and the Mediterranean. This camp is of such old standing in the Turkish wars, that it is surrounded by a brick wall flanked by massive towers. It is carried up to the summit of the mountain, and encloses a considerable extent of ground, directly across which flows a clear stream, conveying a constant supply of the indispensable element, for purposes of ablution and the slaking of thirst, both to the inmates of the town and the encampment. It is considered as impossible to be bombarded as to be blockaded, for the wooded heights that command it are of difficult access, and are entirely inaccessible to European artillery. The only means of reaching Constantinople, except by forcing this immensely strong position, is by marching from the valley of the Danube by Tyrnova upon Adrianople, but this road is obstructed by many natural difficulties which beset the defiles of the mountain range, so that it is almost as impregnable as Schumla itself. This, therefore, is regarded by the Turks as the *ne plus ultra* to Russian arms, and it must ever be a strategic point of very great importance in any war against the Crescent.

The Russian army, notwithstanding their first check, succeeded in crossing the Danube in May, and by the end of the month they were advanced as far as Kara, in front of Bayardjik, which place was garrisoned by Pecklivan-Pacha with 5,000 Turkish horse. Here the two armies remained in face of each other until the Russians had made themselves masters of Tourtoukai and Silistria upon the river banks. Bayardjik was then attacked and carried by assault on the 3rd of June, when Picklivan was taken prisoner with 2,000 men. The Russians, now finding no enemy before them

in the field, divided their forces. The main body, under Kamenskoi, advanced towards the Balkan, while Langeron, with a detached corps, scoured all the country to the right, and threatened to advance by the defiles of the mountain range. Varna was next attempted, but Kamenskoi failed in getting possession of this important port in the Black Sea. Langeron was more successful with the two inland fortresses at Jeni-bazar and Rasgrad. Negotiations of no very great sincerity on either side now followed between the Grand Vizir and the Russian General without coming to any understanding, and on the 23rd of June the whole Russian army suddenly appeared before Schumla. The Russians forthwith advanced in six columns: two of which advanced against some woods, where Ibrahim Nazir with 100,000 men were posted behind a considerable battery; two other columns advanced in face of the village of Straza; and the 5th and 6th were in reserve on the high road leading from Silistria to give the hand to Langeron's advance. The Grand Vizir sent strong reinforcements from the camp to enable Ibrahim Nazir, Sultan Badir Gherai, and Iman Aga to defend themselves. The superiority of the Russian gun-fire, nevertheless, obliged all these three leaders, who were men of eminent bravery, to retire for protection within the entrenchments of the camp of Schumla. At the same time that the Russians advanced on this side, a strong force was sent on the opposite flank to surprise and carry the grottoes; but they found 5,000 Turks, under Sert Mahomet Pacha, behind entrenchments, ready to oppose them. The Grand Vizir, alarmed for the safety of this important post, issued a proclamation calling on volunteers to come forth for its defence, and the Janissary-Aga promptly replied to the summons by carrying a considerable force to the quarter thus threatened, which arrived there just as the Russian General had sent down a reinforcement of 5,000 men to strengthen the attack. The whole of the day of the 24th was occupied in action, the Turks cruelly decimated by the Russian guns, which their own feeble artillery could not silence, but at length the Russians made a bold but unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the grottoes at 6 the same evening.

The Russians had, however, been so little able to get forward towards the entrenched camp in these several engagements, that Kamenskoi got irritated and suddenly withdrew all his troops on the morning of the 26th, and on the following day reappeared at Eski-Stamboul, in the mountain valleys to the rear of the entrenched camp, where it was thought possible so to enclose the Turkish army as to starve them into submission; but on the 7th of July he had the mortification to see arrive to the Turkish camp, from the opposite side of the road by Adrianople, a very strong convoy of many hundred camels, bringing in to Schumla subsistence of every description. General Kamenskoi now, therefore, resolved to raise the useless blockade in which he had occupied his whole army for three weeks, but which was manifestly inefficient, and to march away to Roustchouk, where he had left a force under General Seb,

who, he thought, had been too dilatory in obtaining possession of that place.

The corps of Langeron was now left at Kadekoi to oppose the approach of an enemy from Tyrnova under Osman Bagar, while the rear-guard, under Sabanajef, was posted to defend the bridge by which the road from Schumla crosses the Lomm at Rasgrad. Langeron was ordered to follow after Sabanajef; but, having sent his baggage off in the night of the 19th, he was attacked in his march on the morning of the 20th by the Seraskier Achmet Effendi, and only saved his line of retreat by the sacrifice of 180 killed and 530 wounded.

General Safs, hearing of the approach of the Commander-in-Chief, tried to carry Roustchouk by assault on the 21st before he came up, but failed with a loss of 900 men. In truth, the place had never been sufficiently invested. The fortress itself was of an oblong form, situated on an abrupt bank of the Danube at the confluence of the Lomm, having on the opposite bank the fortress of Giurgewo or Giurschow, which flanked the faces of Roustchouk down stream. Both places, therefore, required to be included in the investment to make it effectual. The arrival of the entire army of Kamenskoï enabled this preliminary requisite to be effected; for at the same time the Russian flotilla came up from the Black Sea, having forced its way by a favourable wind against the strength of the stream and every obstacle, and in defiance of the fire from both Roustchouk and Giurschow, and now cut off the fortresses from all communication with the Upper Danube; but this could only be effected with the loss of five vessels.

It was now found that the ground beyond the river Lomm completely commanded the long curtains which formed the defences of Roustchouk on that side, and accordingly the fire of 40 guns was soon brought to bear from these heights against this face of the wall; but here, as in all Turkish towns, the houses were large straggling buildings, surrounded by gardens, which very much impeded the action of the besiegers. The Russian engineers, however, pronounced the breach practicable, and the 3rd of August (the name-day of the Empress-mother) was selected as one auspicious for the assault. At 4 in the morning General Sievers, at the head of one column, presented himself in face of the walls, and, at the signal given by the General-in-Chief himself, advanced to assail them. The Turkish Governor, Bosniah Aga, in person placed his men so as to enfilade with an intense fire of musketry the advance of the assailants. With wonderful forbearance for an Ottoman, he did not return a shot until the Muscovites reached the foot of the rampart, when from every roof, window, and loophole, a murderous fire proceeded, and the undaunted Mussulmans were seen to leap out of the very ramparts. The Russians were shot down in numbers in the very act of placing their ladders, and in endeavouring to ascend the breach, which was found to be not in the least degree practicable. General Sievers himself and 334 officers were put hors de combat outside the parapet, which none could ever sur-

mount. General Safs had been more successful on the side of the castle, and had entered the town, where the Turks and Bulgarians, nevertheless, stoutly defended themselves and their harems in their walled gardens. Here, also, the fire was so well sustained that the Russians made no way, and though Kamenskoi ordered the infliction of the knout upon his men, they would not advance. The Pacha of Giurschow opened fire in order to enfilade the rear of the assailants, who, at the termination of three hours' fighting, were glad to retreat. The loss of the besiegers in this ill-timed assault was estimated as high as 8,000 men. The engineer was, of course, highly blamed for having misled the general as to the practicability of the breach, but justified himself by asserting that he had seen a dog cross the ditch and enter the town, and that his ears were clearly visible above the water! To this a witty general replied, that, if the engineer himself had attempted to cross, they, on the contrary, might have been unable to make out even the long ears that distinguished his conduct. And when the poor engineer added in his justification, that the assailants had been frightened by the powder, the same officer rejoined, "You may not, perhaps, fear gunpowder, but you are not the man to have invented it." The Turks rejoiced excessively at their success, and showed unmistakable evidence of their triumph by decapitating about 4,000 of the prisoners. The Russians retaliated by exhibiting 38 standards, which had been taken at Tjesmelé on the 2nd, in an attack made by the Grand Vizir upon a Russian corps of observation left there, who had driven back the 30,000 assailants who made it, with no greater loss to the Muscovites than 1,200 men. Kamenskoi now resolved on more methodic approaches, and sat down before the place to take in *en règle*. Had the Grand Vizir taken advantage of the departure of Kamenskoi from before Schumla, the Russians would now in all probability have been driven back across the Danube; yet not only did he, with true Turkish apathy, remain quietly in his camp, but he indolently gave it over to his subordinate, the Seraskier of Sophia, to disturb the siege of Roustchouk, who assembled a force of 30,000 men for this purpose behind the Santra. The Turkish camp was now reinforced at Schumla by a corps of Albanians, sent up by the after-famous Ali Pacha of Joannina. He was at this period a very considerable chief, at once Pacha of Albania and Epirus in his own person, and having Muktar, his eldest son, Pacha of Macedonia and Roumelia, and Weli, his youngest, Pacha of the Morea, but all owing, nevertheless, "suit and service" to their Suzerain, the Sultan. Moreover, Ali Pacha was a man of more than ordinary intelligence and energy, for he had collected a well-disciplined army, and had, by means of some French officers, whom he had attracted to his service, introduced a European organisation into his corps of artillery. One corps of Albanians now advanced against the Servians, and another under Muktar joined his forces to those of the Pachas of other places, for the relief of Roustchouk. Bosniah Aga became urgent on the Grand Vizir for all the assistance that could be rendered him to resist the Russians. In one of his letters

he wrote, "We have almost lost our eyesight in straining to see the columns approaching to deliver us." Having, therefore, concerted measures together, Muktar Pacha appeared at Battin on the 19th of August, and alarmed the besieging army by his sudden appearance and manoeuvres, for he had acquired European knowledge enough to establish an effective plan for the reciprocation of intelligence between his relieving force and the fortress both by day and by night. Kamenskoi, accordingly, abandoned the sap until the corps under the command of his brother, consisting of 12,000 men, could come up to reinforce him. On his arrival on the 26th, he was immediately sent forward to unite with Ouvarof on the road to Tjenora, and with this considerable force and 100 guns, he came in face of Muktar Pacha in his entrenched camp on the 27th. General Kamenskoi, having reconnoitred the position, determined to turn it; and in the night of the 27th-28th he marched a strong division to Atlanof on the right, while he sent another under Kulnef to the left. The Cossacks, on the right, under General Illovoiski, at the same time attained some hillocks, or old Tartar barrows, whence they could enfilade the camp. The Turks returned the cannonade resolutely, and sent out a horde of cavalry against the Russian infantry, who formed squares and firmly resisted their onset in spite of the furious war-cry of "Allah! Allah!" which accompanied it. Kamenskoi sent up reinforcements to their aid; but, on the other hand, the Seraskier also came up to the support of the Pacha and entered his entrenched camp. The Russian General, seeing that the auspicious moment of attack was passed, ordered a retreat, in opposition to the ardent desire of all his subordinates to engage.

The General-in-Chief was highly displeased at his brother for returning to his standard *re infecta*, and resolved to make the next attack himself. He accordingly ordered up General Wornof in great haste from Silistria, and reconnoitring the ground, determined to bring the Turkish army to an engagement in the position of Tjerna Woda, where he thought he could best encounter their superior force. Whilst awaiting the assembling of his force, he bombarded Roustchouk anew, but could not set fire to the town, owing to the unconnected and isolated villas of which it was composed. On the 4th of September Wornof brought into camp 5,000 men; the General-in-Chief, therefore, leaving Langeron to guard the trenches with one division, marched against the enemy on the 5th. The Turks were found established in several entrenched camps — the Seraskier in one, Muktar Pacha in another, and other chiefs in separate enclosures flanking each other and resting on the Danube, into which they had brought up a flotilla. They now also fortified the mounds spoken of in the previous action. On the 7th, early in the morning, the Russian cavalry were pushed forward to keep the Ottomans in check. The only practicable way of reaching the Turks appeared to be by attacking the village of Battin, where the ravine, though steep and rugged, was practicable for infantry. Kulnef was sent across this ravine to take the enemy in rear and *in flank*. The Turks resisted the cavalry attack with indomitable

bravery, but finding themselves outflanked by Kulnef they retreated along the bottom of the ravine. The corps of General Kamenakoi, which had been posted on the heights resting on the Danube, advanced at the same hour on the morning of the 7th, and sending forward a regiment of Chasseurs with four light guns, obliged the flotilla to ascend the stream and take refuge under the fire of the forts. Illovoiski and Harper, with their respective columns, marched boldly against the most advanced Turkish camp, which they carried by assaults, and having then re-formed, they, without a moment's hesitation, advanced against the second with the same success, the garrisons taking refuge in the third. The Russians then got possession of an open work commanding the anchorage of the flotilla, on which they opened fire, and sunk 4 of the vessels and captured 11 others, but the remainder escaped up stream. In one of these attacks the Cossack General, Illovoiski, was wounded in several places, of which he afterwards died. Kulnef was not so successful in his attack on the enemy's right; one of his columns had indeed entered the principal camp, but such a horde of Turkish horse came against him that he was obliged to withdraw and seek safety by forming squares in the ravine, but he not only held his ground but at length so completely occupied it as to prevent the Turks from even watering their horses in the rivulet that flowed through it. The garrison of the camp, nevertheless, exhibited all the joy of a victory, rushing out of the entrenchments to cut off the heads of the wounded who lay by the side of it, and showing them, with cries of delight, to the Russians from the parapets.

Such was the state of affairs when the General-in-Chief ordered a general assault of the encampment at all points. Dissatisfied with Kulnef, he placed General Sabanajef in the command of the left wing, which advanced in two columns into the village of Battin. On the other wing, General Kamenakoi advanced in two columns under a heavy fire of artillery against the camp, when a combined sortie, led by Muktar Pacha himself, issued out of the intrenchments, and rushing like a whirlwind up the ravines, attained the road to Tyrnova, passing wholly by the columns of Sabanajef. They were followed by the hussars Alexandrenaki, and the dragoons of Livonia, with some light cavalry, who pursued after the Turkish horse till nightfall. The General-in-Chief now ordered the assault of the entrenchments, when they were carried, and all in them put to the sword. The Seraskier, with Achmet Pacha, had taken refuge in a work strongly placed on a commanding height, which seemed to require the aid of artillery for its capture, and, as evening was already far advanced, the attack was deferred till the morning. However, the Seraskier, being mortally wounded, in the night Achmet Pacha opened communications with the Russians, and surrendered at discretion before daylight. The Pacha, in surrendering his sword, apologised for the absence of the Seraskier, by stating that he was occupied in dying of his wounds.

The battle of Battin is said to have cost the Russians only 1,500 killed and wounded. They captured 6,000 prisoners, 178 bag-

and 14 guns; and an immense number of dead covered the plain. General St. Priest, in following up the fugitives, came to Szistova, on the Danube, protected by a strong earthwork, capable of a good defence, but on being summoned the governor surrendered it at once, and St. Priest continued his march on Nikopolis, when the General-in-Chief recalled him to the camp.

Kamenskoi now resolved, before undertaking any new expeditions, to obtain possession of Roustchouk; and having captured a troublesome fort on the Danube called Rasboinik, and thrown a bridge across to restrain the garrison of Giurschof, he now summoned the governor, who returned for answer, "Giurschof does not yet swim in blood." At the same moment, however, Bosniah Aga, from Roustchouk, sent a flag of truce to enquire after the General-in-Chief's health. The haughty general, proud of his recent victory, sent back word that he would hang any messenger who came to him upon any other mission than to bring him the keys of the fortress. The Aga was so highly displeased at this arrogance, that when, a few days later, Kamenskoi sent in to Bosniah one of his women who had been captured at Szistova, the Mussulman returned her by the messenger, saying, "it did not do to allow women to meddle with the affairs of state." However, at length, on the 26th of September, these mutual messages resulted in a capitulation. The Turkish garrison were to be removed with all their effects in 3,000 carriages, and Bosniah Aga was to retain his "horse's tail." Accordingly, the two Pachas, followed by a numerous cortège, magnificently mounted, repaired to the camp of the General-in-Chief of the Russian army, where the two chiefs interchanged rich presents, and the keys of the fortress were given up to Kamenskoi.

Two new *corps d'armée* now joined the Russian camp, that of Markof and that of Souvarof. Much valuable time at this season of the year had been already wasted, and more was now spent before the campaign could be resumed. At length, on the 25th of October, a new expedition was organised against Nikopolis. At sight of their foe, the Pacha and his garrison demanded permission to retire, and gave up the castle; and that of Tonof surrendered to Prince Wezemski two days later on the same terms. Plewna surrendered on the 29th, and Lofja and Selwi on the 3rd of November. The weather having by this time broken up, Lieutenant-General Essen took up cantonments in the valley of the Danube from Nikopolis to Silistria with his corps, having his head-quarters at Roustchouk; while the General-in-Chief moved the rest of his army back to Wallachia for their winter quarters, and established the head-quarters of the army at Bucharest on the 23rd.

In Servia, Czerni George defeated the Turkish army upon the Dwina, and Tounasow in Asia possessed himself of Soukoum-Kali and Soudjouk-Kali, upon the shores of the Black Sea, but failed to get possession of Trebizond. In Persia, the Russians continued their operations with so much success that they gained a large portion of the shores of the Caspian Sea, and united them to the *Czar's dominion*, as far as Lankaran. On the 17th of September,

e united camp of Turks and Persians was unsuccessfully assailed . Ascholkalaki, and on the 2nd of October the Russians even reatened Bagdad.

14. MARSHAL BERNADOTTE, PRINCE OF PONTE CORVO, ELECTED CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.

It was a well-known saying of the French Revolution, "*Que le premier roi fut un soldat heureux.*" A singular train of circumstances established the truth of this maxim at this period in the annals of war. In opposition to many powerful influences, in opposition even to the most powerful ruler of the time, Charles John Bernadotte, a soldier of fortune, was placed, in the course of this year, upon the steps of an ancient and respectable monarchy, without the slightest suggestion that it was the result of intrigue, or of any unworthy acts whatever. It will be remembered that the last king of the family of Holstein-Gottorp had been constitutionally dethroned by the Swedish people, who dreaded lest his ill-balanced mind should embroil them with the great Powers of Europe, who, in the end, might "take away their place and nation." The Duke of Sudermania, the uncle and next in succession of Gustaf-Adolr IV., was elected to the throne, but he had no children; and, accordingly, the Prince of Holstein-Augustenburg, of the Danish royal family, an agnate of the Royal House of Sweden, was elected Crown Prince in succession. He, however, died suddenly of apoplexy, while on horseback, reviewing a regiment of guards; and a vast field of speculation was opened by this event for the succession to the Swedish throne. It was obviously the interest of Russia to place there a prince who might incline to the protection of the Czar, and the secret wishes of that Power turned to the son of the deposed King, the Prince of Wasa; the aspirations of the King of Denmark to effect by this means the union of the three Scandinavian crowns were reasonable, and the object desirable; but the States of Sweden saw that by either of these arrangements they would be subjected to the rule of those against whom they entertained ancient traditional animosities. The actual King favoured the claim of the Prince of Holstein-Augustenburg, brother of the late Crown Prince; but the King of Denmark prohibited him from acceding to the wishes of the Swedish monarch, openly setting forth his own pretensions to the dignity. At a moment when Napoleon had touched the perihelion of his mighty fortune, it was natural that many of the Swedes should turn to the great conqueror, desiring a member of his family, or of his selection, for their eventual King. But it so happened that his brother Lucien, the only one still remainin uncrowned, did not covet the elevation to a throne in his gift, and a reply was speedily given that the French Emperor had no one recommend for the Swedish throne; but an article in a periodical supposed to be under the influence of the Tuileries openly advocat the King of Denmark as the candidate most likely to be accepta to Napoleon. An accidental remark from some one, however

this juncture, that the lowest French general would be received in Sweden preferably to the King of Denmark, drew some public attention to the characters of the most renowned French marshals, which were consequently canvassed at this time; and Marshal Bernadotte, who had gained the goodwill of many of the best families of Sweden by his kindness to his prisoners in the war of 1807, and who now commanded the French army on the shores of the Baltic, was "pronounced" with favour. The members of the Diet had no reason to know that, of all the French generals, Bernadotte was the least in favour of the great Emperor, although, as we have seen in these pages, they had been continually at variance, even as recently as the victory of Wagram. Nevertheless, the Diet was clear-sighted enough to expect that the election of a French general might secure the prompt support of France against the intrusions of Russia, and the name of the Prince of Ponte Corvo was placed in the urn.

In the Committee of Twelve, by whom the selection was to be made, it was found, at the first round of the box, that only one vote supported the election of Bernadotte; but, before the final day of election, a certain commercial friend of the marshal's arrived at Oerebo, who asserted (without any authority, as it is said) that he was sent, as an agent of Napoleon, to convey his secret wishes, and he, pluming himself on his assumed consequence, succeeded in gaining the belief of the electors. This intelligence altogether changed the opinion of the voters; and, on the subsequent ballot, ten declared for Bernadotte as the adopted son of Sweden, and the choice was ratified by the Swedish Diet. His subsequent rule justified this singular piece of worldly fortune. He evinced great solidity of judgment in understanding his adopted country, and his successors have attached the country to their side, and have evinced a degree of wisdom which the effete dynasties of Europe have found it so difficult to acquire. The elevation of Bernadotte to the rank of Prince-Royal was followed by a declaration of war by Sweden against Great Britain, dated Nov. 19, 1810. The unfortunate ex-King Gustavus joined the ejected of all nations in London, and sought protection under the British sceptre. He did not, however, remain long in England, but withdrew to the Austrian States, where he survived till 1837. His son, the Prince of Wasa, has as yet no male descendant.

While one crown was thus unexpectedly acquired by a French soldier, others were scattered to the winds by the members of the Imperial family. Lucien Bonaparte had been required by his haughty brother to divorce his wife, an American lady, to whom he was fondly attached; and he had the spirit to refuse compliance, and to content himself with the humbler situation to which he was born. For some years past the brothers had been on ill terms, for Napoleon could ill brook the sturdy character of Lucien, and apprehensive, probably, that he might be made a victim to the conqueror's imperious temper, the stanch Republican resolved to take refuge from it by absconding to America. He was, however,

taken prisoner by some English cruisers, and eventually took up his abode in England. The letters of another brother, Joseph, who had been pitchforked into a monarchy, complain bitterly, at this time, of the rigorous mandates which he received from his arrogant suzerain, and speaks of his willingness also to resign his crown, and retire to a private station. Eventually he died in exile. A tour made by the Emperor and Empress to the Low Countries, after their marriage, brought the discontent of the third brother, Louis, to its height, and no sooner did he rid himself of the visit of the happy pair than he executed a formal deed of resignation of the Dutch crown, and fled, in the night, from Haarlem to Töplitz, in Bohemia. Prince Louis, the second son of this King, was, however, in subsequent years, kindly received by the Emperor, and adopted as his son, and he is now on the throne of France, as his great uncle's successor. Jerome retained his rickety throne to the last, survived to witness the restoration of his family, and died in great personal respect as Governor of the Invalides.

15. WAR IN THE INDIAN SEA — CAPTURE OF THE ISLANDS OF BOURBON AND MAURITIUS.

We must now direct our attention to the eastern hemisphere. A plan for the reduction of the expenses of the Company's army had been taken up by Sir George Barlow, on assuming the government of Fort St. George, which occasioned very great discontent among the troops of that Presidency. A trifling reform of a custom coeval with the existence of the Madras army was abruptly effected, without any explanation assigned. The feeling of discontent was so great, that General M'Dowall, the Commander-in-Chief, issued a circular letter, discountenancing the proceeding. Colonel the Hon. Arthur St. Leger, who had been for some time held up as a champion of the rights of the Company's army, and who had lately commanded a hostile expedition with success, joined in a remonstrance which was neither justifiable in morals nor discipline, and two-thirds of the officers attached to the native troops took part with him. Proceeding from remonstrances to violence, Seringapatam was seized by the mutineers, and blood was shed, in consequence of some resistance offered by two battalions to the passage of a party of the revolvers. These proceedings being regarded as inconsistent with military subordination, an order of Government suspended Colonel St. Leger from the service, and removed other officers who had leagued with him from their commands. General M'Dowall resigned his post, and quitted the country. The Governor-General, Lord Minto, no sooner became acquainted with this alarming state of affairs than he hastened in person to Madras, and his wisdom and integrity, with the profound respect entertained for his office and character, put an end to this grievous condition of military affairs. The officers hastened to make their submission, and order was restored. The ship in which General M'Dowall

took his passage for Europe was lost, and in the waste of waters "the head and front of the offending" found that impunity which, it must be confessed, he did not deserve.

While the Governor-General was at Madras he proceeded to carry into execution a plan which he had previously matured for the reduction of the French settlements in the Indian Seas. During the past year Commodore Rowley and Lieut.-Colonel Keating had taken possession of the Island of Rodriguez, which they had converted as a barrack for the expedition which it was already in contemplation to send out for the reduction of the Isle of Bourbon. Early in June an expedition, consisting of the 69th and 86th regiments, besides some regiments of Madras native infantry, under the command of Colonel Fraser, in all, 3,650 troops, of whom about one-half were Europeans, sailed in transports from Madras Roads and arrived off Rodriguez on the 20th, where they landed, and Colonel Keating immediately set to work to train them to the special service for which they were intended. On the 24th the "Boadicea" and "Nereide" frigates arrived off Rodriguez, but the unfavourable state of the weather detained the expedition till the 3rd of July, when the 2 frigates and 14 transports sailed, and on the 6th came to the appointed rendezvous about fifty miles to the windward of the Isle of Bourbon. Here they were joined by the "Sirius," Captain Pym, and on the 7th the whole of the troops disembarked on that island; the first brigade, consisting of the 86th and one native regiment under Lieut.-Colonel Fraser, came to shore at Grande Chaloupe, a beach about six miles from St. Denis, the capital, where Lieutenant Watling with a party of blue jackets took possession of a neighbouring height, in order to cut off all communication between the capital and the town of St. Paul. Another descent was made at Rivière de Pluies, about three miles to the eastward of St. Denis, by Captain Willoughby and a party of seamen with the troops; and another more to the right, by the 69th regiment, under the direction of Lieut.-Colonel Macleod. But the state of the surf and the weather prevented the whole force being landed. Keating, who was in command, but still on board ship, feeling that those who were on shore (many of them with their arms and ammunition spoiled) might find themselves rather critically circumstanced during the advancing night, desired to communicate to them some orders, but the boats did not dare to put off in the state of the sea. Under these circumstances, a gallant young officer of the army, Lieutenant Foulstone, volunteered to swim through the surf, and convey Keating's orders to Colonel Macleod, which he did, and possession was taken of the heights at the point of the bayonet, and the troops securely posted for the night. At 4 o'clock in the morning of the 8th the rest of the troops, with Colonel Keating, were landed at Grande Chaloupe. Fraser's brigade now led the way, and, descending the mountains, moved forward at a running pace. The advance were soon perceived by the enemy, who opened upon them a heavy fire of cannon, mortars, and musketry. On going forward to reconnoitre, Keating found the enemy

drawn up on the plain in two columns, each with a field-piece in front, formed under the protection of the heavy cannon of a redoubt. Notwithstanding a severe fire of all arms upon the British grenadiers, they advanced in unbroken order under Captain Lanphier. The order was then given to charge, and the 86th closed with their adversaries with the bayonet. The opposing force, unable to withstand the shock of steel, gave way and attempted to form behind the parapet of the redoubt. Here, however, the bayonet at length reached them, and the French second in command was wounded and taken prisoner by Lanphier. The British colours were now hoisted upon the redoubt by a corporal of the 86th, and the guns were immediately turned upon the retiring troops, who, with Colonel St. Suzanne, the commandant, fled into the capital. The seamen of the fleet, under Willoughby, hailing the well-known flag of the regiment with a loud cheer (which was taken up by all the shipping in the offing), charged at the same time, and a guardhouse armed with 10 field-pieces, with troops and artillery, fell into their hands, and in an incredibly short period of time all the batteries to the west of the river were stormed and demolished. The position thus seized was held until the arrival of additional troops; but the enemy made an attempt to retake the redoubt, which was repulsed with the loss of their commanding officer. About 2 in the afternoon Drummond's brigade arrived after a severe march, harassed by the enemy's chasseurs and a heavy fire of grape-shot and musketry from the town, when Colonel Keating directed preparations to be made for a simultaneous attack upon St. Denis; but, at the very moment of advance, a flag of truce arrived to treat for the surrender of the island, which was taken possession of on the 10th by the British, whose loss on this occasion consisted of Lieutenant Munro of the 86th, and 17 killed and 59 wounded.*

The capture of the Isle of Bourbon was principally desired as a preliminary to that of the far more important settlement of the Mauritius, or Isle of France; nevertheless, although it had been ceded back to France at the general peace, the Isle of Bourbon is a large and valuable possession, containing a population of about 20,000 free and 70,000 slaves or people of colour. It is about 60 leagues in circumference and of a circular form. The centre of the island is mountainous, and there is here a noted volcano in a state of constant eruption. It was first discovered by the Portuguese in 1505, who called it Mascarena, and was taken from them by the French and called Bourbon. But this name has been a sad trouble to its owners. In the Revolution it was called Réunion, and under the Imperial régime Napoléon. The Isle of France was first possessed by the Dutch and colonised in 1654, when it was called Mauritius, in honour of the Prince of Nassau; but they abandoned it in 1721, having been driven away, it was said, by the swarms of rats which

* Lanphier was made Captain of the Grenadiers on this occasion, and became in due course a field officer. He sleeps in the burial-ground of Middleton, in the county Tipperary, where he was laid by his old comrades, who marked the spot with a headstone bearing the simple inscription, "A BRAVE SOLDIER."

infested it, and it was taken possession of by the French, who gave it its present name. It rose into some eminence under the government of the celebrated La Bourdonnaye in 1734, who introduced the maniot from South America, and cinnamon, cloves, pepper, &c. from the Dutch islands; and in 1766 a noted traveller and philosopher, M. Poivre, became governor, who further extended its cultivation. It had a population in 1851 of upwards of 180,000 inhabitants. The climate of these islands is most salubrious, and the atmosphere of such exquisite rarity that ships at sea are said to have been discerned as far off as 400 miles! When the British expedition was assembling for its conquest at Rodriguez, a M. Fillifoy, having seen it at this incredible distance, went and communicated the fact to the governor, but, instead of being rewarded, he was imprisoned for raising false alarms.

The necessity of wresting the Isle of France from the enemy became more important, in consequence of the disasters which had befallen the British navy through the French ships of war harbouring there. In the principal port of the island, named St. Louis, lay at this juncture 5 French frigates, "La Bellone," "La Minerve," "La Manche," "L'Astrée," and their last capture from the British, "L'Iphigenia;" also the corvettes, "Le Victor," "L'Entreprenant," and another; besides 24 French merchant vessels, and the "Charlton," "Ceylon," and "United Kingdom," captured East Indiamen. Accordingly, Port St. Louis was blockaded by a squadron under the command of Captain Rowley of the "Boadicea," on the 19th of October. The naval and military force preparing for the reduction of the Isle of France assembled, as before, at Rodriguez, but the non-arrival of the reinforcements expected from Bengal and the Cape delayed the attack until it was feared that the favourable season would pass away. As soon, therefore, as the former divisions arrived, the fleet, comprising in all 70 sail, put to sea. The naval portion of the war squadron was under the command of Vice-Admiral Bertie, and consisted of 12 frigates and 1 man-of-war, namely, the "Africaine," 38, Captain Gordon, bearing the admiral's flag, the "Illustrious," 74, Captain Broughton, the "Cornwallis," 44, Captain Caulfield, the "Boadicea," 38, Captain Rowley, the "Nisus," 38, Captain Beaver, the "Clorinde," 38, Captain Briggs, the "Menelaus," 38, Captain Parker, the "Nereide," 38, Captain Henderson, the "Phœbe," 36, Captain Hillyar, the "Doris," 36, Captain Jones Lye, the "Cornelia," 32, Captain Edgell, the "Psyche," 32, Captain Edgecumbe, the "Ceylon," 32, Captain Tomkinson, with the sloops "Hesper," "Eclipse," "Hecate," and "Actæon." The military part of the expedition was under the command of Major-General Abercrombie, and consisted of 10,000 men, divided into brigades, under the command of Colonels Picton, Gibbs, Kelso, Keating, M'Leod, and Smyth.

On the 29th of November, in the morning, the squadron anchored in Grande Baie, situated about 12 miles from Port Louis. The great obstacle to a successful attack on the Isle of France had always been the supposed impossibility of landing a considerable

force, owing to the coral reefs which surround the coast; but this difficulty had been surmounted by the indefatigable exertions of Commodore Rowley, who had caused the whole leeward side of the island to be sounded and minutely laid down in a chart, so that now 10,000 men, with artillery, stores, and ammunition, were disembarked in 3 hours, without opposition or casualty. The enemy appeared to be so astonished at the boldness and novelty of this attempt, that when the first division, under the command of Major-General Warde, comprising the grenadier company of the 59th, and other troops, with 4 pieces of artillery, presented themselves before Fort Malastrie (the only fortified place in the vicinity), it was at once abandoned. No time was lost in following up this first success, and the troops were put in motion on the following morning to prevent the enemy from holding a thick wood, which flanked the march of the invaders. After a slight skirmish and a feeble attempt to dispute the advance, in which Colonel Keating was unfortunately wounded, the enemy was driven back. About midnight the troops halted for some refreshment, but next morning proceeded and took up a position about noon at Moulin-à-poudre, on a gentle elevation five miles from Port Louis. In the afternoon, General de Caen, the governor, with a detachment of cavalry and riflemen, came out to reconnoitre, when a slight encounter took place, in which the governor received a contusion, and the detachment was driven back. Before daylight, on the 2nd of December, Lieut.-Colonel William M'Leod was in movement with his brigade to attack some batteries at Tombeau and Tortue, which were evacuated as soon as the troops approached; and at 5 o'clock the main body went forward along a narrow road with a thick wood on each flank, on emerging from which they perceived the enemy in position with several field-pieces. The leading European battalion, the 33rd Regiment, under Colonel John Campbell, formed with as much regularity as the broken ground would permit, and at once charged the troops before them with so much spirit that the enemy retired with the loss of their guns; but the British Commanding Officer and Major O'Keefe, with Major Smith of the Artillery, fell in the conflict and 167 men. The advance now reached a signal-post on a hill called the Vivebot, whence every movement of the enemy could be discerned. The British colours were, of course, immediately displayed in triumph on this eminence. The weather being most oppressive, and the troops greatly exhausted, they here took up their bivouac for the night, in the course of which an unfortunate mistake occurred. A party of marines came up to join the British soldiers, who were dressed in white, a customary dress in India, as is well known. These, in the darkness, were mistaken for Frenchmen, and some lives were sacrificed before the mistake was discovered. As soon as morning broke, preparations were made for another forward movement, but they were interrupted by the arrival of a flag of truce, offering to surrender the island upon terms. With an amount of assurance and presumption, which no one but a French officer would have had the face to exhibit after so

very weak a defence, the governor demanded that the shipping in the harbour should be given up to convey the garrison to France. It is scarcely necessary to say that this proposal was summarily rejected; indeed, it was thought in England that to give capitulating garrisons safe conduct to the shores of France at all, was, upon military principles, an impolitic concession. The proposal came from the French, and it was not, therefore, to be inferred that they could have stood out against any reasonable terms. The loss of both services was only 29, and less than 150 wounded and missing.

After the reduction of the Isle of France, an expedition was despatched against Tametava, on the coast of Madagascar, to destroy some batteries, under which French vessels were accustomed to victual and repair, and the adjoining island of Almerante, in which their privateers and cruisers were wont to nestle.

The pirates in the Persian Gulf had pursued their avocation greatly to the injury of trade. To chastise the ruffianly perpetrators of many enormities, a small expedition was despatched against them this year from Bombay. The Mahratta Fort of Mallia, situate within the tributary dependencies of the Guicovar, offered them refuge and protection. It enjoyed, in common with a multiplicity of forts in India, the reputation of being impregnable. The small English force sent against it, nevertheless, at once stormed and carried the outer fort, and gained possession of the inner citadel by the flight of the enemy. The port and arsenal of the pirates at Ras-al-kima were next assailed, the enemy driven out, and the guns and magazines destroyed. Some 70 vessels, great and small, were here met with, some of which were taken and the rest set on fire in the harbour.

16. WAR IN THE CHINA SEA—AMBOYNA AND BANDA-NEIRA CAPITULATE.

The subjection of the Dutch republic to the dominion of France placed all the colonial possessions in the East in a state of hostility to British India. The most important of these were the Molucca Islands and Java. Lord Minto, on behalf of the East India Company, planned and directed their conquest. The first attack was levelled against the island of Amboyna. This island had been taken in the former war, but had been restored at the Peace of Amiens. The naval commander on the Indian station, Rear-Admiral Drury, now entrusted the enterprise to Commodore Tucker, of the "Dover," 38, having under his orders the "Cornwallis," 44, Captain Montagu, and ship-sloop "Samarang," 18, Captain Spencer; and on board of these vessels a small military force was despatched under Captain Court. The three ships anchored in Letitia Bay on the 9th of February. The principal defences of the island were found to be the Castle of Victoria, which commanded the anchorage, and there were batteries right and left of it, which were armed with 215 pieces of cannon, and garrisoned by 220 Europeans and upwards of 1,000 Javanese and Madurese troops.

The ships opened fire upon these batteries, and a smart cannonade ensued, during which all the boats were slipped by signal at the same moment. In these was a party consisting of 401 men (soldiers, seamen, and marines), which were placed under the command of Captain Court, and landed without opposition. One division, consisting of 180 men, under Captain Phillips, proceeded to attack the battery of Wannetoo, which, though defended with obstinate bravery, was carried. Captain Court himself, with another division, proceeding up the heights, attained an eminence which commanded the battery of Batto-Gauting, and at sight of the troops this also was abandoned. The two captured batteries were then turned upon Wagoo, and all were brought to bear, the following day, on Victoria Castle, all which soon resulted in a capitulation for the whole island of Amboyna; and this was followed by the surrender of the subordinate islands, five in number.

The success of the British here induced Captain Tucker to proceed to the island of Celebes, where the Sultan was easily persuaded to haul down the Dutch colours and to substitute for them the British Jack. The island of Manado and its dependencies subsequently surrendered to the Commodore. Another brilliant exploit was the capture of Banda-neira, the principal of the Spice Islands. This service was intrusted to Captain Christopher Cole, in the "Caroline," 38, with the "Piedmontaise," Captain Foote, and "Barracouta," 18, Captain Kenah, and about 100 European soldiers. On his way, he obtained from the government of Penang two field-pieces and some artillerymen, and proceeded into the Java sea. On the evening of the 8th of August, the Banda Islands were sighted, and preparations made for an attack. In the morning of the 9th, however, they were suddenly fired upon from the island of Rosigen, which frustrated all hopes of a surprise. To attempt the capture of a place of such alleged strength as Banda-neira by daylight not having been judged prudent, the squadron now brought to, but when the night became dark and squally, Captain Cole determined to attempt a second surprise by boats; for, although the enemy had seen the ships, and might be prepared against them, yet they might not expect so hazardous a proceeding as a boat attack. About 400 officers and men pushed off about midnight, under the command of Captain Cole himself, but it was twilight before they could make the shore, on the north point of which, as was known, two large signal fires were burning. Within 100 yards of the coast the boats grounded on a coral reef, just under the battery of Vorzigheid, mounting 10 long guns. Such was the violence of the storm, however, that the garrison did not become apprised of the approach of the boats, and they were got over, and landed their crews safely without notice. The battery was immediately attacked and carried by Captain Kenah, and the officer and guard made prisoners without firing a shot. Captain Cole now resolved to take the bull by the horns, and attempt to get possession of the castle of Belgica by a *coup de main*, and in a few minutes the scaling ladders were against its walls, and the stormers found their way into the very heart of the citadel.

The Dutch Colonel in command fell in the defence covered with honourable wounds, and, after a slight skirmish, the British colours waved on the flagstaff. This joyful sight gladdened the seamen, who, when day broke, were seen using their best endeavours to weather the storm and enter the harbour. From the castle of Belgica, the town, with the fort of Nassau, were visible at the foot of the conqueror, and a flag of truce was immediately despatched to the governor. After a little delay, the immediate and unconditional surrender of Banda-neira and its dependencies was submitted to, and 1,500 regulars and militia laid down their arms to Captain Cole and his gallant 400, whose brilliant conquest affords an example of as much skill, perseverance, and bravery as are ever to be found in such dashing exploits. The conquerors found about 400,000*l.* worth of spices in store at the time that Banda-neira was captured, and it became the prize of their success. The islands of Amboyna and Banda are all situated between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and form the group called Moluccas and Spice Islands. As they were all returned to Holland at the general peace, it may be presumed that the principal object at that period was to destroy all the maritime haunts of the enemy.

17. COLONIAL WAR — SURRENDER OF GUADALOUPE, ST. EUSTATIA, &c.

A conjunct expedition, under the command of Vice-Admiral Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane and Lieut-General Sir George Beckwith, anchored off the town of Gozier, in Guadeloupe, on the 27th of January, and next morning the troops landed to attempt the capture of the island. The First Division, commanded by Major-General Hislop, came to shore near the village of St. Marie, and the other division, under Brigadier Harcourt, on the side of Basseterre. The last came into collision, on the 3rd of February, with a body of French troops on the ridge of Beaupère St. Louis, and the reserve, under Brigadier Wale, met with a slight interruption when forcing the passage of the river De la Pèrè. On the 4th, however, both descents were stopped by the appearance of flags of truce, proposing terms of capitulation on behalf of General Ernouf, the French governor of the island. The loss to the British in the several engagements amounted to 52 killed and 250 wounded. Before the end of the month the same commanders reduced, without a single casualty, the Dutch islands of St. Martin, St. Eustatius, and Saba, and now the British flag waved over the entire Antilles.

The subjection of the whole Caribbean Archipelago to the British sceptre, whose flag might now be seen over every rock and island composing it, demands a passing reflection. If British statesmen of this period had been more advanced in political science than they were, what an opportunity now existed for the formation of a federative insular State, to which the West Indies

must eventually come, if they are ever to be more elevated in their fortunes than to be the prize of the most successful competitor for the dominion of the sea? The only attribute of conquest ever really desirable to reflecting minds, is the means of advancing the good of mankind by every possible expedient, and to take advantage of every circumstance with that object; but at this juncture the "Colonies" appear to have been considered by England as of no other value than to be toasted at City toasts, in company with "Ships and Commerce." The last jewel of the costly belt that bounds the Caribbean Sea was now in the hands of England, and what value did she set upon it? Within two years she offered this very island of Guadaloupe, which had cost her so much trouble to obtain, as a bribe to Sweden, to bring her over to the Allied cause; and at the close of the war she gave it back to her humbled adversary, without a thought for the future, or one single stipulation respecting the slave trade, for which she had talked and paid so much. The statesman's craft appears to be a very shallow science, for, instead of looking ahead, it seems always to be only intent on the present. We who live in later times would have been better pleased if a little more attention had been given at this time to our colonies. We cannot but perceive that the opportunity might have been rendered available to organise the different West Indian settlements, in which (with the exception, perhaps, of the French islands) the British language universally prevails among the Creole population, into one common Federation. The Imperial government might be established centrally at the Virgin Islands, or any better roadstead, whence, by means of the modern application of steam power, the government might be ready and able to organise and oppose a common resistance to all pirate enemies, while they might assert their independence within their own shores, so that the Creole race, (when they shall have somewhat more advanced in civilisation and acquired industrial habits), might at length dispense themselves those commercial products which the Old World cannot do without, and which might, in time, render the black race a rich and flourishing people.

A conjunct expedition was sent in March against *St. Maura*, which, with the neighbouring island of *Corfu*, had to this time been occupied by a French garrison. On the 22nd of March the "*Magnificent*," 74, Capt. Eyre, with frigate, sloops, and transports, having on board a body of troops, under Brigadier Oswald, disembarked, in spite of a slight resistance, in which, however, with others, Capt. Eyre was severely wounded. But the enemy defending himself obstinately in the citadel, more energetic measures were resorted to. Large guns were placed in batteries, and, after nine days' bombardment, the works were gallantly stormed by a detachment of the 35th Regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Moore, in the teeth of a heavy fire. The defence, however, was prolonged until the 16th of April, when the fortress and island surrendered on capitulation. It cost about 168 casualties.

18. NAVAL WAR—DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD.

Owing to the vigilance of the British blockading force, France, as we have seen, was unable, during the whole of this year, to get a fleet to sea. The command in the Mediterranean had been hitherto in the hands of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood; but he at length had asked and obtained leave, and quitted Minorca on the 5th of March, bound to England. Worn out, however, with incessant exertion, he expired at sea on the 7th. Before proceeding to recount the naval occurrences of the year, let us pay our tribute of respect to one of the most praiseworthy of British admirals—the friend, comrade, and successor of Nelson.

Cuthbert Collingwood was of a good ancient stock of the gentry of the county of Cumberland; but his branch of the family having devoted itself to the cause of the Stuarts in the Fifteen, had become reduced in circumstances. He was born in 1750, and was sent to sea at the age of eleven, after a very slight scholastic education, in the "Shannon," commanded by his cousin, Captain Braithwaite, in which he continued several years. He was greatly indebted to this relative for instruction in general as well as nautical knowledge, to the acquirement of which last he applied himself with great assiduity. He passed through the lower ranks of the profession just before the American War broke out, and in 1776 obtained the command of the sloop-of-war "Hornet," in which he served on the Jamaica station with both the Duke of Clarence and his friend Nelson, who commanded the "Lowestoffe." He continued through life to act side by side with that illustrious hero in every sea. When Nelson quitted the "Lowestoffe" for the "Badger," Collingwood succeeded to the "Lowestoffe;" and when the former commander obtained the rank of Post-Captain in the "Hinchinbrooke," the latter became Master and Commander of the "Badger." He thus continued serving in the same seas with his friend till 1786, when he returned to England, for the first time after twenty-five years of uninterrupted service. In 1791 he married Miss Blackett, by whom he had two daughters, but no son. He commanded the "Barfleur" in Lord Howe's victory of the 1st of June, 1794, and was engaged in the hottest of the fire during the three days' battle, in which he greatly distinguished himself, and was wounded. In 1797, he commanded the "Excellent" in Jervis's action off Cape St. Vincent, where he obliged four Spanish first-rates to strike their flags to him. In 1799 he became Rear-Admiral, and commanded on the Channel station, under Admiral Lord Bridport, during which service he evinced remarkable vigilance and unwearied activity. At the Peace of Amiens, he was at length enabled to enjoy, for a very limited period, the society of his wife and children, for which he was always sighing. Here, while the peace lasted, he cultivated his own mind, by acquiring general information, while he attended to the education of his children, and also indulged him-

and that he spent most in his favourite pursuit of gardening; but the delight of a course of domestic happiness was short-lived. He had been at home so short a time, that (to use his own affecting expression,) "he was scarcely known to his children," when his country again demanded his services, and he never revisited his ardently loved homestead. In 1804 he was sent to a command off Brest, and in May 1805 was detached with a reinforcement to the blockading fleet off Cadiz. Here, with only 4 ships of the line under him, he succeeded, by vigilance, address, and stratagem, in deceiving the enemy altogether as to the small amount of force at his disposal, and kept them safe in port, until Nelson arrived, in September, to take the command of the fleet, in which his "dear Coll." was named second. His conduct in the battle of Trafalgar was most conspicuous, and he aided largely in obtaining that victory. For 1 year, service he was raised to the peerage, with a pension of 2,000 £, and was nominated to the lamented hero's command of the Mediterranean fleet. After a most wearying blockade of Cadiz, the Straits (during which, for three years, he never once set his foot on shore), he found himself involved in difficult political actions, in which science he had no experience, and which he never studied; yet, strange to say, no naval commander ever put himself so well qualified for the task. The sagacity of the statesman and the skill of the most practised diplomatist appeared unconsciously associated in his character with all the daring bravery which he had hitherto so well displayed as a seaman-warrior. As the British Admiral in command in the Mediterranean, his official correspondence became so multifarious a juncture, that, besides the necessary reports to his own Government, he embraced letters to the Courts of Spain, Naples, Russia, and the Algerine States. "I know not," said one of the diplomatists of the day, "where Lord Collingwood got his style; he writes better than any of us." After having sustained for years the arduous duties thus imposed upon him, he clung to the hope that an opportunity might be afforded him for concluding his command, with the achievement of another victory; and, in waiting for this, his mind and body became so exhausted, until, at last worn out with the suspense, he reluctantly gave up all hope, and solicited permission to resign; but it was replied to him "his services were indispensable to his country." No one can contemplate without emotion the picture drawn in his published correspondence, of a most affectionate husband and tender father withdrawn from his family and home by a sense of public duty. He felt that age and age stealing over his frame, prematurely brought on by confinement on board ship, and the wearying anxieties of his duty, and he said: "I feel my spirits quite exhausted, and, of course, my health much impaired; but, if I must go on, I will do the best I can." When, at length, having disembarassed himself of all business, he quitted the harbour of Port Mahon to go to England, he for a time enjoyed the health-giving breezes that were wafted to him home; and his hope of recovery and of worldly occupa-

a moment returning, he exclaimed, "I may yet live to meet the French once more!" but this excitement was but the flicker of the wasting taper. The next day he said, "I am now in a state in which nothing in this world can disturb me more;" and, submitting himself to the will and pleasure of his God, he met death with a composure and fortitude which have seldom been equalled, and never surpassed.

Lord Collingwood was in stature above the middle size, but slender and well proportioned. He had a full dark eye, which was lustrous in his manhood, until, in later years, his fine countenance became faded with toil and care; yet it was, to the last, strongly marked with thoughtfulness, decision, and benevolence. As a scientific seaman and naval tactician, Collingwood had few, if any, equals, and was regarded by his profession as almost superior to Lord Nelson. He expected, perhaps, in those who served under him, too much of the same skill and unwearied attention, by which he had been himself distinguished; but on occasions of their shortcomings he never betrayed his displeasure with rudeness or impatience, and soon grew calm and composed after he had heard the excuses or explanations of those with whom he found fault, for he was gifted with a rare equanimity, even in moments of the greatest difficulty and danger. The justice of his mind and the mildness of his character ever procured for him both love and respect. His remains were carried to England and interred with great solemnity in St. Paul's Cathedral. As Saul and Jonathan, who had been lovely and pleasant in their lives, were not in their death divided, so in the tomb he was laid by the side of the immortal Nelson, but a separate marble monument was erected to his memory by the unanimous vote of Parliament. No name in the great roll of heroic enterprise ever commanded such unanimous respect as that of Cuthbert Lord Collingwood.

19. LIGHT SQUADRONS AND SINGLE SHIPS.

Early in May Admiral Sir Charles Cotton arrived off Toulon to take the command of the Mediterranean fleet from Lord Collingwood. It consisted of 13 sail of the line and a small quota of frigates. Toulon was watched by a detached squadron under the orders of Captain the Hon. Henry Blackwood in the "Warspite," 74, with "Ajax," 74, Captain Otway, and "Conqueror," 74, Captain Fellowes, "Euryalus," 36, Hon. Captain Dundas, and "Shearwater," 10, Captain Sibly. On the 17th of July 8 sail of the line and 4 frigates stood out from the port to exercise, and exchanged a few broadsides with the "Euryalus," without doing her any injury. A few days later the "Shearwater" brig received broadsides from 2 French men-of-war, but not a shot struck her. There was an "Ajax" in each fleet, and they occasionally interchanged shots. In August, Rear-Admiral Baudin, in "Le Majestueux," 120, worked out with a squadron headed by "La Pomone,"

"La Penelope," and "L'Adrienne" frigates. The "Repulse," 74, Captain Halliday, immediately opened a heavy and well-directed fire upon them, when they wore, and the whole fleet returned to Toulon Roads.

On the 10th of January the brig-sloop "Cherokee," 10, Captain Arthur, reconnoitred the harbour of Dieppe and perceived 7 lugger privateers lying close together at anchor under the batteries; notwithstanding the number and strong defensive position of these vessels, Captain Arthur resolved to attack them, and, accordingly, favoured by the wind, stood in to the harbour, and, running into the midst of the luggers, gallantly laid one on board, and succeeded in getting out his prize, notwithstanding a smart fire of musketry from the other privateers. The vessel proved to be "L'Aimable Nelly," 16, and cost only 2 wounded in the action. On the 11th, Captain Ballard, of the "Blonde," 38, directed the "Scorpion" sloop, Captain Stanfell, to bring a French corvette out of Basseterre, in Guadeloupe. While standing in to execute the service, Captain Stanfell saw the corvette just clearing the north point of the bay, and immediately made all sail in chase, and getting sufficiently near opened her guns, when the "Oreste," 16, Lieutenant Mousnier, hauled down her colours. On the 10th of February the schooner "Thistle," 10, discovered and chased a strange ship in the Atlantic, and, after seven hours and a half, got alongside the Dutch corvette "Havik," 10, Lieutenant Stéeling, and hailed her. The answer was a broadside, and both ships engaged for an hour and a half, when the Dutchman made all sail and endeavoured to escape. A second close engagement, however, ensued, at the termination of which the "Havik" hauled down her colours.

On the 12th-13th of January the French frigates "La Néréide," 40, Captain Lemaesquier, and "L'Astrée," 40, Captain Breton, got out of the port of Cherbourg, and on the 9th of February the former presented herself off Basseterre, in the island of Guadeloupe, which had been already three days in the possession of the British. At peep of day "La Néréide" discovered her perilous situation, and was chased by the "Alfred," 64, "Blonde," 38, "Thetis," 38, "Melampus," 36, "Castor," 36, and "Scorpion," 18, but under a crowd of canvas she got clear of all her pursuers by the 11th, and pursued her course. On the 13th she came across another enemy, the "Rainbow," 22, Captain Woolridge; notwithstanding the disparity of size and metal of her pursuer, "La Néréide" sailed on, followed by her little opponent, until the latter exchanged numbers with the "Avon," 18, Captain Fraser, who immediately stood across to aid in the destruction of the enemy. The French frigate therefore lay to and first brought the "Rainbow" to action, when, having reduced her to a tolerably unmanageable state, she went on to the "Avon," whom she brought to a still worse condition, and then bore away under courses. "La Néréide" got back to France, whither she carried intelligence of the fate of Guadeloupe before it was known in Europe.

On the 3rd of February the "Valiant," 74, Captain Bligh, dis-

covered off Belleisle which appeared to be a strange figure. She had indeed been the Imperial 4-gun frigate "La Minuterie," but had been lent by the governor of the Isle of France to the merchants there for the purpose of carrying home their produce, and had now therefore become an armed merchant ship. "La Minuterie" under the command of Captain Perrot. She was at this time laden with a cargo worth 150,000*l.* when she had crossed as a privateer. After a seven days' chase she saw that her voyage was hopeless and hauled down her colours. She had been chased fourteen times during her passage from Fort Louis, and was a remarkable example of a vessel's exhausted power.

On the 14th of February some of the boats of St. the frigate "Uniform" 18, Captain Kelly captured the anti-British frigate ship "L'Ancre" chartered from the Isle of France with a valuable cargo of colonial produce. Captain "Water" of the "Argus" 50, took the French privateer "Le Phoenix" 18, with a crew of 100 men, after a chase of sixteen hours. On the 1st of the British frigate "Horatio" 38, Captain George Seward fell in with the French frigate, successfully "La Neveuse" 18, Lieutenant Denton, and after a long chase and running fight of an hour she hauled down her colours without loss on either side. On the 2nd of May off the coast of Norway the frigate "Thetis" 30, Captain Reynolds, encountered two Danish war-ships making off and for the port of Naarvik, and fired a broadside into them. Several gun-boats and 100 other war-ships then came out and turned her off again. The "Thetis" accordingly fired in the narrowest way, and was found when she had changed her forward transverse in the four days of chase to have several yards' damage and a smart engagement ensued. But after two hours the Danish commander, being in a very shattered state, signalled to his consorts to cease firing, which they did, and then were permitted to regain the port of Naarvik, which, as soon as they approached, several gun-boats came out to effect their preservation. The British frigate could not follow for she was fast severely damaged, and had lost in the fight about 200 men. On the 20th of May in the North Sea in the 14th of October the ship-boat "Sousa" 10, Lieutenant Denton, fell in with the French privateer "Le Duc de Saxe" 10, commanded by Jules Dubois of Amsterdam. An immense chase of eight hours brought her to anchor, and after an hour's combat she struck her colours. The privateer was brought with still as well as with colours, and lost in the action 6 killed and 20 wounded, while the "Sousa" had only 1 killed and 10 wounded. On the 21st a similar engagement, the "Challenge" 10, Captain de Kerle, captured "La Comtesse" 10, commanded by Jules Dubois, and in the 22nd a similar engagement, Lieutenant Lapointe captured the French privateer "Le Long-Bois" 10. On the 23rd of November the ship-boat "Puffin" 10, Captain Kelly, chased a French sugar-privateer, she hauled her colours, and was taken to anchor, but finding her ammunition trying to run the ship on shore, the "Puffin" ran alongside of her and poured in a volley, she struck the signal of which Lieutenant Kelly is the head of party of killed, wounded and captured her. ~~the ship was~~

mauled that she filled and sank soon after her capture. On the 10th of December, the brig-sloop "Rosario," 10, Captain Harvey, fell in with two privateers, who would have boarded the vessel, but that her captain ran his ship close to the nearest lugger, the "Mamelouk," 16, when Lieutenant Daws, with a party of men, sprang on board and carried her. The other privateer made her escape. On the 12th, the British cutter "Entreprenante," 8, Lieutenant Williams, observed four vessels at anchor under the castle of Faro. They proved to be privateers, who weighed and swept out towards the latter. An action ensued, and was soon maintained with spirit on both sides at pistol-shot distance. The cutter got sadly disabled in this unequal contest, and two of the crews attempted to board her, but were driven back. A second attempt was equally fruitless, when the "Entreprenante" manned her starboard sweeps and brought her larboard broadside to bear, which compelled three of her antagonists to sheer off, and some more well-directed broadsides brought down the foremasts and bowsprit of the fourth. The cutter's people now gave three cheers, and with all their power poured a destructive fire into the dismasted vessel; but boats from the shore came out and towed her off, while the castle of Faro fired a few ineffectual shot upon the "Entreprenante," who, after all, had only 1 killed and 10 wounded. Lieutenant Williams was publicly thanked by the commodore of the station for his most spirited conduct, and gained much credit by this gallant action. On the 7th, the gun-brig "Rinaldo," 8, Captain Anderson, chased two large armed luggers, who endeavoured to make their escape into Calais. The "Rinaldo" had a running fight with one of them, the "Marauder," 14, and ran her on board, when the crew, led by Lieutenant Gascoigne Palmer, compelled the privateer to cry for quarter; the other lugger effected her escape. On the 17th, the "Rinaldo" discovered four lugger-privateers off Spithead, and, feigning to be a trader, Captain Anderson induced them to chase her, and allowed them to come to close quarters, when she brought a broadside to bear, and then wore round on her heel and gave them a second. This well-directed fire brought down the masts and sails of one of the luggers, and she called for quarter as she was sinking. A second tried to board the "Rinaldo," but failing in this, she also struck her colours. The other two got away.

At this period was commenced those famous works at Cherbourg, where the French Emperor desired to construct a basin capable of holding from 30 to 40 sail of the line, with sufficient water to float the largest ship, and with a shelter from every wind. This port was well chosen as best calculated for carrying on offensive operations against England, from the facility with which, in moderate weather, ships could sail in and out of it with any wind. In the autumn of the present year a British squadron, consisting of the "Donegal," 74, Captain Pulteney Malcolm, and the "Revenge," 74, Hon. Capt. Paget, were appointed to cruise off Cherbourg, while the "Diana," 38, Captain Grant, and "Niobe," 38, Captain Coring, watched the adjoining port of Havre de Grace. On the 12th,

"L'Amazone," 40, Captain Rousseau, and "L'Elize," 40, Captain Treycinet-Saulée, came out of the latter harbour soon after midnight. At daylight they were seen by the "Diana" and "Niobe" running for Cherbourg, but such was the state of the weather that they could not round Cape Barfleur, and the several frigates exchanged ineffectual broadsides; but the French, knowing the ground well, anchored under a strong battery in the road of La Hogue. Intelligence of this being conveyed to Captain Malcolm, the "Donegal" made all sail into the bay and was soon followed by the "Revenge." All four ships ran in as near as they could to the French frigates and opened their broadsides at them. This could only be done while the British ships were in stays and head to wind. The two French frigates and the batteries were, on the other hand, enabled to bring their guns to bear with serious effect on the masts, rigging, and hulls of the four British ships. Nevertheless, "L'Amazone" was shortly seen to ground, and "L'Elize" to heel considerably. The former, however, got off, and in the night of the 27th-28th slipped into the port of Havre; but the other became a wreck, and was destroyed by the boats of the "Diana."

A succession of gallant naval affairs in the Mediterranean distinguished the "Naval War" of this year. On the 4th of April, the "Success," 32, Captain Ayscough, and "Espoir," Captain Mitford, discovered three vessels upon the beach on the Calabrian shore, and men loading them. Captain Ayscough accordingly sent the boats of the two ships, under Lieutenants Sartorius and Oliver; but, just as they reached the shore, three of the boats struck on a sunken reef and swamped, when the officers and men swam for their lives, with their cutlasses in their mouths, and gained the beach. A fire was of course opened upon them, but Sartorius and his men, regardless of it, shook off the water from their clothes, rushed on the enemy and obliged him to desert his guns and retreat. The boats were then recovered, and, after having spiked the guns in the batteries and burned the vessels on the beach, the crews returned to their ships. On the 25th, the "Spartan," 38, Captain Jahleel Brenton, accompanied by the "Success" and "Espoir," espied a ship and several smaller craft under the castle of Terrecino, when the boats under Lieutenants Baumgardt and Sartorius were sent in to endeavour to bring them out. The two frigates and brig at the same time anchored, in order to cannonade and silence the batteries on shore. Baumgardt pulled straight for the ship, and, in the face of a heavy fire, boarded her; Sartorius took possession of the three barks; and the four prizes were brought out with no greater loss than 1 killed and 2 wounded. On the 1st of May, Captain Brenton, with the two frigates, discovered two ships, a brig, and a cutter in the Bay of Naples; these were the French frigates "La Cérés" and "La Fama," with the armed ships "La Sparviere" and "L'Achille." The French squadron, at sight of the British, put about and made all sail for port, but were chased nearly to the mole by the frigates. Captain Brenton, in order to tempt them out of port again, detached the "Success" with directions to run in

and show himself at daylight next morning. Murat, who was at home, accepted the challenge, and prepared a frigate and corvette, with 400 Swiss troops on board, and seven large gun-boats, to drive back the intruders. It was nearly 8 in the morning before the squadron got out, when the "Spartan" opened fire upon them in quick succession. Brenton reserved his fire until he could bring every gun to bear with good effect, and at length opened his broadside treble-shotted, which told fearfully on the troops, who were drawn up in ranks from the cat-head to the taffrail in readiness for boarding. All the ships continued their progress through the water, the "Spartan" running alongside, and giving, from time to time, a broadside to each. The fire was, of course, returned, and Captain Brenton received a grape-shot in the hip, which obliged him to be carried below. Lieutenant Willes then assumed the command of the "Spartan," whose rigging was at this time very much disabled, kept her guns in full play, and having severely raked the Neapolitan frigate and corvette, "La Fama" hauled down her colours, but the gun-boats came up to her aid and towed her away from the possession of the British. "La Sparviere" was, however, taken possession of, but the remainder succeeded in gaining the protection of the batteries of Baia. The "Spartan" had 10 killed and 22 wounded, and, having repaired her principal damages, stood in triumph with her prize before the mole of Naples, whence King Joachim had, it appeared, witnessed the whole conflict, and was, of course, deeply mortified with the result. On the 22nd, the "Alceste," 38, Captain Murray Maxwell, chased several French vessels into the Gulf of Fréjus. Finding that the batteries which defended the entrance had an advantage, from their position, above his ships, he detached his boats in two parties, one under Lieutenant Wilson, and the other under Lieutenants Lloyd and Hankey, of the Marines, who landed, but had to march through a thick wood to get in rear of the fort they desired to assail. On their road they were attacked by the enemy, and during the firing their guide escaped, the consequence of which was that Wilson's party lost their way, and returned to their boats; but the party of marines reached the rear of the fort, and attacked and carried it in the most spirited manner, when, having spiked the guns and destroyed the magazine, they returned to their ships without a casualty, and with most just commendation. On the night of the 25th, Captain Maxwell sent a large yawl under the command of Mr. Bell, the master, with orders to lie in a little cove while the frigate stood out in the offing. The bait succeeded, and in the morning the French vessels sailed out, when, to their astonishment, the two armed boats pulled among them, and presently captured four feluccas and drove two others upon the rocks. The four prizes were brought off without the slightest hurt to a man of the party. On the 28th of June the "Amphion," 32, Captain William Hoste, "Active," 38, Captain A. Gordon, and "Cerberus," 32, Captain Whitby, chased a convoy of several vessels into the harbour of Groa. Captain Hoste, *supposing these to contain naval stores for the arsenal at Venice,*

deemed their capture indispensable, and accordingly ordered out the boats, under the command of Lieutenants Slaughter, O'Brien, and Dickinson, with Moore and Brattle, of the marines, to convey the party through the shoal water. They landed and advanced towards the town without firing a musket, when they were met by a body of troops and peasantry, who opened so destructive a fire that the British were obliged to seek some shelter. The French followed them, charging the sailors and marines with the bayonet. These, however, facing about, received the advance of the enemy with so much steadiness and resolution, that an officer and 38 men of the French regiment were left in their hands, and Lieutenant Slaughter marched forward into Groa and took possession of 25 vessels. A detachment of the 5th French infantry now renewed the attack upon the British, and the same intrepidity that had attained the previous success marked this second encounter, when 22 men with their officer laid down their arms. It was 8 at night, however, before the party could carry off these prisoners and prizes to the ships, which had anchored four miles from the town, so that it was a terribly fatiguing day. The loss of the British was 10 killed and 10 wounded.

A French squadron under Commodore Dubourdieu, consisting of "La Favorite," 40, Captain Lamarre La Meillerie, "L'Uranie," 40, Captain Margollé Lamier, "La Corona," 40, Captain Paschaligo, "La Bellona," 32, Captain Baralovich, and "La Carolina," 32, Captain Palicaccia, with the brig-corvettes "La Jena" and "La Mercure," lorded it over the Adriatic this autumn, and was watched by Captain Hoste and his squadron of 3 frigates with great vigilance and intense anxiety. Captain Hoste had, on the 6th of October, despatched the "Cerberus" to Malta, when, with his two remaining frigates, he came in sight of this squadron off Ancona. They, of course, immediately gave chase to this little company, when Captain Hoste, nothing daunted, stood towards them; but, finding them to be so much superior in force to himself, he tacked and stood away. The commodore, however, fearful of an increasing gale, or of being drawn too far away from his ground, tacked and stood back towards the harbour. Hoste having seen his enemy safe in port, steered for Lissa to find his frigate "Cerberus," which he fortunately met on the 9th. On the 12th, therefore, with the "Cerberus" and brig-sloop "Acorn," 18, Captain Clephane, Captain Hoste went in quest of the Franco-Venetian squadron at Ancona, but found that Dubourdieu was gone towards Corfu. The French commander had just quitted Ancona for Lissa, where he anchored on the 22nd, and having detached his troops took possession of 30 vessels which he found there, and of the island itself, without resistance. Hoste arrived off Port St. George, in this island, on the 26th, and was much mortified to find it in possession of the French. Intelligence of his approach had, however, disturbed the commodore, for, after carrying away two privateers and destroying five others, he hastened back to Ancona. On the 25th of July, the "Thames," 32, Hon. Captain Waldegrave, and brig-sloop "Pilot," 10, Captain

Toup Nicholas, coming up with the brig-sloop "Weazle," 10, Captain Prescott, received information of an enemy's convoy of 32 transport vessels going from Naples to Scylla, laden with stores and provisions for the force encamped there, and escorted by seven gun-boats and some armed vessels. The ships all immediately turned their heads in that direction, and, on perceiving them, the war-ships under the Capitaine de frégate "Caraccioli," formed line for the protection of the transports. The British frigate, with the two brigs, ran in to grape-shot distance, and drove the Neapolitan crews out of their vessels, when Captain Prescott pushed straight upon them with the boats of the "Weazle" followed by those of the "Thames" under Lieutenants Collier and Molesworth, while the marines of the "Thames," under Lieutenant M'Adam, were landed on the shore, and all proceeded against the town of Amanthea, where the Neapolitans had thrown up an embankment, behind which the vessels had sought shelter. The ships covered with their fire the approach of the boats, which soon surmounted every obstacle, and in a very short time all the vessels but one were either captured or destroyed. On the 28th of September, the brig-sloop "Rambler," 14, lying in Gibraltar Bay, was detached with some gun-boats in search of privateers, and reached the entrance of the Barbate, near Tarifa, when a party landed and crossed the sand-hills to get at a vessel lying three miles up the river. Here they encountered 30 French dragoons, with two 6-pounders, whom they engaged, and succeeded in beating off with the loss of 5 dragoons and 7 horses. The British then swam to the privateer, and carried her with a degree of spirit and enterprise seldom exceeded, and with no greater loss than 1 killed and 1 wounded. On the 4th of November, the ship-sloop "Blossom," 18, Captain W. Stewart, observed off Cape Sicil a latteen xebec. Accordingly, the yawl and cutter, under the command of Lieutenant Davis, were sent to pull with all their strength to overtake this strange sail, which was the "Cesar," 4, of Barcelona, who, at her first discharge, killed the Lieutenant, when Mr. John Marshall, a midshipman, took the command, and at the head of his men sprang on board the xebec, and carried her, after a smart contest. On the 13th of December, a squadron, consisting of the "Kent," 74, Captain Rogers, "Ajax," 74, Captain Otway, "Cambrian," 40, Captain Fane, and ship-sloops "Sparrow-hawk," 18, Captain Pringle, and "Minstrel," 18, Captain Colin Campbell, was cruising off the coast of Spain, when it was proposed by Captain Fane to take the boats of the squadron inside the mole of Palamso, where three armed ships and eight merchant vessels, laden with provisions, lay, protected by two batteries. Captain Fane, leading 350 seamen and 250 marines, landed the men on the beach without any interruption, and, under cover of the fire of the "Sparrow-hawk" and "Minstrel," took quiet possession of the batteries and the vessels; the guns were spiked, the magazines exploded, and the whole of the shipping brought out, burned, and destroyed. But *the soldiers*, having received a reinforcement from St. Felice,

opened so severe a fire upon the retiring party from the walls and houses of the town, and upon the boats as they pursued the shore, crowded with men, that the result was a loss of 3 officers and 11 men killed, and 15 officers and 74 men wounded, and at great was the confusion that 2 officers and 34 men were made prisoners; among the latter Captain Fane himself was, with characteristic firmness, would remain to the last on shore. It appeared afterwards, that the French force was a part of 21,000 men, who had just arrived in Catalonia, unable to move forward for want of assistance.

The Indian Ocean was also the scene of many gallant exploits in 1810. On the 6th of April, the cutter "Sylvia," Lt. Lieutenant Vere Drury, was attacked in the straits of Sunda by an armed prow, deceived by her insignificant appearance, but was forced in short and captured. On the 7th, another armed prow, of superior dimensions, was also, after some fighting, taken possession of. On the 11th, a large lugger prow, armed with three 18-pounders and 72 men, tried to capture the "Sylvia" while at anchor, but Lieutenant Drury, immediately he saw her advance towards him, placed a body of volunteers under Lieutenant Chesney in one of his prizes, and sent her to attack the lugger. Lieutenant Chesney resolutely met the enemy, and soon made him seek safety in flight. The "Sylvia" stood out to support his party, and, opening fire on the lugger, presently sank her with the greater part of her crew. On the 23rd, three armed brigs came across the "Sylvia," who immediately attacked the sternmost and captured her; pursuit was then given to the other two, who, however, effected their escape. These gallant affairs obtained just promotion and conferred great distinction on Lieutenant Drury.

20. FRENCH NAVAL SUCCESSSES NEAR THE ISLE OF FRANCE.

In the early part of the year Commodore Du Perré, with the French frigates "La Bellone" and "La Minerve," and the corvette "Le Victor," Captain Morice, sailed from Port Louis on a cruise for prizes. Having been successful in the Bay of Bengal, the commodore steered for the island of Madagascar for a cruise in the Mozambique channel, the inward passage to India. Here, on the 3rd of July, three British outward-bound Indiamen, "Ceylon," Captain Meriton, "Windham," Captain Stewart, and "Astell," Captain Hay, steering their course to the northward with troops on board, came in sight of the French squadron at daylight in the morning. Captain Meriton, as senior officer, assuming the command, telegraphed to his consorts, "As we cannot get away, we had better bring them to action before dark;" and about mid-day again telegraphed, "Form the line abreast to bear on ships together, 'Ceylon' in the centre." In this manner an action began about 2 o'clock by "La Minerve" firing her whole broadside into the "Ceylon," and the contest soon became general. In about an

hour's time Captain Hay, of the "Astell," was severely wounded, and soon after Captain Meriton was obliged to give up his command from a wound in the neck. At the same time, the main and mizen topmasts of the French frigate "La Minerve" came down close to the caps. The "Ceylon" had been, however, so mauled in her masts and rigging, and her hull so badly struck, as to make three feet water per hour in her hold, that about half-past 7 she hauled down her colours. The "Windham" was soon left quite alone to contend with the "Bellone" and "Victor;" for the "Astell," disabled as she was, had effected her escape, followed by "La Minerve," when Captain Stewart, unable to carry on the conflict, struck his colours to the commodore. In the morning the French frigates anchored safely with their prizes in the bay of the island of Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands, and remained there for a fortnight to re-fit.

On the 24th of April, the British frigate "Néréide," 36, Captain Nisbet Willoughby, arrived off the Isle of France from the Cape, and was immediately detached by Captain Lambert, of the "Iphigenia," the commanding officer on the station, to cruise off the east coast of the island. A ship was seen lying at anchor in the Rivière-Noire, moored under the protection of some powerful batteries, which proved to be "L'Astrée," of 1,000 tons, commanded by Captain Breton. Passing her by with a few broadsides, which she did not return, Captain Willoughby proceeded to Jacolet, where a large merchant ship was discovered lying at an anchorage, the entrance to which was commanded by two batteries. There was on board the "Néréide" an excellent pilot (a black inhabitant of Mauritius), who conducted the boats of the ship with much difficulty in the night through a narrow and intricate passage, and had just reached the only feasible spot for effecting a landing, when a French schooner near one of the batteries spied them and gave the alarm. They became, in consequence, exposed to a heavy fire, but, nevertheless, they managed to get to shore, and in ten minutes had possession of one of the batteries. Having spiked the guns, Captain Willoughby found a guard-house, garrisoned by regulars and militia, who opened heavily with musketry upon his men, but he instantly led the seamen and marines to charge, when the French colonial soldiers gave way and fled, leaving their two field-pieces and commanding officer behind. The strongest battery remained, however, still unsubdued when day broke, and the small band from the "Néréide" was rendered clearly visible to the enemy. To attack this battery it was necessary to pass the little stream Le Galet, which, owing to the late heavy rains, was so rapid and so swollen, that the tallest man could scarcely wade it. The whole party, nevertheless, dashed in, and while some swam, the rest were helped over; and though their ammunition was all spoilt, the gallant fellows rushed out of the water with the bayonet down, and with three cheers the hill and its battery were speedily carried in good style. The commandant, Col. Colyard, was now made prisoner; the guns were spiked, and the field-pieces embarked with a quantity of naval and military stores,

when possession of the first battery was found to have been recovered by a strong body of militia and armed inhabitants, who were now seen drawn up in battle-array. Captain Willoughby, with consummate generalship, saw that not a moment was to be lost in attacking at all hazards, and immediately formed his men and advanced to the enemy, turning in an oblique direction towards the rear of the force, whom he guessed to be of a quality to be very much alarmed by the loss of their line of retreat. The *ruse* succeeded; for, as soon as the intention of cutting them off was discovered, the whole party took to their heels and ran away. The French schooner and merchant ship were then secured and brought off, and the boats rejoined the "Néréide," with the loss of only 1 marine killed and an officer and 6 men wounded.

Soon after the Isle of Bourbon had surrendered, the frigates "Sirius," Captain Pym, "Iphigenia," Captain Lambert, and "Néréide," Captain Willoughby, the latter ship having on board 50 grenadiers of the 33rd Regiment under Lieutenant Morlett, and 50 of the 69th Regiment under Lieutenant Needhall, with a dozen Madras artillerymen under Lieutenant Aldwinkle, the whole military force being commanded by Captain Todd, were sent on a conjunct expedition to co-operate in an attack upon the Isle de la Passe, a rocky island commanding the entrance of Grand Port, in the Isle of France, where they were to land and distribute copies of a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants by Mr. Farghar, Governor of the lately-captured Isle of Bourbon. On the 10th of August, the boats of the squadron, manned by 400 seamen, marines, and soldiers, under Captain Willoughby (who took his black pilot with him), proceeded to the attack. The night was very dark and the boats fouled in shoring, which frightened the pilot, and his guidance was thought so important that the expedition was obliged to be given up. On the 13th, Captain Pym having again obtained the services of the black pilot, resolved to renew the attempt; five boats, containing 70 seamen and marines, commanded by Lieutenants Norman, Chads, and Watling, with Cottell and Bate of the marines, pushed off from the "Sirius" with that object. The garrison on the island consisted of about 80 regular troops, with 13 heavy guns and 5 mortars and howitzers in battery. The boats got safely to shore, and the crews, headed by Lieutenant Norman, landed and attempted to scale the works, in which service Norman was shot through the head, but after a loss of 7 killed and 18 wounded the French soldiers were driven out, and Lieutenants Chads and Watling stormed and carried the other works without the loss of a man. In this affair the whole of the enemy's signals fell into the hands of the conquerors. On the next morning Captain Pym returned the black pilot to Captain Willoughby, and made sail for Port Louis, having placed Captain Todd and a garrison in the Isle de la Passe.

No time was lost by the gallant Captain of the "Néréide" in pushing his way into the interior, and spreading the proclamations even to the old town of Grand Port, notwithstanding the opposition of General Vandermaesen, the second in command on the island.

Captain Willoughby conducted himself with so much spirit and judgment, that he executed the task allotted to him, and put to the rout the enemy, who attempted to interfere with him, and to stop his march; and he carried himself with so much forbearance towards the islanders, that they gave neither hindrance nor offence. The sugar and coffee, which might have been considered legitimate objects of seizure, were left untouched; the consequence of which was the complete success of the object they had most in view, which was very much owing to the character of their commanding officer, who is said to have "blended with the utmost suavity of manners an undaunted intrepidity." These irruptions on shore were not only "once and have done with it," but were repeated until they began to be regarded by the crews of the ships in the light of pleasant excursions. On the 20th, Capt. Willoughby was on one of these excursions on the island, at about 10 in the morning, when an alarm of five large ships in the offing was raised, which induced him to hasten back with all expedition to the "Néréide." He immediately ran up French colours to his masthead, which were responded to from the island and by the ships, which he now ascertained to be "La Bellone," "La Minerve," "Le Victor," and the two Indiamen prizes, "Windham" and "Ceylon," under the command of Commodore Du Perré. "Le Victor," under topsails, ran in, and anchored within pistol-shot of the "Néréide," when the latter substituted the union jack for the French ensign, and opened fire with such effect that "Le Victor" hailed that she struck. "La Minerve," followed by the "Ceylon," now entered the channel close to "Le Victor" (having exchanged broadsides with the "Néréide" in passing), whom she ordered to cut her cable and follow quickly in her wake, which she accordingly did, steering towards Grand Port. "La Bellone" hauled off on another tack, with her prize, the "Windham," as if to seek some other port. Instead of this, however, she left her prize on that tack, and bore up herself, with the view of attacking the "Néréide," with whom she soon exchanged broadsides. Capt. Willoughby, having so many enemy's ships at anchor near him, sent off to Capt. Pym to announce their arrival and ask for assistance, but, having been especially ordered to protect the newly-acquired post of Isle de la Passe, he did not get under way. Unfortunately, a very serious casualty had happened, without his having been apprised of it, at the island fort, which, by an accidental explosion, caused the destruction of a quantity of cartridges, and dismounted some of the sea-battery guns. The mortars were, however, untouched, and now opened on the French ships, and the first shell burst over Commodore Du Perré, whose ship was, in consequence, anchored at a greater distance off. Vigilant watch was kept up all night by the boats of the "Néréide," who expected an attack, but none was attempted. The "Windham," continuing on her tack, was about to enter the Rivière Noire, when the "Sirius" got sight of her. Lieutenant Watling and two boats were sent after her; and the calm state of the weather enabling him to reach her, she was boarded, carried, and

brought away, with a crew of thirty French sailors, and a Lieut. De Vaisseau. The "Sirius" arrived off the Isle de la Passe, and exchanged numbers with the "Néréide," at mid-day of the 22nd, when Capt. Pym immediately signalled, "Ready for action," and bore up for the passage, intending to attack Commodore Du Perrée in his position, close to the town of Grand Port. The "Sirius," however, unfortunately grounded, and did not get afloat again till the morning of the 23rd, in the afternoon of which day the two ships were joined by the "Iphigenia" and "Magicienne," commanded by Captains Lambert and Curtis. The four frigates soon got under way, led by the "Néréide," with her black pilot, and stood down the channel to Grand Port. The "Sirius," however, again struck the ground on a coral reef, and the "Magicienne" also grounded on a bank. Capt. Willoughby, with characteristic gallantry, notwithstanding these disasters, anchored upon the beam of the French frigate, "La Bellone," at a distance of less than 200 yards, and a furious cannonade commenced. The "Magicienne," from her grounding, was able to bring three of her foremost guns to bear on the enemy, though distant; and the "Iphigenia" got afloat, and ran up against "La Minerve," into whom she poured a destructive fire at pistol-shot distance. Both "La Minerve" and the "Ceylon" ran foul of "La Bellone," which was still able, nevertheless, to make her broadside bear upon the "Néréide." In the contest, however, Commodore Du Perrée was laid senseless on the deck by a wound in the head, and Captain Bouvet, removing from "La Minerve" assumed the command of the squadron. Captain Willoughby had been also severely wounded in the eye, which was torn completely out of the socket; and the First Lieutenant of the frigate was mortally, and the Second severely, wounded, while the greater part of the crew were either killed or disabled. The whole of the French ships had taken the ground, but in such a position as to give them an advantage over the British. The "Néréide" had sunk as low as the shoal would admit, and the French, not seeing her colours were down, continued to fire upon her. Under these circumstances, a boat from the "Sirius" came on board the "Néréide," with a message from Capt. Pym to Capt. Willoughby, to abandon his ship, and come on board the "Sirius;" but, with a feeling that did him honour, the gallant officer refused to desert his few surviving officers and men, and replied that the "Néréide" had already struck. The boats and officer sent with the colours not being able to reach "La Bellone," her fire continued, and at midnight the mainmast of the "Néréide" went by the board. At length, the firing ceased on every side, and all was silent till morning, when "La Bellone" communicated with the British ship. The account given by the French officer sent to take possession says: "Il la trouva dans un état impossible à décrire; 100 morts ou mourants étaient sur les ponts. Son Capitaine Willoughby blessé." The "Magicienne," being bilged and sinking, was obliged to be set on fire, and blew up with her colours flying; the "Sirius" could not be got afloat again, and was set on fire on the 25th, when she also

blew up; but the "Iphigenia" continued to warp out, and got completely beyond gunshot of the ships and the shore, and Captain Lambert, after the loss of Captain Pym's ship, proceeded to support and protect the garrison on the Isle de la Passe. On the 27th, the "Iphigenia" discovered three strange ships working up to the island: these proved to be the French frigates "La Vénus," "L'Astrée," and "La Manche," under the command of Commodore Hamelin, who had, two days previously, obtained information, when cruising for prizes, of the successful issue of his comrade, M. Duterré's affairs at Grand Port, and who was summoned by his commanding officer to come and put a finishing stroke to them, by the capture of the "Iphigenia" and the Isle de la Passe. As soon as the French Commodore came within reach, he sent in a flag of truce to summon Capt. Lambert to surrender both his frigate and the island; and, on a refusal, he sent in a second on the 28th, and at the same moment a summons arrived from Governor Deceas. It was idle for Captain Lambert to attempt to disguise from either functionary that he had neither the amount of force nor the requisite ammunition to maintain an action of half an hour with such fourfold superiority; and, accordingly, he accepted the terms proposed, and hauled down his colours. Captains Lambert, Pym, Curtis, and Willoughby, and their several officers and men, were collected and carried to the Isle of France, where they were found when that island surrendered to the British arms in the succeeding December. After the Indiamen and their conquerors had refitted at Johanna in July, as has been stated, the crew of the "Windham," and the military on board of her, consisting of a portion of the 24th Regiment, together with General Wetherall, in command, were landed at Port South-East in that island, where, at the end of August, they were joined by Capt. Lambert and the officers above named; and the whole party were ordered into the interior, to a place of greater security. As they marched across the island, they were met by a Monsieur Peto, who inquired if Captain Lambert, of the British navy, was of the party. On his being pointed out, the gentleman stated that he had a sum of money in his possession which was his property. He then explained that his friend, Capt. Bergeret, of the French navy, had intrusted him with a purse, which, should the fortune of war ever bring Lambert into captivity, should be made over to him, in return for the civility and kindness shown him when captured in the Bay of Bengal in 1805. (See "Annals," Vol. I. p. 296.) The circumstances which then came to light were peculiar. Lambert's frigate "San Fiorenzo," after the conquest of Bergeret's frigate "Psyche," was unable to spare men sufficient to navigate the two prizes, on which the French Captain said to the Englishman: "I am, it is true, your enemy, and you have made me your prisoner, but, if you will trust me with my own vessel, I will carry her into port." Lambert took him at his word; the "San Fiorenzo" pursued her separate course, and, on entering the harbour, was saluted by the "Psyche," which had arrived safely the day before. Such anecdotes have a charm in

"The Annals of War" when they show that honour and love of country do not necessitate bitterness of spirit, but that all men who do their duty nobly are brothers and friends.

The officers were all forthwith put upon their trial for the loss of their respective ships, and were most honourably acquitted. The following was a portion of the sentence on Captain Willoughby: "The Court is of opinion that His Majesty's late ship 'Néréide' was carried into battle in a most judicious, officer-like, and gallant manner, and cannot do otherwise than express its high admiration of the noble conduct of the Captain, officers, and ship's company during the whole of the unequal contest; and is further of opinion that the 'Néréide' was not surrendered to the enemy until she was disabled in every respect, so as to render all further resistance useless, and that no blame whatever attaches to them for the loss of the said ship." Capt. Willoughby became subsequently Sir Nisbet Willoughby.

The "Boadicea," Commodore Rowley, picked up at sea on the 27th Lieut. Wauchope, who had been despatched by Captains Pym and Lambert in an open boat with letters from the Isle de la Passe, explanatory of these events. Rowley immediately put up his helm, and on the 29th reached the island, where two frigates were perceived, which at once chased the British frigate into the road of St. Denis, in the Isle of Bourbon. The Governor-General of the Isle of France now determined to profit by the naval ascendancy which he had so unexpectedly acquired in those seas, and immediately fitted out a squadron, under Commodore Bouvet, consisting of the captured "Iphigenia," "L'Astrée," "L'Entreprenant," and "Le Victor," which appeared off the Isle de la Passe on the 9th of September. It happened that the British frigate "Africaine," 38, Capt. Robert Corbett, on her way from England to Madras, had touched at the Island of Rodriguez about this time to replenish her water, and here had learned the state of affairs at the Isle of France, to which he forthwith repaired, and arrived off that coast at daylight on the 11th. Captain Corbett immediately sent his boats, under the command of Lieut. Forster, to find a passage along the Poudre d'Or coast; who, following a schooner in, it was discovered that the rocks and beach were lined with French soldiers, who opened a heavy fire of musketry on the British. The fire was quickly returned; and one of the boats succeeded in boarding the schooner they had followed, which proved to be an aviso, laden with stores for the squadron at Grand Port. The boats were, however, obliged to relinquish their prize, and did not recover their ship until nearly the whole party in them were killed or wounded. The aviso soon got afloat, and proceeded safely next day to her destination. The "Africaine," however, made the Isle of Bourbon on the 12th, where she sighted the "Boadicea," coming out of the Bay of St. Paul, accompanied by the sloop-ship "Otter," 16, Capt. Tomkinson, and the gun-brig "Staunch," Lieut. Street; but, just as she joined company, they espied two ships in the offing, whom they knew to be the French frigates. Chase was

forthwith given, but by dark the "Africaine" lost sight of the "Boadicea" and her consorts, and fired rockets and blue lights to signal her whereabouts. At about 2 in the morning Captain Corbett, finding himself within musket-shot distance of "L'Astrée," could not refrain from becoming the assailant, and fired her larboard guns, double-shotted, into the French frigate's weather quarter, which immediately returned the broadside. The second, however, mortally wounded Capt. Corbett, and the command of the "Africaine" devolved on Lieutenant Tullidge. In about an hour's time, "L'Iphigenia" came up and joined in the contest, and the "Africaine" found herself with one ship of equal force within half pistol-shot on her larboard beam, and another of even greater power on her starboard, raking her with a most destructive fire of round, grape, and longriddle. Tullidge and the next Lieutenant in seniority were soon both wounded and carried below, and the Master, who succeeded to the command, had his head carried off with a round shot; nevertheless, the "Africaine" continued the action till nearly 5 in the morning, when the ship, with her three lower masts tottering, her hull pierced in all directions, and her quarter-deck cleared of officers to command, hauled down her colours. She had lost her Captain, Master, and Capt. Elliott, of the army—killed; the First and Second Lieutenants, the Lieutenant of Marines, and a lieutenant of the army, besides master's mates and midshipmen, severely wounded, making in all 49 killed and 114 wounded, or nearly two-thirds of her complement. Very soon after daylight, the "Boadicea" arrived to her consort's assistance, but soon discovered that she was already a prize to the enemy. However, as soon as she was joined by the "Otter" and "Staunch," Commodore Rowley followed after the two French frigates and their prize; and as soon as the "Boadicea" had fired two guns, the prize, a totally dismasted hulk, was abandoned, and the enemy made his way into the Bay of St. Paul. The misfortunes to the British navy had, as we have seen, followed close on one another, but were not yet quite ended.

On the 17th of September, in the morning, the British frigate "Ceylon," 32, Captain Charles Gordon, arrived off Port Louis in her way from Madras to the Isle of Bourbon. Commodore Hamelin being in that harbour, forthwith weighed and put to sea, with "La Vénus" and "La Victor" in pursuit of the "Ceylon," who had on board Major-General Abercromby and about 100 soldiers of the 69th and 86th Regiments. It was 2 in the day before Captain Gordon descried the "Vénus" and the "Victor" in chase under all sail, with a fresh breeze, and it was about midnight when "La Vénus" ranged up on the "Ceylon's" starboard quarter and opened fire; a severe conflict ensued for about an hour and a quarter, when a respite of an hour occurred. Soon after 2 o'clock the action recommenced, and was renewed with so much vigour that the British ship lost her mizen-mast and her fore and main topmasts. "La Victor" now arrived at the scene of action, and took up a position athwart the "Ceylon's" bows, as

if intending to rake her, when Captain Gordon showed a light in token of surrender, and before day broke the officers, naval and military, were taken prisoners on board "La Vénus."

It was not till 8 in the morning, however, before the "Vénus" and "Victor," with their prize, were discovered by Commodore Rowley, with the "Boadicea," "Otter," and "Staunch," who immediately made chase. "La Victor," on seeing their approach, hastened to take the prize in tow, while "La Vénus" used her best endeavours to get away to the Isle of France. The corvette being too small and light to tow the "Ceylon" with any effect, cast her off and stood away, while the "Boadicea" continued in full sail after "La Vénus," whom she ran alongside about 5 in the afternoon, and after a cannonade of ten minutes forced her to strike. The commodore having run up the British flag on the prize, carried it into the Bay of St. Paul, followed by the re-conquered frigate of Captain Gordon, and then he recovered the unfortunate "Africaine," with the sad remains of her crew. The "Ceylon" was immediately re-taken by the "Otter."

21. BRITISH BOAT ACTIONS.

The British boat actions of this year were of the accustomed character of dash enterprise, and probably nothing tended to foster the race of naval commanders of Great Britain more than the opportunities thus afforded to the youngsters of the day to obtain notoriety and distinction. On the 17th of January, the "Freija," 36, Captain John Hayes, received intelligence, from the log of a schooner captured by her, that there were three or four vessels at anchor in Barè Mahaut, a port of some security and strength, situated on the north side of the neck of land connecting Basse Terre with Grande Terre, in the Island of Guadeloupe. Captain Hayes resolved to attack the forts which defended the harbour, and proceeded to reconnoitre the place. After a two days' search, through a most intricate and dangerous navigation, three vessels were seen at anchor, and the evening being fine, and weather calm, the four boats of the "Freija," under the command of Lieutenant Hope, of the ship, and Shillibeer, of the Marines, were sent off from the frigate. After grounding eight or ten times, Lieutenant Hope detained a fisherman, from whom he learned that some troops, both cavalry and infantry, had arrived there that same evening from Ponte-à-Pitre. Undismayed by this information, the boats pulled in within gun-shot, when the batteries and the ships opened on them with grape and with musketry from men concealed behind bushes. Under such circumstances, success appeared very doubtful. Nevertheless, forward the boats went, and as the boarding-party ascended the ships on one side, their own crews fled out of them on the other. The gallant tars, having secured the vessels, forthwith landed (although to do so they were obliged to wade up to their middles), and first stormed a battery, from which the French

soldiers retreated to a neighbouring breastwork, whence they were soon driven away before broadswords and bayonets well wielded. Lieutenant Hope and his party then pushed on and stormed and carried another battery, a very complete work, closed and ditched all round, and mounting three 24-pounders. After this astonishing success the brig was carried out and the rest of the shipping set fire to and destroyed, and the party got back to the ship, having only had, in this very gallant affair, 2 seamen severely wounded. On the 10th of January, a small British squadron, under the orders of Captain Sir Joseph Yorke, of the line-of-battle ship "Christian VII.," 80, was lying in Basque Roads, when a convoy of French coasters was discovered on their passage from Isle d'Aix to Rochelle. Sir Joseph immediately despatched the boats under Lieutenant Guion to cut off these vessels, which, as soon as they were chased, ran on shore under the protection of a battery. The party, however, succeeded in capturing one chasse-marée and in destroying four other vessels valuably laden. On the 20th, another convoy of thirty sail made their appearance in the Maumunson passage, and the boats were again sent after them under the same lieutenant, when, as before, they ran aground, and were captured, burned, or driven back. On the 13th of February, a convoy of ten sail got on a reef near the point of Chatelaillon, when eight boats under Captain Atkins and Lieutenant Guion were manned and armed for the purpose of destroying them. As they advanced with this object, nine French gun-boats pulled out from the shore to oppose them. Guion, having selected the rearmost of them for attack, gallantly boarded and carried her. Lieutenant Roberts, with another detachment, pursued two other gun-boats and beached them, and the remainder of the boats proceeded to execute the service of the expedition and destroyed three of the chasse-marées. They all got back to their ships without having a man hurt. On the 23rd of July, the British frigates "Belvidera," 36, Captain Byron, and "Nemesis," 28, Captain Ferris, perceived three vessels at anchor in-shore of Studtland, which proved to be Danish gun-vessels, and the boats of the several ships, under the orders of Lieutenants Nisbett and Bruce, with James Campbell of the Marines, were let down to capture or destroy them. A sharp encounter ensued, when two of the schooners hauled down their flags, and the third fled up a creek, but was pursued and burned. On the 6th of September, the "Surveillante," 38, Captain George Collier, with gun-brig "Constant," Lieutenant Stokes, were reconnoitring the mouth of the Loire when a French convoy was observed to be running out from the Morbihan. This convoy was immediately chased and a portion driven back, but one brig sought protection close under the rocks, and the boats, under the orders of the Hon. Lieutenant Arbuthnot, were sent to attempt her capture or destruction. Notwithstanding the protection afforded the brig by the fire of the batteries, and the opposition of a detachment of soldiers with field-pieces, the brig was carried, and brought out without the loss of a man. On the 7th of September, the "Dreadnought," 98, Captain Collard, bearing the flag of Rear-

Admiral Sotheby, obtained information of a ship among the rocks on the west side of Ushant. The admiral ordered the boats to be lowered and sent in to cut her out; and, accordingly, a detachment, under the orders of Lieutenant Pettman, went down the side and pulled towards the ship, which proved to be the Spanish merchantman "Maria Antonia," full of soldiers. Nevertheless the boats pushed on, and, in the face of all opposition, boarded and carried her: but the soldiers (supposed to be 600 in number) climbed an adjoining nearly perpendicular precipice, and opened a tremendous fire, to which no return could be made; the consequence was that the British sustained a serious loss, and two of their boats got on shore and were captured. On the night of the 27th, the boats of the "Caledonia," 120, Captain Sir Harry Neale, "Valiant," 74, Captain Oliver, and "Armide," 38, Captain Daking Dunn, were detached, under the orders of Lieutenant Hamilton, to take or destroy three brigs lying under the protection of a strong battery at Pointe du Ché, near Basque Roads; and as the enemy was known to have strengthened that position with a strong detachment of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, in the village of Argentin, a body of 130 marines, under Captains Sherman and M'Lachlan, were added to the complement from the ships. The marines were landed near Pointe du Ché, and under Lieutenant Little advanced with the bayonet, supported by the seamen under Lieutenants Coulter and Couche, who quickly carried the battery and spiked the guns. Captain Sherman, with another division of marines, took post near the sea, and opened a heavy fire on a considerable body of troops, who advanced out of Argentin to the assistance of the brigs, but were checked by the musketry until they brought up a field-piece to flank the line. The British force immediately charged and took it, and in the meantime the seamen effected the capture of two of the brigs and the destruction of the third; the only casualty was a severe wound to Lieutenant Little, which occasioned the loss of his hand. On the 8th of November, the British frigate "Quebec," 32, Captain Hawtayne, was resuming her station before the Texel, when a fine French privateer was observed to anchor within the Vlie-stroom. Lieutenant Popham volunteered his services to make an attempt to carry her, and three boats pushed from the frigate under his orders with this object. When within pistol-shot of the vessel, the boats all grounded on the sand, and in this position received three distinct broadsides, but Lieutenant Popham and his party extricated themselves from this difficulty and boarded and captured the "Jeune Louise," 14, which, with considerable difficulty, he brought away through the sands and shoals by which she was surrounded.

1811.

1. THE PRINCE OF WALES DECLARED REGENT OF GREAT BRITAIN. — 2. BIRTH OF THE KING OF ROMÉ. — 3. ANTICIPATIONS OF WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA. — 4. PENINSULAR WAR. — 5. SOULT UNDERTAKES THE SIEGE OF BADAJOZ. — 6. BATTLE OF THE GEVORA. — CAPITULATION OF BADAJOZ. — 7. BATTLE OF BARROSA. — 8. MASSENA RETIRES WITH THE FRENCH ARMY OUT OF PORTUGAL. — 9. AFFAIR AT SABUGAL. — 10. MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE ALEMTEJO — RE-CAPTURE OF OLIVENCA AND CAMPO MAYOR. — 11. BATTLE OF FUENTES D'ONOR. — 12. MASSENA RECALLED IN DISGRACE BY NAPOLEON — HIS RETIREMENT AND MILITARY CHARACTER. — 13. BATTLE OF ALBUERA. — 14. WAR IN ARRAGON AND CATALONIA. — 15. SUCHET BESIEGES AND TAKES TARRAGONA. — 16. SECOND SIEGE OF BADAJOZ — TWO ASSAULTS UNSUCCESSFUL. — 17. SOULT AND MARMONT UNITE THEIR ARMIES AND RAISE THE SIEGE. — 18. WAR IN THE EAST INDIES — CAPTURE OF JAVA BY THE BRITISH. — 19. THE SOUTH AMERICAN COLONIES REVOLT FROM SPAIN. — 20. NAVAL WAR. — 21. MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES — AFFAIR OF "THE LITTLE BELT" AND "PRESIDENT." — 22. WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND RUSSIANS. — 23. BATTLE OF ROUSTJOUK. — 24. WAR IN THE PENINSULA. — 25. AFFAIR OF EL BODON. — 26. GIRARD'S DIVISION SURPRISED BY HILL AT ARROYO DE MOLINOS. — 27. SUCHET BESIEGES MURVIEDRO. — 28. BATTLE OF SAGUNTUM. — 29. SURRENDER OF MURVIEDRO. — 30. VICTOR BESIEGES TARIFA AND FAILS. — 31. WAR IN THE EAST. — 32. NAVAL WAR — SINGLE SHIPS' AND BOAT ACTIONS.

1. THE PRINCE OF WALES DECLARED REGENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THE mind of King George III. had been for many years seriously impaired, and on the 2nd of November in the past year the death of his daughter completely destroyed its equilibrium. In addition to this heavy affliction, he now became perfectly blind. The royal functions were accordingly suspended; but, as circumstances nearly similar resulting from the same mental disorder had been happily removed after a short interval, the Cabinet assumed the responsibility of proceeding with the government and prosecuting the war. At the commencement of this year, however, very great concern existed in the public mind of Great Britain at this constitutional paralysis, and the earliest attention was given to the means of supplying that deficiency in the executive branch of the govern-

ment which was caused by the continued mental indisposition of the sovereign. After repeated adjournments of Parliament, in hopes of a favourable turn in His Majesty's malady, it was no longer possible to avoid the proposition of a Regency. Considerable opposition was, nevertheless, made upon constitutional grounds against the plan of appointing the Prince of Wales unrestricted Regent, but both Houses finally agreed on the requisite provisions and restrictions, and the great seal was affixed to the bill by commission on the 5th of February. To the disappointment of the opposition, and much to the general surprise, the Prince Regent, on his assumption of office, immediately announced his intention not to disturb the existing government, and accordingly the foreign and domestic policy of Great Britain remained unaffected by the change, which merely altered the name of the head of the State.

2. BIRTH OF THE KING OF ROME.

An event of some presumed importance to the throne of Napoleon occurred on the 20th of April, when his Empress was safely delivered of a son. In the plenitude of his sovereignty, the Emperor selected for the young Prince the ancient title, dormant for so many centuries, of "King of Rome." The prospect of establishing a dynasty of his direct descendants was very acceptable at the time to France, and immensely gratified the father, for it flattered his self-love, and held out to him the prospect of such worldly prosperity that he determined to solemnise the baptism with the greatest splendour in the succeeding month of June, when he collected at Paris all the agnates of his house, with 100 bishops, and 20 cardinals, to evidence the sanction of the Church, and the representatives of many European Sovereigns, to give éclat to the occasion.

3. ANTICIPATIONS OF WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.

The continental system of Napoleon can never be named but as a flagrant proof that in the science of politics he did not merit the name of Great, and that as a statesman he was not one whit before his age. As a successful conqueror and a wonderful soldier he was supreme, but not as a sovereign. In vain, with all the authority of an autocrat, did he issue decrees affecting commerce which became a dead letter, for it eluded his grasp; in vain did he annex Rome, Holland, and the Hanse Towns, and convert them into Departments of France. Italian, Dutch, and German traders laughed at him in their sleeves. In vain did he seize territory and threaten states with his heavy wrath, if they departed one jot from the strictest execution of his continental system. At the great fairs of Leipzig and Frankfort, notwithstanding his denunciations, English cottons and colonial produce were openly displayed and sold; his own manufacturers even *remonstrated* against the privations which his policy inflicted on

them, and which prevented all improvements in the silks and laces of France. The Czar dared to add to the provocations which this ignorance of political economy continually heaped upon him the publication of a ukase retaliating every sort of prohibition, by high duties, upon the manufactures of France! Russia had smarted more than any other nation under the continental system; her cumbrous natural productions, which could no longer find a vent seaward, had to be carried overland to the markets of Europe, which so increased their cost as to render them unsaleable. The great nobles, for the most part proprietors of land, derived their principal riches from British commerce. Moreover, the United States of America took advantage of Napoleon's erroneous policy to inundate the continent with British goods at an immense advantage to their own commerce. Although this remedied, in some degree, the embarrassment of France, yet to Russia the cessation of direct trade with the English destroyed the system of prepayments, which is an important consideration in Russian intercourse; and, indeed, the Czar had been driven into the step he took by his people. Napoleon, however, desired the French ambassador at St. Petersburg, M. de Caulaincourt, to remonstrate against these infractions of his continental system; but Alexander had at this time other grievances against Napoleon, and listened to his remonstrances very impatiently. He had felt himself insulted in his family by the summary rejection of the alliance offered to the French emperor by Russia of a princess of the imperial house, and to the election made to the aggrandisement of the influence of Austria. He had been at first dazzled with the military grandeur of the conqueror, but he was too great a potentate to be the creature of any monarch, and could not descend to be a nullity in Europe. He therefore considered that war between France and Russia was becoming sooner or later inevitable, and that, before so unscrupulous an adversary, he should prepare himself betimes. He would not hasten the crisis any more than he could help, and all diplomatic courtesies therefore were systematically and punctually attended to. The Czar was seen to give increased attention to his army and to the military defence of his empire. He consulted his engineers as to the strengthening of the fortifications of Riga, Dwinaburg, Vitepsk, and Smolensk, and by degrees brought everything to the best war-footing. Napoleon was too shrewd and clear-sighted a man not to see from afar the coming storm, but, with his ardent character, he rather liked the idea of the mighty conflict, and preferred the anticipation of an embrace with the terrible Russian bear to the wearing tedious task of exterminating Spanish peasantry on their hills and in their hiding-places. He therefore at the very beginning of this year gave all the energies of his mind to the Russian prospect, and commenced his preparations for carrying on a war, worthy of the Titans, within the very regions of eternal snow.

4. PENINSULAR WAR.

It was, however, necessary to give his orders to his lieutenants in the Peninsula, and General Foy was now awaiting his pleasure in his ante-chamber, as to the plan of the campaign which the altered circumstances of the army of Portugal demanded, and the reply that he was to convey back to Marshal Massena. He could not, indeed, hold out to him the prospect of giving the benefit of his presence to his army, which would have been of the greatest value in this crisis of the Spanish war. He contented himself with reinforcing the army of Portugal by one division under General Drouet, who was to sweep before him all the outlying detachments and straggling parties in his way south, and to join Massena. General Dorsenne, in command of the Imperial Guard, was to aid Drouet in this object, as far as he could, but was, on no account, to quit the neighbourhood of the frontier, lest he might have other orders to expedite for the immediate escort of his person. He ordered Soult to send Mortier with the 5th *corps-d'armée* towards the Tagus to threaten Abrantes and watch Badajoz, Olivenza, and Elvas, while Suchet was commanded to continue the sieges of the strong places still held by the patriots in Catalonia. Macdonald was reinforced with a reserve of such troops as could be spared to him from the French frontier, to enable Suchet to go forward to Valencia so as to create a diversion for Soult's army in Andalusia. General Foy was therefore sent off with this despatch in the first days of January, and arrived at Massena's head-quarters on the 5th of February. The old marshal had now been five months without communications from the Emperor, during which interval he had not received troops, money, or instructions. Half his army was scattered over a semicircle of fifty leagues, to seek the means of subsistence for the remainder. The French soldiers endured these privations with good humour, and with those ingenious shifts and contrivances which no other nation in the world understands so well. They employed a certain taste in repairing the rags of their military clothing with all the colours of the rainbow; and for shoes, they employed the skins of sheep and oxen as sandals, imitating the classic cothurnus by displaying the paws and heads of animals on their insteps, and using for this purpose the hides of the beasts they slaughtered for food. But the officers could not so readily indulge in such liberties of uniform, and became literally "a ragged regiment;" for the cost of tailoring and cobbling increased with the necessities for repairs, and there was no money in their pockets to meet additional expenses. The higher the rank the greater became their discontent under these privations, until the marshals opened their mouths and were loud in their complaints. Rather than descend below their station they laid their strong hand upon the military convoys and appropriated what they required to their own use. This reacted to such a degree upon the finances of the intrusive king, that he sent the Marquis d'Almenara to Paris in

January, to intimate to Napoleon "that the French marshals intercepted his revenue, disregarded his orders, insulted his government, and oppressed and ruined his country." He even went so far as to refuse to occupy the throne any longer, unless the Emperor would come in person and remedy these evils, since he persisted in making the French armies independent of his royal authority.

Meanwhile, Wellington was not idle. He entrenched his army in their cantonments about Cartaxo, and still added every day to the strength of the "Lines" in his rear. He caused a new system of defence to be constructed on the left of the Tagus about Aldea, Gallega, and Setubal, to secure a safer communication with the shipping; and having examined carefully the condition of affairs, civil and military, and pondered upon everything with his usual cool judgment, he determined to run no needless risk, and concluded that none would be incurred by adhering stedfastly to his defensive policy. But, in truth, a political paralysis had, at this juncture, fallen upon the British government at home. Severe commercial distress had been superinduced by the increasing difficulties incurred by the disruption of trade. Not only was the effect of the Berlin and Milan decrees severely felt by the sudden stoppage of intercourse with the European continent, but this was greatly aggravated by the loss of the North American market, which had ensued from the imposition of the Non-Intercourse Act, passed by the Congress of the United States in February of this year. Moreover, there had been a succession of bad harvests, which enhanced the price of bread and occasioned discontent, and the Cabinet was far from being directed with the vigour which had characterised it in the earlier days of the war. To add to these real evils, the change in the sovereign power by King George III.'s lamentable illness had awakened party strife, and a struggle for power ensued, in consequence, between the great parties of the State, very much to the injury of the common weal. The British army was consequently left for some time without any money in the military chest, and the amount of supplies, at a moment when half the people of Portugal had to be supported, as well as the army efficiently maintained for active service, was very much restricted. But in a matter of trade it is not in the nature of commerce to injure one side only. The French people could scarcely obtain, or only at a ruinous price, coffee, sugar, and spices, which to such a *nation gastronomique* was a real privation. French manufacturers had no means of procuring indigo or the dye-woods essential for their fabrics. Even timber for the naval arsenals was wanting, for no country in Europe is so deficient in fine trees as France. To remedy these requirements a fever of speculation and stock-jobbing flamed up in the empire, and more particularly in Holland. Every trade was unsettled and in an unhealthy state, and, to increase the evil, inordinate power tampered with the currency and finance, and bankruptcies ensued to such an extent, that Napoleon discovered an enemy more difficult to contend with at home than he had ever found abroad. "Mais soyez tranquilles, j'y mettrai ordre. Il y a des fraudeurs, mais je saurais les attendre. Ceux qui échapperont

à mes douaniers, n'échapperont pas à mes soldats, et je les poursuivrai partout, partout, — entendez vous.' En prononçant ces derniers mots Napoléon était menaçant au plus haut point."* But anger would not cure the evil. This moment was, in truth, the crisis of the war to England as well as to Napoleon.

Marshal Victor, with the 1st *corps-d'armée*, laboured indefatigably, aided by the skill of General Scharnont, of the Artillery, to effect the complete investment of Cadiz, within which the Spanish Cortes, now established in full activity, discussed, like all democratic bodies, the rights of man, instead of regarding the public safety. However, the French bombshells came, every now and then, amongst these patriots, to hint to them the necessity of union; and though French bayonets could not force their way past British fleets and armies, and gain admission to the place, new redoubts, planned by French ingenuity, and erected by French unremitting industry, continually arose in the broad space extending between Puerto Santa Maria and Puerto Real, and thence to Puerto Santa Petri, and held out dangerous threats to Cadiz, while Forts Matagorda and Il Trocadero vomited forth their fire at 5,000 yards' distance, and greatly discomposed its inmates. Victor had under him an effective force of 20,000 or 22,000 combatants, but complained loudly that he received no assistance from Marshal Soult, between whom and Victor there existed no good intelligence. The Duke of Dalmatia continued to maintain high state at Seville, whither Marshal Mortier had also come in, to rest the 5th Corps from the fatigues of running after Spanish armies in Extremadura, which, having been dissipated as soon as seen, were again to be heard of in a distant and contrary direction, until the troops were perfectly demoralised by their marches and counter-marches. Soult had been frequently commanded by the Emperor to undertake some efficient operations in the Alemtejo and Spanish Extremadura; and the orders he now received were so urgent and so precise, that he could no longer disregard them. He accordingly prepared for a start, by directing General Sebastiani to close up from the side of Grenada upon Seville and Gibraltar, to protect the rear of Victor, whom he now left exclusively to his own resources.

5. SOULT UNDERTAKES THE SIEGE OF BADAJOZ.

In the first days of January, Marshal Soult quitted Seville, with the division of General Girard, of the 5th Corps, leaving Mortier to follow with the division of General Gazan and the siege batteries. The pitiless rain which accompanied the march of the French through the Sierra Morena so delayed the movements of the heavy artillery, that the Marshal halted at Zafra, where he occupied his time in putting the castle in a state of defence, in order to protect the parc from the inroads of the Spanish armies, who already hovered on both his flanks. Mendizabal retreated before the French army on Almodralejo and Badajoz, and Ballasteros on Olivença and Salva-

* Thiers.

tierra. On the 11th of January, Soult reached Albuera; and, as his siege-train was still considerably in arrear, he rode forward to reconnoitre Olivença, into which place 4,000 Spaniards had been hastily thrown, without any consideration of supplies. The Marshal learned this circumstance, and saw it must thus prove an easy prey, and afford him a useful *place d'armes* in the siege of Badajoz, which was a very important object to him. He therefore sent an order to General Briche, who occupied Merida with a brigade of light cavalry, to come speedily up by the right bank of the Guadiana, and the same afternoon his troops appeared before Olivença. This is a small town of some 4,000 inhabitants, surrounded with an enceinte in masonry, ditched, and bastioned with ravelins and covered-way. On the side of the south there is a commanding height, occupied with an outwork. *Marechal del Campo* Don Manuel Herch commanded the garrison. After a summons, Marshal Mortier was charged with the investment and siege of the place, but the engineer, Vainsot, in making his reconnoissance for this purpose, discovered that the outwork above spoken of was not occupied, and accordingly he at once took possession of it with the *voltigeurs*, who formed his escort. On the night of the 11th-12th, the ground was therefore broken on this height, very near the walls of the body of the place. It was found that an old breach in the bastion of *Sante Petri* had only been partially repaired, and that the palisades had not even been replaced, so that it was resolved forthwith to proceed against this side. The rain fell in such torrents as to fill the trenches with water, and it was necessary everywhere to lay the fascines *en pavé* to keep up the necessary communications with the *parc*. Marshal Soult himself visited the trenches, and fixed the site of the breaching batteries on the 13th; but there was so great a want of working tools, that the soldiers were often obliged to turn the ground with their bayonets. On the night of the 19th-20th, the ricochet batteries opened upon the flanking defences, and the same night a reinforcement of engineers arrived in the trenches, with much *matériel du génie*. On the morning of the 21st, the breaching batteries were finished, under the eyes of the Marshal, and opened with such effect on that of the 22nd, that the Governor asked to capitulate. He had not made a single *sortie*, nor had he further obstructed the progress of the siege than by a continual fire of large and small arms. Marshal Soult, having ordered the place to be put into repair, left M. Forestier, with a garrison of 400 men, to protect it from insult, and marched away with his army to Badajoz on the 26th.

This city, the capital of Spanish Extremadura, is a considerable town of 17,000 inhabitants, and had already obtained great importance in this war, from its having been the base of the operations, and the great seat of the war *matériel* of the Spanish armies. It was now garrisoned with 10,000 men, under Don Rafael Manecho. It is situated at the confluence of the Rivillas with the Guadiana, where, on a bluff point of rock, stands an old castle, to which had been annexed a modern enceinte, in form of a semicircle, composed

of nine bastioned forts. Detached, on some higher ground, within gun range, are the Forts Pardaleras, Picurina, and San Roque. Upon the opposite bank of the Guadiana, commanding the town and castle, on a high scarped rock, whose foot is watered by the river, stands Fort Christoval, connected by a covered-way with a tête du pont, that covers an ancient stone bridge across the Guadiana, over which pass the roads to Elvas and Campo Mayor.

Mendizabal and Ballasteros had neglected all the precautions which Wellington had advised them to adopt, in order to impede the investment of the place: they had neglected to occupy the old entrenched camp at Santa Engracia, on the banks of the Gevora, about a league from San Christoval, in which the Spanish forces might have been collected to the number of 22,000 men, and where very little industry in strengthening the works would have rendered it a very formidable position, and one most inconvenient to Soult's siege operations. They had nevertheless been apprised that Romana had sent two divisions to their assistance, who, indeed, had actually arrived and had reported themselves to Mendizabal. The true policy of these Spanish generals was, after amply garrisoning Badajoz, to hover, with the remainder of their army, upon all the communications of the French, which would have obliged Soult to divide his army, to keep them in check; and the Marshal had not force sufficient to do this and carry on the siege. Ballasteros, on the fall of Olivença, unaccountably separated from Mendizabal, and fell back to Salvatierra. He was followed by the French division Gazan, who overtook him, and brought him to action on the 28th, at Castallejoz, where he was defeated, with the loss of 1,000 men.

The Duke of Dalmatia determined to make his approaches against Badajoz on the side of Fort Pardaleras; and the trenches were accordingly opened at 500 yards from its salient on the night of the 28th-29th of January. The rain was incessant, and every horse of the army being sent to assist in the bringing up of the siege matériel, the supply of the troops had been neglected, and there was no bread in camp—a privation especially felt by the French soldiers, and accordingly disease began early to prevail among them. Manecho, the Governor, resolved from the first to give the besiegers no rest, and he made a sortie on the very first night of the siege. It was at 4 in the afternoon on the 31st, that Colonel Bassecour, at the head of 4 battalions, 2 squadrons, and 2 field-pieces, issued out of the fortress and came upon the works of the besiegers in front of Pardaleras so suddenly, that the guard of the trenches, combined with all the working squads, who seized their arms, were insufficient to prevent their progress; but before any mischief could be done to the trenches, General Girard at the head of 4 companies, arrived to their aid, and drove back the assailants, but at the same time a body of Spanish cavalry, galloping along the banks of the river, dashed into the works near the Vientot, where they sabred the chief engineer Cozin, Captain Vainsot, and other sappers and miners, while at their occupations.

The rain continued so incessantly, that the little rivulets Calamon and Rivillas swelled into torrents, and carried away men and horses with their violence; the bridges across them were broken, and all communications were interrupted; the slopes of the batteries were obliged to be staked to retain their guns, and the sappers were so overworked and dispirited with the continual discomfort of their position, both from the enemy's fire and the weather, that the works were at length obliged to be stopped altogether; but on the 3rd, the besieging force were cheered by the arrival of General Gazan with his division, fresh from the overthrow of Ballasteros, bringing up 6,000 men in reinforcement, together with heavy cannon and siege utensils. The batteries now opened to bombard the town and silence the harassing fire which came from it. The sudden floods, and the scarcity of food and forage, had obliged General Latour-Maubourg, who commanded the cavalry of the investing force, to separate from it *en surveillance*, and he now reported that Mendizabal had been joined by Carrera and Don Carlos de España, and had advanced against him in such force as to oblige him to retire across the Gevora; and on the 5th, the Spaniards were seen to cover the heights of San Christoval, whence they were enabled to communicate with the garrison across the stone bridge. On the 7th, at 3 in the afternoon, a grand sortie left the place by the forts of Picurina and St. Roch. It consisted of 7,000 infantry and 700 horse, under the command of Carrera. The attack was so vigorous that the guard of the trenches were driven out of them, and several officers killed. The work of a few minutes would have rendered the guns in the batteries unserviceable, had not the means of spiking them been altogether forgotten by the Spaniards. Marshal Mortier, however, brought up the reserves by the Seville road on one flank, while Girard, with two battalions, fell upon the assailants on the other flank, and they were driven back into the city in desperate confusion, and with the loss of 700 men.

6. BATTLE OF THE GEVORA — CAPITULATION OF BADAJOZ.

On the morning of the 9th, Mendizabal, disturbed by a few shells from the enemy, was unfortunately induced to move his whole force to his left, and passing under San Christoval, marched away to take post behind the Gevora. No greater evidence was ever given of a wrong-headed judgment than this move of the Spanish General. Lord Wellington had recommended him to establish himself in the old entrenched camp at Santa Engracia, to strengthen the lines, and thence interrupt the works of the besiegers. Instead of this prudent defensive system, he acted on scarcely any plan at all. He had first, as we have seen, entered the place and made one sortie; now he withdrew altogether, even beyond the fire of the place and away from the shelter of his neglected camp. Soult saw at once the advantage he might derive from the Spanish General's inconsistency, but continued torrents of rain so swelled the Guadiana and Gevora,

as to impede an attack for several days. Accordingly, he continued his siege operations, and having silenced, in a great measure, the fire of the Pardaleras by his ricochet batteries, he resolved to attempt to carry it by an assault at the gorge, which was only closed by a palisade already in some measure destroyed. On the 11th, at 7 in the evening, a strong detachment, headed by Colonel Rignoux, and led by Colonel Lamarre, of the Engineers, quitted the French trenches. In advancing, Captain Costes, at the head of one of the columns, discovered a postern in the wall, which, on being pushed, opened to him, and he rushed into the interior, followed by his men, and found himself in a moment in the middle of the fort, whither he was soon followed by the other column, who made their way through the broken palisades with the hatchet, and the garrison became prisoners. The fire that opened from the place upon the fort after daylight next morning, soon reduced it to a heap of ruins, through which the sap, however, was carried forward, and new ricochet batteries were constructed against the works of the body of the place. The Duke of Dalmatia was now impatient to undertake his operations against Mendizabal's army. On the 18th, the waters having subsided, a trestle-bridge was constructed across the Guadiana, over which Marshal Mortier passed with 9 battalions of the division Girard and 12 guns. Latour-Mauburg, with his brigade of cavalry, here rejoined him from Montijo, and covered the right flank of the march, which was directed at break of day under cover of a thick mist, by fords across the Gevora. The Spanish camp, from a self-satisfied security, had neglected the commonest precautions, had established no watch, nor had they entrenched themselves. Accordingly, though the stream was still so deep and strong that the footmen could scarcely struggle through it, Mortier brought across his men and formed line at 8 on the morning of the 19th in front of the Spanish army. The position they had assumed lay beyond the reach of Fort Christoval, so that the French guns could open without impediment, and, under cover of their fire Girard advanced with 3 battalions, followed by Mortier with 6 or 7 more, the brigade Philippou leading, while the cavalry got round the position by the Campo Mayor road, and all fell at once upon the Spaniards, who, although surprised, resisted firmly for a couple of hours, and then the infantry, cavalry, and guns, wavering to and fro, fell into irretrievable confusion, and by 10 o'clock they all fled, leaving 800 on the field of battle. The carnage that ensued was considerable on both sides. The Spanish army, according to custom, immediately scattered themselves in all directions. 5,000 men, with 1 general and 15 colonels, surrendered themselves prisoners; 300 got safely into the besieged fortress, and the rest took refuge in Elvas and Campo Mayor. General Mendizabal, having lost all the prestige of a commander by his blunders, and all countenance from the Generalissimo by the neglect of good advice on this occasion, retained the ardour of a patriot, and took arms as a private soldier to resist the enemies of his country, in which capacity he will

be found in the ranks of the Allied army at the subsequent battle of Albuera.

By the success of the French besieging army, in this combat on the Gevora, the investment of Badajoz was again complete, and the siege continued under improved auspices. The defence of the place was not, however, relaxed. The Governor, Manecho, was a veteran of approved courage, and determined on continuing the resistance, giving out that he would rival the defence of Gerona and Zaragossa. The weather continued most unpropitious for the besiegers, and it was with great difficulty that the sap had advanced so far as to cross the covered-way of the ravelin, which formed the most salient feature of the face attacked. On the 3rd of March, in the afternoon, the gallant Governor sallied from the fortress at the head of 200 men, who threw themselves suddenly and with great energy on the besieging batteries, which they levelled, spiking the breaching guns. The French guard was quickly reinforced, and a combat ensued, in which the brave and sturdy Manecho, most untowardly for the defence, was struck dead. General Don Josef de Imaz succeeded to the governorship of the fortress, a man of a very different stamp from Manecho, as was soon seen, for, from the moment of his assuming the command, the vigour of the resistance of the garrison sensibly decreased, although the fire from the ramparts still impeded greatly the besieging advance. In the night of the 8th-9th, the counterscarp of the ditch was blown in, and the sappers effected a passage into it, and brought up their battering guns, which, in the course of the day, opened a breach of about 25 yards wide. The Duke of Dalmatia now received information of Massena's retreat, which rendered him most desirous to bring the siege to a conclusion; nor was the Governor ignorant of the fact, for General Leite, the Governor of Elvas, signalled the news from that neighbouring fortress. Nevertheless, though the breach was not practicable, though the magazines were still well supplied with ammunition and provisions, though the garrison still numbered 9,000 men, Imaz had the baseness to listen to the summons now addressed to him by the French Marshal, although he had received the assurances of the British Commander that he should be relieved, and had been entreated to hold out to the last moment. Great suspicion of bribery (which Lord Wellington himself asserted to be without a doubt) rests on the head of a Governor who could surrender his charge on the afternoon of the 10th, within forty-eight hours of the time when 12,000 English soldiers, under Beresford, arrived at the fortress, and, but for this treachery, could have relieved it.*

* It was stated in the army at the time, that, to fulfil the condition of the capitulation, "that the garrison should march out of the fortress with all the honours of war," the besiegers were obliged to work all night at the breach to allow them the possibility of doing so.

7. BATTLE OF BARROSA.

Marshal Soult had more reasons than the withdrawal of Massena out of Portugal for desiring to bring the siege of Badajoz to a successful termination. He had heard from Marshal Victor that the Anglo-Spanish army in Cadiz was preparing an expedition to force his investment, and raise the siege. Leaving, therefore, Marshal Mortier, with about 8,000 men at Badajoz, to level the trenches, repair the breach, and defend the Extremaduran frontier, and intrusting to General Philippou the governorship, the Duke of Dalmatia quitted it on the 13th, and marched across the Morena with 7,000 men, to the assistance of Marshal Victor. The plan adopted by the Anglo-Spanish Generals was to embark their united forces, and sail round to Tarifa, where they were to form a junction with a Spanish force marching from San Roque, and thence to counter-march the united force by land upon the French camp at Chichlana. The partidas were, in the meanwhile, to hover about the army of Sebastiani in Granada, and a Spanish army, under Ballasteros, was to threaten Seville, while another, under General Zayas, was to make a sally from the Isla de Leon to take part in the operations against Victor. It was, indeed, necessary for the British to stir up the Spaniards in Cadiz; for they had become so apathetic (if not corrupt), that Graham's own account of them at this juncture was, that they could only be induced to act by one motive, "that, if the English could drive away the French, they might eat strawberries at Chichlana." The enterprise resolved upon seemed, moreover, to promise success, since the corps besieging Cadiz did not exceed 12,000 men, and the Allied force of all arms now to be combined for attack amounted to 14,000 men of whom about 4,200 were British troops. With a mistaken generosity, in order to remove all jealousy on the part of the Spaniards, Lieut.-General Graham, contenting himself with the command of his own British division, had waived his right to the command-in-chief, which was accordingly assumed by Don Manuel de Lapeña, a man who proved himself altogether unworthy of such a trust. General Lardizabal commanded one wing, and the Prince of Anglona the centre. The weather prevented the disembarkation of the expedition at Tarifa, and drove them to land at Algesiras, whence they marched by land to Tarifa, where the whole force was assembled on the 28th, and immediately advanced on Casas Viejas and Vejer de la Frontera, from which the enemy retired before them. A feigned march was now ordered on Medina-Sidonia, as if to threaten the direction of Seville; but the army, on arriving at the hills, changed its line of march on Cerro de Puercos, better known in the annals of war as the Vigia de la Barrosa, which it reached about noon on the 5th of March. In the meanwhile, Zayas had succeeded in throwing a bridge at Santa Petri, and in erecting a tête du pont for its protection. He had, however, been surprised by the French on the night of the 2nd, and driven back into the Isla; but, on the 3rd and 4th,

he succeeded in his object, and General Lapeña immediately pushed forward General Lardizabal's division, which, after a sharp fight, effected a junction with Zayas, and concentrated the entire Spanish division on the left flank of Victor's lines. The French Marshal, leaving General Villatte, with 2,000 men, to guard these, moved the rest of his force, consisting of the divisions Leval and Ruffin, with 500 horse, to encounter the Allied army. Lapeña, with the main body of Spaniards, formed on the sandy heights of Bermeja to receive his attack, while he ordered Graham to take post with the British on the height of Barrosa; but the irregular march and tardiness of the Spanish movements more resembled peasants wandering from a fair than troops moving in presence of an enemy; and Lapeña, seeing the unsteadiness of his countrymen, and fearful of being turned and cut off from Cadiz, sent to Graham, and urgently ordered him to take up their line of march through the pine-wood, and move on Te Bermeja. The British General would have greatly preferred to receive the attack on the height of Barrosa; nevertheless, with true military submission, he promptly obeyed the order of his superior, supposing that the Spanish division under Prince Anglona would be left to defend the hill, where, accordingly, he left his baggage, under the care of the flank companies of the 9th and 82nd. His astonishment was, however, extreme when he discovered that Lapeña had collected his entire army at Bermeja, leaving the hill almost unoccupied. Nor were his the only eyes that detected the error, for Victor, concealed in the forest of Chichlana, anxiously watched the blunder of his enemy, and forthwith carried the whole of his disposable force, under Ruffin, to seize the height which his opponent had so imprudently abandoned. As the French ascended the rear of this height, they intercepted the Spanish column moving on the Medina road, and drove them towards the sea, taking three Spanish guns. Major Brown, commanding the baggage, unable to stem the torrent of the flying Spaniards, slowly retired into the plain, and sent to Graham for orders. "Fight," was the laconic answer of the brave old man; and, with the eye and soul of a great commander, he at once perceived that, in the desperate situation to which matters had been brought, his only course to retrieve affairs was to act for himself, and make a counter attack on the enemy, although the key of the position was already in their possession. Trusting to the known heroism of British troops, and regardless of every disadvantage, the order was given to go forward. Ten guns, under Major Duncan, immediately opened on Leval's column, against whom the rifles, under Colonel Andrew Barnard, commenced the fight. General Dilke, with his brigade, marched against Ruffin, who was already on the brow of the steep; the left, under Colonel Wheatley, hastened to clear the wood, which had concealed the march of the adversary, and then went forward in column against Leval, but, as soon as he emerged into the open, Ruffin's batteries saw him, and caught him in flank. Unchecked by the fire of Duncan's guns, *Leval advanced to meet Barnard, and both sides closed eagerly,*

with a pealing roll of musketry, when, after a fierce, rapid, and prolonged cheer, the 87th, with two companies of the Coldstream Guards, led by Lieut.-Colonel Jackson and Major Gough, charged the French line, and threw the enemy back in great disorder, capturing an eagle. Leval's first line was thus driven upon his second, and all attempts to re-form were frustrated by the destructive action of Duncan's guns. General Dilke's attack upon the height had been equally bold. Graham's Spartan order had sent Brown, with his baggage escort, headlong upon Ruffin, who, however, held the crest of the hill against him with a desperate resolution. Half of the little British detachment were struck down before Dilke's men came up, in no very good order, but in true fighting mood, when the whole ran up, and met their opponents at the very edge of the ascent. A warm engagement ensued, and for some time it was a doubtful combat. The British sustained great loss, but soon, not only General Ruffin, but Brigadier Rousseau, who commanded the French Grenadiers, fell, both mortally wounded. The British bore resolutely onward, and their "incessant slaughtering fire" forced the division Ruffin from the heights in confusion, leaving two guns behind them, and many brave fellows. The two converging lines of the enemy met, halted, and formed in their retreat, and, with infinite spirit, tried to retrieve the day, but the play of the artillery gave them no respite, and Colonel Frederick Ponsonby, at the head of some 200 German Hussars, made a most brilliant and successful charge against the French cavalry, overthrew them, and took two more guns; and Whittingham, with three squadrons of Spanish cavalry, hastened the French retreat by coming upon them from the side of the sea. General Lapeña, commanding-in-chief, looked idly on this terrible conflict, as if it in no degree concerned him, and did not move a man to the assistance of his heroic allies; but the Spanish Walloon Guard and the regiment of Ciudad Real, with some of the guerilla cavalry, mixed in the fight without his orders, impelled by the instinct natural to brave men. Had Lapeña thrown himself, during this arduous struggle, between Victor's two divisions, when engaged on the height of Barrosa, and the division of Villatte in the woody plain, the most important consequences must have resulted; and Graham actually remained some hours in position, hoping that his "chief" would awaken to the glory which the success of the British had opened to him, for a fresh Spanish division of 4,000 men now joined his army coming up from Santa Petri, and before him were the miserable remains of the French line of battle retreating in the greatest disorder upon Chichlana; but during the whole engagement he remained at Bermeja, and the French withdrew without further disaster. General Graham, indignant at the disgraceful conduct of his Spanish colleague, in much anger separated his soldiers from the Spaniards, and fled the British troops, without asking any further orders, back to the Isla. Wellington approved "of the promptitude" of Graham's attack, and considered that he did his utmost "towards raising the siege of Cadiz;" and he also concurred in the propriety of his withdrawal

into the Isla on the 6th, "as much as he admired the determination of his attack on the 5th," sincerely congratulating his troops on their success. The grand total of killed and wounded in the British force amounted to 1,243 men. The French loss was estimated at 3,000. Two generals, 18 officers, and 420 rank and file, with 6 guns and their proportionate tumbrils and horses, remained in the hands of the British.* Lapeña remained at Bermeja, anxious, as he declared, to follow up the victory, and had the audacity, when he returned to Cadiz, to claim its laurels, ascribing the ulterior failure in the object aimed at to Graham's withdrawal of his army. One of his subordinate generals even employed some intemperate language, which Graham considered as a personal offence, and enforced an apology from the mendacious Lascy with his sword. His Sovereign and the British Parliament confirmed the judgment of Wellington, and Graham was made a Knight of the Bath, and, by his subsequent services, justified the character that the battle of Barrosa had obtained for him, by obtaining the peerage, as Lord Lynedoch.

It had been concerted that the fleet at Cadiz, commanded by Admiral Keats, should have made a diversion to assist this enterprise, by an attack upon the French siege-works in the bay; but it was not until the 6th that the weather permitted the ships to attempt a disembarkation. On that day several parties of seamen and marines landed at different points of the harbour, and succeeded in storming two redoubts, and in dismantling all the sea defences from Rota to Sta. Maria, spiking all the guns. La Catalina was also bombarded from the sea, and the besiegers, for a few days, evacuated the works. Marshal Victor, indeed, was so much alarmed at the results of the battle of Barrosa, and at his situation, that he hastened in person to Seville to demand reinforcements from Soult, and, in the meanwhile, concentrated his whole force at Xeres, until the return of that marshal enabled him to resume his post, and renew his operations against Cadiz.

8. MASSENA RETIRES WITH THE FRENCH ARMY OUT OF PORTUGAL.

For some weeks the armies of Massena and Wellington continued quietly in each other's presence.† The arrival of reinforcements

* Brigadier Rousseau had a white poodle dog, which was so attached to him that he was found on the field, at the side of his wounded body, licking the feet and hands of his dying master. When the body of the General was committed to its honourable grave, the dog lay down upon the earth and evinced the liveliest sorrow. General Graham, who paid the last sad duties to the gallant slain, observed the friendless mourner, had him removed to his own quarters, and gave him a comfortable asylum in Perthshire, where the faithful animal died, an honoured guest, many years afterwards.

† Scarcely a day passed during the inaction which had ensued since Massena fell back from the front of the lines, in which the French at the outposts did not seek and obtain converse with the English officers. One day a general officer, with his staff, came down to the waterside and saluted them with a "Bon jour, Messieurs." A great deal of pleasant chat ensued, and both sides quizzed one another freely: the French asked how they liked baccalao and azete (salt fish and oil), instead of

at Lisbon to his opponent induced the French Marshal to apprehend offensive operations, and on the 19th of January he directed Junot to make a reconnoissance on Rio Mayor, to satisfy himself that the allied divisions were not concentrating about Alcantara. With characteristic intrepidity, the Duke of Abrantes galloped into the village, where he encountered the German Hussars, who were on the alert, and in the encounter overturned and wounded the Marshal dangerously with a carbine ball, which lodged between the nose and cheek-bone, and not only turned back the reconnoissance, but disabled Junot for the remainder of the campaign. Political considerations, added to a soldier's pride, were sufficient inducements to keep Massena in Portugal so long as he could subsist himself. Moreover, he was in daily expectation of the arrival of a convoy under General Gardanne from Castille. This had, it appeared, reached within a march of General Loison's cantonments behind the Zezere, when it was attacked by Grant with some ordenanza, and Gardanne, knowing nothing of Massena's whereabouts, allowed himself to be misled by false reports, and hastily fell back upon Almeida, sacrificing many men and the larger portion of the supplies he was escorting. In that fortress he found General Drouet, but with the division Couroux only. The division Clarapède had not yet come up; without waiting, however, for their arrival, he put the united force, amounting to 9,000 or 10,000 men, in motion on the 14th of January, and reached Celerico on the 17th. Wilson and Trant were soon upon his trace, and came up with him at Foz d'Arouce. Sylveira and the militia watched the other side of the Estrella. At length, to the astonishment of Ney's outposts near Leyria, a troop of dragoons under Gardanne galloped into that quarter. Drouet brought with him a mass of despatches for the Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, but not a bushel of corn, not a barrel of powder, not a shilling of money. They brought the news, indeed, that General Foy was on the road, and on the 5th of February he also arrived at head-quarters bearing the latest instructions of the Emperor. Massena accordingly summoned all the leaders of corps and divisions to a *déjeuner* at Golgao on the 17th, where Ney, Regnier, Junot, Fririon, Eblé, Lazovski, Foy, Loisson, and Solignac met at table to talk over the imminent position of the army of Portugal. M. Thiers professes to give the discussions at this free conference. It was recognised that there were but three alternatives to carry into effect the Emperor's orders:—1. To attack the English in the Lines that lay between the French army and Lisbon; but that it was idle to discuss that question, inasmuch as they had no siege artillery with them, and the works which had been constructed could in no way be taken without it. 2. Should they

roast beef; to which the English responded, "How do you French get on, without your cafés and salles de spectacle?" "Oh," rejoined the French, "we have got a theatre, come over and witness our performances to-night; we give 'L'Entrée des Français dans Lisbon.' " "Very well," replied one of the British officers, "but I would recommend to you the repetition of a capital piece, 'La fuite des Français.' Both sides enjoyed the joking, and separated in good humour; but Lord Wellington did not think such interviews decorous, and forbade them in a general order.

pass over the river Tagus? The third measure was a retreat out of Portugal by the valley of the Mondego, marching by Guarda to Ciudad Rodrigo. Ney resolutely opposed this last alternative, as, in effect, in opposition to the commands of Napoleon. Junot supported the passage of the Tagus, the extreme danger of which Loison contested from his knowledge of the ground, and its uselessness, for they would be as much cut off from Lisbon by the river as by the fortifications. Eblé gave a conclusive reply to crossing the Tagus by representing that the army had no pontoons, and that the bridge that he had managed to construct at Punhete could not be moved away. Foy suggested to delay any decision until the 5th Corps had finished their work at Badajoz; but Regnier, while admitting the invulnerability of the position occupied by the army at Santarem, which could neither be attacked in front nor turned by way of Rio Mayor, declared loudly that his soldiers could not wait for Soult's arrival, be it in ten days or twenty, for that he had not five days' food for his division, and that his men would not starve in silence. Massena closed the discussion by promising to aid Regnier in some measure, and to await the result of communications which he would open with Marshal Soult.

The Marshal Prince of Essling now became himself a prey to most anxious deliberation from the deep sense of his responsibilities. He seriously considered the circumstances of the army under his command, and the orders he had received from his imperial master. Day by day reports came in to him on every side that food was more difficult to be obtained. Ney had, indeed, effected "*une précieuse trouvaille*," of which he secured a good half for his own corps; but Regnier with the 2nd Corps, cantoned near Punhete, declared at the end of February that he was at the last extremity. It had become from every consideration impossible to remain any longer in the position of Santarem, and it was manifest that the British commander was too cautious to afford him any escape out of his embarrassment. The information derived from Soult opened no prospect whatever that the 5th Corps could be available to his assistance, and he at length resolved to retreat. Massena had four lines open by which he might go back:—1. By the route through Coimbra, by which he had arrived; 2. By adopting the valley of the Zezere for his march, by which he might go direct to Sabugal; 3. By way of Castel Branco under the Estrella to Guarda, or by following the directions of Napoleon he might still attempt to cross the Tagus into the Alemtejo, and, moving by Portalegre, unite with Soult at Badajoz. This latter question was anxiously ventilated; but Hill and Beresford were already on the south bank, ready to dispute the passages of the river; and the main British army was prepared to act in rear of the French army immediately they made a move. It was already the first days of March when the French leader resolved to adopt the line by Coimbra, and thence pass through the unexhausted district of Beira and Oporto, on Almeida, where he could await the effect of the separate operations of Soult in the south and Bessières in the north. It was probably the best arrangement he could make, and it

was not until after the fullest deliberation that he prepared to adopt it. But it was first necessary to disembarass his march of his hospitals and heavy matériel, and to conceal his intentions from the British General. Accordingly, he caused it to be circulated that he desired to concentrate his army on Punhete, where he had collected all his boats and appeared to have made some preparations for a bridge. It was near the close of the 5th of March when Massena ended all uncertainty and ordered the march, so that on the 6th the entire army decamped from Santarem, taking a position round Pombal as if resolved to fight. On the 7th, Regnier reached Thomar, Junot Ourem, Ney Leyria, and Loisson Punhete. Although the retreat of the French from Santarem was made known soon after daylight on the 6th, Wellington was too prudent to set the British army in motion till he had fully satisfied himself as to the enemy's intentions.* He, however, ordered all the divisions to be in readiness, and patrolled in all directions on the track of the enemy. He had not heard at this time of the fall of Badajoz, and accordingly despatched Beresford to march with the greatest haste to its succour. On the 9th, the Light Division came up with Massena at Pombal, the French having halted there to permit the baggage to get forward, and in a cavalry affair of the 16th Dragoons Lieutenant Weyland made 30 prisoners. Junot's corps was sent on the same day towards Coimbra. On the 11th, Wellington collected the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th divisions, and all the cavalry, and pressed the rear guard of the enemy considerably. An attempt was made to hold the ancient castle of Pombal, but the French were driven from it, and in the night retired on Redinha, where Ney took up a strong position at the end of a defile, with his right in a wood upon the Soure river, and his left resting on some high ground. Sir William Erskine, leading the advance of the British, attacked the French Marshal here on the 12th, and, after an obstinate resistance, the Light Division drove the French out of the wood and along the bridge across the river, which they passed with the enemy, while the 3rd Division manœuvred upon the adversary's left flank and obliged him to fall back on the main body at Condeixa. Here was a very strong defile commanding two roads, one of which led through Coimbra, and General Montbrun had established himself with the advance in the suburb covering the bridge, of which two arches had been destroyed by the Portuguese militia. Junot ordered the Governor, Colonel Trant, to be summoned, whose reply was, that he "would send an answer to-morrow;" and Massena, judging from the firmness of the British advance upon his rear, that the expected reinforcement had arrived to Wellington's army, and seeing that Coimbra was strongly garrisoned by the Portuguese, at once ordered his line of retreat to be changed towards the Ponte Murcella, by which, accordingly, the baggage was forthwith forwarded. Ney was at the same time directed to hold his ground at Con-

* Two grim sentries were observed to be still, at break of day, at the end of the great causeway, but their immobility created suspicion, and they were soon discovered to be "stuffed with straw."

deixa and to dispute the advance as much as possible, so as to enable the whole army to cross the Alva; and the Duke d'Abrantes to march rapidly to Miranda de Corvo, to secure the flank of the army across the Douro. Wellington's quick eye discovered the baggage marching off along the valley of the Mondego, and immediately concluding that Colonel Trant had not yielded Coimbra, and that Massena must be so much jostled in his retreat that he would defend resolutely the strong position at Condeixa, he ordered Major-General Picton, on the 13th, to carry his division through the mountains upon the enemy's left. The Duke d'Elchingen was with his outposts when the British dashed through the morning fog and nearly took him prisoner, but seeing his line of retreat threatened, he could not await the Commander-in-Chief's orders, nor did he even communicate that he had evacuated Condeixa, but he sent orders to Montbrun to retire the cavalry with all speed along the Mondego road while he withdrew to Miranda de Corvo. Massena was at Fonte-Cuberta organising the march of Loison and Clausel, when he was informed that Ney had abandoned Condeixa. This altogether exposed his right wing, and threatened to cut him off from the 6th Corps, and accordingly he put the two divisions into immediate movement, and marching all night arrived in the morning of the 13th at Casal Novo, where he assumed a very strong position. Regnier was on the road to Espinhal, and Wellington accordingly despatched General Cole on the 14th to march round upon Panella, in order to dislodge the French from this position, and Major-General Nightingale was advanced direct on Espinhal, while the Light Division, with Pack's brigade, supported by Major-General Alexander Campbell's division, continued to march resolutely forward on the French right flank. These movements induced Massena to abandon this position during the night, and to fall back behind the Ceira, but he was forced to burn, or otherwise destroy, a quantity of baggage and ammunition at this spot, and the road of retreat was accordingly plentifully strewn with carcasses of men and beasts, and destroyed carriages and baggage. Miranda was given to the flames, and the Duke d'Elchingen was directed to cover the retreat at Foz d'Arouce, where a stone bridge crosses the Ceira. Wellington observed that Ney had left two divisions of his *corps-d'armée* on the left bank of the river, and, with one of those sudden conceptions which frequently mark the military operations of men of ability, he suddenly directed the Light Division and Pack's brigade to amuse and keep in check this force, while he ordered Picton to move along the great road against their left, and despatched the horse artillery at a gallop to some rising ground, from which they opened with such surprising effect that the French Marshal immediately withdrew the division Marchand, while he still endeavoured to hold his ground with the division Mermet. The cavalry, under General Lamotte, was commanded to cover the retreat of their comrades, but the ground was so rough that they could not have acted, even if they had not been fully occupied by the British cavalry under Anson

and Alten. The French infantry, fearful of being cut off from the bridge, disbanded and fled in tumult, crushing one another to death in the attempt to cross, while many rushed into the river and were drowned. The Marshal tried to rally the fugitives, but the darkness of night fell on the confusion, and the French fired on one another; so that, at least, 500 perished. An eagle, which the bearer endeavoured to fling into the river, was a trophy of this day.

The waters of the Ceira were now so much increased by the rain in the mountains, that it was difficult for the British to get across, and the advance had been so rapid that Wellington found his troops destitute of supplies, so that he was glad to halt some days here. No one who witnessed the French retreat can forget its accompanying horrors.* Distress, conflagrations, death in every horrible mode, and on all sides, from wounds, from fatigue, from water, from fire, from unrestrained violence and unlimited vengeance, marked every yard of the road by which the French army retreated. Every town and village was given to the flames. The beautiful convents of Batalha and Alcobaca, although off the line of march, were ruthlessly and needlessly destroyed; and the spirit of cruelty once unchained smote even the brute creation, the destruction of the poor beasts of burden, necessary, perhaps, to diminish the encumbrances of a retreat, was rendered more savage by hamstringing and putting to torture the poor mute creatures. Nothing can be adduced to extenuate these ingenious aggravations of hideous war, but they show how sadly its constant practice must ever barbarise and render callous the heart of man.

The position assumed by Massena on the 18th, behind the Alva, was of considerable strength. The right was occupied by the corps of Marshal Junot at the junction of that river with the Mondego. Marshal Ney held the Ponte de Marcella in the centre, and General Regnier was directed to move under the range of the Estrella by the sources of the Alva and the Ceira, to protect the left wing of the army. Massena urged Ney to hold the ground firmly behind the bridge, and he faithfully promised he would do so; but such was the contagion of bad example that General Regnier, whose character was in general that of a docile subordinate, piqued because his opinion had been set aside in the councils at Gulgao, and at some rebuke he had received from his chief, took upon himself to march his division through the Sierra de Moita, beguiling his time in its pleasant valleys, without the slightest consideration for the 6th Corps, whose left flank he was appointed to cover. Ney, anxious to fulfil his promise of maintaining himself at the bridge, patrolled right and left to secure his flanks, and met, indeed, with the outposts of Junot, but could not hear anything whatever of those of Regnier. He of course reported this to Massena, who, in the emergency, found himself obliged to retire the army in all

* Perhaps the mind of a lad of sixteen was more apt to receive impressions of horror than that of an older soldier; but the scenes of petty cruelty on the persons and property of unoffending peasants, which were now for the first time presented to his sight, left an indelible stamp on a heart which still in old age "weeps o'er the wounds and deeds of sorrow done."

haste from the position it had assumed, and make the best of his way to Celorico, where he arrived on the 21st, without having been pursued, and whence he continued his retreat, in three columns, to Guarda, on the 22nd. This city, which has the reputation of being the highest inhabited town of Europe, is situated on the very summit of one of the loftiest branches of the Sierra de Estrella, from which it derives its name of Guarda, or "watch-tower;" for the ridge on which it stands commands the whole country on both sides, and forms the water-shed from which flow in one direction the streams which supply the Tagus, and in the other those which feed the Douro. This lofty position has always enjoyed the military reputation of being "the key of Portugal." The Prince of Essling resolved to stop his retreat here, and to rest his army for a few days before he bade adieu to Portugal and crossed the frontier of Spain. From this fine position, however, he was dislodged by one of those masterly combinations which were the peculiar characteristics of Lord Wellington's strategy—a pressure on the flanks of his enemy. On the 28th, the Third Division drove the French out of Freixadas, while Trant and Miller, bringing up their ordenanzas, secured Pinhel, and cut off all communication with Almeida. The French officers, little apprehensive of an assault in such an eyrie, relaxed their accustomed vigilance, and, to their utter confusion, were suddenly pounced upon by five columns of attack, consisting of infantry and cavalry, which had ascended the mountain by roads, the length of which, as they wound in numberless sinuosities along the sides of a precipice overspread with trees, were so accurately calculated, that the columns reached the summit almost at one and the same moment, without having been discovered. The brigade Maucune, posted considerably in front of the city, with difficulty escaped being cut off, but all were driven hastily from Guarda with the loss of 300 men.

Most armies are impatient under a retreat, but perhaps the French army can endure its mortifications better than any other, from the habit that every individual soldier has of discussing strategically the movements of the commanding generals, and regarding retreats as very often the means *réculer pour mieux sauter*. However, the extreme penury to which the army of Portugal had been reduced, by want not only of food but of money, shoes, and raiment, roused at this time a feeling of mortified pride, and made them loud in their complaints. Marshal Ney had been, from the first, dissatisfied with the plan of the campaign; but placed in charge of the rear-guard of the retreat, his corps had suffered more privations than any other part of the army, and now that he found Massena quitting Portugal without a contest, and retiring out of the kingdom in the teeth of the Emperor's orders, he could not any longer restrain himself, but readily lent his ear to the complaints of the other generals and superior officers, and addressed a letter to the *Prince of Essling*, in which, recounting the sufferings of the army and impossibility of leaving them to perish in the mountains, he demanded categorically of his chief that he would produce the

orders of the Emperor; stating that, if they could not be produced, he would no longer obey the orders of the commanding Marshal. Massena was in no humour to overlook so flagrant an act of insubordination. He had all along known the indocility of his officers, and had attributed to the want of discipline the reverses of Busaco, Condeixa, and Ponte de Murcella. He determined, therefore, at once to exert his full authority, and dismissed the Marshal Duke of Elchingen to the rear, giving the command of the 6th Corps to General Loison. Ney, therefore, quitted the army at Celorico on the 23rd, and, to the great regret of the whole army, quitted the Peninsula to return to France.

9. AFFAIR AT SABUGAL.

After this necessary act of rigour, the Prince of Essling began to reflect on his delicate position before his own superior — the Emperor. It was most true that he had been strictly enjoined not to quit Portugal, but it had already become manifest to his own great experience in war that he could no longer maintain himself within that kingdom. He also required time for the complete provisioning of the strong places that his good sword had won — Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo. He therefore, yet awhile, disappointed his army of the Iberian repose they longed for, and, though driven from Guarda, clung to the sterile hills of the Portuguese frontier. On the 29th, he placed the Coa between his army and his adversary, placing his right at Rovina and his left at Sabugal, while the 8th Corps occupied the ridge of the mountains at Alfayates. Both wings being covered by the river, the troops were disposed on two sides of a triangle, Regnier holding its apex at Sabugal. The ravine of the Coa is craggy, and not easy of attack; and although the whole course of the stream is picturesque in the extreme, it is everywhere difficult of access, and the town stands on the right bank.* The British army came up to its left bank on the 31st of March, and rested its right flank opposite the enemy at Sabugal. Colonels Trant and Wilson, with their independent corps of Portuguese, were sent round to threaten the French right, by crossing the river below Almeida and moving on Ciudad Rodrigo. The position itself could only be forced by turning the left, and on the morning of the 3rd of April the Light Division, under Erskine, with Slade's brigade of cavalry, were sent to cross the upper stream by a wide circuit, while Dunlop's division crossed at the bridge of Sabugal, for Regnier's division, although in the town, was distant from the bridge; Picton's division supported these attacks.

At the moment that the British made the attack, one of the heavy rain-storms so common in the mountains of Portugal came on, which

* Sabugal is named from the word *Sabugos*, elder-trees; but the place is remarkable for some of the largest chestnut trees anywhere to be seen. There is here an interesting old castle, which dates from the times of the kings of Leon, before it was annexed to the Portuguese dominions.

rendered it impossible to see your hand before you, and Beck with's brigade of the Light Division got into confusion, taking the French in flank instead of in rear; so that the first attack was altogether premature, partial, and at the wrong point. In the middle of the conflict, however, the weather cleared, and Beckwith, with less than 2 battalions, found himself in the midst of the whole of Regnier's corps of 12,000 infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery! Beckwith was not a man to quail at any time, and, though he saw and felt all his danger, did not hesitate an instant, but with one fierce charge rushed upon the enemy. Fortunately, Regnier was not at the moment expecting the attack, for, for the convenience of water, he had occupied the low ground. He had, therefore, to resist his adversary up-hill; but it was evident that desperate fighting could alone save the British. Captain Hopkins, of the 43rd, with great presence of mind, seized a small eminence close to the French guns, which commanded the ascent, and with one volley threw them into such confusion that, seeing them stagger, he made a sudden charge upon them, just as the 52nd, attracted by the fire, entered the line. The fight now became more perilous, the French fell fast, and in the *mêlée* a howitzer was taken by the 43rd. One French squadron soon came into the fight, and with incredible daring endeavoured to fire their pistols at the 52nd from behind a wall, but a rolling volley emptied almost every saddle in an instant. A sharp conflict continued for the possession of the howitzer, and 2 English guns lent the aid of their fire; but fresh squadrons of hostile cavalry came down upon the 52nd and scattered them. Regnier then put all his reserves in motion, and outflanked the British left. At this moment the Fifth and Third Divisions passed the bridge in the teeth of showers of grape, and the British cavalry appeared on the hills, while Picton resolutely opening fire decided the fate of the day. Regnier receiving no assistance, and fearing to be surrounded, or cut off from Alfayates, hastily withdrew towards Rendo, and the howitzer remained in the possession of those who had so gallantly gained and retained it. It was no exaggeration in Wellington to write, "this was one of the most glorious actions British troops were ever engaged in." 300 dead bodies were heaped together around the trophy of the day, and 6 officers and 300 men were made prisoners in securing it, and the enemy must have suffered a very severe loss in killed and wounded. The battle did not, altogether, last quite an hour, and nearly 200 British were killed or wounded.

The French continued their retreat that night and the next morning, and on the 4th crossed the Spanish frontier. For some days Massena allowed his army to revel on the supplies derived from the magazines of Ciudad Rodrigo, but of course to continue this was to render the place unequal to a defence; and, accordingly on the 8th, he crossed the Aguada, and cantoning his troops between the Tormes and the Douro, took up his head-quarters at Salamanca, *where he set himself to re-organise his army and to correct the bad spirit with which it was possessed.* Almeida being thus ex-

posed, Lord Wellington sent a force, under Sir William Erskine, to shut up that place, and fell unexpectedly upon a brigade of French infantry at Junca, whom he drove before him across the Turones and Dos Casas, and made immediate preparations for the investment and blockade of the fortress. The militia, under Trant and Wilson, were now sent forward to Malpartida, to watch all the movements of the enemy between Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo.*

10. MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE ALEMTEJO—RE-CAPTURE OF OLIVENCA AND CAMPO MAYOR.

Having thus disposed of his great adversary, Lord Wellington bethought himself of the state of affairs in the province of Alemtejo. He knew of the surrender of Badajoz, as well as of Graham's success at Barrosa, but was not quite sure as to Soult's return to Seville, and at all events was apprehensive of Mortier's designs upon Elvas. He had already sent back one division to Beresford from Abrantes, and immediately after the combat of Sabugal he sent off Cole's division to reinforce the same corps; and, now that he had leisure on his hands, the Commander-in-Chief repaired to see with his own eyes the state of affairs on the other side of the Tagus. Beresford had, on the 17th of March, crossed the river, and on the 25th had had an affair near Campo Mayor. That place had surrendered on the 23rd, after as good a defence as Major Talcia could make with a garrison of 200 Portuguese and only 5 guns mounted on its walls; nevertheless, Beresford thought that he might surprise the besiegers, and therefore rushed forward with the utmost rapidity. As he came in sight of Campo Mayor, he saw 3 battalions of infantry, 1,200 cavalry, and a siege train of 13 guns hastily forming a line of march and in some confusion. On the instant, orders were issued for an attack. Brigadier Long was directed to move his cavalry on the right flank; but, in order to defend the battery train, Latour-Maubourg, with the French horse, charged the 13th Light Dragoons before they could get in motion. Colonel Head in command, supported by some squadrons of Portuguese cavalry, met their assailants, and fairly riding through the enemy, overtook the siege train, cut down many of the gunners, and actually pursued the enemy's cavalry

* On the 3rd of April, a few days after these adventures, Lieutenant-Colonel Waters was taken prisoner. He had, according to his frequent practice, gone out alone to reconnoitre, without any escort, when he was surrounded by some hussars in crossing the Coa. He was an extraordinary man, who, by his daring independent character, had rendered for the last two years very important services to the army in collecting information, and Wellington severely felt his loss, but was so thoroughly convinced that he would escape from the enemy's clutches that he ordered the colonel's baggage to accompany his own. Napier very graphically describes the manner in which he got away. He refused to give his parole, but desired the Spaniard who attended him to have the rowels of his spurs sharpened. As he was approaching Salamanca, the officer in charge of him dismounted from his horse, and Waters immediately dashed the spurs into his mare and galloped off. They were on a wide plain, which was covered for many miles with the French columns; but though he lost his hat, which marked him as a runaway, he rode along the skirt of the troops, some chaffing him and some firing at him, until he attained a woody hollow, baffled his pursuers, and on the third day reached head-quarters.

to the bridge of Badajoz. "I suppose, sir," said Marshal Beresford to Colonel Head afterwards, "that if the gates of the town had been open you would have galloped in?" "Of that you may be sartin," said the gallant Irishman. In the meantime, the French artillery, finding themselves passed by the British horse, got again into order and pursued their march. The French infantry rallied round them, and Latour-Maubourg carried the whole detachment safe into Badajoz. The anger of Lord Wellington was greatly excited at this ill-directed dash of a regiment of cavalry; but, in truth, it had just arrived from England, and had here seen service for the first time. "This undisciplined ardour is not of the description of bravery for soldiers confident in their discipline; it is that of a rabble galloping as fast as their horses could carry them after an enemy already broken and incapable of mischief. If the garrison had thrown out of Badajoz only 100 men regularly formed, they could have disordered and quickly destroyed the whole regiment, for their horses were out of breath and already knocked up."

Beresford, however, recovered Campo Mayor by his timely advance, and cantoned his troops about Elvas, vainly seeking the necessary matériel for throwing a bridge across the Guadiana and proceeding to invest Badajoz; but, although the Portuguese authorities had promised to collect 20 large boats, they could only produce 5, and, owing to the delay in getting together a sufficient number, Colonel Philippon, the governor, had time to restore the defences of the place and to fill up the French trenches. Latour-Maubourg had also leisure to spread his forces over the country, and thus collected a sufficiency of provisions to enable the fortress to stand a siege. On the 3rd of April, a trestle-bridge was at length put across the Guadiana under the protection of the guns of Fort Juramenha, but during the first night the waters rose and washed it clean away. A slight bridge was then made with boats and casks, and on the night of the 6th the passage of the troops was effected and a position assumed. Latour-Maubourg was too much occupied elsewhere to oppose this proceeding, but on the 7th he advanced at the head of 3,000 infantry and 500 dragoons. He was, indeed, too late to prevent the passage of the Guadiana; but on the 8th, under cover of the darkness, his advance surprised and carried off an outpost of the unfortunate 13th, and after this success the French dragoons boldly went forward into the village and very nearly surprised Marshal Beresford himself, who, with considerable difficulty, effected his escape. The Hon. General Cole, with the 4th division, arrived on the 10th, and measures were immediately taken to recover Olivenza, which surrendered on the 15th, before the guns could open. Beresford then concentrated his entire force at Zafrá, and marched against the enemy, no longer under the direction of Marshal Mortier, for he had been recalled to France, and the command had devolved upon Latour-Maubourg. A smart cavalry affair ensued on the 16th between Los Santos and Usagre, which was *exceedingly brilliant in its consequences*. Colonel Head, coming upon the 2nd and 10th French Hussars on a foraging expedition,

promptly charged them, and took 300 men with two officers prisoners, and killed the commanding officer, without the loss of a man on the side of the British. The 13th Light Dragoons, on this occasion, had the gratification of recovering their character and of recapturing at the same time many of the horses and accoutrements which their squadron had lost in the unfortunate surprise a few days before. The French division retired before Beresford's advance, towards the Sierra Morena, and entered Guadalcanal on the 18th, leaving all the resources of Extremadura to its opponents.

On the 21st, Lord Wellington arrived at Elvas from the north, and made a reconnoissance in force upon Badajoz the following day. It so happened that at the same moment a convoy of matériel, escorted by cavalry and infantry, was in the act of arriving into the fortress. An attempt was, therefore, made to cut it off; but Governor Philippon made a sortie to secure its admission, and succeeded in that object. This affair caused the Allies the loss of 100 men. Lord Wellington resolved, nevertheless, to undertake the siege, but saw clearly that Soult would make a very vigorous effort to prevent his possession of it. He therefore determined to try if he could secure the co-operation of the Spanish armies, three of which, under Blake, Ballasteros, and Castaños, were on one side or other of the Sierra Morena. He selected Albuera as the position most central for all the allied forces to concentrate upon, and where the fate of a battle should be tried, if an interruption should be attempted against the siege. Wellington had scarcely dismounted when a despatch was put into his hands that Massena was about again to take the field; and, as it was necessary for him again to hurry back to the north, he did not assume the command on the south side of the Tagus, but repaired with all haste to his army upon the Aguada, leaving the most detailed instructions with Beresford for the conduct of the siege of Badajoz.

11. BATTLE OF FUENTES D'ONOR.

Massena had in fact been apprised that Wellington had gone to the south, and thought the opportunity favourable for recovering something of his lost reputation by breaking the blockade of Almeida, and driving away the British army from before it, in order to relieve and re-victual the fortress. General Thiebault, the Governor of Salamanca, had exerted his influence and energies with such good effect as to collect supplies for the requirements of Marshal Massena. The veteran chief, although he had been much depressed by the necessity of retiring out of Portugal, and at his dissension with Marshal Ney, had still a great deal of his wonted fire, and was cheered at the thought that Wellington's absence from the command of the troops before him might afford to him a propitious turn of fortune. He became suddenly another man, and was quite eager to take advantage of the moment. By dint of the greatest activity, everything was prepared for marching on the 20th; but Regnier, Junot, Drouet, and Loison, all represented that their troops and horses were not yet fit to renew

a campaign, and the movement was therefore necessarily postponed to the 1st of May. Clausel was to be left behind with 6,000 men to maintain the communications, while 34,000 men (of which about 2,000 were cavalry) marched from Salamanca on that day with 40 guns. On the same day Marshal Bessières, Duke of Istria, arrived in camp, and with him a reinforcement of 1,500 horse, 6 guns, and supplies of food and ammunition. This unexpected arrival raised the spirits of the French army, and on the 2nd of May Massena crossed the Agueda; Regnier in command of the right, Junot and Drouet of the centre, and Loison with all the cavalry of the left, conveying rations of biscuit and flour, vegetables, salt meat, and brandy for the garrison of Almeida. On the 28th of April, however, Wellington had joined the British army in his front. His former successes had rendered him also eager for the fray, and he resolved to accept a battle, though inferior in point of numbers; for he had the fullest confidence in his troops, and in the influence he had personally obtained over the British soldier. The country between the Agueda and the Coa is a high open tract, partially covered with woods of cork and ilex, and the whole tract is traversed by three parallel rivers or watercourses, the Azava, Dos Casas, and Turones — streams of no great importance, but, having their rise in the ravines of the Sierra de Gata, they often in wet weather became torrents, rushing along rocky beds with considerable violence. The Azava was at this moment difficult to ford, and the French had to await its subsidence. The Light Division was at Gallegos and Espeja behind this river, but they retired on the French advance, and crossed to the ridge between the Turones and the Dos Casas. The position adopted by Wellington was on a table-land between these two rivulets; the centre fronted Alameda on the high road between Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, and he held his right in force at Fuentes d'Onor, which village covered the road leading from the last-named fortress to Castello Bom, which was the only bridge across the Coa by which he could, in case of necessity, retire or communicate with Portugal. His extreme right was at Nave de Avel, which was occupied by guerillas watching the road leading to Sabugal. The whole length of the position was five miles. The left flank was occupied by Dunlop's division holding Fort Conception, which had been ever since the invasion a mere ruin, but it served in a slight degree to protect the main road to Almeida, where Pack's brigade of Portuguese and one English regiment, the whole under the command of Sir Brent Spencer, closely blockaded the fortress. Fuentes d'Onor and the height behind it were occupied by the 1st, 3rd, and Light Divisions; Houston's division held the higher ground in front of Nave de Avel, and the boggy woods also in front of it at Pozo-Bello, the Dos Casas protecting the entire front. If the French Marshal moved direct upon Almeida, which it was his principal object to re-victual, the Allies, by merely concentrating to their left and *bringing up their right shoulders*, could fall upon his flank; he *therefore thought it best to endeavour to force his way through*

Fuentes d'Onor, in order to threaten the road to the British rear at the bridge of Castello Bom, which was, as stated, Wellington's only retreat across the Coa practicable for wheels.

On the afternoon of the 3rd, the 2nd Corps moved upon Alameda, and the 6th, under Loison, attacked with its entire strength the village of Fuentes, which was defended by five battalions. General Ferrey led the French attack, which was so violent and the cannonade so heavy, that the British were driven out of the street and could scarcely maintain themselves about the church; Wellington, therefore, ordered Colonels Cadogan and Cameron, with the 71st and 79th Scotch regiments, to reinforce the village, who soon drove the enemy from the portions of it of which they had obtained a momentary possession. The contest here continued till night, and about 260 fell in it on each side, but the British retained possession of the whole village. On the 4th the British strengthened their position with some slight works; and Massena, in making a reconnoissance of the ground, observed this and determined to move a force considerably more to his left, so as to get round the head of the ravine on higher ground, and in the afternoon columns were seen marching through Pozo Velho on Nave de Avel. Reginier remained at Alameda, to be ready to carry it in the convoy which rested at Gallegos, while General Ferrey still held the ground adjoining the entrance into Fuentes, having the 9th Corps under Drouet in support, and menaced a renewed attack on that village. The 6th and 8th Corps and all the cavalry, comprising 17,000 men, swarmed round the head of the rivulets to crush the right of the British and seize their communication with the bridge at Castello Bom. Wellington, on sight of this, sent the Light Division to strengthen Houston, and Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton carried all the cavalry to the threatened flanks. In the morning of the 5th, as soon as General Montbrun had scattered Don Julian Sanchez with his guerilla horse, the French cavalry came down and charged the British; but the combat was unequal, for there were not 1,000 to oppose 2,500. The British retired in good order in line across the plain, exposed to a telling fire of artillery, and suffering severe loss; but presently a great commotion was seen in the French ranks: a thick dust arose and loud cries, a sparkling of blades and a flashing of pistols indicated some unusual occurrence. The sight of two guns of horse artillery, which had been inadvertently left behind, under Captain Norman Ramsay, soon revealed the mystery and checked the retreat, and Major-General Sir Charles Stewart, seeing what had happened, rushed to place himself at the head of Brotherton's squadron of the 14th Dragoons, and by charging gave timely aid to Ramsay's escape; and in the struggle the French Colonel Lamotte was made prisoner, fighting hand to hand. The cavalry, however, were obliged to yield ground again, and to pass through the Light Division, who formed squares to receive the horse, while the French advance were met with such a heavy fire of shell and shrapnel from Bull's horse-artillery and from the musketry of the corps of Chasseurs Britannique ranged behind a loose stone

wall, that they pulled up. The whole of the vast plain was covered with a confused multitude of troops, amidst which the infantry squares appeared as specks, while the French horsemen were trampling, bounding, and shouting, as if impatient to act; indeed some of their historians assert that they actually charged and broke some of the British squares, but no such daring effort was, in truth, hazarded. An attempt was made to push a body of light infantry, with guns and cavalry, down the ravine of the Turones, where the 1st Division was posted, and General Nightingale, in command, was wounded in the course of the resistance.

The 3rd regiment of Guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, formed in square, was in the act of retiring, when they were shaken by a charge of French horse, who took the commanding officer prisoner; but the British cavalry moved up to their assistance, the regiment re-formed, and, under Lieutenant-Colonel Guise, aided by the 95th, under Captain O'Hara, this attack was repulsed. The British guns played so effectively upon the enemy, that Montbrun sent for the battery of the Imperial Guard to come up to his assistance, but was met by a refusal from General Lepie, who said that they obeyed no orders but those of the Duke of Istria. Montbrun, however, obtained four light guns after an hour's delay, but the favourable moment for employing them had passed away.

This was no doubt the turning-point of the day. Lord Wellington determined to withdraw his right wing and concentrate his force more to the left, for Fuentes was, during all this time, the scene of a most fierce battle. Drouet had been directed to carry the village against all opposition, and, though only three British regiments occupied it, they made a desperate resistance, but were at length overmatched by numbers. Colonel Cameron was mortally wounded, and the division Clarapède crowned the rocky ridge on which the church stood, and announced by cheers that Fuentes was their own. The command of the 71st devolved on Cadogan, and Wellington now sent down the 88th, under Colonel Wallace. His brief address, "At them, 88th!" was answered with one of those thrilling soul-stirring huzzas with which an Irish regiment is accustomed to rush to the onset. The struggle was only for a moment, and the best soldiers of France gave way before the impulse of the Connaught Rangers. Considerable masses were still poured into the village in support by General Drouet, but the division Loison of the 9th Corps lost their way at this critical moment, and did not reach Fuentes d'Onor at all.

Thus the fight lasted till evening, when the contest was abandoned by both parties; the British keeping hold of the church and crags about the upper portion, but the French retiring across the stream, rendered the occupation of the part below impracticable. About 5 o'clock the Prince of Essling, however, organised a new advance with Loison's corps, and Regnier and Drouet received orders to combine in a more vigorous attack on the two villages of Alameda and Fuentes, when (*it is said*) a message arrived to the Marshal from General Eblé, "That the stock of cartridges was exhausted, none

having arrived with the matériel brought by the Duke of Istria." This fact is stated both by Thiers and Brialmont, but it appears to be the strangest imaginable want to have arisen so suddenly, and almost within sight of a fortress not likely to be deficient in such ammunition. Be the cause, however, what it may, the attack was not made, a mere cannonade continued along the entire front, and evening closed the combat. In spite of the fatigue which his army had undergone, Wellington employed the whole night strengthening the entrenchments about the village of Fuentes, and barricades, abattis, and trous de loups were constructed in and about the villages lying near the Turones, while 4 divisions, with artillery, now occupied the quarter-league of elevated ground forming the right of his position; but Massena appears to have become convinced, from the result of the day's struggle, that he could not hope to force the British position and enable the convoy to enter Almeida. Whether or not he wanted cartridges, or whether (as has been stated) he now broke with Bessières as he had done with Ney, certainly during the whole of the 6th an unbroken tranquillity reigned in both armies. Massena bivouacked on the field with his troops, consuming, in inactivity, the provisions which had been prepared with so much difficulty to supply the fortress; but Regnier, Bessières, Gerard, Drouet, Eblé, and a crowd of inferior officers, succeeded in persuading the Marshal that there was no use in resisting fortune, and that he had done all that could be required from him in making the bold attempt to relieve Almeida. The Prince of Essling, therefore, called for volunteers to carry a message through the British lines to the fortress, and found three private soldiers, by each of whom he sent a communication to the Governor-General Brennier, desiring him to open a passage for his garrison by force of arms through the British army, after blowing up the works of the place; and Brennier was directed to announce with 100 guns that he had received these orders from the Commander-in-Chief. On the 7th this signal was made and heard; and the same evening Massena commenced the withdrawal of his troops. Wellington was in doubt, at first, what could be the meaning of the signal, and what course the old warrior was about to adopt; but on the 8th, French columns were observed marching on the road back to Ciudad Rodrigo, and the retirement of the enemy from the front of the British position was gradually and consistently continued, so that by the 10th no part of the French army remained on the left bank of the Agueda; it was now observed, however, that the 2nd Corps retired to cross the Agueda opposite Barba del Puesco on the extreme right, to observe which Sir William Erskine was therefore directed to send the 4th Regiment, and to be vigilant. Massena's retreat was instantly followed up by the clearest instructions from Wellington to Major-General Campbell to insure the capture of the garrison of Almeida, and he was intrusted with the charge of the investment, and with ample means to effect it with the 6th division of British, and Pack's Portuguese brigade. *He was a zealous and enterprising officer, and had*

especially requested that the blockade should be intrusted entirely to himself, and that he might conduct all the details of it without any interference. His incapacity and incaution led to results most mortifying to the whole army. Too great confidence in the weakness and discouragement of the garrison, or in his own strength, or erroneous dispositions, or negligence in their execution, opened the way for the escape of the garrison from the fortress, which Marshal Massena had failed to obtain for them in the field. After some days, frequent explosions from within attracted the attention of the blockading troops, bivouacked outside, which turned out afterwards to be an ingenious "dodge" of Governor Brennier to destroy the artillery on the walls. He caused several guns to be fired at the same moment with very heavy charges, placing one across the muzzle of the other, so that while some shot fell into the blockading camp, others destroyed the pieces without attracting notice. At midnight, on the 10th, he sprung his mines, which were distinctly heard at Barba del Puesco, and accordingly Regnier directed General Heudelet on the Agueda to be on the alert and prepared to receive Brennier, and cover the escape of his troops. Leaving Morlet, the chief of the Engineers, to spring the last mines, the garrison quietly quitted Almeida at 10 o'clock at night, by the gate leading towards the Agueda, and passing between the quarters of the blockading force and the cantonments of the rest of the army, with a precision and nicety that did great credit to Brennier's talents and coolness, but the success of which seems altogether unaccountable against an investing force, he arrived soon after daybreak at the banks of the river. Packe had been early sent upon his trace, and, with some of Cotton's cavalry, got up to them at this point, but they only arrived in time to fall upon the French column as it descended to the bridge, where they found Heudelet with a portion of the 2nd Corps in position behind the stream, ready to offer his assistance. The attack of the English pursuing regiments at this moment caused great loss to the fugitives, but Brennier and his brave companions safely passed the river. This brilliant escape of a garrison through the ranks of a conquering army deserves the highest praise, and we will agree with M. Thiers, notwithstanding some accompanying spiteful remarks of his, "*que ce fait extraordinaire valait une victoire.*"

The battle of Fuentes d'Onor cost the Allies 1,786 casualties, and the French over 2,665. There is no question that it reflected very great honour on Wellington to have foiled in the open field the "*enfant chéri de la victoire,*" and he never fought under more serious disadvantages. In every military arm he was immeasurably weaker than his antagonist, but he handled his troops with great ability, and evinced that dogged resolution in disputing his ground, which was one of his especial characteristics. It was, indeed, hard upon him to lose the fruits of his victory by the escape of the garrison of Almeida, for he had evinced wonderful forbearance and cool judgment when keeping his eye intent on the object for which he hazarded the battle; and would not allow the

presumption of success to induce him to force the enemy from his front, but permitted the Marshal's continued presence on the field before him and in his sight to work out its own fruit, until the sense of weakness obliged Massena to withdraw of his own accord. Singularly enough, the despatches of both commanding generals to their governments anticipated, by two days, the escape of the Almeida garrison, and, while the French army was thus prevented laying claim to a victory, the facts resting on both reports form a true memorial of the battle of Fuentes d'Onor.

12. MASSENA RECALLED IN DISGRACE BY NAPOLEON—HIS RETIREMENT AND MILITARY CHARACTER.

When the Prince of Essling retired to Ciudad Rodrigo, he found Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, had arrived there on the 7th, with orders from the Emperor to supersede him and assume the command of the army. Massena, Ney, Junot, and Loison, therefore, quitted the Peninsula for France all about the same time, and the military career of the old marshal arrived at its natural close, though his life was continued for some years. Andrew Massena, Maréchal de France, was the son of a small dealer in vines at Nice, where he was born in 1758. Having lost both his parents in early life, he received but a slender education. He first entered the sea service, but, after having made several voyages in a merchant ship, he took a dislike to a seaman's life, and in 1775 enlisted in the Régiment Royal Italien. He was most assiduous in all his duties, and set his whole ambition on becoming a corporal, a step which, he used to say in after life, cost him more trouble to gain, and afforded him more satisfaction when gained, than any which he afterwards acquired. After a service of 14 years, in which his intelligence and good conduct had obtained for him the rank of adjutant, he withdrew, in 1789, to his native city and married. In this retired and humble condition the French revolution found him; and now, seeing a military career open to men of all ranks without restriction of birth, he, although a Savoyard, joined the army of France, and was raised by the suffrages of his battalion to the rank of adjutant-major, and in 1792 became colonel of the Régiment du Var. In 1793 he was already general of division, and in this capacity commanded the right wing of the French army at the battle of Loano, where, in concert with Scherer, he defeated the Austrian General Argenteau. He was also in the great victory in the defile of Saorgio, which followed it, in 1794; and that of the Col de San Giacomo in 1795 was mainly owing to his ability. Here he was found by Bonaparte, when he commenced his Italian career in 1796, and his conduct greatly contributed to the first victory at Millesimo. It would be superfluous in this place to follow Massena through his Italian, Swiss, and German triumphs, since they will be found duly recorded already in the "Annals of the Wars;" but such was the opinion entertained of him by his contemporaries for the uninterrupted career of his early successes,

that he obtained the title of "enfant chéri de la victoire." His star never waned till he was brought in contact with the skill of Wellington, over whom he could not obtain the slightest advantage. Foiled at Busaco and before the Lines, and finally repulsed at Fuentes d'Onor, he fell under the displeasure of Napoleon, who re-called him and never employed him in the field again. Massena was gifted by nature with a robust frame and undaunted spirit; he was indefatigable in exertion, and might be seen day and night on horseback, as well amongst rocks and mountains as when skirmishing over plains and through valleys. He was firm in every resolve, so that the leading feature of his character was obstinacy. He was so unconquerable in any resolution, that he would never cease till he had carried it out to the utmost. Even after a repulse he would recommence a struggle, which was the cause of many of his victories. This was a character to impress favourably the minds of his soldiers, though it must be confessed that it was as often the occasion of failure as of the greatest successes. He, unfortunately for his fame, allowed his firmness to be overcome by the insinuating address of his old companion in arms, and was most reluctantly overpersuaded to go to Spain instead of hanging up his sword after Wagram. He was gifted with much force of character and a very clear judgment, which shone ever most brightly when surrounded by difficulties; yet his conversation gave little indication of genius; his thoughts, however, on military matters were lucid and forcible, and his orders on the battle-field were cool and precise, even in the midst of danger and in the hottest moments of action. In private life, the defect of early habits and the want of refinement in his ordinary associations, rendered him sordid and avaricious, so that he is said "to have shared the profits of contractors and commissaries, and to have been frequently guilty of peculation and rapacity." He was, in truth, of an utterly selfish disposition, reckless of those below him, whether officers or men; and, although the French army was not a school of morality, he was always accompanied in his campaigns by a mistress, who did not add anything to the private consideration entertained for the Marshal by his companions in arms. The old warrior returned to France broken-hearted. He never forgave the Emperor for the unjust disgrace put upon him by withdrawing him from his command at a moment of temporary misfortune, so that he even viewed the fall of the Empire with satisfaction. He gave in his adhesion to Louis XVIII., in 1814, among the first of the marshals of the Empire, and accepted from the Bourbons the ribbon of St. Louis. After the battle of Waterloo he was made by the King Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, and died in 1817.

13. BATTLE OF ALBUERA.

Marshal Marmont, on assuming the command, placed the French army in cantonments in the vicinity of Salamanca, and Lord Wellington directed the works of Almeida to be repaired sufficiently to

render it a secure dépôt of stores as long as he should be obliged to carry on the war on the northern frontier of Portugal. The information he now received from Beresford determined him to send away two more divisions of his army to his assistance, and to repair himself forthwith into the south. On the 15th, therefore, in the evening, he quitted Villa Formosa, and, travelling as fast as he was able by relays of horses, reached Elvas on the 19th. Here he met Colonel Arbuthnot from the Marshal's head-quarters, from whom he received an official account of one of the most obstinate and sanguinary actions in which the British had yet been engaged in the Peninsula.

Badajoz had been effectually invested on the 8th, and on the night of the 8th-9th ground was broken on the side of Fort Christoval, and, at the same time, before the Pardaleras and Picurina. On the 10th, the garrison made a sortie from Christoval, and did some mischief. On the 11th, the first breaching battery opened fire at 150 yards. Although Wellington had left orders that stores of every kind should be transmitted to the besieging army from Elvas and Lisbon, either negligence or the want of transport so brought it about that Beresford's siege artillery amounted to only three brass 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers, without sappers and miners or one single soldier who had ever before witnessed a siege. No army was, in fact, ever worse provided for such an enterprise against a fortress strong in itself and garrisoned by the most practised and scientific troops of the age. From the inefficiency of the Marshal's resources in the siege matériel his operations went on slowly enough; but Soult had determined from the first to interrupt the British in the attempt, and Beresford's tardiness gave him ample time. Having quitted Andalusia and united his own corps to the 5th under Gerard, he collected an army of 18,000 fighting men, with 40 guns, and crossed the Sierra Morena to force his adversary to raise the siege of Badajoz. Beresford, therefore, on receiving this information, communicated the fact to Lord Wellington, and marched away his army to the position of Albuera, already fixed upon in the contingency of Soult's advance. On the 13th and 14th, all the artillery was withdrawn from the trenches, the platforms taken up, the artillery and stores sent to the rear, the fascines, gabions, and materials that could not be removed burned, and the flying bridge withdrawn to the Elvas side of the Guadiana. Marshal Soult had already left Seville and was at Llerena, and, marching with extreme celerity, he reached Villa Franca on the 14th, and Santa Martha on the 15th, whence he communicated his arrival to the garrison of Badajoz by salvos of artillery. Beresford had held a conference with the Spanish leaders on the 13th, when it was agreed to cede to the British general the supreme command, and, further, to receive battle at the village of Albuera. The allied force was 32,000 strong, with 2,000 cavalry and 38 pieces of artillery; one-half of this force were, however, Spanish troops, and the remainder British and Portuguese, in nearly an equal proportion. On the morning of the 15th, a portion of the Anglo-Portuguese

force occupied the left half of the intended position, but the fourth division, under General Cole, was still before Badajoz. Blake, with only a few miles to march, moved so tardily that his leading brigades did not reach their ground until midnight. The fifth Spanish army was left behind, with orders to march up on the first signal. The position selected was an undulating ridge, having the Albuera river in its front, with an ascent easy for the operations of both cavalry and artillery: somewhat in advance of the centre were the bridge and village of Albuera. The road from Seville to Badajoz, Valverde, and Merida, separates into three branches after passing the stream at the bridge and traversing the village. It may be remarked that the whole country was covered with scattered ilex trees. The Spanish army was to occupy the right in two lines, having their left on the Valverde road, whence Stewart's division continued the front as far as the Badajoz road; across which stood Hamilton's Portuguese division, which closed the left of the line. Alten's German legion occupied the village and held the bridge. Cole, with the 4th division, was in reserve. About 3 in the afternoon of the 15th, the British cavalry were seen to arrive at the front, closely followed by the French horsemen, which much disquieted Beresford, for his troops had not got collected in position, and he sent officers to hasten the movements of the several divisions. In the meanwhile, the French army occupied the wooded heights immediately across the stream, where their force and dispositions were effectually concealed by the foliage. If Soult, indeed, had pushed on at this moment, he might have carried the British position before their army was concentrated. It was 11 at night before Blake came into position, and Cole, with the 4th division, did not arrive upon the ground till between 8 and 9 in the morning of the 16th, when the battle had already begun. Madden's Portuguese brigade did not receive their orders, and, accordingly, did not arrive at all. After carefully examining Beresford's dispositions, Soult saw that on the right a rough broad height trended back towards the rear, commanding a view of the entire position. This height, which was the key of the whole position, and should have been occupied and entrenched, had been neglected by Beresford. In the night of the 15th-16th, the French Marshal quietly concentrated 15,000 men and 30 guns within ten minutes' march of the British commander's right wing; so that Beresford's right and Soult's left were thus only separated by the Albuera stream. At 9 in the morning General Goudinot was directed to move along the high road upon the village and bridge, while General Werle with his division following in order, was, by the appearance of accumulating force, to distract his adversary's attention from the right wing. Gerard's corps, with the greatest part of the artillery, under General Rutz, all under the immediate direction of Soult himself, accompanied by Latour-Maubourg's cavalry, advanced at break of day; and, under artillery fire, the attacking columns approached the hill. Beresford, *clearly seeing that Goudinot's advance was in no great force, was not deceived as to Soult's real attack being on his right, and sent*

off Colonel Hardinge to request Blake to change his front, and throw all his first and second lines at right angles to their present formation; but the Spanish General, with great heat, told the officer that the real attack was at the village and bridge, and not against him: nor would he consent to stir till the Marshal arrived in person, and showed him the French bayonets gleaming through the interstices of the wood, and in sight of his flank. In half an hour two-thirds of the French force were actually in order of battle across the right wing of the Allied army, while the Spanish army, disordered and divided, was still in the act of changing front, the French guns pounding the troops, and their musketry telling at every shot upon their ranks. The sight of the French cavalry so alarmed the Spaniards, that, quitting the hill, they drew back, when Soult, thinking the whole Allied army was giving way, pushed forward triumphantly.

With great promptitude, General Stewart, at this juncture, advanced the 2nd division to face the enemy; but, his boiling courage overlaying his judgment, he passed the Spanish right and attempted to form line in front of them as his battalions arrived on the ground, when he impatiently brought his leading troops to the charge against them, deploying his first brigade, under Colborne, up the hill, in the midst of a drizzling rain; but so galling was the fire of the French, that, under favour of it, Latour-Maubourg came unseen upon the rear of the disordered brigade, with four regiments of hussars and lancers, and slew or took two-thirds of it. The 31st Regiment alone, being still in column, maintained its ground, while the French horsemen, riding violently over everything in their way, captured 6 guns. Lumley's cavalry, supported by Dixon's artillery, now came to their aid, but were obliged to retire before the brilliant charges of the French cavalry. Beresford was in the midst of this *mêlée*, and a Polish lancer fell upon him, when, being a man of great strength, he put the lance aside, and, seizing the trooper bodily, cast him from his saddle to the ground. Penne Villemur's Spanish cavalry was at this time directed to charge the French cavalry, but they turned and shamefully fled. The weather, which had ruined Stewart's efforts against the enemy, eventually saved the day, for it prevented Soult from seeing the state of the British rear from the hill which he had now gained, and he halted when the decisive blow might have been struck. Colborne, with the 31st, remained firm on the height, until General Stewart returned with Houghton's brigade, which poured a dreadful fire into the thickest of the French masses. They were charged by the Polish Lancers; but two companies wheeling up, foiled the onset, and the Spaniards, under Zayas and Ballasteros now moved forward in support. Hartman's artillery made the French infantry stagger under their discharges of grape, and their crowded columns embarrassed their battle. Nevertheless the French artillery opened on the British from the hill, and dealt death and destruction around. Here General Houghton fell and died, while cheering on his men to the charge. Duckworth and Inglis were slain, but the contest continued with unabated fury.

It was nearly 1 o'clock, but Beresford, becoming disheartened, was making his preparations for a retreat, when Colonel Hardinge, one of his staff, using his name and authority, took upon himself to order up the advance of Cole's division, and at the same time brought Colonel Abercrombie's brigade, of Stewart's division, with him to the ground. This happy inspiration changed the fate of the day. Two brigades, one of Portuguese, under General Harvey, and the Fuzilier brigade under Sir William Myers, were led by the intrepid Cole up the contested height. But it will be remembered that at this time 6 guns were still in possession of the French General Werle, whose life was here sacrificed while pressing forward at the head of his reserve; Latour-Maubourg's cavalry were riding furiously about the captured artillery; and Hamilton's Portuguese and Alten's Germans seemed to be in full retreat from the bridge. Cole, cool and resolute, drove off the lancers, recovered the guns, and, issuing at the head of the troops, through the smoke and mist, afforded an opportunity of exhibiting the steadiness and courage which so eminently distinguish the British infantry in every emergency. The firmness of the gallant line startled the enemy's masses, as it debouched upon the head of the French columns, all now heaped up together, and too dense to act at once and with vigour. Myers charged them with a degree of regularity, coolness, and audacity, that assured the victory; and, amidst terrible slaughter, the enemy was driven from the ridge. A fearful discharge of grape from all their guns preceded their quitting the hill, and whistled through the British ranks. Myers was killed; Cole, Ellis, Blakeney, and Hawkshawe fell wounded; and the Fuzilier battalions "reeled and staggered under the iron tempest like sinking ships,"* but, recovering in an instant, they closed on their terrible enemies. Nothing could stop that formidable infantry, which frustrated all the endeavours that their adversaries made to deploy into line, and scarcely a single French officer escaped death or wounds. In vain did Marshal Soult with voice and gesture animate his men; in vain were acts of individual heroism exhibited by the hardy veterans of a thousand fights, who, breaking from the crowded mass, strove fiercely to get their columns into order and into a fairer field. The measured tread of the Fuziliers, as they moved to the charge, actually shook the ground; while with steady eye they swept the head of every formation with dreadful volleys. It was to no purpose that the French reserve made astonishing endeavours to recover the field; a mighty cheer was heard to rise above the dissonant cries of the tumultuous crowd, and the bayonet came to scatter the distracted French soldiers. By this time the incessant vigour of the attack had carried the British forward to the farthest edge of the height; and when the smoke cleared away, a mighty mass of 1,800 brave men, the remnant of the 6,000 who but a short time previous had deemed themselves victorious, fled in disorder, "and, like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the steep."* *But the triumphant battalions on the fatal hill stood*

* Napier.

there in sadly diminished ranks. The dead and wounded lay in two distinct lines on the ground, and in masses so compact, that 7,000 bodies occupied a space of the most limited dimensions, so that the artillery advancing into action, but averting their gaze in sadness from the grievous spectacle under their wheels, were compelled to pass over the poor wretches, deaf to their cries.

"Modern history," writes General Picton, "presents no example of an action so obstinately disputed." "I think this action," says Wellington, "one of the most glorious and honourable to the troops of any that have been fought during the war." But let us hear the opinion of the most Gallican of French military critics, the author of "Victoires et Conquêtes," in his own words:—"L'influence que cette affaire désastreuse exerça dès-lors sur le moral du soldat français fut grande et funeste. Ces vieux guerriers, toujours vainqueurs dans le nord, et si souvent en Espagne, n'abandonèrent plus les Anglais qu'avec une certaine défiance: ceux-ci, connussent aussi, par la journée d'Albuera, le côté vulnérable de leurs adversaires: ils apprirent qu'en résistant vigoureusement à un premier choc et avec avantage du nombre, la victoire leur échapperait rarement." And Jomini draws this conclusion from the same battle: "Le combat meurtrier aurait du décider pour jamais la supériorité d'une ligne d'infanterie déployée et bien exercée au feu contre des colonnes trop profondes. Nous devons en faire encore de plus rudes épreuves, sans pour cela profiter des leçons de l'expérience." And M. Thiers admits, "Qu'une sorte de fatalité rendait la bravoure héroïque de nos troupes impuissante contre le froid courage des Anglais."

The crisis was past, when Beresford hastened to profit from the consummation of the battle by making Alten retake the village and bridge of Albuera; but Goudinot, having perceived that the right of the French army was repulsed, abandoned all further resistance to the British, and drew back across the river without dispute. At 2 in the afternoon the entire French force had retreated across the Albuera, and left the field of battle to the conquerors. The serious fighting had endured for only four hours, and in that short time 7,000 Allies and 8,000 of their adversaries had been struck down, killed or wounded; 2,000 on Beresford's side were Spaniards, and about 600 Germans and Portuguese, but the remaining 4,300 was the proportion of the British, out of a total of 7,500 English soldiers engaged!

Though Beresford's firmness had not proved equal to the trying crisis of the battle, it is but due to his character to record that his resolution in standing his ground after the casualties of the day were reported to him was worthy of a conqueror. Few regiments could muster, on the evening of the 16th, one-third of the strength which they carried into the battle. Out of an effective of 570 men which the 57th Regiment took to the field, 23 officers and 400 rank and file "were lying as they had fought, in ranks, with every wound in front." This regiment was subsequently long known in the British army by the soubriquet of the "die-hards." When "the

Bufs" were called together, after the battle, only three privates and one drummer answered to the roll-call! This almost-extermination was occasioned by a noble contest to save the regimental colours. Ensign Thomas, who had carried them into action, was surrounded and summoned to give them up; but he answered, "Not but with my life;" and his life was the instant forfeit. But the colours passed through many a hand to save them: Ensign Walsh had the staff broken in his grasp by a cannon-shot, and fell severely wounded; but, anxious for his precious charge, he stripped the flag from its shattered halbert, and secured it in his bosom. "The laurel is nobly won when the exhausted victor reels as he places it on his bleeding forehead."* One howitzer was carried off by the French as the trophy of the day. It is remarkable, but quite true, that this piece of artillery, lost in Beresford's victory, was the only gun sacrificed by the British in the whole war. Marlborough is said to have fought no battle which he did not win, nor besiege any fortress which he did not capture; and of Wellington it is the distinguished record that, neither in retreating nor in fighting, did the armies which he personally commanded lose on any occasion one single piece of artillery which was not afterwards recovered.

The morning of the 17th showed both armies in their respective situations. Soult had still a superiority in cavalry, and these had been flushed with success in the battle; yet he found that his casualties amounted to so many thousands that he was occupied the entire day in sending off his wounded, by way of Monasterio, to Seville, and protecting their march with his horse; but, nevertheless, 900 or 1,000 men were left on the field. On the evening of the 17th, fresh reinforcements to Beresford arrived on the ground, by a forced march, and two more divisions were hurrying up from the Coa. Soult, therefore, gave up all idea of resuming the battle, and retreated. On the 21st, Lord Wellington arrived and rode over the field, and directed Beresford to cautiously follow the enemy, who had retreated to Llerena. At Almandralejo, some of Soult's wounded fell into his hands in this operation, and at Usagre, on the 25th, General Bron, with two regiments of French cavalry, crossed over the river by a bridge, designing to scour the country, when he encountered General Lumley, with the 3rd and 4th Dragoons and a troop of horse artillery. Both British regiments charged with gallantry and success, taking the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding, 2 majors, and several officers, with about 100 rank and file, prisoners. This brilliant affair of cavalry terminated Beresford's command. General Hill, on his return to the army, resumed his place with the 2nd division and the independent army south of the Tagus, which illness had obliged him to resign to Beresford, returned to him; the Marshal now returned to his Portuguese levies, for which most important charge he was so eminently qualified. The apathy and corruption of the regency of the kingdom had already very much deteriorated the Portuguese

* Napier.

army during Beresford's absence, and his presence was never so much required as at this period to watch over its organisation and well-doing. Lord Wellington himself resumed the supreme direction of affairs in the Alemtejo. As the divisions came up from the northern army, Badajoz was again completely invested, on the right of the river under Houston, and on the left under Picton.

14. WAR IN ARRAGON AND CATALONIA.

During the early portion of 1811 the Peninsula was quiescent, and submissive to the intrusive government in an hitherto unprecedented degree. King Joseph remained at Madrid, endeavouring to organise a system of equitable government, which might gradually overcome the aversion and prejudices of the people. The Cortes, engrossed in speculative legislation, held their sittings in a remote corner of the kingdom, but exercised little influence upon the nation at large. Biscay and the Asturias were occupied by General Bonnet's French division, though Porlier's guerillas were in activity around him, and occasioned him much trouble. On one occasion, indeed, St.-Andero was surprised, and its garrison captured. In Navarre, General Reille commanded, but lost all his time in running after Espos y Mina, who allowed no opportunity of harassing the French army to escape him. The rich valleys of Ronçal and Roncevalles could not be occupied by the enemy. The army of the north, under General Dorsenne, watched Abadia's Spanish army, which was in a wretched state of equipment, but Galicia was free from French troops. The two Castiles were occupied by the army of the Centre, which held all the principal towns, but about Guadalaxara the Empecinado hovered, cutting off the communications with France, and had lately succeeded in surrounding and cutting off a strong detachment, escorting 11,000 Spanish prisoners. There were also independent bands of guerillas in La Mancha, which kept about the province of Toledo, and tormented the communications between Madrid and Andalusia, where the guerillas were also numerous and active. The army before Cadiz remained under Victor, and Grenada was occupied by Sebastiani, while Soult was supreme over all these divisions at Seville. Extremadura and Leon formed the scene of the British operations; and of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia we shall now speak.*

Master of Tortosa and Lerida, Suchet now resolved to obtain possession of Tarragona. This was the stronghold of the patriots, and the seaport by which they received the most constant and valuable assistance from England: it was therefore of the first importance to besiege and take it. With this object, while his troops were occupied in restoring the ramparts and putting Tortosa a state of defence, the General conferred at Zaragoza with Gene-Guilleminot, the chief of the staff of Marshal Macdonald, as to the best means of co-operating for the desired achievement; but, ever

* Cyril Thornton's Annals, and Thiers.

active to improve to the uttermost any advantage gained, Suchet, as early as the 8th of January, had despatched a force to obtain possession of the Fort of San Felipe, commanding the high road through the Col de Balaquer, leading from Tortosa to Tarragona. General Habert, who was sent on this duty, immediately summoned the governor, whose wavering reply induced the expectation and belief that a little vigour would best accomplish the object; and, accordingly, on the 9th, he opened the few guns he had with him, and advanced his men to the assault, which induced the larger portion of the garrison to flee, and the rest to lay down their arms. A force was then directed against La Rapita, at the mouth of the Ebro, of which possession was obtained on the 13th. Nevertheless, the patriots of Catalonia neither relaxed their boldness nor their activity. O'Donnell had been displaced, and the command of the army given to the Marquis of Campo Verde, who had already made an attempt to surprise the Italian brigade at Tarrega on the 3rd. He now had his eye fixed on Macdonald, who had established his head-quarters at Reuss, a town seated in the midst of a fruitful plain, about 12 miles from Tarragona. Campo Verde, therefore, posted himself at Vals, to watch the future movements of the French Marshal. Brigadier Sarsfield, with 8,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry, had been encountered by the Italians, under General Eugène, on the heights of Pla and Fuencaldas, and had driven them back on Vals, with the loss of their General. Macdonald now, therefore, sent up another brigade of Italians, under General Palombini, to their assistance, who found the former body in full retreat before Sarsfield, whom Eugène had indeed attacked, but, as has been stated, had been defeated and killed at Vals. The Spaniards were at length, however, unearched, and Macdonald established himself at Vals, but thought it prudent, in the night of the 16th, to withdraw before Campo Verde's corps, and take up his head-quarters at Lerida.

This little success emboldened the Spanish Marquis to make a secret attempt upon the Fort of Mont-Juich, near Barcelona. The French governor, Maurice Mathieu, got wind, however, of the enterprise; and when, in the night of the 19th-20th of March, 800 Spanish grenadiers had actually arrived and descended into the ditch, a fire was opened against them from every side, and it was with difficulty that Campo Verde himself escaped; the rest were killed or taken, and the principal mover—a civilian—was caught endeavouring to escape with a large sum of money, which he had stolen from the government chest. Macdonald now transferred his head-quarters to Barcelona, and was in march for this city when, on the 2nd of April, Brigadier Sarsfield, being at Mont-Serrat, fell upon the Italian division under General Harispe, as they approached Manresa, with such vigour as to disperse the whole of them. The Spanish peasants, as was ever their custom, immediately robbed and massacred the unhappy fugitives who fell into their hands, and the French *Marshal*, in his rage and anger at this conduct, ordered Manresa to be set fire to and burned. At sight of this, the whole population of

the Miguelets took arms, and Macdonald found himself so beset in his movements that, having to pass through the defiles of Col d'Avi, he was obliged to halt and defend himself in the pass for five or six hours. In the bitterness of their anger, the Spaniards even resolved to attempt to get possession of the important hold of Figueras, commanding the great communications with France. A Miguelet leader, by name Martinez, obtained, by means of the brothers Palapos—Catalonians, who were in the employment of General Guillot, the governor—the keys of a magazine which opened by a door into the ditch. Late on the evening of the 9th of April, he accordingly led his Miguelets from the mountains, and despatched 700, under Rovisa, to hide themselves under the ramparts, when, at a concerted signal with the inhabitants inside, this postern was opened, and the Spaniards in the ditch rushed in and disarmed the guard; and, before the astonished garrison could assemble for their defence, the governor and 1,700 men were made prisoners, and the fort secured.

Such was the enthusiasm on this success, that numbers of Miguelets, fully equipped for war and burning with patriotic ardour, crowded round the standards of Campo Verde and Sarsfield; and the general transport was such that a *Te Deum* was sung in every city and village of the province. Baraguay d'Hilliers, nevertheless, went forward and kept the fort closely blockaded. It was known to be very deficient in supplies, and, accordingly, Campo Verde, at the head of 8,000 of his best troops, determined to introduce into Figueras a considerable convoy. On his march from Tarragona his division was increased by 3,000 men, and the most effectual assistance was promised him by Captain Codrington, of the British navy, who sent up Captain Thomas, of the "Undaunted," to run into the port and land the marines at Cadaquirs, while a sally from the citadel was promised to co-operate in the intended attack. Had Campo Verde, who came upon the French completely by surprise, but followed up the attack with vigour, he would have gained his object—for the head of Sarsfield's column, after overcoming all opposition, was already in the town; but Baraguay d'Hilliers amused the Spanish General with the proposal of an armistice, prior to a capitulation, and Campo Verde fell into the snare; and when, after some idle discussion, hostilities were resumed, it was discovered that the French General had collected together in the interval a choice body of 4,000 men, and therefore won an easy victory. The Spaniards lost 1,100 men, and were driven off to a distance from the beleaguered place, and the blockade was quietly resumed. Marshal Macdonald was so disconcerted by the loss of Figueras, that he sent to Suchet to reclaim the divisions he had lent him for the projected plan of besieging Tarragona, requesting him to lay aside, for the present, all thoughts of it, for the purpose of regaining this most important post for the French arms. Suchet replied, "that a simple blockade of Figueras might be with ease established by the nearest troops, but that it was unreasonable to renounce the attack on Tarragona, the only remaining bulwark to the patriots, because of the loss of a

fort." It was thought that Suchet fancied he saw the bâton of a Maréchal de France within that much-coveted prize, and did not mind vexing Macdonald, for he was aware that he had obtained the Emperor's favour by his successes at Tortosa and Lerida, since Napoleon had sent express orders that General Suchet, and not Marshal Macdonald, should undertake the operations against Tarragona.

15. SUCHET BESIEGES AND TAKES TARRAGONA.

Tarragona, the Tarraco of the Romans, was the capital of their province of Iberia Citerior, and a great part of the rampart which still encircles it was erected by the Roman legions. It was sacked by the Moors in 714, but was recovered from their yoke by Count Berenger in 1150. It revolted with the rest of Catalonia, and was besieged and taken by Philip IV. in 1640, and, four years afterwards, the French laid siege to it. It figured in the War of the Succession, when the English threw up vast outworks for its defence, but afterwards renounced the project of defending it. They were accused of having through jealousy set fire to the city after the peace of Utrecht, which so completely destroyed it that it has ever since declined in importance. The city has a handsome Gothic cathedral, of vast dimensions and elegant ornamentation, dedicated to Sta. Thecla, having a peculiarly rich chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, and enriched with yellow marbles and jasper. A ruined monument, facing the sea, on which are two statues of warriors in mournful postures, but rudely cut, and much worn away by exposure to the winds, has been named the tomb of the Scipios; for it is well known that the father and uncle of Scipio Africanus were both killed in Spain. The situation has the great disadvantage of producing no spring water, but there is an ancient aqueduct, called the Puerte de Fereira, which unites the castle rock to that on which Fort Olivo stands, and which played some part in the defence. Tarragona presents to the eye of the approaching traveller an isolated rock on the shore of the Mediterranean, of considerable elevation, scarped on three sides, but having many dwarf palms, or palmettos, growing through the interstices. To the south-west it slopes down to the Francoli river, across which is a stone bridge of six arches, over which the road passes that leads to Valencia, and where is situated the Lower Town, which is protected by a bastioned enceinte, revêted and enclosing a small square redoubt in masonry, called Fort Royal. The Camina Reale to Barcelona, descending into the Campo Tarragonese, leaves the city under the great rock, on which side five forts, connected by a curtain wall, defend all the approaches, and run under a craggy, rocky cliff, called Milagro. The Upper Town, where stands the cathedral, is surrounded by an ancient bastioned wall, without any ditch, but the rock is so bare and scarped as to be quite unapproachable by the *sap*. It communicates, at 800 yards' distance, by an old aqueduct, with a detached citadel, called Fort Oiïvo, which adds considerably

to the strength of the place. It now mounted near 50 guns, and was garrisoned by 1,200 men. A British squadron, consisting of the "Blake," 74, Captain Edward Codrington, "Invincible," 74, Capt. C. Adam, "Centaur," 74, Capt. White, and two other ships of war, anchored within the mole, and seriously incommoded the flank of the besiegers' approaches.

General Rogniat, entrusted with the prosecution of the siege, proposed to direct the attack from the side of the Francoli. There was, it is true, on this side an accumulation of defences, and the fire of the British squadron was to be apprehended; but it was hoped that shell and hot shot would keep the ships at a distance, and the works, though numerous, were of the feeblest construction, for the escarp of the bastion could be seen and breached from some distance, while Fort Royal was without any ditch, and the Fort Francoli was not well flanked from the town. Besides, the possession of the Francoli would reduce the garrison and inhabitants to the necessity of using the brackish waters of the wells in the city, and would greatly incommode the commerce of the port. The Spaniards, having long contemplated the possibility of a siege, had repaired the works, which were accordingly in good condition, and the garrison numbered 6,000 men, including 1,200 armed inhabitants and all the seamen of the port, all animated with a good spirit.

The place was completely invested by General Harispe on the 4th of May, and Suchet established his head-quarters at Constantia. In the village of Canonje were established the parc and dépôt of the engineers and artillery, and the magazines and hospitals were placed at Reuss, a considerable manufacturing town in the midst of the plain. In this was quartered a strong detachment commanded by General Ficatier, who had much trouble in keeping off the Miguelets and Partidas from his quarters. The fire from the British squadron and gun-boats, with that from Fort Olivo, seriously impeded the commencement of the siege on the side contemplated for the attack, and on the night of the 7th-8th, Rogniat commenced, for the defence of the besiegers, a strong enclosed redoubt, opposite Fort Francoli, which, in spite of every interruption, opened two 24-pounders on the squadron upon the 13th. Vigorous sorties were, however, made against the sappers and the investing force between this time and the 20th, when Sarsfield appeared on the heights occupied by Fort Loreto, and at the same time the garrison made a sally from the gate of San Antonio; but the attack, though serious, was repulsed by the besiegers. It was judged by Suchet that the possession of Fort Olivo should, if possible, be obtained, and approaches were therefore made against it on the night of the 21st-22nd. The sap had to be carried over the rock, by trenches formed with sand-bags, and when the breaching batteries were prepared, the heavy artillery to cover them had to be carried up the perpendicular mountain with inconceivable labour. The works were carried on day by day, under the continued well-directed fire from the works of the fort, and no day passed without 50 or 60 casualties; but

just as the battering guns were ready to open on the 27th, the besieged made a vigorous sortie, and the French general of engineers, Salone, was killed in the repulse. On the morning of the 28th, 13 guns opened from a little hill at a short distance from Fort Olivo, and made a breach, which, nevertheless, the garrison was able to repair under the still powerful plunging effect of their guns. The fire of the besiegers now, however, hourly gained the ascendant, and on the night of the 29th it was resolved to attempt an assault. One column was directed against the breach; another, under Colonel Revel, was to attack the gorge; and a third, under Colonel Miocque, furnished with axes and ladders, was to escalate where he might. False attacks were at the same time to be made by General Habert on the side of the Francoli, and by General Balathier from that of the Barcelona road. False attacks are generally, for an obvious but erroneous idea, the most noisy; and without doubt drums and cries in a night of unusual darkness, with the noise of artillery and the passage of troops, do distract the defenders and frighten the inhabitants, but they do not very much mislead the besiegers. Every gun that was mounted upon the ramparts, however, opened fire on this 29th of May, and the fleet added their part to the grand orchestra of artillery. Amidst an undulating blaze of fire, illuminating the general gloom, the assaulting columns advanced in silence. That destined against the breach stumbled upon a Spanish column, which happened to be in the very act of entering the fort. The assailants followed after them to get in with their rear, and plied their axes well against the palisades and barriers, but did not succeed in forcing an entrance. A fearful fire of musketry struck down the leading engineer, Captain Papigny, and most of the sappers. As is usual in most assaults, the ladders proved too short, and it was necessary for the men to lift one another upon their shoulders to escalate the walls; but, by accident, the engineer, Vacani, discovered that the Spaniards had omitted to cut off or watch the place where the aqueduct crossed the ditch, nearly on a level with the top of the escarp, which offered a pathway nearly six feet wide, along which the assailants now rushed with the bayonet, led by the Adjutant Meselop. They were thus enabled to open an access to the columns of Revel and Miocque. The garrison resisted bravely, and it was not until General Harispe arrived on the spot with a reinforcement of 500 Italians, that cries of victory announced the possession of the Fort Olivo by the French. General Campo Verde was in the city at this instant, and immediately ordered all the guns facing Olivo to be directed against the gorge; and, fearing all the consequences of the neglect of the aqueduct, he now ordered the communication of it with the Old Town to be immediately destroyed. The next morning, early, 3,000 men, under Colonel O'Donnel, were despatched by the gate of Rosario to endeavour to re-take the fort; but the French were not to be caught napping, and the attack was repulsed with the loss of *many prisoners*. The garrison were appalled at the capture of this *stronghold, saying*, with characteristic Castilian arrogance, "Nos

otros mismo no le habietamos tomado."* The number of dead that fell in this sanguinary struggle was such that Suchet proposed an armistice of a few hours to bury them out of sight, and to be relieved from the horrid miasma which he feared that the heat of the season would occasion; but the proposition was rudely refused by the besieged, and the fire re-opened against the place. A council of war was, upon this, held in the fortress, and it was decided that Campo Verde should leave the place and endeavour to rouse the Miguelets to make an effort to raise the siege from without, and in the meanwhile the command of the garrison was entrusted to Don Juan de Contreras, who had just arrived there from Cadiz. The new governor was a brave and energetic man, with considerable ascendancy of character. He organised the inhabitants, male and female, to each of whom he assigned duties according to their capacity; and Commodore Codrington seconded the exertions of the governor by continually providing and landing fresh supplies of provisions and warlike stores, and receiving the sick and wounded on board ship, to convey, by sea, to the hospitals of Valencia. Sarsfield was, at the same time, sent to assume the command of the Lower Town and posts under Contreras.

The possession of Olivo and the removal of the British squadron beyond the mole enabled the French engineers to commence their regular approaches against the Lower Town, and on the night of the 1st-2nd of June the first parallel was opened. On the 7th-8th they stormed and took Fort Francoli; and on the 10th-11th they formed the second parallel. On the 12th, Commodore Codrington brought a reinforcement to the garrison of 4,000 men from O'Donnell's army, whom he had conveyed by sea from Murviedro, and at the same time the boats of the British squadron took off all the women and children and conveyed them to Villanueva. On the 16th, in the morning, 54 battering pieces opened on the place; but the garrison was never for a single moment idle; incessant sorties, accumulative fire from artillery and musketry, and the most daring exposure of officers and men to direct the defence, were highly deserving of military commendation. On the 19th-20th, however, the besiegers effected the descent into the ditch to the foot of the counterscarp, and on the 21st a shell from the breaching batteries exploded a magazine within the works.

Colonel Skerrett had arrived in the bay with 2,000 British from Cadiz; but upon Contreras's assurance that the force he had with him in the town and castle was a sufficient garrison, the British colonel thought he might render a better service to the cause by carrying his expedition to assist the efforts of Campo Verde in the open. On the 21st, the besiegers scientifically assaulted the breach in the bastion of San Carlos, which Sarsfield disputed with his accustomed bravery and resolution, and with a loss of 1,500 men; but the enemy eventually got possession of Fort Royal and the entire Lower Town. The same day a detachment of Campo Verde's army, under Baron d'Eroles, attacked and dispersed a French convoy coming to-

* "We ourselves could not have carried it."

wards Tarragona out of Mora. The works, however, were now pushed forward resolutely against the Upper Town, and a practicable breach was effected in the bastion of San Juan on the 28th. An assault was now, therefore, every day expected, and both parties prepared for the deadly encounter on which the fate of the fortress depended. A thick hedge of aloes, no small obstacle to the advance of troops, grew at the front of the old wall; and parallel with the face assailed ran the great street of the city, *Callé de la Rembla*. Here the houses were crenellated and barricaded. The impatience for the final struggle at length became so animated, that the soldiers of both nations, those on the wall and those in the trenches, stood up and hurled defiance at each other with frantic gestures, in the midst of a tempest of missiles which the batteries, the shipping, and the walls hurled against the one and the other. At half-past 5 in the afternoon the signal for the assault was given, and the assailants leaped out of their trenches to cross a space of about 120 yards which separated them from the wall. To allow their men to clear this the French batteries ceased, but a storm of musketry, grape, hand grenades, and shell opened on the side of the besieged, and swept away the head of the advancing column. The hedge of aloes now came into play, breaking the advance at 20 yards from the wall, and such was the obstruction experienced by the columns of attack from these obstacles, that for a moment the success of the assault was doubtful. Suchet, however, was on the spot in person, and ordered up all his reserves. His staff bravely placed themselves at the head of the new columns of attack. Sergeant Bianchini, who had greatly distinguished himself at the assault of Olivo, claimed as a recompense that he might head the assault against the place, and with a noble devotion he was the first to fall in the front of the two nations. The street of *La Rembla* was now carried, and a panic seized the Spanish troops. The heroic Governor, Contreras, having received a deep bayonet wound in the breast, was carried off in a litter to the presence of Suchet. Unlike the French soldiers in the time of the Bourbons, who could honour a genial noble spirit in an opponent who had done his duty with fidelity, the French commander brutally reviled his stricken foe, and said he deserved instant death for having continued the resistance after the breach was practicable. "I know of no law which compelled me to capitulate; and my person should be respected. If it is not respected, to you be the infamy, to me the glory." Gonzales, the second in command, with 900 men, now sought refuge in the cathedral. Thither the French soldiers followed them; for a church was not to them, and cannot be to any assailant, a sanctuary in a storm; and here their gallant leader fell, pierced by more than twenty wounds. What became of Sarsfield is not recorded, but doubtless he fell honourably in the defence of that portion of the fortress entrusted to him, for he was among the missing. A great number of the inhabitants and soldiery fled by the Barcelona road, under Milagro, when the case became hopeless; and the boats of the British squadron, under the personal command of Captains Codrington, White, and Adam,

assisted the fugitives, receiving into their row-boats men, women, and children. The numbers thus saved were, however, unhappily but few. Above 6,000 human beings are said to have been massacred in the course of that dreadful night. Belmas, the journalist of the siege, records: "Le sang des Espagnols inondait les maisons et les rues de cette malheureuse cité, et tout y présentait le spectacle affreux, mais inévitable, d'une ville prise d'assaut."

Napoleon, on the same day on which he received the account of the capture of Tarragona, elevated General Suchet to the rank of Marshal of the Empire. There is no question that the siege was one of the most successful, and the possession of that fortress one of the most important, events of the war on the side of the French. It deprived the patriots of their only remaining military arsenal, and of a most valuable port of communication with the British fleets for supplies.

Anxious to profit immediately by his success, Suchet raised his camp before Tarragona the very day of its capture, and marched against Campo Verde. That general and Miranda hastened to get on board British ships, which embarked some 3,000 Spanish soldiers, and conveyed them from Arenas de Mar to Valencia on the 9th of July. The Junta of Catalonia fled to the island of Majorca, and appointed General Lacy to succeed the Marquis of Campo Verde in the command of the province. Lacy gave a new organization to the troops which he was enabled to get together, by forming them into bands of guerillas to act in concert with the celebrated Mina. He also sent Brigadier D'Eroles to take the command and defend Mont-Serrat. This is a celebrated mountain fastness 3,300 feet above the sea, overlooking the hilly plain of the Llobregat, and is approached from Barcelona by a gothic bridge of three arches, called the Devil's Bridge, which bears an inscription stating that it had been built out of the ruins of an ancient structure which had existed 1985 years, having been erected by Hannibal in the year 535 of Rome. Mont-Serrat derives its name from Mons Serratus, or "sawed mountain," and is an isolated rock composed of an assemblage of immense cones piled one above the other, having only one platform, on which stands the famous convent of Our Lady of Mont-Serrat, formerly possessing great riches, but abandoned at an early period of the war by the noble Benedictine monks, its owners, who removed themselves and all their wealth to the island of Minorca. Abandoned by the religionists, it became a favourite military station of the patriots, and was now the last stronghold of independence in that portion of the Peninsula. The prodigious height of the precipices on which the buildings were situated rendered the rock almost inaccessible, and considerable skill had been exerted to strengthen the position by obstructing the narrow paths which wound up the long ascent, and by constructing redoubts and batteries on every "point of vantage," to the summits of which artillery had been conveyed with the utmost difficulty. To the monastery itself strong entrenchments had been added, and the walls were loopholed for the fire of musketry. It was approached on the north by Casa Man-

sana, on the south by Calbato, and on the east by Monestrol; but all three were merely steep and rugged paths, inaccessible to troops moving in a body. Marshal Suchet was, however, aware that D'Eroles had a force insufficient to defend the place, and therefore resolved to menace all the three approaches at once. The principal attack was, however, intrusted to General Maurice Mathieu, and this was directed on the northern side. The assailants were received with a brisk fire from the peasants scattered over the mountain crags, who also rolled down stones and masses of rocks on the advancing soldiers, but Maurice Mathieu, halting and getting his men out of the reach of these annoyances, sent some light troops to scale the vast pyramidal heights which here rise out of the rock in the most fantastic manner. In these romantic situations found 13 hermitages for the most ascetic individuals of the brotherhood, placed amidst evergreen bushes. From the numerous retreats thus nestled like birds' nests within the clefts, much more ravenous life than had ever beset an eagle's eyrie now showed itself; for the assailants had reached them after incredible fatigue, and from these singular outworks now opened a heavily-sustained fire that staggered the defenders. Encouraged by this effect, the grenadiers rushed up the ascent with flashing bayonets. The most perilous defiles were soon passed; and Mathieu, having gained the summit, was preparing to storm the monastery itself, when the sound of musketry announced that the other attacks likewise were successful, and the stronghold already won. Baron D'Eroles and his garrison escaped by ravines known only to the natives, leaving in the citadel 10 pieces of cannon and all the collected stores for the benefit of the conquerors.*

No force now existed in Catalonia capable of interfering with the blockade of Figueras. This place was, however, defended by a garrison of 4,000 resolute men. Despairing of effecting the reduction of so strong a place by open force, Marshal Macdonald had thrown up, round the fortress, vast lines of circumvallation, eight miles in length, consisting of a rampart and ditch with palisades and abattis, and having a covered way connecting it with detached redoubts armed with heavy cannon. A force of 20,000 men thus securely placed effectually prevented all escape. Martinez, however, attempted a sortie on the night of the 16th of August, and succeeded in forcing his way to the very abattis of the exterior lines, where his progress was effectually arrested, and after repeated attempts to break through the obstacle he was obliged to return to the fortress with the loss

* We cannot, however, quit this famous spot without one word relating to the presiding idol of the sanctuary, Nuestra Señora de Montserrat. It was a silver statue, grown black by age, except where the eager kisses of its votaries had worn away the metal. The face of the mother was very handsome of its kind, but of the form and colour of a negro woman. The treasury before the war contained valuable crowns for the virgin and her son, some large diamonds, ancient cameos of some Roman emperors, a celebrated one of a Medusa's head, also the sword of St. Ignatius, and the chest in which the famous brother Guasin, who, after a virtue that almost gained him his glorification, was tempted of the devil to commit a rape, and afterwards buried the body of his victim much in the manner described in the story of *Santon Barisssa*. (See "Guardian," No. 148.)

of 400 men. There was then no further hope for the gallant Spaniards, who were already reduced to the smallest rations of bread and even of water. Their leader, Martinez, however, employed two days in destroying everything that could be at all useful to the enemy within Figueras, before he gave up the place on the 19th to Marshal Macdonald, who, with his native generosity, conceded him honourable and favourable terms. The whole of Catalonia was now in possession of the French.

16. SECOND SIEGE OF BADAJOZ—TWO ASSAULTS UNSUCCESSFUL.

Marshal Soult having been driven away without having thrown supplies of any kind into Badajoz, Lord Wellington resolved not to lose a moment, after his arrival in Extremadura, in renewing the siege of that fortress, which had been interrupted by the battle of Albuera. As the sieges undertaken by the British armies in the Peninsula have been thought to reflect but little credit on the military reputation of Wellington, it may be well to make some remarks on the subject before proceeding to relate this, the first of them which he conducted in person. "Thanks to the negligence of the British government, no army ever undertook an operation of the sort, so badly provided with the means necessary for its accomplishment!"* It will scarcely be believed, in these days, that an army provided by a great country had been for more than two years equipped for the field, and had not yet an organised siege train in its composition. The artillery matériel for the contemplated siege was confined to such as Elvas could supply, the ordnance of which place consisted only of ancient brass guns on unwieldy and defective carriages, and the shot was of the rudest nature, and of a calibre smaller than the bores of the guns, and such was their impotency that fourteen of them failed in battery, after a week's hammering, to make a breach in the old castle wall at from 400 to 600 yards' distance. There were few British artillerymen for siege operations, and the Portuguese gunners were inexperienced. There were no regular sappers and miners, and no time for the troops to be instructed in the making of fascines and gabions, which many of them had never before seen in their lives. There were no mortars, and the siege parc was ill supplied with shells for the howitzers, or with proper shot for the 24-pounders. There was an insufficiency of splinter-proof timber and planks, while the trenching-tools provided were so bad, that a positive struggle occurred to get some old French ones which had been captured in Olivença or elsewhere, so that the French actually outdid the British in a Birmingham manufacture. Picton sarcastically remarked on these shortcomings for a siege, that "Lord Wellington sued Badajoz *in formâ pauperis*."

The school of military engineering in England had been to this period without much experience. During half a century the British had not conducted more than three sieges worthy of the name. In-

* Napier.

stead of the French system of approaching by sap and crowning the covered way with the breaching batteries, the practice of attacking places by cannonading from a distance and then running all risks by trusting to the bravery of the troops for an assault, much more than to the works of approach, was generally prevalent in the British practice. It is to be feared that this reprehensible tactic has not yet been remedied, for Sebastopol was a flagrant example of it, in opposition to the proceedings of the French, who sapped *en règle* to the foot of the breach. It is most extraordinary that in matters of war the English should have been found wanting in that very particular in which they have excelled all nations in peace, namely, in engineering. "It was more than once necessary," says Colonel Jones, "to employ three nights in clearing out a trench which might have been easily effected in one:" and this from a people who have constructed railroads for all the world!

Wellington was not blind to these defects, and orders were sent to Salvaterra, the nearest port on the Tagus, to hasten forward to Elvas six iron Portuguese ship guns, and a company of British artillery to work them was at the same time ordered up from Lisbon by the most rapid conveyance. Upon a careful reconnoissance, no alteration in the defences of either the castle or Fort St. Christoval appeared to have been added since Beresford raised the siege, but the batteries and trenches which had been then raised by the British had all been cast down and filled up. The siege, however, could not be recommenced in less time than eleven days, in consequence of the gun-carriages having been so much shaken by their late removals, that the axle-trees and wheels were much injured. Lord Wellington accordingly determined, after full consideration, to follow generally the plan adopted for Beresford's attack, correcting in detail such things as experience had proved faulty, and increasing the means of aggression and the power of keeping down the fire from the place. An observation party, with a large and powerful telescope, was established in the centre of Fort La Lippe at Elvas, whence the whole of the interior of the works at Badajoz could be watched.

The place was invested anew on the 25th of May, and the engineers broke ground on the 29th against Pardelaras, as a false attack, under fire of which 1,200 men successfully opened a trench, on the night of the 30th-31st, and another against the castle, at 800 yards. The garrison were taken by surprise, and did not discover this parallel till daylight. Batteries were also marked out at 450 yards from the covered way of San Christoval; but the garrison perceived here the working parties as soon as they commenced, and opened a heavy fire against them from the castle and the fort. On the next day the works against the former, where the soil was soft, proceeded rapidly, but the ground in front of the latter was hard rock, and every particle of loose soil had been, since the last attack, assiduously scraped off the surface of the ridge, so that *earth had*, therefore, to be brought up from the rear to form the *breastworks*, and the miner had to level ground for the platforms

of the guns by the pick, which made him day and night a marked object to the defenders; but the shells from the castle falling, fortunately, on the edge of the trench, rolled down without bursting, or exploded innocuously. Woolpacks and sand-bags were, however, shortly obtained from Elvas to supply the place of loose earth in the construction of the *épaulements*, which much facilitated the progress of the batteries. Captain Rainsford's company of British artillery came up post on muleback from Lisbon, and now joined the besieging force. The arming was accordingly hastened, and on the 3rd the batteries opened from both attacks. At the castle, the outer face or old wall was beaten down, and a nearly perpendicular bank of earth or clay became exposed to the fire of the gunners, and this bank, under the play of 15 guns, fell away in flakes, and became still more perpendicular. The inefficiency of the brass guns, however, had become so much increased by use, that an interval of several minutes after each discharge was necessary to give the metal time to cool. It was also thought that the old guns became more quickly deteriorated by the strength of the powder used by the British, and it became necessary to reduce the charges of the cartridges.

On the night of the 6th-7th of June, the breach in San Christoval having been deemed practicable, an assault was resolved upon. Lieutenant Dyas, of the 51st, led the forlorn hope, and Major M'Intosh, of the 85th, the storming party, and under the guidance of Lieutenant Forster, of the Engineers, they reached the glacis and descended into the ditch, without having been molested; but the defenders had completely cleared the foot of the breach from rubbish, so that seven feet of perpendicular wall here presented itself. The forlorn hope, finding the ascent impracticable, was retiring, when the storming party came leaping into the ditch with ladders and strove to escalade. It is perfectly marvellous that in every storm it is universally the rule that the ladders should be too short; those carried down into the ditch were 15 feet in length, but the scarp was 20 feet in height! Above the wall, however, were seen carts and pointed pieces of wood chained together; and loaded shells ranged along the ramparts, only requiring the fuses to be lighted, and these were now rolled down into the ditch, when the bursting of the shells, the incessant fire of musketry from men on the breach, armed with 3 firelocks each, and the flanking fire of guns charged with grape, created such a confusion in the dead of the night that the stormers were beaten off with the loss of 100 men, and Forster was killed.

During the storm, the 6 iron guns which had arrived from Lisbon were placed in battery, and were soon found to tell with very superior effect to the brass 24-pounders from Elvas. On the 8th-9th, the fords of the Rivillas and the approaches to the castle breach were reconnoitred by a small party, under the engineer, Patton, who encountered a picquet of the French, and was mortally wounded in an interchange of fire, but lived to report that no obstacle whatever existed in the bed of the river, or on the bank

beyond it, to the advance of a storming party. Accordingly, on the 9th and 10th, another assault was ordered; Dyas again headed the forlorn hope, and Major M'Geechy, of the 17th Portuguese, the storming party, which was led by the engineer, Hunt. Unfortunately, both Hunt and M'Geechy were struck down by the first volley, and the party were bewildered as to the real direction of the breach. The support of 100 men came up, however, soon afterwards, with ladders, and all ascended them with much steadiness; but the enemy, standing on the ramparts, bayoneted the foremost assailants, overturned the ladders, and again poured down upon the party in the ditch shells, hand-grenades, bags of gunpowder, and every species of combustible, which rendered all human perseverance and gallantry unavailing, and 140 fell *re infectâ* before the survivors retired. The castle breach remained unassailed, for the troops could not form for the attack of it until Christoval was taken, and, accordingly, this now ended the second attempt on Badajoz, and the siege was ordered to be raised.

17. SOULT AND MARMONT UNITE THEIR ARMIES AND RAISE THE SIEGE.

On the morning of the 10th, an intercepted despatch from the Duke of Dalmatia to the Duke of Ragusa came into Lord Wellington's hands, by which it became clear that the enemy designed to concentrate their entire force in Extremadura, with a view of saving Badajoz, and it was also known that a corps under General Bonet had already marched from Toledo on the 28th and 29th, and that General Regnier, with Marmont's advance, would arrive at Merida on the 15th. This information had decided the raising of the siege on the night of the 12th. Indeed, other considerations might have rendered this necessary. It was found that the supplies drawn from Elvas had so drained its resources, that there would scarcely be stores enough left in that place to endure a siege of 14 days. Wellington, therefore, had to undertake, at the same time, the removal of all the artillery and warlike stores from the trenches back to Elvas, and to bring up from the British magazines at Abrantes more necessary supplies for that fortress. The siege, which was thus terminated on the 12th of June, cost the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, 34 officers and 451 soldiers.

Lord Wellington had directed Lieut.-General Sir Brent Spencer to act, according to circumstances, under the operations of Marmont. Before quitting the north, the French marshal was desirous to provide for the effectual re-victualling of Ciudad Rodrigo; and accordingly, while he directed Regnier to march with two divisions with all despatch by the Col de Baños on Almaraz, he, with the rest of his army, appeared on the 5th in front of Spencer, protecting an immense convoy, destined for the supply of the fortress. On the 6th, he issued from Rodrigo in two columns, one of which marched on Gallegos and the other on Espeja. The light division and Slade's cavalry fell back before the latter, and after a

slight affair of cavalry, in which a loss occurred of 20 men, the rest of Sir Brent Spencer's army joined Wellington by crossing the Tagus at Villa Velha. When Regnier arrived at Almaraz, an unexpected delay occurred to him there: the pontoons promised from Madrid had not been heard of, and the passage of the entire *corps-d'armée* across the Tagus had to be accomplished by a single ferry-boat! Nevertheless, on the 14th, Drouet in advance joined Marshal Soult at Llerena, and both advanced to Fuente del Maestro. General Hill had been sent to take up the old position at Albuera, in order to offer battle to Soult, if he endeavoured to advance without waiting for his colleague. The French marshal, in consequence of this operation, refused his left, and fled by his right upon Almandralejo, in order to unite his force with that of Marmont, who had by this time reached Truxillo. Wellington saw clearly that, with odds so tremendous as 50,000 men, with 90 guns, against 28,000, and in a cavalry country, into which the French brought 7,000 horse, he could not accomplish anything of importance; and, having well studied the ground, determined that the hill country, extending from Campo Mayor to Pontalegre, would afford him an opportunity of obtaining a good position, in which he could canton his army during the hot season. He therefore called in Hill, and marched away his army, concentrating it behind the Caya on the 17th, where he took up a position on both banks, and showed a determination to accept battle there, in spite of the numerical superiority of the enemy. This bold attitude deceived the French marshals, and made them believe that he had been joined by the Spanish troops, and was really in force. The two marshals, combining their forces, entered Badajoz in triumph on the 20th, and gave their hands to General Philippon, the governor, who, it must be admitted, had nobly done his duty in defence of the fortress. They remained for some days to encourage the garrison, and renew the emptied magazines, and rested their own troops till the 24th, when they manœuvred before the British position, crossing the Guadiana in two heavy columns; the right being directed towards Campo Mayor, and the left towards Elvas. The opinion in the British camp was general, that a battle must be fought, and the Allied divisions got under arms, carefully concealing their masses. Whether, with a comparatively numerical inferiority to the enemy of one-third, it would have been wise in Wellington to have assumed the offensive and marched against the two marshals in detail, as Jomini affirms he should have done at this period, may be left to the large chapter of possibilities; but that the two marshals united, with such a preponderance of numbers, did not assail the British behind the Caya, may perhaps be accounted for by the misunderstanding which existed between Soult and Marmont, and which exploded within a day or two after their union. Marshal Soult was tired of taking up positions at Llerena month after month to watch Badajoz, leaving Cadiz in the meanwhile unsubdued, and therefore proposed to his brother marshal that he should remain in Extremadura to protect the former, while

he returned and united all his means for the complete reduction of the latter. But Marmont was very much spoilt by the Imperial favour, and undervalued his far abler chief; and, moreover, he suspected that Soult desired to compromise the junior commander, by placing him in a dilemma purposely to increase his own importance, and he was not at all disposed to be left to the tender mercies of Wellington with insufficient means of defence. He therefore replied that, if Soult wished to superintend the siege of Cadiz, he might go and do so, or if he could leave with him the army of Andalusia, he would assume the responsibility of operations to the north of the Sierra Morena, but otherwise he could only be answerable for the defence of the northern provinces of the Peninsula. Marshal Soult, therefore, found it expedient to march away on the 27th for Seville. Lord Wellington had sent for Castaños and Blake to his headquarters, and there personally opened to them the views which he took of the intentions of the enemy, and the determination to which he had come in respect to the British army; but with considerable astuteness he desired the Spaniards to march as for the position of Pontalegre, to mislead the enemy as to the force collected in that mountainous position, while, knowing by experience the little value to the British army of these undisciplined levies in battle, he resolved to employ them more usefully by effecting a diversion. He therefore sent them, by forced marches, down stream, along the right bank of the Guadiana, until they reached Mertola, on that river; but, with that strange fatality which always neutralised the effect of the Spanish armies in the field, Blake, instead of doing as he was ordered, and moving rapidly on Seville, where he might have turned to good profit Soult's absence, and ruined the important magazines of the French, amused himself by a most unnecessary operation, that lost much precious time. The way led by Niebla, on the Tinto, 40 miles short of Seville, where there was a strong castle, and he now sat down before the fortress without any siege train, and without any object in view, either present or prospective. The fortress was of use to the French, as covering the little port of Moquer, whence disembarkations might harass them at Seville, which was only 10 leagues distant, and they had rendered defensible an old tracé and a double enceinte round a tower. The surrounding country is rich in copper ore, which tints the water, whence the name Rio Tinto. There was a Swiss garrison of about 500 men, under Colonel Fritzhart, who laughed at the summons brought in by Murillo, replying sharply to the Spanish fire, repelled easily the Spanish assault. But these *hors-d'œuvres* occupied three days. While Blake was vainly endeavouring to make himself master of that fort, Soult re-crossed the Sierra Morena, and not only returned to Seville, but obliged Blake to get away in all haste to Ayamonte, and there to embark his army for Cadiz. Marmont had meanwhile moved off by the valley of the Tagus, and applied himself to construct a double tête du pont for the defence of the passage of the river at Almaraz, which would maintain the communication with Soult by means of Girard's division, stationed at Zafrá, and with his own army, now cantoned

at Truxillo and Placentia, guarding the Puerto de Baños and Bazar. Wellington, fortunate in having now, for the second time, saved Portugal, took up his head-quarters at Pontalegre, and rested his army. Now was exhibited that elasticity of mind which accompanies soldiers in the field. A few days since they were breaking their heads against the stone walls of Badajoz, now they lived gaily and well, amusing themselves with balls, private theatricals, and agreeable and social intercourse; shooting, coursing, hunting, and fishing, as if they were going to pass the rest of the year in country quarters.

18. WAR IN THE EAST INDIES—CAPTURE OF JAVA BY THE BRITISH.

The only possessions in the East which the British had not ere this obtained, were the Island of Java and its dependencies. An extraordinary value had been placed upon these settlements by the Dutch, who used to call Java the most precious jewel of their diadem. By a misapplication of labour, but apparently with a view to render the country more like Holland, they had directed the waters of the rivers into a multitude of canals; and, carrying to the East the habits and partialities of their native land, had built their capital, which they called Batavia, in a low, unhealthy situation in the mud. They deemed this a high stroke of policy, since they thought that, by exaggerating its unhealthy appearance in the eyes of foreigners, its evil reputation would become a terror and a defence against any hostile attempt which might be made upon it. Java is a noble island, admirably situated in the centre of the Indian Archipelago, and, in conjunction with Sumatra, it appears to be pointed out by nature as the destined emporium of Eastern commerce. Notwithstanding the bad repute of its atmosphere, Java alone is said to contain some millions of inhabitants, occupying 40 great towns and 4,500 villages. The Dutch, at this period, had made themselves absolute masters of the whole island. Rich in its soil, it furnished to commerce sugar, pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, rice, and other grain. But, now that the sovereignty of it had been transferred to France, Lord Minto, the Governor-General, resolved to reduce it, and he assembled an armament for that purpose at Malacca. About the middle of April, in this year, the expedition had completed its preparations, and on the 18th of May, the first division of troops, under the orders of Colonel Gillespie, anchored in the harbour of Penang, under the convoy of the "Caroline," 36, Captain Christopher Cole. This was followed on the 21st by the second division, under Major-General Wetherall, escorted by the "Phæton," 38, Captain Fleetwood Pellew. These were soon afterwards joined by Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and Commodore Broughton, in the "Illustrious," 74, the military and naval Commanders-in-Chief of the conjunct expedition. The whole of the troops thus assembled amounted to 11,960 officers and men, of whom nearly one-half were Euro-

peans. The Governor-General himself accompanied the expedition with Mr. Stamford Raffles, who had originally suggested it. As the reduction of this considerable settlement had long been avowedly an object of ambition to the British Government, a considerable body of officers, with troops and engineers, had been sent out from France for its defence, consisting of about 10,000 men, who were placed under the Dutch Governor, Jansens, who had recently succeeded to Governor Daendels; and this force had now assumed a position strongly fortified by art and nature, surrounded by stout palisades, and enclosing 280 pieces of cannon, in the entrenched camp of Meester-Cornelis, about nine miles from the city of Batavia.

On the 26th of July the "Minden," 74, Captain Hoare, with "Leda," 36, Captain George Sayer, were cruising off Batavia, when the expedition arrived, and Captain Hoare detached his launch and cutter, under the command of Lieutenant Edmund Lyons, to run down the coast and gather all the information possible as to the movements of the enemy's troops in Java. On the 27th this officer had, in conversation with an intelligent resident, persuaded himself that there had been no intimation received by the authorities on the island of the contemplated attack against it during the period of the monsoon. He therefore thought that he should favour its landing if he carried forward his two boats to make a night attack upon Fort Marrack, in order to draw the troops in the island away to that direction. It was rather a vast undertaking; but not only was it completely successful, but first brought into notice an officer who has since occupied an important position in the world as the late Admiral Lord Lyons. The lieutenant, half an hour after midnight, proceeded on his way to effect a surprise, but was challenged and fired at by the enemy's sentinels; when, running his boats aground in a heavy surf under the embrasures of the lower tier of guns, he and his brave companions gallantly landed and placed their ladders, when they sprang up them in an instant, and in a few minutes Lyons and 34 men were in complete possession of the lower battery. Without a moment's hesitation he led them again forward and carried the upper platform, the defenders flying in a panic through a postern gateway. A fire was now opened on the captured fort from a distant battery of the enemy, each shot striking exactly the postern gate. The sailors, therefore, immediately threw it open to allow the shot to pass harmlessly through, and soon detected that, while the range was thus previously ascertained, it appeared afterwards to vary, and at length the firing ceased in answer to the sound of an approaching drum. The situation of the gallant little band became critical, for they were under no doubt but that a body of troops was advancing against them. They therefore rolled two 24-pounder guns, loaded almost to the muzzles with musket-balls, within about a dozen yards of the open gate, when the lieutenant took the match, and, the instant he heard the Dutch troops shout, fired both guns and then closed the gate. The *foremost ranks* were mowed down by this murderous discharge, *almost every bullet* of which told, and those behind now fled pell-

mall down the hill. The British colours were then run up in place of the French flag, which was carried away as a trophy, but Lyons very prudently abandoned the possession, and carried away his whole party back to the squadron, with only 1 officer and 3 men wounded. Rear-Admiral Hon. Robert Stopford, on going soon after, to take the command of the naval force, was apprised by Captain Hoare's report of this adventure of Lieutenant Lyons, as of an officer acting without orders. "I beg," says the gallant Admiral, "that you will tell Mr. Lyons from me, that I consider myself fortunate and happy in procuring the services of an officer who has so eminently distinguished himself in this gallant and successful attack, and wish disobedience was always as judicious."

At daylight on the 31st, the brig-sloop "Procris," 18, Captain Maunsell, discovered six gun-boats lying in the mouth of the Indramayo river, each armed with two guns. Deeming it of importance to attempt their destruction, Captain Maunsell, in his boats, with detachments of soldiers and sailors, succeeded in boarding and carrying five of them, and in blowing up the sixth. On the 4th, the ships stood in and anchored abreast of the village of Chillingching, where the entire military armament landed the same evening. In the course of the night a patrol of the enemy's cavalry galloped into the advanced posts, under the direction of an aide-de-camp of the Governor's; but finding a picquet of infantry on the alert, and ready to receive them with two 6-pounders, they were glad to get off with the loss of an officer and several men. On the 7th, the army moved across the river Angol, and on the following day entered the city of Batavia without further opposition. On the 9th, Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Stopford arrived in the "Scipion," Captain Johnson, and anchored in the harbour, together with the entire fleet, which now consisted of three 74's, one 64, one 44, 13 frigates, and 7 sloops of war, making with the Company's cruisers, transports, &c., nearly a hundred sail. The same day, Governor Jansens was summoned in the fort to which he had retired, and replied with the accustomed Gallican gasconade, "that the Governor was a French general, and would defend his charge to the last extremity." An attempt was made to surprise the troops which garrisoned the city, but Colonel Gillespie was wide awake, and sallied out against the assailants, who were not again seen or heard of until the next morning, when a Malay was discovered with a firebrand in the act of setting light to some wooden magazines containing gunpowder, and, in a spirit of summary justice, was at once hanged without judge or jury. An attempt was also made to give poison to Colonel Gillespie in coffee prepared for his breakfast, but the author of this abominable crime escaped, as did, happily, his intended victim.

On the 10th, very early in the morning, two battalions of infantry, 78th and 89th, advanced under the command of Gillespie upon the enemy's cantonment at Weltewreden, which was aban-

done on their approach, the soldiers retiring a short distance to a strong position defended by abbatis, and occupied by about 3,000 men with 4 guns. This was promptly attacked with spirit and judgment, and after an obstinate resistance was carried at the point of the bayonet, the enemy leaving their artillery behind them. The main body of the army, under the General-in-Chief, came up the same afternoon, and bivouacked that night within view of the hostile camp-fires, now gleaming under the protection of Meester-Cornelis. The position the enemy had now assumed consisted of an entrenched camp between the great river Jacatra on the one flank, and an artificial watercourse called the Sloken on the other. It was further defended by a deep trench strongly palisaded, seven redoubts, and many batteries, all mounted with heavy cannon. The fort of Meester-Cornelis was in the centre; and 10,000 men, many of them Europeans, or at all events all of them drilled upon the European system and officered by French and Dutch gentlemen, were here prepared to oppose a powerful resistance. The season was already too far advanced in summer heats to admit of regular approaches, so that Sir Samuel Auchmuty thought it best to erect batteries, which might silence the numerous and well-organised artillery, before an assault should be made upon the fort and formidable position, which extended five miles, having 280 pieces mounted upon it. Batteries were accordingly raised within 600 yards, and on the evening of the 21st they were nearly completed, with twenty long 18-pounders, together with eight mortars; but the enemy made a sortie early in the morning of the 22nd, and gained possession of the works, though being quickly repulsed, they were at length driven back within their lines. They then turned their guns upon the batteries before they were ready to open, but on the 24th the guns were well established in battery, and an ascendancy of fire was speedily obtained by the British which silenced the nearest batteries and considerably disturbed the entire position of the enemy. An assault upon it was therefore determined, which was intrusted to the charge of Colonel Gillespie. The party moved off for the camp at midnight on the 25th, and at dawn of day on the 26th, two columns carried the outworks with the bayonet, then, following the fugitives across the bridges of planks by which they had retired, forced their way within the lines, in spite of all resistance. Colonel Gibbs with the 59th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod with the 69th, led the attack, and Major-General Wetherall followed in support with the 14th Regiment, and the 78th commanded by Colonel Wood, together with some volunteer battalions and Sepoys. Nothing could exceed the coolness and gallantry and combination of the movement. The enemy was under arms and prepared for the assault, and Governor Jansens took his post in the most advanced redoubt, to conduct the defence in person. Colonel Gillespie himself headed the party that stormed this fort, and was soon in possession of it: the other attacks were likewise successful, though M'Leod fell under the explosion of a magazine, *either from accident or design.* The front of the position being

thus laid open, the troops rushed in upon it from all sides, and carried it, together with the whole of the artillery. Fort Cornelis was stormed and taken by the seamen and marines under Captain Sayer. A body of cavalry who endeavoured to turn them was routed, and Governor Jansens, now availing himself of the protection of these troopers, escaped along with them from the field, and succeeded with some difficulty in reaching Buitenzorf, a distance of 30 miles. He left behind him 3 brigadiers, 30 field-officers, 70 captains, 140 subalterns, and 5,000 rank and file, who were all made prisoners, and more than 1,000 remained dead on the field. The British loss (naval and military) was 156 killed, 788 wounded, and 16 missing. No less than 430 pieces of cannon were captured on this occasion. Complete and irretrievable as was this defeat, Governor Jansens, with characteristic doggedness, would not yield up possession of the island, and, accordingly, Sir Samuel Auchmuty determined to push his success with vigour. The British cavalry was sent after the Governor, who fled, in consequence of this pursuit, farther away to the eastward. Two French frigates, "La Nymphe," 40, and "La Méduse," 40, under the orders of Commodore Raoul, were reported to be lying in the harbour of Sourabaya. The Rear-Admiral accordingly despatched the "Akbar," 44, Captain Drury, "Phæton," 38, Captain Fleetwood Pellew, "Bucephalus," 36, Captain Pelly, and "Sir Francis Drake," 32, Captain Harris, to look after them on the 30th of August; but on the 3rd of September, the two frigates having received on board the aides-de-camp of the Governor, and some of the principal fugitives from the battle of Cornelis, weighed from that harbour and made sail. The "Bucephalus" and "Barracouta" sloop of war, Captain Owen, having sighted them, proceeded in chase. The French frigates soon outsailed the sloop, but the "Barracouta," nevertheless, continued on their track till the 12th, when she being seen to be alone, "La Nymphe" and "La Méduse" signalled to each other to make all sail upon the British frigate and to engage her. Captain Pelly, confiding in his skill and in his experience of the shoals of Borneo, passed boldly amongst them, in the hope of decoying the French frigates into the labyrinth; but Commodore Raoul, when he had shaken off his adversary, pursued his course. In the channel off the small island of Madura, however he came unconsciously upon the "Sir Francis Drake" and "Phæton," lying at anchor, who had not, however, been in the meanwhile inactive; for Captain Pellew had, on the 31st, stormed and captured the fort of Samenap, a fortified redoubt armed with 16 small guns; and it was near this that he was met with "La Nymphe" and "La Méduse," who most marvellously contrived to pass by the British ships unperceived, by running out of sight under the isle of Pondock. The Commodore at length, after a long voyage, conducted with wonderful skill and good fortune, not only doubled his pursuers, but reached Brest in safety on the 22nd of December. Captains Pellew and Harris, intent on their own object, and knowing nothing of the two frigates, landed 100 bayonets and one field-piece, and taking up the meter of the

sister service, advanced upon a body of 2,000 men, protected by 4 guns, and posted on a bridge near the town of Samenap. The two sea captains, dividing their men into two columns, not at all daunted either by the superiority of force or strength of position, advanced upon the enemy's left wing to turn it, when the Dutch gave way, and an animated charge of the British left them masters of the field with all the guns.

In order to intercept the retreat of Governor Jansens, the Rear-Admiral detached on the 31st the "Nisus," 38, Captain Beaver; "Présidente," 38, Captain Warren; "Phœbe," 38, Captain Hillyar; and "Hesper," sloop of war, Captain Barrington Reynolds, to Cheribon, a seaport about 35 leagues to the eastward of Batavia. The squadron entered the port at dark on the 3rd of September, and Captain Beaver, anchoring as near the fort as the depth of water would admit, sent a flag of truce requiring it to surrender in five minutes. The French colours were at once hauled down, but Captain Warren, who carried the flag of truce, found the French general Jumelle just arrived on horseback from the eastward, with the intelligence that 300 infantry and 250 cavalry might be momentarily expected. The General and an aide-de-camp of the Governor's were of course immediately made prisoners, and Captain Beaver landed 150 seamen to garrison the fort against this threatened advance; but doubting the truth of the intelligence, the marines marched inland to Coran-Sanbang, where they found nine wagonloads of silver and copper money, and military stores to a large amount. Here it was learned that Jansens had retired to a position which he had selected at Serondel, near Samarang, which is 343 miles from the city of Batavia. Admiral Stopford accordingly took Sir Samuel Auchmuty on board, and having filled a few of the troopships with a sufficient force, sailed round to this port, where he again called upon the Governor to surrender, and on his refusal attacked and captured the town. It was found that Jansens had, with extraordinary vigour and resolution, completed batteries and entrenchments on a position near this place, and had succeeded, with the aid of the native princes, in assembling a considerable force. The British troops on board the ships, consisting of about 11,000 infantry, without cavalry or guns, were forthwith landed, under the command of Colonel Gibbs, and on the 16th advanced against Jansen's force, and immediately attacked and turned their flank, when they took to flight in the utmost disorder. The Governor became at length convinced that all further opposition would be useless, and that there was nothing left for him but to surrender the entire settlement. Sumatra was also taken possession of by the British; and, as Lord Minto asserted in his despatches to the Government on the occasion, "the French flag was now nowhere to be seen flying from Cape Comorin to Cape Horn." The Colonial Empire of Great Britain, by extinguishing the last remnant of that of every other European Power, had "embraced all the waters of the globe in its arms."*

* It was very much doubted by many, whether it was wise in Great Britain to

of Java netted a million sterling, which was paid as prize-money to the captors.

19. THE SOUTH AMERICAN COLONIES REVOLT FROM SPAIN.

The ambition of Napoleon could not be restrained; and, having succeeded in establishing a supremacy on the Continent of Europe, he was incessant in his schemes for the exclusion of England from all participation in the wealth of commerce, and now turned a covetous eye to the treasures of Mexico and Peru, which he thought to include within his grasp. Accordingly, no sooner had he succeeded at Bayonne in his kidnapping design against the Sovereign of South America than he despatched, in July, 1808, the brig "Le Serpent" from that small port with a communication to the Captain-General of the Caraccas, offering immense advantages to them if they would ally themselves with France. Such, however, was the attachment of the colonies to the mother country at this period, that they received his advances with universal indignation, and proclaimed unanimously and enthusiastically the accession of Ferdinand VII. During the mortal struggle in which Spain was now engaged, its Junta Government was unable to act very far beyond the seat of government, without a fleet at sea, and had no power to support its authority in the distant possessions of the New World; and, accordingly, Juntas were formed at Caraccas, Mexico, Buenos Ayres, and other places, in order to maintain their independence, and secure it from the yoke of France. In 1810, the flight of the Junta of Seville brought transatlantic matters to a crisis, and induced the colonies to seek for a better Government than they had ever enjoyed under the Spanish monarchy, so that, on the 19th of April, the American Confederation of Venezuela proclaimed itself, professing still to administer public affairs in the name of the King, but no longer trammelled by Spanish officials. The Cadiz merchants were not at all disposed to encourage a separation from the mother country, fraught with so much hazard to their interests, and prevailed upon

give back at the General Peace the possessions which had cost her so much blood and treasure in the war, and more particularly Java, lying, as it does, so completely in the track of the commerce of nations "for weal or for woe;" and, indeed, so strong was this feeling, and so correct the policy of it, that within two or three years (at the suggestion of the late Sir Stamford Raffles) a settlement was formed at Singapore, at which place no sooner was the British flag hoisted than 50,000 tons of shipping called there *en route* to the East; and this has been increased in subsequent years to more than six times the tonnage, and more than sixty times the population. Of course this amply repays all the expenses of government, and the place is of easy defence in time of war.

It therefore becomes a question of colonial policy, whether it is not far wiser to establish *entrepôts* such as Singapore and Aden, rather than costly colonies such as the Cape, Java, and Borneo, which involve a nation in expensive native wars and costly native government for objects of no national importance, and which do not add to the national power, but rather the reverse. A settlement such as Capetown, with a good harbour admitting of powerful fortifications, with naval and military arsenals for the *matériel* of war or for the protection of its commercial marine, is infinitely more valuable to Great Britain than a great hunch of territory, such as she possesses on the African continent, which is continually imposing upon her a most arduous military defence, and a costly government which will never pay itself.

the Cortes when it assembled to fulminate decrees against them — the most imbecile form of all assumed power; so that everything presaged a civil war between the mother country of Spain and the South American colonies. During the remainder of 1810, the cause, strengthened and matured by the weak attempts to resist it, made progress, and blood began to flow. The Viceroy, Iturrigary, was arrested and sent off to Spain, and was nominally succeeded by another Viceroy, Venegas, who was sent out to restore his authority; but in the interval a war-cry was raised, "Destruction to the Gachupins," an old cry of the days of Cortes, and meaning "a man with two heads." The Confederacy of Venezuela appointed General Miranda (who, it may be remembered, figured in the Annals of 1806) to the command of the forces, and a Declaration of Independence, couched in language not less stilted than that of the North Americans when they separated from Great Britain, was issued, vapouring of a liberty which they have been unable for half a century to understand or practise.

In Mexico, various sanguinary encounters occurred between those who clamoured for independence and the so-called Royalists, and blood had flowed freely already. Buenos Ayres, under Artigas, adopted the cause of independence in 1810, and a great battle was fought at Las Piedras in May of the present year, in which he was triumphant. On the other hand, Monte Video, on the opposite shore of the Plata, held firm, under Elío, to the mother country, and, after calling in the aid of 4,000 Brazilians, defended Buenos Ayres in May, but entered into a treaty with the insurgents in November. Peru now caught the infection, and the Captain-General, Carrasco, was displaced. Paraguay revolted under Belgrano, and Dr. Francia at this time comes into story, to become eventually Dictator. Great Britain endeavoured to mediate in the early steps of the conflict, but the passions on both sides were already so warmly excited, and the interests at issue so complicated and important, that her mediation was rejected; but Admiral Cockburn appeared on the coast of Venezuela and Admiral De Courcy in the Rio de la Plata, to protect the interests of British shipping and commerce within those waters.

20. NAVAL WAR.

No diminution in the strength or spirit of the French navy is apparent this year, for, notwithstanding its continued reverses, it was still considerably on the increase, and, if reports were true, Napoleon, with his most sanguine temperament, seriously entertained no less an enterprise than that of getting a powerful fleet to the East Indies, and thereby possessing himself of the British territories in that quarter of the globe.* Such had been the unremitting exertions in the arsenal of Antwerp, that Vice-Admiral Misiessy was at anchor at the mouth of the Scheldt with 15 sail of the line. A Dutch squadron of 3 sail was likewise there, and 12 or 15

* James.

ships were upon the stocks. The Texel fleet of 7 Franco-Batavian sail was also ready for sea. The road of Toulon showed a fleet of 16 sail of the line, besides a large squadron of frigates, under the command of Vice-Admiral Emeriau; and Cherbourg, Lorient, and Rochefort had their building-slips full. It is, however, not a little surprising, that, out of upwards of 56 sail of the line in commission at the different ports of the Empire, not one French squadron, nay, not one single line-of-battle ship, should have ventured, during the whole of this year, out of sight of her own harbour. The Duguay-Trouins, the De Grasses, and the Suffreins were extinct in the French navy, for, on the 6th of December, a French admiral with 16 sail actually allowed himself to be frightened back into Toulon harbour by a British fleet of no more than 12 sail! The vast preparations and their fruit were so disproportionate, that it was

" Letting I dare not wait upon I would,
Like the poor cat! ' the adage."

Admiral Sir James Saumarez commanded the British fleet in the Baltic, where her commerce suffered the greatest injury from the hardy and daring seafaring population of the Danish coasts. The British Mediterranean fleet was under the orders of Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew. Admiral Young had succeeded Sir Richard Strachan in the command of the North Sea fleet, and kept watch upon the Dutch coast and the Scheldt and Texel fleets.

The Channel fleet this year was commanded by Admiral Lord Gambier. On the 24th of March, the French frigate "L'Amazone," 40, Captain Rousseau, was observed by the "Berwick," 74, Captain Macnamara, to be running along the shore in an attempt to get from Havre to Cherbourg. The 74 immediately gave chase, and compelled the frigate to haul into a small rocky bay under the Barfleur lighthouse, where she anchored with the loss of her rudder. Capt. Macnamara at first thought to attack her by boats, but was enabled to call in by signal from the offing the "Amelia," 38, Hon. Capt. Irby, "Niobe," 38, Captain Loring, and the 16-gun brig-sloops "Goshawk," Capt. Lilburn, and "Hawk," Capt. Bourchier, and, getting the squadron under way, stood in as close to the French frigate as the safety of the ships would permit. They tried to reach her with their guns, but with little effect. The next morning, therefore, the 25th, Capt. Macnamara stood in again with his squadron to renew the attempt, when the French captain set fire to his frigate, which was soon burned to the water's edge. Singularly enough, about the same date, the British "Amazon," Capt. Parker, chased a convoy under a battery upon the coast of Bretagne, and succeeded in capturing or burning the whole of them. On the 31st, the two French frigates, "L'Amélie," 40, and "L'Adrienne," 40, accompanied by "Le Dromadaire," troop-ship, escaped out of Toulon, and were sighted and pursued by the "Ajax," 74, Capt. Waller Otway, and "Unité," 36, Capt. Chamberlayne. The enemy was bound for the Ionian Islands, laden heavily with shot, shell, and gunpowder. When off Corsica, one vessel went round Cape Corte, and the other pushed through the straits of Bonifacio: the former was encountered

the French frigates into Porto Cervo. The "Diana" was captured and captured. About the same time the "Sémillante" was taken across the straits of Bonifacio, which were then and remains stores for the French. On the 21st of May, the "Sémillante" was captured and chased the French frigate "Le Pluvier" 13. Ensigne de Valrean. Seeing that the French officers designed to run their vessel and convoy on shore, the British officers and crew, after a moderate resistance, in which the commander and 20 of the crew were either killed or wounded. On the 26th of August the "Diana" 28, Capt. Ferris, and "Sémillante" 16, Capt. Richardson, deserted inside the shoals of the Bonifacio straits. Having therefore disguised their ships to deceive the French, who accordingly sent off pilots to them, they resolved to accomplish their capture by stratagem. They burnt all the boats of the two ships were sent in under the orders of Lieutenant Squerry and Gardiner, who succeeded in taking the boats, but when they broke the boats and the captured vessels which had been carried up by the tide were still up the river at the mouth of which lay 2 French men-of-war brigs. Captain Ferris therefore resolved to get possession of these: and, still preserving the disguise of his ships, he received the Captain of the Port, who came on board the "Diana" in his boat, and who did not discover his mistake till he had ascended the quarter-deck. The "Sémillante" was directed to stand towards "Le Pluvier" 16, Capt. De Bourcy, while the "Diana" held the outer one, - "Teazer" (formerly British), 12, Lieutenant Papineau, close alongside, and waited her by boarding, without the loss of a man on either side. "Le Pluvier" when she discovered the trick, ran from the "Sémillante" and made all sail for the beach, where she ran on shore, and was set fire to by the boats under Lieut. Gardiner, who at this time captured his ship, after capturing the convoy up the river. The two British frigates then carried off their prizes, and anchored out of shot of the batteries. On the 19th of August the brig-sloop "Hawk" 16, Captain Bouchier, came to blows with a convoy of 5 armed vessels off Pointe Perem, and Capt. Bouchier succeeded in driving on shore 2 brigs and 2 luggers, with 15 sail of their convoy, when the "Hawk" took the ground. He therefore sent his boats under Lieut. Price against the remaining brig, "Heron" 16, which he succeeded in capturing; the entire loss in this very daring enterprise not exceeding 1 killed and 4 wounded.

The famous Boulogne flotilla awoke to life again in the autumn of 1811, when it was visited by the Emperor and Empress in person on their return from Holland, on the 20th of September. The whole coast of France from Calais to St. Valery was in commotion on this event. Napoleon embarked, accompanied by a considerable staff, and rowed along the line of the flotilla, as it lay at anchor before the port of Boulogne; and he continued rowing the whole evening, visiting the ships and haranguing the crews.

To do honour to the event, a division of praams and gun-boats was sent out under the Contre-Amiral Baste to attack the "Naiad," 38, Capt. Carteret, which was at anchor off the port. The "Naiad" remained quietly at her anchorage until the leading praam fired at her, when the frigate fired in return, and so upon the 6 in succession, who were followed by 10 brigs, carrying long 24-pounders; but, after the cannonade had lasted two or three hours, with but trifling damage and not a man hurt, the flotilla stood under the batteries and ceased firing. Captain Carteret tried hard to get alongside the French Admiral, whose flag was on one of the praams, but could not come up with him. At 7 o'clock the next morning, the brigs and praams came out again, when the "Naiad" weighed, and, working to windward, joined the "Rinaldo," 10, Captain Anderson, "Redpole," 10, Captain Colin Macdonald, "Castillian," 18, Captain Braimer, and the cutter "Viper," 8, Lieutenant D'Arcy. These 4 vessels had, during the night, come up in support of the "Naiad," and were now formed in line. Captain Carteret therefore lay to until the French Admiral came up, when he fired a broadside into him, and immediately made signal to the squadron to wear together, and bear up in chase with all the sail they could carry, unmindful of a continued fire from the batteries on shore as they sailed away. As soon, therefore, as the British could get near enough, they opened fire on the flotilla, and the Admiral and his praams were thrown into great confusion. The "Naiad" succeeded in running one of the praams on board, called "La Ville de Lyon," commanded by Lieut. Barbaud, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried her. The remainder were all chased, but saved themselves under the protection of the batteries, and got clear. The captured praam mounted 12 guns, with a crew of 112, 60 of whom were soldiers of the 72nd of the Line. After having amused himself at Boulogne with this two-days' "water-frolic," Napoleon, with his Empress, returned to Paris.

The Danish flotilla in the Baltic did grievous injury to British trade this year. The small island of Anholt, which had been captured from the Danes in 1809, afforded some facility to ships navigating the Categat, as it displayed a light, and was garrisoned by a brigade of artillery, with 380 marines and a brigade of marine artillery, under Captain Robert Torrens, while Capt. Maurice, of the navy, was the Governor. This island was also of considerable use to British commerce as an entrepôt, whence goods could be transmitted to any part of the Continent in contravention of the rigorous edicts of the French Emperor. Instigated, therefore, with a desire to impede this traffic, the Danes attempted its re-capture. A flotilla, consisting of 12 gun-boats, each mounting two 18-pounders, and manned with 60 or 70 men, and 12 transports, containing about 1,000 troops, in all nearly 1,600 men, were collected together in Gierrild Bay on the 23rd of March, and Lieut. Holstein, of the Danish navy, in the assumed character of a flag of truce, was sent to reconnoitre the state of preparation in the island. Captain Maurice, having reason to suspect the stratagem, prepared himself to counteract it, and

planted picquets in such a way as to receive the earliest intimation of the approach of an enemy. On the 27th, in the midst of darkness, the flotilla, unseen, and of course unopposed, landed a portion of the Danish troops about 4 miles from the forts. The out-lookers had had some suspicions of the flotilla the day before, and the garrison was accordingly under arms; but the attacking force largely outnumbered it, although a fire was opened on the invaders with good effect. A signal was made at daylight to the "Tartar," 32, Captain Baker, and "Sheldrake," 16, Captain Pattison Stewart, who, as soon as they had heard the firing, got under way to come to the aid of the island, and to attack the Danes. In the meanwhile, the Danish flotilla landed the remainder of the soldiers, who marched in two columns, under Major Melstedt, upon the north side of the island; while their comrades, under Captain Reydez and Lieut. Holstein, advanced with uncommon bravery to carry the Massareene battery by storm. The discharge of grape and musketry from the British batteries, however, was so irresistible, that all their leaders fell under it. A small schooner, also, belonging to the island, under Lieut. Lorraine Baker, was now anchored close to the shore, and enfiladed the sand-hills with its fire, under the shelter of which the Danes were retreating after the loss of their officers; so that, finding themselves hemmed in, and unable either to advance or retreat, the detachment held out a flag of truce, asking terms, but Capt. Maurice would listen to nothing but unconditional surrender. In the meanwhile, another division of the assailants on the other side had summoned Fort Yorke; but their message was treated with contempt, and the gun-boats having got sight of the coming "Tartar," were too happy to give up the enterprise, and also hung out a flag of truce. The ships being to windward, the soldiers were able to get on board their own flotilla, which received all that came, and then made sail, some for Jutland and some for Sweden. The "Tartar" stood after one division, and the "Sheldrake" after the other: that which Captain Baker pursued separated and fled in every direction; but he succeeded in capturing two gun-boats, one with soldiers and the other laden with provisions. The "Sheldrake" captured 2 and sunk 1; but the shoal water put an end to the chase. The British lost 2 men killed, and Captain Torrens and 30 wounded, while the enemy had 4 officers and 30 or 40 killed; and 520 officers and men of the land forces were secured as prisoners. They also lost all their artillery and ammunition. Thus ended the attack on Anholt — an expedition which brought honour to the British and lost none to the Danes.

The "Cressy," 74, Captain Pater, with the "Defence," 74, Captain Atkins, "Dictator," 64, a frigate, 32, and the "Sheldrake" sloop, were attacked on the 5th April, off Heilin Island, by a Danish flotilla of 17 heavy gun-boats and mortar-boats, but these were nevertheless totally defeated, with the loss of 4 of the gun-boats. This squadron, with the "St. George," 74, Capt. Guion, having the flag of Rear-Admiral Reynolds, encountered a severe storm on their return to England and of the year, when the "St. George" and "Defence"

were wrecked on the coast of Jutland, and the "Cressy" was only just saved from the same fate by timely wearing. On the 31st of July, in the evening, the British armed cutter "Algerine," 10, Lieut. Blow, and "Brevdrageren," 12, Lieut. Devon, discovered 3 Danish brigs-of-war off Long Sound, on the coast of Norway, but the British, seeing that they were of inferior force, retreated, and the Danish war-ships chased. Lieut. Blow, however, perceived in the chase one of the three brigs about 4 miles distant from the other two, and therefore proposed to Lieut. Devon to endeavour to cut her off; but the Danish commander frustrated the attempt, and, timely concentrating his forces, bore down upon the British, and soon came to action with them. The "Algerine," after engaging one of them, made use of her sweeps, and got out of the battle; and the "Brevdrageren" was left to fight alone, which she did nobly, receiving several shots between wind and water, till, a light wind springing up, Lieut. Devon took advantage of it, and got away. A very serious investigation would have taken place into the conduct of the Lieutenant commanding the "Algerine," but, before the complaint of his conduct reached the British Admiralty, he was dismissed from the command of his vessel for another offence. On the 2nd of September, as the brig-sloop "Chanticleer," 10, Captain Spear, and gunbrig "Manly," 12, Lieut. Simmonds, were standing off the coast of Norway, they descried 3 sail, and, as they were immediately chased, they were not long before coming to blows. The action continued two hours, when the "Manly" hauled down her colours to the "Loland," 18, Capt. Holm, "Alser," 18, Lieut. Lutkin, and "Sampsoe," 18, Lieut. Grothschiling. The "Chanticleer" escaped. The numerous calls for the presence of the British fleet in the Baltic this year induced the Admiral Commanding-in-Chief to keep the fleet longer than usual on that coast, which occasioned the calamity above spoken of.

The French, watchful for the defence of the islands in the Adriatic, and for the protection of trade on the Illyrian and Dalmatian coasts, sent out squadrons of frigates in support of these objects. On the 11th of March, Commodore Dubordieu, with 3 frigates, "La Favorite," 40, "La Danaë," 40, and "La Flore," 40, Captain Pesidier, together with 3 Venetian frigates, "La Corona," "La Bellona," and "La Carolina," the brig-corvette "Le Mercure," and armed boats, having 500 or 600 soldiers on board, sailed from Ancona for the Island of Lissa, and on the 15th encountered a British squadron, consisting of "Amphion," 32, Captain William Hoste, "Active," 38, Capt. Gordon, "Cerberus," 32, Capt. Whitby, and "Volage," 22, Capt. Phipps Hornby, off the north point of the island. Hoste instantly prepared for battle, by forming the line a-head; and, just before the two squadrons met, disregarding their manifest disproportion, he telegraphed, "Remember Nelson." The French Commodore must have heard the welcome given to the signal by the British; he bore up in two lines, and led into action after the manner of the battle of Trafalgar, "La Favorite" bearing down to cut the line between the "Amphion" and the "Active." The

larboard division was led in like manner by "La Danaë" between the "Cerberus" and "Volage." Dubordieu was, however, completely frustrated in his attempt by the concentrated fire and compact order of the line, which was so close that the British ships almost touched each other, and he now evinced a disposition to round the war-ship and board her; but the fire of the "Amphion" so swept the French ship's fore-castle, that, as it afterwards appeared, it struck down the boarders, including the Commodore himself, as they stood ready prepared for the assault. Captain Hoste, being now within half a cable's length of the shore, ordered the British line to wear, and "La Favorite" made an effort to do the same, but missed stays, and went upon the rocks of Lissa in the greatest possible confusion. "La Flore," following "La Favorite," passed under the stern of the "Amphion," and the action re-commenced: "La Danaë," followed by "La Corona" and "La Carolina," fell upon the "Volage;" but the "Active," by great exertions, came up to her assistance. The "Amphion" being now at liberty, poured a well-directed fire into "La Flore," who struck her colours; and then singled out "La Bellona," and, after one or two broadsides, compelled her to haul down her Venetian flag. The rest of the ships endeavoured to make off, but were pursued by the "Active" and "Cerberus," after which the action ceased, leaving Hoste in possession of "La Corona," 44, and "La Bellona," 32. "La Favorite," still on the rocks, blew up soon after; and "La Flore," notwithstanding that she had struck to the "Amphion," took advantage of the confusion and escaped to the island of Lessina. "La Carolina" and "La Danaë," with the whole of the Venetian small craft, effected their escape in different directions. The number of men on board the British squadron was 880, and the force of the Franco-Venetian was, at the lowest estimate, 2,500. The casualties of the former were 45 killed and 145 wounded. What was the loss of the enemy is not known; but the Commodore, Captain, and First Lieutenant, with more than 200 men, perished in "La Favorite." "La Corona" became a British 38-gun frigate, under the name of "Dædalus," and "La Bellona" the "Dover" troop-ship. In the latter end of April, 2 armed store-ships, "La Giraffe" and "La Nourice," mounting from 20 to 30 guns each, accompanied by a merchant ship laden with timber, lay at anchor in the bay of Sagone, in the island of Corsica, under the protection of a battery and a martello tower; and on the 30th, the "Pomone," 38, Captain Barrie, the frigate "Unité," and the brig-sloop "Scout," Captain Sharpe, arrived off the coast, with the intention of attacking them. The French Commodore, seeing them in the offing, guessed their intentions, and prepared by placing the 3 French ships well under the protection of the batteries, so as to make them secure. Captain Barrie, nevertheless, resolved to run in upon them, regardless of all their preparations. The ships were accordingly towed by the boats (in consequence of the calm that reigned), in the face of a raking fire, *into a position within range of grape shot, when the British ships opened their broadsides.* After the cannonade had lasted an hour

and a half, all three of the enemy's ships burst out into a complete blaze. The "Pomone" and her consorts were therefore quickly towed away, to be out of the reach of explosions, which, in about an hour's time, took place in all three ships, and some of the timbers from the burning vessels falling on the tower, entirely demolished it; some sparks also caught the magazines in one of the batteries, and that also exploded! Captain James Brisbane, in the "Belle Poule," 38, with the "Alceste," 38, Captain Murray Maxwell, chased a French brig-of-war on the 4th of May into the small harbour of Parenza. Not being able to get after her, in consequence of the shallow water, a landing was effected, and 200 seamen and marines, under the command of Lieut. M'Curdy, took possession of the island, and, by the afternoon of the 5th, threw up, with incredible labour and most extraordinary exertions, a battery of 4 guns, mounted on a commanding position. The French immediately opened a cross fire upon it, and the cannonade continued, with great vigour, for five hours, when, the brig being cut to pieces and sunk, the whole party retreated with their guns, having had 2 killed and 6 wounded.

On the 26th of May, at daybreak, the brig-sloop "Alacrity," 16, Capt. Nesbit Palmer, discovered and chased a large man-of-war brig, which proved to be "L'Abeille," 24, Lieutenant de Mackau, who, judging the full extent of his adversary's force, shortened sail, hoisted his colours, and fired a gun of defiance. By manœuvring skilfully, "L'Abeille" managed to pour into the "Alacrity" several raking fires, and, keeping just upon the British brig's quarter, played havoc upon the deck of her antagonist, who could not bring a gun to bear in return. The damage done to the sails and rigging of the "Alacrity" now completely exposed her to "L'Abeille's" broadside, until, having had all her officers killed or driven from the deck, the British brig was compelled to haul down her colours. The British ship had her Lieutenant and 4 seamen killed, and her Master and 8 wounded, besides her Captain, who died of his wounds. Lieutenant de Mackau acknowledged to 15 killed and 30 wounded in "L'Abeille." "L'Abeille's" commander and crew, having acted as brave men and good seamen, treated their prisoners with all kindness; De Mackau obtained the promotion he so justly merited, and was made a member of the Legion of Honour; for this action he afterwards became Governor of Martinique, and died a baron and a Marshal of France. On the 27th of November, near Fano, in the Adriatic, the "Eagle," 74, Capt. Charles Rowley, chased the frigate "L'Uranie," 40, "La Corceyère," 40, and "La Saplone," bound to Corfu, with a quantity of military and other stores. The first got clear off, as did the brig, but "La Corceyère," armed en flûte, surrendered with 170 seamen and 130 soldiers, and 26 long 18-pounders.

Early in the year, 3 French frigates, "La Renommée," 44, Commodore Roquebert, "La Clorinde," 44, Captain St. Cricq, and "La Néréide," 44, Captain Lemarasquier, sailed out of Brest, each having 200 soldiers and a supply of ammunition for the Isle of

France, the capture of which was then unknown; and on the 7th of May, the ninety-third day of their voyage, they arrived near the Grand Port, or Port Sud-Est of the island, when they found it in possession of the British. The Commodore accordingly bore away for Madagascar. Off Foul Point, on that island, they encountered, on the 20th, the "Astræa," 36, Captain Schomberg, "Phœbe," 36, Capt. Hillyar, "Galatea," 32, Capt. Losack, and brig-sloop "Racehorse," 18, Capt. De Rippe. The French Commodore first opened fire, but this was soon returned, and an action ensued, in which the "Phœbe" and "Galatea" suffered much; but, after continuing the contest for nearly six hours into the night, "La Renommée" struck her colours, on the death of the Commodore. "La Clorinde" got away in the dark, although she was chased by the "Astræa" and "Phœbe" till 2 in the morning of the 21st. Captain Schomberg then proceeded to the French settlement of Tamatave, in Madagascar, where he found "La Néréide," who, having refused to strike her colours to the "Phœbe," had got away to that port. On summoning the French Governor to give her up, as well as the settlement, terms were demanded, and granted by Captain Schomberg, who returned with his prizes to the Isle of France.

21. MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES—"LITTLE BELT" AND "PRESIDENT."

The maritime dispute which Napoleon had aroused by his crusade against British commerce, and which had been greatly increased, to the injury of England, by the Non-intercourse Act of the United States, had now arrived at such a pitch that Mr. Pinckney, their Envoy to the Court of London, asked and obtained formal leave of the Regent on March 13th, and war became inevitable between the two Maritime Powers. It so happened that, on the very same day, Captain John Pechell, of the "Guerrière," 38, cruising off Sandy Hook, boarded the American ship "Spitfire," and impressed out of her a passenger who happened to be a native citizen of the United States. The Government of Washington resolved, therefore, to send the largest ship in their navy—the "President," 44, Commodore Rodgers, lying moored in the Chesapeake—in pursuit of the British frigate which had committed this outrage upon their national dignity. On the 12th of May, the "President" got under way, and on the 16th discovered a British ship off Cape Henry which she thought to be the "Guerrière;" accordingly, she gave chase, hoisting her ensign and Commodore's broad pendant. She immediately worked down the bay, making her course under all sail, and came up with the stranger about mid-day of the 16th. She proved to be the ship-sloop "Little Belt," 20, Captain Arthur Bingham, who immediately made her number and hoisted her ensign, calling upon the stranger, if British, to show hers. The non-compliance with this signal induced Captain Bingham to have suspicions, which were increased when he found that her private signal also was unanswered. The "Little Belt," therefore, hauling down both ensign and signal, con-

tinued her course, but, to avoid being taken by surprise, double-shotted her guns and cleared for action. When, about 8 in the evening, the "President" had arrived within 100 yards, Captain Bingham hailed, but received no answer. To the question, "Ship-ahoy, what ship is that?" a gun was fired. It has been made a question by which ship. This is of less importance, since the American immediately discharged a broadside into the "Little Belt," which was returned instantly with spirit; and a furious engagement commenced between the two, which lasted three-quarters of an hour. The American frigate then discontinued the action, and asked if her antagonist had struck, which was answered by Captain Bingham in the negative. Nevertheless, the damages to the British ship had been, as might have been expected, of a very serious description; but, as night had now already closed in, they could not be very clearly seen by Commodore Rodgers, and therefore both vessels lay near one another all night, repairing damages. When the morning of the 17th broke, the "President" bore up, to all appearance with the design of renewing the action; but when she arrived within quarter distance of the "Little Belt," the Commodore hailed, "Ship ahoy! I'll send a boat on board, if you please, sir." To which Captain Bingham replied, "Very well, sir." The boat accordingly came, with the First Lieutenant, bearing a message that the Commodore lamented the unfortunate affair, offered every assistance, and suggested that the mischief done had better be repaired in one of the ports of the United States. This Captain Bingham declined; and the "Little Belt" made sail for Halifax harbour, while the "President" went off to the westward. It will be remembered that, three years before, the "Leopard," 50, had fired a broadside as unceremoniously into the American frigate "Chesapeake," 44, as the "President," 44, had now acted towards the "Little Belt," 20. An adjustment was accordingly arrived at diplomatically, by which these two acts were constituted as set-offs one against the other, but the *casus belli*, the Right of Search, was as stoutly as ever insisted upon by the British Government, and as stoutly resisted by that of the United States; and the Americans still called on England to rescind her Orders in Council, with no expectation of concession on that point: all which clearly indicated that within a very short period a rupture must occur between these over-jealous disputants.

22. WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND RUSSIANS.

The Ottoman Government was determined not to be deficient this year in energy and enterprise. The Turkish fleet was put into an improved condition in the Black Sea, which enabled them to threaten the disembarkation of troops on the shores of the Crimea. The Grand Signior issued a stirring proclamation addressed to the Faithful throughout his dominions, and took the field himself, displaying the standard of the Prophet in his camp at Davidscha, near Constantinople, whither he summoned all his Ministers, except the Grand Vizier, who repaired to the army. During the first days

of the year. Bosnia-Aga obtained possession of Plewna, and the sons of Ali Pacha established themselves at Wrezza, on the road to Sophia. The Russians, however, were, from events occurring elsewhere, reduced to the necessity of laying out their campaign on a defensive plan merely. Foreseeing a formidable struggle against a more potent enemy, the Czar, at this time, sent orders to his southern army to destroy all the fortified places they could on the right bank of the Danube; for he considered that, in this endless war of sieges, the Russians combated against the Turks at a disadvantage. Accordingly, Silistria and Nicopolis were blown up, but Roustjouk was retained, and placed in a respectable posture of defence. General Kamenskoi, however, received a reinforcement during the winter of 25,000 recruits, and, accordingly, expeditions were planned, under Essen and others, in various directions. General St. Priest was sent in January against Tirnova and Lowitz, of which he gained possession on the 19th, with a loss to the Turks of 4,000 killed or prisoners. Prince Eugène of Würtemberg was, at the same time, directed to march for the recovery of Plewna and Wrezza, but was overwhelmed with a snowstorm, and returned to camp. The General-in-Chief was, however, at this time, smitten with serious disease, which induced him to solicit his recall, and he shortly afterwards died. General Kutusov arrived to take the command of the Russian army in March, but brought orders from the Czar to send back five divisions to the frontiers of Poland; for the relations between the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and the Tuileries had become very menacing, so that Alexander became sensible that he could not again undertake two wars at a time, and was willing, instead of seeking to extend offensive operations south of the Danube, only to endeavour to maintain the few strongholds which he had already obtained on that river. The new General, therefore, posted his army so as to derive the greatest advantages from its strength, now reduced to about 50,000 men. His centre, under General Langeron, was posted on the Danube, between the Olta and Oltenizza; the right wing, under Lieut.-General Sass, extended his posts from the Olta to the Austrian frontier; the left wing, under Lieut.-General Wornof, stretched from Oltenizza to Achierman. Lieut.-General Essen concentrated the 4th corps, under his command, in and about Roustjouk.

Achmet Pacha, who had gained such renown by the defence of Brailow, was now Grand Vizier, and had collected an army of 60,000 men, with 78 pieces of artillery, admirably equipped. He was the first to take the field, on the 22nd of June, by sending 20,000 men, under Ismael Bey, to Widdin, to restrain Czerny George, and to face General Sass; and the same number to the other flank, to observe Turtakai. Achmet himself appeared the same day at Kadikoi, a few miles from Roustjouk, when he forthwith set about entrenching himself. On this, Kutusov crossed the Danube on the 1st of July, and ranged his army in order of battle at about a league in front of Roustjouk, on the road to Rasgrad, which place he garrisoned with 4,000 men, under General Reswoi. The Grand Vizier advanced, under cover of a thick fog, to make a reconnoissance on

the 2nd, when a cavalry combat ensued, before which the Russians fell back, until Wornof came up with his infantry in support, and obliged the Turks to resume their entrenchments. The plan of the Turkish chief was to bring forward his cavalry, in which arm he was superior to his adversary; and while, after their usual manner, these assailed the Russian infantry in their squares, he thought to prepare a separate corps to take advantage of the tumult of the onset and penetrate into the town. The Russian generals accordingly adopted a means of meeting this tactic by erecting numerous redoubts, which should bring a flanking fire to bear on the infantry squares, and should at the same time cover the advance of their cavalry.

23. BATTLE OF ROUSTJOUK.

At 7 in the morning of the 4th of July, the Grand Vizier assailed the Russian army, according to the plan proposed. The Spahis threw themselves with impetuosity upon the Russian right; a select body of cavalry moved along a deep ravine to march round the left wing, while the Turkish chief himself, with 40 guns, assailed Kutusov's centre. The left attack was the one which he most calculated on to carry his scheme into full effect, while the other two amused the enemy. The Russian centre suffered severely from the fire of the Turkish batteries; but the precipitous sides of the Lomen aided the squares on the right bank to withstand the shock. Kutusov now ordered up his horse to check the advance of the increasing squadrons of the Spahis; but the Turkish cavalry took it in flank with the rapidity of lightning. The regiment of Kinburn was the first to give way, and was followed by the hussars of White Russia and two regiments of Cossacks, who were all sadly cut up. The Russian General-in-Chief, however, brought his redoubts to bear, under fire of which he formed rapidly up a regiment of hussars, which checked the further advance of the Spahis; but the Ottomans, deeming the victory won, had the audacity to follow up their success through the intervals of the Russian squares, when such a fire was opened on them from the redoubts that they turned and fled, and were encountered in their retreat by Wornof, who, having rallied his scattered cavalry, fell upon the broken Spahis, and drove them, with great loss, on the bayonets of the infantry. The whole Turkish army, seeing this disaster, hastened back to their entrenchments as quickly as they could, leaving 600 dead on the field; but, although the ground was thus clear, Kutusov found himself too feeble to follow them up, so that he withdrew within the walls of Roustjouk, and on the 5th abandoned the object of all this bloodshed, and burned the town, having thrown many guns into the river. It is not easy to account for this unexpected result of a victory; but such was the haste of the retreat of the Russians, that the Bulgarian families which had returned to live under the shelter of the Cross, and had repaired their habitations, were only allowed till the morning of the 6th to quit all their property, which the flames devoured.

so speedily, that great apprehensions were entertained for the magazines of gunpowder on the walls. Indeed, the precipitation of military abandonment was such, that the ramparts were left perfectly intact. Bosniah-Aga, therefore, hastened to re-establish himself in his old quarters, and, almost before the Russians had quitted the walls, he entered the burning town, amidst all the pomp of Oriental power and the clang of military instruments, followed by crowds of Turks returning to their desolate homes.

The Russian army, having crossed the Danube, took up its camp to the right of Gioursjof, in a suburb of which Kutusov established his head-quarters. Langeron with his *corps-d'armée* established his outposts under Sabanajef, so as to watch the river bank, while the flotilla remained to counteract any endeavour of the Turks to construct boats for its passage. The Cossacks also kept on the alert in the rear of the Turkish army, scouring the country for some miles behind it. The ever-active Grand Vizier, overjoyed at this success, determined to cross the Danube, and expel the Russians from all their positions in Moldavia and Wallachia. After six weeks spent in putting Roustjouk into a proper state of defence, he resolved on carrying his army across by a manœuvre as able as it was bold: he caused Ismael Bey to debouch out of Widdin, to keep Sass in check, and to threaten this point of passage, while he pursued his real intentions elsewhere. The night of the 8th-9th of September was exceedingly dark; nevertheless, the outposts of General Sabanajef detected a movement of the enemy to cross the river about 4 versts above Gioursjof. The Russian General immediately repaired to the spot, and with his reserve attacked the troops which had already crossed, and obliged them to repass the Danube after a sharp encounter. But while the Russians were thus occupied against this, which was indeed a false attempt, the real passage was effected 3 versts higher up the stream; and, before they were discovered by the Cossacks, the Turks had 2,000 men and 4 guns established behind a parapet of respectable dimensions. General Boulatov was immediately marched against this entrenchment with 6 battalions of infantry, and commenced an assault upon the Ottomans; but the thick brushwood which covered the front of their entrenchment prevented the formation of the Russian columns. The passage of the troops across the river continued; 6,000 janissaries, with 6 pieces of cannon, were soon on the left bank of the river. Boulatov tried a second, and even a third attack, but it was all to no purpose; and the Russians were at length obliged to retire, having lost many superior officers and upwards of 2,000 men. The Turks, seeing their enemy retreat, sallied out of their entrenchments sword in hand, with loud cries of "Allah," and cut off many heads of the unfortunate wounded, taking a colour and a gun.

Sabanajef, nevertheless, contrived to establish a battery, which opened with grape upon the flank of the Turkish place of passage, and stopped all further transit; he now requested the General-in-Chief to order the flotilla to unmoor and come to his assistance; but, instead of this, to the astonishment of all, Kutusov ordered the troops

to withdraw in the night from the position assumed by Sabanajev, and, refraining from further hostilities, directed Langeron and Essen to place them semicircularly round the Turkish *tête du pont*, and begin the construction of 4 large redoubts. The Turks had by this time solidly established themselves on the left bank, and opened their fire with such effect upon the Russian flotilla, that one or more of the vessels were sunk. By the 28th, this force had increased to 30,000 men, with 50 pieces of cannon, who without a moment's loss of time, began throwing up entrenchments and redoubts, which the Russians could not prevent. If Achmet Pacha had, instead of thus wasting his time, fallen vigorously on his opponents he might have got possession of Malka, which was his object; but he lost time in erecting these works, and the Russian General resolved to allow his enemy to extend his camp without molestation. There were also two other Turkish camps formed on the right bank of the Danube, and amidst them was clearly visible from the Russian position the sumptuous tent of the Grand Vizier. The intention of the Turks was to cover themselves with redoubts, to enable them to push forward to a distance of about 2 miles, where the Russians had established very considerable magazines; but all this while the Russian General was artfully preparing the means of involving his enemy in a signal calamity. Kutusov ordered up every man that he could collect from every quarter to reinforce his army, which now numbered 35,000 men, while he sat watching the Grand Vizier's imposing entrenchments rising gradually in his front, and, as it were, advancing against him. At last, on the 24th, there arrived in his camp 2 divisions and 6 regiments of Cossacks. The Turks had made sorties on the 18th, 19th, and 20th, with the view of pushing the Russians farther back, and on the 22nd had begun a new redoubt so near their line that it was not more than a verst and a half in advance of their centre. General Langeron now, therefore, collected a superior force, with 24 guns, to crush this new work. The Turks responded to the attack with spirit, and even sent out their Spahis three times to force the Russian right, and obtain possession of the village of Malka; but Boulatov with his brigade as often resisted and repulsed them. As it was of the first necessity to prevent the success of the Turkish scheme, Kutusov directed the Engineer-General Harthing to put the old castle of Stabodsca into a good state of defence, and to take care that Gioursjov was provided with every essential for its own defence, so that his line of circumvallation might restrain all possible advance of the Turkish army. To frustrate this design, the right of the Russian position was vigorously assailed on the 2nd of October, and, under the protection of the trees and bushes, the Turks boldly attacked Boulatov in one of the redoubts, but, after a sharp contest, they were driven back, and the Russian General advancing in his turn on the 3rd, destroyed a half-finished redoubt of the Turks.

General Kutusov now resolved, as the season was advancing, to carry into effect his long-matured offensive operation. He learned from the country people that the Turkish camp, on the right bank,

was very bare of troops, and that even the fortress of Roustjouk was not properly garrisoned or defended. He therefore ordered General Markov to pass with 14 battalions, 2 companies of artillery, and a body of cavalry, from his camp at Slobodsca to the right bank, to endeavour to surprise the camp and the fortress. Leaving their tents all standing to deceive the enemy, this division marched away in the night of the 10th-11th, but the flotilla did not come up as ordered, and accordingly, only as many men were crossed as the pontoons could pass, while the Cossacks swam the stream on their horses. In consequence of these delays, it was the morning of the 15th before General Markov could report the passage of his entire force. Kutusov, displeased at this delay, ordered General Sabanajev to go and supersede Markov; but, before he could do so, the General was in full march, and as, happily for him, the Turks had not penetrated the intention of his movements, he reached their camp without being noticed, and threw it into complete disorder. They had not dreamed of being assailed on their own side of the river, and general consternation seized the Grand Vizier and all his high functionaries, as well as the merchants and traders, who, as is usual in Eastern armies, thronged the encampment with the requisite supplies for the army. The rich tents and campaign furniture of the Grand Vizier, together with hosts of camels and numerous carriages, were all deserted, and their owners and keepers fled for their lives through the fortress of Roustjouk, and many of them never stopped till they reached Rasgrad and even Schumla. General Markov, like a true soldier, without giving a thought to the booty, seized the batteries, and turned the guns against the enemy's camp on the other side of the Danube; while Kutusov, seeing from the height of Slobodsca the whole course of events on the opposite shore, immediately ordered an advance of his entire army upon the entrenched camp before him. The result of this combined movement was a furious attack from the two sides of the river at once. The rush of the Muscovites to battle, as they dashed into the fight with loud cries and amid the roar of 80 pieces of artillery, did not long leave the victory doubtful. The Grand Vizier, who had hastily got into a boat and sought only his personal safety, sent a messenger to Kutusov to propose an armistice, which might be followed by a treaty of peace, but, not receiving a favourable answer, he escaped to Roustjouk, and thence to Constantinople. He might, perhaps, have been taken prisoner, but Kutusov, who was a great politician as well as an artful strategist, and had been Russian Ambassador to the Porte, is supposed to have known his man, and to have been convinced that he would prove useful at the Divan in accomplishing those further objects which the General knew were now aimed at by his sovereign. Tchappan-Oglou Pacha, a man of great bravery and considerable firmness of character and military ability, succeeded to the command of the army after the departure of the Grand Vizier. The position in which he was placed demanded the exercise of all his best qualities, and he now, by his *wisdom*, extorted the admiration of all. The Russians brought

up every day a fresh supply of artillery, until 200 pieces played upon the Turkish camp. Nevertheless, the "son of the shepherd" resisted every offer of capitulation, and silently resolved to cut his way out of the dilemma by his own prowess. Provisions now began to fail in the Turkish camp; of forage there was none, and the horses were numerous; they were therefore sacrificed to the necessities of the army, and being so placed as to be exposed to the ceaseless tempest of shot, they were rendered available for the food of the soldiers. Their tents and useless arms in like manner served for fuel, but the Pacha still held firm. At length, an armistice was negotiated; but it was not until the 4th of December that Tchappan-Oglou and his army finally quitted their camp in virtue of a convention, by which they were to evacuate it without their arms or cannon, and be quartered in the villages about Bucharest until peace was concluded. 5,000 men, with 51 guns, surrendered; but some 120,000 had already perished by disease or by the cannonade, and a large number of the gun carriages were burned and the guns thrown into the Danube. On the 14th, Kutusov established his head-quarters at Bucharest, where the negotiations were concluded, and the Russian General-in-Chief invited Prince Tchappan-Oglou to join him there, and treated him with great distinction. Such a result to the Russian arms on the Danube was most fortunate for the Czar at this critical period. Great Britain lent all her influence to induce the Porte to agree to terms, and successfully resisted all the endeavours of the French Ambassador, Latour-Maubourg, to counteract this issue. The astonished Turk had now revealed to him the secret articles of the peace of Tilsit, by which Napoleon had agreed to the destruction and partition of the Turkish Empire, and to the further stipulations made at Erfurth with the same object; and the Divan, in view of this flagitious policy, now abandoned themselves unreservedly to Great Britain, whose ambassador regained all his former credit with the Porte.

24. WAR IN THE PENINSULA.

The contest in the Peninsula, as far as the British participation in it was concerned, had, in the summer of 1811, attained its turning point. The French, from this period, assumed the defensive, and the military ability of Wellington was, henceforth, to be shown in offensive operations. The weight of the contest rested entirely upon him, as a rapid glance over the state of the belligerents in the several provinces will show very clearly. The intrusive King had gone to France ostensibly to attend the baptism of the King of Rome, but in reality to lay before the Emperor complaints of his dependent condition as respected military matters, and the assumption of independent command claimed by the marshals, together with his desire to be relieved altogether of the trammels of a royalty which did not accord with his habits and pleasures. Napoleon had, however, smoothed down *Pepe Botellas*,* who was

* Nickname given to King Joseph by the Spaniards.

easily persuaded to retain his throne so long as it gave him no trouble and plenty to drink ; and he now had returned to his capital, where he was endeavouring to organise some suitable camarilla which might gradually lessen the aversion of the people to his rule. But the necessity of raising money to uphold his court, from a country already drained by the exactions of the French commanders, continually thwarted and pulled him down ; for he was held responsible for every act of oppression or violence, and he found it impossible to subdue the spirit of insurrection which still reigned in every province. But Wellington was almost as much troubled with the Spaniards as King Joseph, or rather with their generals and leaders of armies. Both were agreed upon the truth of the celebrated dictum of Henri V. :—" Quand on fait la guerre en Espagne avec peu de monde on est battu, et avec beaucoup de monde on meurt de faim." Writing to his Government from Quinta de San Joaõ, at this time, the British General says :—" I am apprehensive that till the Spaniards shall reform their military system ; till their officers shall be instructed and their troops disciplined ; till regular resources shall be found and faithfully applied, every attempt on our part to alter the nature of the war will be the same as the last. If the Spaniards could act beneficially alone, the Sierra de Bonda or the Condado de Niebla, with a secure retreat on Gibraltar or Cadiz, whence they could draw supplies, would be their best tactics ; from these quarters they would be a thorn in the enemy's side, and would be an effectual diversion for our operations. This was the object I had in view when I proposed to General Blake to make a dash at Seville, during Soult's absence from it in Extremadura. Here was his arsenal, his cannon-foundry, his magazines, and all that was requisite for the siege of Cadiz, which, after such a coup, the Duke of Dalmatia would have been absolutely obliged to raise. Blake actually crossed the Guadiana on the 22nd of June, the day when the united marshals were reconnoitring me near Campo Mayor, and could have been at Seville on the 24th or 25th, but losing his time before the castle of Niebla, did not quit that place till the 30th, when the French had retired and separated from my front, and Soult had sent his cavalry to defend his place d'armes by forced marches, who soon drove the Spanish general away into the sea !" Wellington found it impossible to induce them to act upon any well-defined system of combination and diversion which might assist in the strategy of a campaign ; and he says of the Spanish leaders, " It is impossible for any rational man to talk to any of them. They are visionaries and enthusiasts, who will not look at things as they really are ; and although they cannot be ignorant of the truth of all we say of the miserably inefficient state of their armies, they talk and act as if they had a national army, and are highly offended if the truth, which ought never to be concealed in such a discussion, is even hinted at."*

On the separation of Soult and Marmont, Lord Wellington had

* Wellington Despatches.

leisure to contemplate future operations. He had been fortunate enough to save Portugal from an invasion from the south, as he had previously done from one in the north, and it was evident that to prevent any future incursions either into Beira or Alemtejo, he ought to take measures to possess himself of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. At the latter fortress he had acquired the experience that he could not efficiently undertake the siege of a place garrisoned by the French without a better siege train: this he had demanded from England, and it had lately arrived at Lisbon. It was now desirable to deceive the enemy as to its destination, and, accordingly, he ordered it to be embarked again, and to be sent ostensibly in the direction of Cadiz, but when at sea they were instructed to shape their course to Oporto, where they were transhipped into smaller vessels, in order to ascend the Douro to Lamego, where it was landed. Rodrigo was the place with which, after mature deliberation, it was determined to commence the campaign, for he considered that Marshal Marmont would have more difficulty in combining operations for the covering of that fortress to the north of the valley of the Tagus, than he had met with in acting in concert with Soult for the protection of Badajoz to the south of it.

With this conviction, Lord Wellington was not disposed to permit a favourable opportunity for obtaining possession of it to pass unheeded. The divisions had only taken their cantonments about Pontalegre for a few days when an intercepted return of the provisions in Rodrigo fell into his hands, from which it appeared that the existing stock was scanty, and that the prospects of a fresh supply were questionable. It instantly occurred to him that he should at once invest the place, for that famine might effect his object cheaper than a siege; and that an alarm for the security of that fortress would seriously incommode the operations of both Soult and Marmont. The design was no sooner conceived than put in execution. Orders of march were at once issued, and while Hill was left in the south for the protection of the Alemtejo, the rest of the troops moved away on the sixth day after they had entered into quarters, and were in full march for the north. As they went onward, however, it was learned that, owing to some supplies having been received by the garrison, Ciudad Rodrigo was now victualled for at least two months to come, and, accordingly, Wellington allowed the troops to march more at their ease. It was now August, and, as usual in Spain, the weather was very hot; those who shared in this march can well remember the especial luxury of an alternate day of rest. The *dolce far niente* is a very acceptable relief to the busy activity of a soldier's life, and a little indulgence of this kind renders him more willing to make a forced march when necessary. As soon as the allied army quitted the position of the Caya, its movements were calculated with reference to the one object of besieging Ciudad Rodrigo. The transport of the siege equipments had been effected with perfect success, and their movement to the villages in the neighbourhood of Celorico

was kept well concealed from the French. The operation of bringing up 68 heavy guns, with all their stores complete, across nearly forty miles of rough mountain roads, was one of no ordinary magnitude. 5,000 bullocks and 1,000 Portuguese militia were employed in transporting the train, and making and repairing the roads by which it was conveyed; and nothing but the universal and indelible hatred which prevailed against the French at this period could have prevented the transit of this vast armament from coming to their knowledge.

On the 10th of August, Wellington brought up his army to the Coa, and established his head-quarters at Fuente Guinaldo, cantoning his army in a loose and extensive line of villages, and scattering the cavalry here and there, with a view of establishing a blockade. The place was now separated by a long distance from its covering army, and therefore there was no necessity for much concentration, so that while the posts and villages west of the Agueda were in the secure occupation of the allied forces, all casual supplies from the side of Salamanca going towards the fortress were watched and straitened by the activity of the cavalry and the guerillas of Don Julian Sanchez. Wellington writes home—"The enemy cannot raise this blockade without assembling 50,000 men, and as they must continue to watch the place, we shall serve the cause if we oblige him to do nothing else." General Reynaud, the governor, communicated, towards the end of August, to Marshal Marmont that he had not rations of meat beyond the 15th, nor of bread beyond the 25th of September. No time, therefore, was to be lost in attending to his requisitions, and General Dorsenne, who had been called in from Galicia to succeed Marshal Bessières in the command of the North of Spain, was directed to assemble a convoy for the revictualling of the fortress, and to combine his movements with those of Marshal Marmont, whom he was to meet at Salamanca, and who would carry it safe into Rodrigo. Information of this intention reached Wellington by a letter in cypher from General Montbrun to the governor, but he had no key to the date mentioned in it. At this time Wellington had to maintain the blockade with only 42,000 men, for there were 9,000 British and Portuguese in hospital, who had broken down from the heat and the indiscretions of fruit and drink, while the united troops that Marmont and Dorsenne could assemble would form an army of 54,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 120 guns; and this force effectively met at Salamanca on the 20th of September. A finer French army, for its numbers and equipments, was never subsequently seen in the Peninsula; for it was composed, for the most part, of veteran soldiers, and of these a large proportion had been detached from the Imperial Guard, which never again came before the British bayonets till the final charge at Waterloo.

Wellington, fully informed of their junction, but not, perhaps, quite aware of their numbers and efficiency, collected the British army in positions from which he could either advance or retire

without difficulty, and which would enable him to see all that was going on, and the strength of the enemy's army before he committed his own. On the 22nd, the advance of the French army reached Tamames, and on the 23rd, Dorsenne, with the cavalry and one division of infantry, escorted the convoy into Ciudad Rodrigo without any interruption. Wellington had by no means anticipated so rapid and numerous a concentration of the enemy's strength, and became suddenly aware, not only of his comparative numerical inferiority, but that the position he had assumed was too extensive and very difficult to defend. Craufurd, with the light division, was on the right opposite Pastores; the 3rd division between that and Fuente Guinaldo; the 4th division occupied the head-quarters, round which some slight works had been thrown up, since it was important to hold Fuente Guinaldo and the road to Castello Branco; the 5th division was in rear of the right, watching the pass of Perales, which General Foy threatened; the 7th division was in reserve at Almadilla. The whole of the left, under Lient-General Graham, was on the Lower Azava, extending to Carpio. The two wings were thus so distant from each other, that it would have been easy to cut off the retreat of both; and the heights of El Bodon, occupied by the centre of the army, were scarcely tenable under any circumstances.

25. AFFAIR OF EL BODON.

On the morning of the 28th, 14 squadrons of the Imperial guard advanced against Graham on the side of the Azava, and were encountered near Espeja by the 14th and 16th Light Dragoons, under Major-General Anson, who charged and drove back the Lanciers de Berg across the river, and through a grove of cork-trees, where they were much cut up by the fire of the 61st regiment.* At the same time, General Montbrun, at the head of 30 or 40 squadrons, 14 battalions, and 12 guns, advanced by the road through El Bodon direct on Fuente Guinaldo. Wellington was in a great strait; he had only under his hand 2 British and 1 Portuguese infantry regiments, 3 squadrons of Alten's cavalry, and 2 brigades of Portuguese artillery, under Major-General Colville. The troops at Pastores were at too great a distance to come up in time, and Picton was enclosed in some vineyards, out of which he could not extricate himself. Colville stood resolute, forming his infantry in squares on the hill, and pouring in shot on Montbrun's horse, which Alten charged, not once but twenty times. When the French hussar general got his guns to bear, the danger became imminent, for he charged at the head of his cavalry and artillery with so much intrepidity, that he took 2 pieces of cannon from the brigade under the command of Major-General Colville, which was driven back; but a brigade of the 4th division and a portion of the 3rd came up in support, beat back the French

* The author was present in this affair, and can vouch for the truth of the anecdote, that "while a French officer was in the act of striking Colonel Felton Harvey, who led his regiment (the 14th), he perceived that he had but one arm, when with a rapid change of action he brought down his sword to the salute and passed on;" an incident worthy of the days of chivalry.

attack, and retook the guns. The 5th and 77th regiments, who were in square, received the shock of the French cavalry upon three of their faces without being broken. "The multitudinous squadrons, rending the skies with their shouts, closed upon the glowing squares like the falling edges of a burning crater, and were as instantly rejected, scorched, and scattered abroad. The rolling peals of musketry echoed through the hills, and, with firm and even step, the British regiments came forth like the holy men from the Assyrian furnace:"* for Montbrun had called back his horse, and given up all hopes of breaking the formation. The Portuguese infantry were not actually charged, but were repeatedly threatened, and showed the utmost steadiness and discipline. Wellington became aware, however, in sufficient time that the enemy was too strong for him, and accordingly determined to retire with the whole of his centre to the protection of the works he had thrown up at Fuente Guinaldo; and Marmont subsequently learned, that if, after Montbrun's charges of cavalry, he had promptly thrown 10,000 men into the fight, before the British had concentrated their forces, they must have been driven back in confusion and defeated.

Orders had been sent to Craufurd to cross the Agueda and come in, and the 3rd and 4th divisions now reached the ground, where they were flanked by the redoubts; the 7th closed in; the 6th defiled away from Gallegos and Espeja; Graham received orders to be prepared to march up from Nave d'Avel as soon as called for; and the cavalry were all brought to the centre, and took post in front of the town. All these movements were effected on the night of the 25th. Owing to some delay in the transmission of these orders, or to a wrong conception of General Craufurd, that it would be dangerous to attempt to move by Robleda, he determined to make a circuit through the mountains, and Wellington, accordingly, was forced to remain at Guinaldo for hours to defend that position, to await his arrival, and he was rendered extremely anxious, because the flanks could not yet rejoin him under a march of several hours. The whole French army collected in front of Wellington's position on the 26th, and made some manœuvres, which at length caused the British General to deem it prudent to retire all his forces after dark. The Duke of Ragusa did not profit by the favourable conjuncture. "I was greatly tempted," writes Marmont, "to strike a blow at the English army, and spent the day in studying its position; but the ill-considered attacks of the preceding campaign had ended so badly as to hinder me from making any rash attempt." It is evident that the Aide-de-Camp of General Bonaparte had not imbibed much of the military inspiration of the great Napoleon; for, unconscious of his advantage, he was himself marching away, when his scouts brought him word that the Allies were in retreat. It is said, indeed, that Dorsenne now forced him to order his army to wheel about and pursue. This masterly retreat of Lord Wellington greatly excited the admiration of the French, and when Marmont learned *the imminent peril* in which his formidable opponent had lain for a

* Napier.

day and a half, he prophetically exclaimed, alluding to the usual Napoleonic figure of speech, "Et Wellington ! voilà ton étoile." The British General continued his march on the 27th by a well-executed concentric movement between the Coa and the Upper Agueda, retiring about 3 leagues to a position behind the stream of the Villa Mayor. The line occupied Aldea Velha, Alfayates, and Bismula, while the outlying picquets watched the passage of the Villa Mayor river at Aldea da Ponte and Forcalhos. The French moved by two roads against the right and centre, driving in the picquets, and attacked Pakenham's brigade in the morning ; but Wellington was on the bridge, and, assuming the offensive, turned the French left and seized the hill they stood upon : but, although at 5 in the afternoon Pakenham still held the village of Aldea Ponte, he abandoned it after dark, and resumed his post of the morning. On the 28th, the British army was established on the heights behind Soito, having the Sierra de Mendas on the right, and Rendo, on the Coa, on the left. Mar-mont, at the same time, satisfied with having broken up the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo and re-victualled it, led back his army across the Agueda, and marched off once more to the valley of the Tagus. The British army, still suffering considerably from fever, were placed in cantonments between the Coa and the Agueda, and resumed their watch upon Ciudad Rodrigo, awaiting the General-in-Chief's future plans against that fortress, the head-quarters being established at Frenada.

The guerillas, under Don Julian Sanchez, were indefatigable in their expeditions against the French communications between Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, and executed some wonderful enterprises with boldness and success. They had observed that the cattle belonging to the garrison were driven out every morning to pasture beyond the fire of the works, and they determined to carry off some of them. The guard, though numerically weak, was nevertheless so much on the alert, that they for several days watched in vain for an opportunity. It so happened, however, that on the 15th of October, while the guerilla cavalry lay in ambush with this object, General Reynaud, the governor, attended by his staff and a small escort, rode by, and incautiously forded the Agueda at the very place where they were concealed. In a moment the French general was attacked, surrounded, and taken ; and by singular good fortune, the cattle were at the same time driven away, and the governor and a valuable booty were brought in to the head-quarters of Lord Wellington. Reynaud bore his misfortune with the utmost philosophy and good humour. He became a frequent guest at the British commander's table, and was found an extremely entertaining as well as intelligent companion.

26. GIRARD'S DIVISION SURPRISED BY HILL AT ARROYO DE MOLINOS.

From his cantonments round Pontalegre, General Hill not only kept the garrison of Badajoz on the alert, but prevented any enter-

prise being directed against Castaños, who was established at Caceres, intent on re-organising the ruined army of Extremadura. On learning, however, that the Spanish general had been successful in embodying a considerable number of recruits, Marshal Soult directed General Girard, with about 5,000 infantry and cavalry, to scour the neighbourhood and disperse the newly-collected levies. Wellington, hearing that the French general had crossed the Guadiana at Merida, and had become troublesome and dangerous in that neighbourhood, sent orders to General Hill to make a demonstration to oblige Girard to withdraw. Accordingly, on the 22nd of October, the 2nd Division marched on the road to Caceres, and on the 25th reached La Aliseda, in which town they found the Conde de Villemur with some Spanish light cavalry, who, pushing forward, overtook some French patrols, and drove them to Malpartida. Here, therefore, Hill resolved to halt till he could discover the real retreat of the enemy. General Girard, on finding that the British were in movement towards him, quitted the vicinity of Caceres and took the road to Merida by Arroyo de Molinos, where he halted on the 27th. This little town is situated at the foot of one extremity of the Sierra de Montanches, and the mountains here form a cove or crescent behind it. The ground between Aleuesca and Arroyo is a plain thinly dotted with cork trees and evergreen oaks. General Hill having ascertained that Girard had established his rear-guard on the Caceres road, which showed that he was ignorant of the cross-road movement which the British were making, and that he was only looking out for an enemy by that along which he had himself come, gave orders with rapid decision that a forced march should be directed in the night upon Aleuesca. The weather was very stormy and wet, but no fires were permitted, and, although the inhabitants of Aleuesca knew of the arrival of the Allied troops among them, not a man would apprise the enemy of their near approach, while everything which had occurred at Arroyo during the same night was brought in the morning to the knowledge of Hill. He thus heard that the French had neglected to send out patrols, and were by no means vigilant. The wind blew furiously, the rain fell in torrents, and the patient soldiery had much to endure from exposure to the elements. At 2 in the morning the British troops marched, but although the distance was little more than a league, it was half-past 6 or 7 before they reached a hollow within a short distance of the town. One brigade of Girard's division had marched two hours before by the road of Medellin, the brigade Dombrowski and the dragoons of Briche were in the very act of falling in to follow them, and General Girard was in his quarters waiting the arrival of his horse. General Hill, having made his dispositions, divided his force into three columns: that on the right, consisting of the 71st and '92nd, supported by the 50th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, fell in without note of bugle or beat of drum, and with every precaution to secure silence. The men stood awaiting the order, and Hill with them maintaining the calmest demeanour. Suddenly he

drew his sword, gave a loud hurrah, spurred his horse, and, leading the men with an animation and enthusiasm which astonished those who knew the man, burst into the street, while the stirring and appropriate air, "Hey, Johnny Cope, are ye waukin yet?" from the bagpipes of the Highlanders, rose above the driving storm. The French, completely surprised, fought hard, but were driven to the end of the village, where they tried to form up in two squares, with the cavalry on the left, but the 71st, jumping upon the garden-walls and opening a galling fire, succeeded by that of the artillery, they broke and fled. The 50th and 92nd immediately formed up and secured the prisoners, who were brought in by the Spanish dragoons. The British artillery, having told heavily on the squares, now opened upon the fugitives, while the 9th and 13th Light Dragoons, with the German hussars, easily dispersed the cavalry. The left column, under General Howard, consisting of the 28th, 34th, and 39th, now appeared suddenly on the great road leading from Truxillo, and no alternative remained to the French but a general surrender. Girard, personally brave, still kept some infantry together, and endeavoured to make an orderly retreat; but the cavalry and artillery were all around him, and, though his situation was desperate, he would not surrender, but gave the word to his men to disperse and do as well as they could singly, while he himself endeavoured to scale the almost inaccessible rocks of the Sierra, where he could least be followed, and succeeded by his agility in effecting his escape with a few men, and joined General Drouet at Orellano on the 9th of November. Generals Brun and D'Ahremberg, with 1,300 prisoners, 3 guns, and the whole of the baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. The loss on the part of the British was inconsiderable. This affair filled all the divisions of the French army with the eager desire to revenge it; yet Hill was again too much for them, in another exploit of the same kind, two months later. He was passing into Extremadura on the 27th of December, when he found himself in the vicinity of the division Dombrowski, which he discovered marching with the same lack of vigilance, which, in truth, is often the vice of tried soldiers, and the general meditated another Arroyo; but on the 29th a French patrolle fell in with his advance, and, though he tried to intercept and cut it off, before it carried the alarm to the main body, yet Capt. Nevaux, in command, knowing the nature of the country, and how to take the fullest advantage of it, effected his retreat in the most intrepid manner, with the loss of about 40 men. General Dombrowski, however, took the hint, and quitted Merida in the night, leaving a magazine of bread and wheat to the necessities of the Allies.

27. SUCHET BESIEGES MURVIEDRO.

Napoleon had been better satisfied with the operations of Suchet than of any other of his Lieutenants in the Peninsula; and, having now elevated him to the rank of Marshal, he was desirous of affording him an opportunity of winning his spurs. Always prone, in

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General Decaen, who
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September was the day prescribed for the march of Suchet on this
From intercepted letters, it appeared to have been
intention to induce Soult to advance to Cartagena,
Suchet's own intention to induce Soult to advance to Cartagena,
with a view to a combined attack on Valencia from both sides; but
Blake, after he had been obliged to embark at Ayamonte, had pro-
ceeded by sea, and had landed in Murcia, whence, after uniting his
to the 3rd Army, he had repaired in person to Valencia.
The plan now laid down by Napoleon was, that Suchet should first
possess himself of Valencia, and afterwards move on Granada and
Cordova, which would permit Soult to carry all his force into
Extremadura, while the army of Portugal should advance on Lisbon
by the same road that Massena had done, and drive the English
into the sea! At this very time, the conqueror, deceiving himself
and his marshals on the bare facts of the case, and the resources at
his command, was withdrawing from the Peninsula about 60,000 of
his best troops, that he might employ them in the Russian campaign.
He was consequently obliged to hand over the future direction of
the war in Spain to a king destitute of prestige, without military
talents, with no real strength in his hands; for he never could control
his camarilla, nor the rivalries and blunders of the French marshals,
which had already marred his best combinations, and grew unavoid-
ably greater as their redoubtable chief went off to a distance, when
they became more and more fierce without it being in the power of
King Joseph to reconcile them.*

The Supreme Junta was well aware of the intended enterprise of
Marshal Suchet, and, as soon as Tarragona had fallen, Blake was
sent to Valencia to collect together the remains of the Spanish
armies which had been dispersed, and to do his utmost to defend
that ancient kingdom from the invasion of the enemy. Peniscola,
Oropesa, and Saguntum were put into a condition to check the ad-
vance of the French from the side of Catalonia, and new works
were thrown up, and immense stores of war collected, for the resis-
tance of the city, and every means adopted to induce the inhabitants
to show the same ardent enthusiasm that had distinguished Zaragoza
and Tudela, while the vicinity of Valencia to the Mediterranean
placed the resources of England at the command of the defenders,
so that they could not only derive succour from that quarter, but
also secure escape. On the 15th of September, then, Suchet advanced
from Tortosa, and placed his head-quarters at Alcala. On the fol-
lowing day, he again moved his army forward in three columns. The
division Habert, with the brigade Robert, and the cavalry and ar-

* Brialmont.

tillery, proceeded, under the Marshal's personal command, along the camina reale from Barcelona to Valencia; the Italian division Palombini marched to the right, by Morella, on San Mateo; while the division Harispe crossed the mountains of Teruel still farther to the right. The first obstacle encountered was the fort of Peniscola, an old castle on a high point of land, surrounded on three sides by the sea, and of difficult access on every side. As it did not stand actually on the road, Suchet thought he might pass by it, and accordingly proceeded to Oropesa, which he reached on the 19th. Here another castle stands, commanding both the road and the sea; but the Marshal did not choose to be diverted from his main object by these petty obstacles, as the cross roads were now at their best; and, accordingly, he ordered the column to make a détour of 3 or 4 leagues to avoid its fire, and to pursue their march on Murviedro. The three columns united their forces on the 20th, and, after some slight opposition from the Spaniards in crossing the Minyares, entered that town on the 22nd, without resistance. The entire plain of Almenasa, along which the march led, is a kind of land-bay, surrounded by lofty mountains, adorned with six pretty towns and many happy villages, rising in the midst of a forest of green of every tint. The turreted hill of Murviedro, which was now reached, is one of the most interesting spots in the whole Peninsula, and is redolent of war. It was an ancient Roman city, and had been destroyed by Hannibal. In later times, the Moors adopted it as their own, and strengthened it with seven castles; and, in the War of the Succession, Philip V. was defeated here by Stahremberg. The ridge is covered with Roman and Moorish ruins, mutilated statues, vestiges of arches and cisterns, and, especially, the remains of a circus and theatre in good preservation, and the city gates and many of the house-doors are covered with inscriptions. Murviedro is the Saguntum of Hannibal's wars, and had been stained with the hero's blood. Although, since his day, the sea has greatly receded from the steep and rocky hill on which the fortress stands, and would not now serve for the mock sea fights, or naumachia, in which the Saguntines in those days delighted, yet still it is isolated on three perpendicular sides, and has only one which exhibits any kind of slope, and here the perfectly bare rock was, at this time, crowned with two modern works, called Forts San Pedro and San Fernando. After carefully reconnoitring the works, the difficulties of regular approaches were considered so great, that it was thought that, with troops so experienced in assaults as the French had now become, it might be best to risk an endeavour to carry the place by a *coup-de-main*. The engineer Chaillot had discovered, near the point where the works of the castle and the town unite, two old breaches, which had not been effectually repaired; and, having first completely driven the enemy out of the town, the early morning of the 28th was selected for the storm. General Habert was directed to advance his division at 3 o'clock in two columns against these breaches, while the Italian division made a false attack on San Pedro. The garrison were, however, on the alert, and met the assailants with a

sortie, under the guidance of the Spanish Governor Andriani, which was driven back without difficulty; but, as the French column advanced to the breaches, they found themselves impeded by the thorns of the prickly pear, a plant notoriously difficult to pass over; and these so scattered their ranks, that they were completely driven back by a close and well-directed fire of grape and musketry, with the loss of 300 or 400 men.

Provoked at this successful resistance, Suchet saw that the necessity of sitting down before the place in regular form would not only oblige him to call up his siege artillery from Tortosa, but that, so long as the communications with that place were commanded by the fortresses of Peniscola and Oropesa, which he had passed by, his further operations would be exposed to great difficulty and danger; for his force, which, from various necessary deductions, could not bring above 20,000 men into the field, would be ineffectual for the great enterprise he meditated if yet further reduced; he therefore directed the head of the column of artillery to halt before the castle of Murviedro. The garrison was actuated by the best spirit, confident in the hope that Blake would advance to their relief.* Marshal Suchet, having made several subsequent attempts to obtain possession of this castle by storm, and having failed in all, found himself obliged to break ground regularly before the place, and now ordered the Italian division to obtain possession of three 24-pounders and a mortar, which were got up in battery, and with these made a breach in the wall, when again several attempts were made to carry it, which failed. In the meanwhile, the Spanish troops were stirring on the Zaragoza road: General Obispo had reached Segorbi, and Charles O'Donnell had already appeared on the banks of the Guadalaviar at Leria. General Palombini was therefore at once directed against the first, who were readily dispersed; while the Marshal himself advanced against the last, and drove them across the river at Villarmarchante, and into the mountains of the Chartreuse de Porta Cœli.

On the 10th, the castle of Oropesa surrendered, just as the French were proceeding to an assault, and the road to Murviedro was thenceforth open to the siege artillery, which arrived before Murviedro on the 16th, and the castle was now besieged in form. The attack of Fort Saguntum was determined upon against the side of San Pedro, and Generals Vallée and Rogniat were intrusted with its organisation. The advance could only be made through the rock by the mine, and by the use of sandbags; and, of course, this required time. However, five batteries were at length raised and armed, and were ready to open fire with four 24-pounders and 8 mortars on the 17th: but the

* The historical associations of Saguntum urged them to a stout resistance, for here Livy has recorded that in the year of the city, 218, the inhabitants had checked the advance of Hannibal himself for eight months, and, though disappointed of the succours they expected from their allies, they at first fed on the flesh of their children, and finally collected all the wood they could obtain, and destroyed themselves, *their wives, slaves, treasure, on one great funeral pile, to save their town, which, instead of affording the Carthaginian general the rich spoils he had anticipated, left him only a heap of ashes.* It was this event that occasioned the second Punic war, the passage of the Alps by Hannibal, the battle of Cannæ, and the fatal repose of Capua.

walls were composed of some of that old Roman masonry which is so difficult to crumble, and it was mid-day on the 18th before a breach was pronounced to be practicable, although a portion of the wall was still erect and perpendicular. The Spanish defenders, notwithstanding, exposed themselves with wonderful courage, and with cries and gestures dared the assailants to advance. The French, easily excited, demanded to be led against them; and at 5 in the afternoon Colonel Malis, with the engineer Henri, led their soldiers forward. Crushed by the fire of grenades, shells, and musketry, these brave men in vain endeavoured to mount to the escalade. They were forced back in disorder, gnashing their teeth in very rage, and the Marshal directed them to retreat to the trenches.

Andriani, by means of signals, notified his success to the British cruisers, who reported it at Valencia, whence every sort of encouragement and recompense that could be transmitted were telegraphed to the garrison, and by this means the governor received for his brave conduct the rank of *Marchal dal Campo*. Blake, though unwilling to hazard all on the chances of a battle, saw the necessity of satisfying the popular enthusiasm by some show of life in favour of the devoted garrison, and despatched a force under Mahy to surprise Cuença, in which was a detachment which maintained the French communications with Madrid; but the attempt proved ineffectual, and Mahy returned to the army.

In Aragon, the guerillas were spreading alarm in Suchet's rear, and on the 26th of September the *Empecinado*, with 4,000 men, had slain or made prisoners the 3,000 men who composed the garrison of Calatayud, in that province; Mina had captured 800 in Ayerba, and Lacy, with D'Erolles and Sarsfield, were indefatigable in the pursuit of partisan warfare along the whole line of the French communications, and levied contributions up to the very gates of Barcelona. The road immediately in Suchet's rear was closed by other bands, directed against his principal line of communication with Tortosa. From this hazardous situation the French Marshal was relieved by the imprudent daring of the Spanish General Blake. He was well aware that the brave garrison of Saguntum must in the end be overcome, and he resolved that it should not perish under his eyes, as that of Tarragona had done under those of Campoverde, without an attempt for its relief.

28. BATTLE OF SAGUNTUM.

After issuing a simple but touching proclamation, Blake quitted Valencia on the evening of the 24th, and made straight for Murviedro. The besieged from their elevated battlements descried the approaching succour, and saw their comrades take post on the heights of St. Puig or Puzol, their right resting on the sea, which some English vessels defended with their fire, and their left upon the village of Betara. Suchet was overjoyed at finding that the opportunity he so ardently desired was likely to be afforded him, and resolved to accept battle on the enemy's own ground. Leaving,

therefore, the gunners in the batteries, and every man that could be spared in the trenches, to deceive the garrison, he led 17,000 men to a spot where the Huerta d'Valencia narrows considerably to a sort of pass, about 3 miles broad, between the heights of the Vall de Jesus and Santi Espiritu. At 8 in the morning the Spanish army advanced to attack him there, the right wing commanded by Zayas, the centre by Charles O'Donnell, and the left by Villa Campa. Mahy with the Murcians was in reserve. The Valencians under Zayas were ordered forward to gain an isolated height called Germanal, which commanded all the ground in its front; and at the same moment the Marshal, concluding that a bold and resolute initiative would give him an advantage, made for the same point as rapidly as the obstacles of the olive and carob trees which covered the plain-like ascent would permit; Suchet in person, attended with an escort of 50 hussars, leading forward Harispe's division: but General Lardizabal succeeded in first attaining the summit, and established some guns there, which did considerable execution. The whole left wing of the Spanish army under Campana, with the confidence of triumph, now pushed into the French bivouac and seized the village of Puzol, while the garrison at sight of these successes, and deeming their deliverance at hand, threw their caps into the air and shouted victory, regardless of the fire of the besiegers' batteries, which never ceased for a moment to play heavily on their walls. The Marshal, perceiving that Blake by this movement extended his wings with a view to embrace and outflank him, directed his second line forward to make a vigorous attack on the centre of the Spanish army, in order to separate the wings from each other. The Spaniards resisted the attack nobly; and, though driven back, Don Juan Caro made a desperate charge at the head of his cavalry, gallantly leaped over a mud wall which protected the enemy's artillery, cut down the gunners at their guns, and captured them before they could discharge their grape; but the Marshal now charged at the head of the cuirassiers, and, although he received a serious wound in the shoulder, remained in the field on horseback, and ordered General Broussard to charge the Spanish cavalry, who were repulsed with considerable loss. The Valencian horsemen, with their horses blown, could not stand the shock, and were driven back, the captured guns retaken, Caro himself made prisoner, and Almoya wounded. Blake from the height of Germanal witnessed the overthrow of his cavalry and ordered up all his reserve, cavalry, infantry, and artillery; but General Delort, under the command of General Mahy, went and checked the advance of this reinforcement, which resisted with unusual firmness and constancy. At the same time, Harispe overcame the division of Lardizabal; the centre gave way, and Zayas yielded up to General Habert the height which commanded the field. Overcome now on every side, the centre pierced and the wings isolated and driven back, the Spanish army retired in disorder, leaving behind them *4,700 prisoners, 12 guns, 1,000 or more of dead, and 4,000 muskets, with 4 standards.* Suchet lost 1,100 men in the action, and proved

to Blake, beyond further dispute, that, with all his experience and devotion, he was no match for the French Marshal. He was, however, induced, in his desire to satisfy the garrison and fleet which were looking on, to make a second stand on the stony ground behind the rivulet Betara, but Colonel Zehiazzetti, at the head of the Italian dragoons of Napoleon, came up with him here, drove him back, and obliged him to repossess the Guadalaviar. Here Blake halted, with his left resting on the villages of San Onofie and Manises, and he forthwith employed his men to strengthen the ground with works.

29. SURRENDER OF MURVIEDRO.

The garrison of Murviedro saw from their walls the defeat of their army, and lost all heart for any longer defence of their fortress. The very same night Marshal Suchet summoned the governor, and the place surrendered the following day, the 26th, although the breach was not, in fact, practicable; but nevertheless, during the progress of the battle, the fire of the batteries had greatly extended it. The French army desired repose after these fatiguing successes, and Suchet halted them in the position of Murviedro to await the further reinforcements he had solicited both from Paris and Madrid. He occupied his men in their quarters with making preparations for the siege of Valencia, and for nearly two months no occurrence of importance took place. Other Spanish armies resisted other French divisions in the field, but always with the same ill success. Abaia, was defeated by Dorsenne on the Esla in August; Pol by Bonnet in November; and although the guerilla chiefs about Santander and in the centre of the kingdom troubled the French Generals Hugo, Lahoussaye, and Armagnal, with easy victories, which brought no glory nor any other successful results than plunder, the boldness of the partidas could not be restrained by perpetual defeats. Officers who ventured on parties of pleasure were carried off into wretched captivity, and even King Joseph, though escorted by a guard of honour, could not venture to pass a night in some of the casas da campo within a league of the capital, without fear that he might lose either his liberty or his choice wines.

30. VICTOR BESIEGES TARIFA AND FAILS.

In the month of August Soult removed back to his head-quarters at Seville, and thence sent a detachment under General Godinot to purge the neighbourhood of Baza of the various guerillas and other troops that infested the mountain frontier of Murcia. On the 11th, the advanced cavalry under Latour-Maubourg drove a considerable body of Walloon Guards into the adjoining kingdom at Velez el Rubio. Godinot was then directed to advance into the Alpujarras and scour these spurs of the Sierra Nevada, which descend thence to the Mediterranean, and here he encountered the Spanish division Montijo, near Marbella. In all these affairs it was considered that General

Godinot evinced great weakness of character and ignorance of military tactics, and always failed, but that, as he had been Marshal Soult's early comrade, he was therefore sent on these expeditions with a kind motive, to bring his name to the notice of the Emperor for some reward. Upon the return of the Duke of Dalmatia to Seville a fresh opportunity was given this unfortunately favoured officer, which sunk him more hopelessly in the mud than ever. General Ballasteros, who, after the battle of Albuera, had been driven to get his army on board ship at Ayamonte, landed it again in the South of Spain, and soon drew to his standard several thousands of the always wandering soldiers who had belonged to the various disbanded armies of the patriots. Marshal Soult had sent the brigade Guiot under the Count d'Esion against them, and Ballasteros accordingly fell back before the French detachment under the walls of Gibraltar, adopting a desultory system of warfare which occasioned great annoyance to the enemy. The British General, desirous of nourishing the war thus energetically revived in the South of the Peninsula, ordered possession to be taken of Tarifa, an ancient town, surrounded by an old wall, without a ditch or outworks, seated on an eminence upon the very Strait of Gibraltar. It may have formed one of the celebrated pillars of Hercules, from its position at the extreme southern point of the Peninsula facing Africa. Its situation completely checked the coast traffic, by which the army besieging Cadiz might obtain supplies either from Andalusia or from the opposite continent, and Marshal Soult determined accordingly to take it from the Allies. He therefore directed Victor to undertake this operation, and Godinot was again employed under that general in the expedition to drive the British out of Tarifa. Godinot marched from the camp of St. Roch, and, being unable to move with heavy artillery by any other than a high road, he chose that which led by the sea-shore. His march was detected by the British cruisers, who stationed themselves so as to pour their broadsides upon his division *en passant*. Ballasteros, who had followed his traces, now attacked his rear guard, and made many prisoners; and on the 5th of November, by a night march, he came early in the morning upon the camp of the general, who rested there with 2,000 foot and horse, and 3 pieces of artillery. The Spaniards surprised the detachment, and took from them their artillery and above 100 prisoners, and Godinot was therefore obliged to carry back his troops as well as he could. In despair at this new failure, the General returned to Seville. Here his high spirit sunk under the reproaches of his friendly chief, who, irritated by his repeated failures, probably expressed himself strongly, and, overcome by misfortune, the wretched man blew out his brains.

Marshal Soult, however, was not to be deterred from his object, and immediately ordered a very distinguished officer, General Leval, to take 10,000 men with him, while two other detachments of 3,000 each were ordered to join him from Ronda and from the camp before Cadiz, under Generals Barrois and Pechaux, so as to prevent the approach of Ballasteros on either side. General d'Aboville was placed in command of the battering train, and to the Engineer

Garbe was intrusted the works of the siege. General Campbell, the Governor of Gibraltar, resolved to be beforehand with the French Marshal, and threw into Tarifa 1,800 British and 700 Spaniards to garrison it, under Colonel Skerrett. Though the external defences were, as we have seen, of little account, yet the engineer, Captain Charles Smith, had so skilfully adapted the interior defences to the peculiarities of the ground as to fix the enemy's attention to that one point, which offered the best facilities for resistance, should the old and weak rampart be broken down and entered.

On the 2nd of December Marshal Victor moved his head-quarters to Veja de la Frontera, whence he could overlook the sieges of both Tarifa and Cadiz; and on the 9th, when the siege-parc was established, General Leval commenced his march towards Tarifa. The weather was most inclement, the country mountainous, and the roads unformed, and the march was so slow that the troops had only on the tenth day reached Tayvilla, and were then obliged to halt to send back for supplies. Every torrent was an obstacle, and it required forty or fifty horses to drag each heavy gun through the laguna de la Junda. Ballasteros, notwithstanding all the precautions taken to protect the order of march, boldly attacked them at the Col d'Ojen. On the 18th, the Spanish General Copons also came upon them from the side of Tarifa, and General Chasseraux had some difficulty in driving these enemies back, after some hard fighting. At length, on the 19th, General Leval debouched with his force on the plain in front of the fortress, which was regularly invested on the 20th. Tarifa is dimidiated by a water-course and periodical torrent, and is barred at its entrance from a passage in the hills by a tower with a portcullis, in front of which were strong palisades, and at its exit by two massive structures called the tower and castle of the Guzman's, both looking up and commanding the defile. A causeway, 800 yards long, across a sandy isthmus, joined these works to an island which was bluff and inaccessible from the side of the sea. The place is commanded by sand hills on its northern and eastern fronts, and the sea washes its southern wall, and upon the sand hills adjoining the sandy neck was a field-work called La Catalina, holding one 12-pounder. In taking up the investment, a detachment of the enemy approached incautiously near this outwork, and Captain Wren, of the 11th regiment, who held it, suddenly descended upon them and carried off the entire party, and a sortie was made at the same time, which drew the pursuers under the fire of the shipping and the island; the effect of which was to induce the besiegers to open their trenches in the night of the 22nd, on the very side on which Smith expected and wished them to do, for here the defenders were most protected by their flank fire. On the 29th, the besiegers had, notwithstanding torrents of rain, established and armed their batteries. To give effect to the opening of their fire, and to hasten operations, the Duke of Belluno removed his head-quarters to Vergin de la Luz, whence he directed the opening of 12 breaching guns; but the guns of the besieged, aided by those of vessels in the offing, dismounted two of them. There was no want of guns for the defence of Tarifa, although they had

been mounted since the French invested it. There were 24-pounders and 18-pounders, and 10-inch mortars and howitzers, but the walls and towers were found too weak to sustain heavy artillery, so that only field-pieces and cohorns did, in fact, reply to the enemy's fire. Nevertheless, on the 30th, a breach was declared practicable, and Colonel Skerrett and General Copons were summoned to council, and were disposed to abandon the place, and would have done so, but that they were opposed by the brave Gough, Smith, and other officers, on whose representation Governor Campbell actually called away the transports. The place was, indeed, open to assault and escalade, but the French were much thwarted and hindered in their operations by the insufficient guns they had obtained from Puerto Real, and their approaches were all exposed to the fire from the shipping under the command of Captain Dickson, of the "Stately," 64, who never relaxed his fire day or night. The breach was in truth practicable, but behind it lay a muddy ditch, with a steep descent of 14 feet into the old street of the town, and Smith had covered the ground with iron gratings and other obstacles, to make the passage painful and an assault difficult. On the morning of the 31st "a living stream of French grenadiers" glided swiftly and silently down the bed of the water-course, and dashed like a torrent against the portcullis. They had previously availed themselves of the state of the torrent to hurl planks, fascines, and even dead bodies against this defence, and in this way broke some of the palisades and bent the portcullis. The 87th, under Gough, well understood their object in this, and awaited the assault, which they expected every instant, from behind it; when suddenly the gallant Irish Colonel ordered the band of the regiment to play up "Garry Owen," and, drawing his sword, rushed forth at the head of his devoted column with such effect, that the leading French officer fell wounded, and the poor little drummer-boy, by his side, dropped lifeless in the act of beating his drum. The 47th regiment, on the tower of Jesus, at the same time poured in such a volley that the French, staggered and stunned, halted. "The ramparts streamed fire and grape," and hand grenades fell around the assailants so thick that human nature rebelled against further exposure to it, and Colonels Lombelle and Lacoste, followed by the stormers, plunged into the hollows for shelter. Generals Pecheux and Cassagne saw that nothing could be effected against such a defence, and ordered back their men. The French dead covered the slopes in front of the rampart, and choked the muddy bed of the torrent. Ten officers of the enemy were brought in mortally wounded, and Laval sent to ask permission to fetch them off. The Allies had only 5 officers wounded, and 1,231 men killed or hurt, besides the engineer Longley killed. The siege was now for a time suspended, for the incessant rain increased the general depression which the failure had occasioned in the minds of the besiegers, and, to add to their misfortunes, exposure to the weather produced sickness, which thinned their ranks every day. Marshal Victor, however, would not hear of the raising of the siege, al-

though General Leval urged it upon him. The guns accordingly opened fire again, and continued until the 4th of January, when at length, having comprehended the real difficulties of the case, the Marshal gave orders to withdraw the guns from the batteries. But the utmost exertions were insufficient to get them back again through the mud. One 12-pounder and two howitzers were all that they could remove to Torre-Peña. The carriages were therefore burned and the guns buried, the powder drowned, and the projectiles thrown into the ravine, and at 3 on the morning of the 5th of January, General Barrois led the troops away from Tarifa. On the 6th the French division reached Tayvilla, where the few guns which had been brought away stuck fast in a bottomless slough, whence no power could extract them. The poor soldiers could scarcely drag themselves through the quagmires, let alone these lumbering cannons, but they nevertheless nobly removed all their wounded comrades, and on arriving at Veja, exposed to little or no pursuit, they rested there some days. Their loss has been variously stated from 2,500 to 520, at which number it is placed in the French accounts. Marshal Victor, however, gives this account of the *morale* of his troops, even before he had commenced his sad retreat: "Un jour encore il n'était plus possible de se maintenir devant Tarifa : les officiers y auraient été abandonnés. Le soldat était exténué et désespéré, et en exigeant de lui de nouveaux sacrifices, c'eut été se résoudre à sa perte et à notre honte." No thanks, however, are due to Colonel Skerret that Tarifa is now a glorious link in the golden chain of British victories. Gough of the 87th regiment, Charles Smith of the engineers, and Mitchell of the artillery, are the real heroes of Tarifa. Of these the only survivor is the great and gallant Lord Gough, who ought long since to have been a Field Marshal.*

31. WAR IN THE EAST.

The Wahabees, a formidable sect of Arabs, which set the authority of the Porte at defiance, still continued, under Jussuf Bey, to alarm Upper Egypt, and a commission was issued, by the Sultan's authority, to Suliman Pacha of Acre to send the head of the rebellious leader to Constantinople; but Jussuf succeeded in getting Suliman at issue with his Suzerain, so that he likewise fell into disgrace with the Porte, which sought out another agent. The Viceroy of Egypt was now ordered to undertake the recovery of Mecca and Medina from out of the hands of these unorthodox sectarians.

* While this is passing through the press, the gallant veteran, to the great joy of all old soldiers, has at length, in his 84th year, and after a most brilliant service in every quarter of the globe, received the baton. We dispense this honour capriciously in the British service. Before the reign of the late king all the Field Marshals who had ever existed in the British army might have been counted on the fingers. The baton is a harmless compliment to pay to royalty, which may pass without comment: but the historic names of Wellington, Cotton, Gough, and Clyde, ought not to be mingled with those of officers who, however respected in our own service, are not known to the soldiers of Europe as the leaders of armies.

The Egyptian infantry, destined to act against the Wahabees, arrived at the isthmus of Suez in the beginning of August, and there embarked for the coast of Arabia.

A war of some kind or other was always occurring in Persia. What progress was made by the Russians against the Shah is nowhere, that I can learn, recorded in detail. They had, some time since, obtained possession of Anapa, and carried their victorious banners to the walls of Poti, on the Black Sea, at the mouth of the Rioni (the ancient Phasis). At the other extremity of the kingdom, a battle was fought on July the 8th between the army of Mahmoud Shah, under the command of Prince Abbas, and a chief named Mohammed Azid Khan, who had obtained possession of the city of Cabul. In this engagement, 3,000 of the followers of that chieftain were said to have been slain, and one half of the city destroyed; and Mahmoud made his triumphant entry therein shortly after the battle.

A rebellion had raged in China for some years against the Mogul government, and pirate freebooters, to the number of 300 or 400 war-junks, armed with from 10 to 20 guns each, infested the sea coasts and canals of that vast kingdom. As they even threatened to remove the present Tartar family from their throne, the imperial junks, under an Admiral, were sent against them, but these either struck their colours to the rebels or took to flight. This success increased the numbers and insolence of these robbers, who interrupted very seriously European trade and threatened Canton. The weak government of the King, sensible of their inability to contend against their own subjects, applied for assistance to the Portuguese factory at Macao, who, being deficient in naval stores, made application to the East India Company at Canton, who liberally supplied the armed vessels with all that was necessary to equip them for the service of the Chinese imperial government. The Macao squadron, united with a fleet of 60 junks, brought the pirates to action, and an entire armament of 100 junks and 8,000 men surrendered to the Imperial Admiral; but it was not till later in the year that the leader, A-quo-Chay, submitted, when 270 war-junks, with 16,000 men, 5,000 women, and 1,200 pieces of ordnance, were surrendered to the Viceroy. But while the Chinese Empire was only just saved from a rebellion of its native subjects, a more alarming danger threatened it on its northern frontier. An adventurer, named Baghvan-Ho, collected a number of followers in Great Tartary, who, in conjunction with some tribes of Mongols, were induced to submit to his authority in the double capacity of Prince and Pontiff. He then assumed the title of King of Tartary, and appeared at the head of 60,000 men, armed with bows, lances, and muskets. He seized Kiachta, the emporium of Russian commerce, and made the caravans pay tribute. The Czar accordingly sent an embassy to Peking, to desire that his subjects *might* be permitted to trade direct to the capital, but the answer of the Chinese government was characteristic:—"Tell your master, *that while the desert separates the two nations, the friendship*

between us may continue. The Emperor is desirous to preserve it unimpaired, and cannot, therefore, comply with his request." During the revolutionary war the Portuguese, French, and British, by turns, endeavoured to alarm the Mongols, or turn their troubles to account. The Portuguese became apprehensive that the French would take Macao, and the British from affinity were called upon to aid them in the defence of that settlement, and they thus embroiled themselves with the Chinese authorities, who stopped the trade at Canton and denied provisions both to British Indiamen and to King's ships. The Chinese edict was, as usual, characteristic:—"Knowing, as you ought to know, that the Portuguese inhabit a territory belonging to the Celestial Empire, how can you suppose that the French could ever venture to molest them? If they dared, our warlike troops will attack, defeat, and chase them from the face of the country."

32. NAVAL WAR—SINGLE SHIPS' AND BOAT ACTIONS.

On the 27th of June, the brig-sloop "Guadaloupe," 16, Captain Tetley, being off Cape Creux, on the coast of Spain, had a spirited action with the French brig-corvette, "La Tactique," 16, and the armed xebec, "La Guêpe," 8. The action lasted about a couple of hours, and ended with no other result than about a dozen killed and wounded on each side. On the 27th of November, the "Eagle," 74, Captain Charles Rowley, discovered and chased three strange vessels off Fano, in the Adriatic. In the chase the vessels separated, but the "Eagle" kept in pursuit of one, which she brought to action, and, with her superior weight of metal, soon obliged to strike, when she proved to be the French frigate "La Coruyère," 40, armed *en flûte*, Lieutenant-de-Vaisseau Longlade. On the 28th of November, when off Lissa, the British frigates "Alceste," 38, Captain Murray Maxwell, and "Active," 38, Captain Gordon, went in pursuit of a French squadron, out of Trieste, bound to Corfu. It consisted of "La Danaë," 40, "La Flore," 40, and "La Carolina," 32, fugitives from Captain Hoste's action off Lissa in March. They were for a time lost sight of, but on the 29th, near the island of Augusta, three strange sail were seen, and deeming them to be the vessels they were in search of, the "Active" signalled a chase; but in a short time the strangers were made out to be, not the French ships already named, but the frigates "La Pauline," 40, Commodore Montfort, and "La Pomone," 40, Captain Rosamel, with the store ship "La Persanne," 26, Captain Satie, bound from Corfu to Trieste. The British squadron had been joined in their cruise by the "Unité," 36, Captain Chamberlayne, and "Acorn," 20, Captain Bligh, and as "La Persanne" now separated from her companions, the "Unité" was sent in pursuit of her, while the "Alceste" and "Active" continued after "La Pauline" and "La Pomone." An action ensued, and at the first onset a shot from "La Pomone" brought down the top gallant and royal studding sails of the "Alceste."

when loud cries of "*Vive L'Empereur*" resounded from both French ships. The "Active" immediately tackled with "La Pomone," while Maxwell re-set his rigging, but in the interim the French Commodore set all sail and stood away. The main and mizen masts of the "Active" came down by the board just as the "Alceste" came up again, when "La Pomone" struck her colours. A contest at the same time had ensued between the "Unité" and "La Persanne," but after the first broadside the latter surrendered.

On the 14th of February, the "Cerberus," 32, Captain Whitby, and "Active," 32, Captain Gordon, discovered several vessels lying in the harbour of Ortona, and the boats were accordingly lowered and despatched, under Lieutenants Dickinson and Peter Mears, of the Marines, to endeavour to bring them out from the strong position in which they were moored. The boats were received on a near approach by the fire of an armed Venetian trabaccolo, which had not been seen, but which the party instantly boarded and carried, though mounting 6 guns and full of men. The sailors and marines then landed and stormed the heights, climbing up the rocks by their hands, though there was a precipice at every step they took. They at length reached the summit of the strong post, and there planted the British colours. They then proceeded to secure the vessels in the harbour, ten of which were laden with all sorts of naval and military stores, destined for the garrison of Corfu, and these they brought out, together with the trabaccolo; the casualties were only 4 men wounded. On the 26th of May, the brig-sloop "Sabine," 16, Captain Price, cruising on the Cadiz station, detached five boats, under the orders of Lieutenants Usherwood and Finucane, to cut out five privateers which were at anchor in the port of Sabiona, under the protection of a battery. By a judicious and well-planned attack, each British boat succeeded in securing and bringing out its privateer, with only 1 wounded of the whole party. On the 26th of May, the brig-sloop "Pilot," 18, Captain Toup Nicholas, observing four craft on the beach under the town of Strongoli, despatched her boats to bring them off, under the orders of Lieutenants Campbell and Annesley. In spite of the opposition of 75 gens-d'armes and 30 soldiers, with some militia, the party effected a landing and dislodged the enemy. They then launched three of the vessels and destroyed the fourth, having performed the whole service with only 1 marine slightly wounded. The same officer, with the boats of the same war-sloop, "Pilot," was despatched by Captain Nicholas, on the 6th of September, to bring out a ketch, anchored close to the town of Castellana. The brig having previously driven away the protecting troops with her guns, they landed and dispersed all opposition, but, finding the ketch bilged, they threw her guns overboard and set her on fire. On the 4th of July, the frigate "Unité," 36, Captain Chamberlayne, being off Port Hercule, on the Italian coast, despatched some boats, under Lieutenants Crabb and Victor, to bring out an armed brig at anchor there. She proved to be the "*San Francisco de Paulo*," 8, who resolutely resisted their ap-

proach. Chamberlayne, accordingly, sent in the launch, under Lieutenant M'Dougal, to support the other boats, and the brig was carried and brought out. Next morning, having been joined by the brig-sloop "Cephalus," 18, Captain Augustus Clifford, the vessels proceeded together off Civita Vecchia, when Captain Clifford led the boats into the mouth of the Tiber, and though exposed to the fire of cannon and musketry, drove off a party of soldiers from the shore and carried and brought away three merchant vessels without the loss of a man. On the 21st, the "Cephalus" was joined by "Thames," 36, Captain Charles Napier, off Porto del Infreschi, into which the frigate had chased 26 sail. The port was protected by 11 French gun-boats, with a strong boom moored across the entrance, and by a round tower and troops on the adjoining hills. Captain Clifford again led the boats in himself, stormed and carried the tower, taking an officer and 80 men prisoners, and brought away all the vessels and a great part of the boom, without the loss of a man. On the 27th, the "Active," 38, Captain Gordon, despatched her boats, under Lieutenants Henderson and Haye, into the port of Ragosniza, in the Adriatic, who landed and took possession of a height, whence they commanded 28 vessels, laden with grain, lying in a creek, into which they had run for shelter. By a well-planned and nobly-executed attack, the British gained possession of the entire convoy, with only 4 wounded. On the 1st of August, a small British squadron, consisting of "Quebec," 32, Captain Sibthorpe Hantayne, "Raven," 16, Captain Lennox, with gun-brigs and armed cutters, received information of some gun-boats lying at anchor within the Island of Nordenay. Lieutenant Blyth, of the "Quebec," was accordingly permitted to volunteer to carry within its waters the boats of the squadron, 10 in number, to cut them out. This little division, passing through an intricate navigation, came, on the 2nd, in sight of the enemy's gun-boats, four in number, each armed with three guns and manned with 25 men, commanded by a Lieutenant de Vaisseau. Lieutenant Blyth, pulling rapidly up, sprang upon the deck of the first gun-boat, and in a few minutes mastered the crew; and, driving all hands below, turned the guns on her consorts. There was a quantity of cartridges lying on the deck of the captured gun-boat, covered by a sail. The gunner on the "Quebec," incautiously priming the 12-pounder from a powder-horn, discharged the piece by firing his pistol at the priming, when an explosion took place, which killed or wounded 19 persons, including Lieutenant Blyth himself, who was blown into the sea, but afterwards reached the boats again, although he was wounded in the shoulder. All the other gun-boats were subsequently secured with the loss of 2 killed and 10 wounded. Blyth was promoted to the rank of commander for this spirited action. On the 11th of October, the frigate "Impérieuse," 38, Hon. Captain Duncan, discovered three gun-vessels moored under the walls of a strong fort in the gulf of Salerno. Having anchored within range, she in a few minutes sank one of them and silenced the fire of the fort, but could not dislodge the troops who formed

the garrison; and until that was done, the remaining gun-boats could not be secured. Captain Duncan, therefore, manned the boats under the command of Lieutenants Eaton, Travers, and Philip Pipon, who landed and forced their way into the battery, and obliged the enemy to evacuate it. The guns were then thrown over the cliff, the magazines destroyed, and the gun-boats triumphantly brought away; there being only 1 killed and 2 wounded in this dashing exploit. In a few days afterwards, the "Impérieuse" was joined by the "Thames," 32, Captain Charles Napier, and the two frigates anchored in company near Palinuro, on the coast of Calabria. The boats, on the 19th, commanded by Lieutenant Travers, landed and launched, and brought off, without the slightest casualty, ten armed polaccas, laden with oil, which were banked up in sand, and defended by a large detachment of Neapolitan troops.

On the 19th, the same frigates discovered ten Neapolitan gun-boats and a number of merchant vessels lying in the same port, with timber laid up on the beach for the equipment of the Neapolitan navy. Captain Duncan, doubting if he could attack them with any prospect of complete success with only two frigates, sent the "Thames" to Sicily to solicit aid from Lieutenant-General Maitland, who sent him a detachment of the 62nd Regiment, under Major Darby, which arrived on the 28th. On the 1st of November, the troops, with the seamen and marines, were all landed, under the supreme command of Captain Napier. The British immediately stormed and carried the heights in gallant style, against a considerable force of French soldiers assembled to oppose them. The land force, however, was insufficient to silence the battery and tower, which protected the gun-boats, and accordingly the two frigates took up the contest on the 2nd, and opening fire within pistol shot, sank two and obliged the others to surrender. The forts were also silenced and taken possession of, when the guns were thrown into the sea, and the land party proceeded to launch the vessels and the timber, which they did on the 3rd, and then blew up the town and returned to the ships, bringing off their prizes. This very skilful enterprise cost the lives of Lieutenant Kay, of the 62nd, and 4 men, and Lieutenant Pipon and 10 men were wounded.

1812.

1. REFLECTIONS.—2. WAR IN THE PENINSULA—CAPTURE OF VALENCIA BY SUCHET—3. WELLINGTON BESIEGES AND TAKES CIUDAD RODRIGO.—4. THIRD ENGLISH SIEGE OF BADAJOZ—SOULT ADVANCES TO ITS RELIEF.—5. ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF BADAJOZ—CAVALRY AFFAIR AT LLERENA.—6. WELLINGTON MARCHES TO THE NORTH—HILL STORMS THE FORTS AT ALMARAZ.—7. THE BRITISH CAPTURE THE CONVENT FORT AT SALAMANCA.—8. THE TWO ARMIES TAKE POST UPON THE DOURO.—9. BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.

—10. WELLINGTON ENTERS MADRID IN TRIUMPH.—11. WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.—12. NAPOLEON TAKES THE FIELD.—13. THE FRENCH ARMY CROSSES THE NIEMEN.—14. COMBATS AT MOHILOV AND OSTRONOV.—15. NAPOLEON AT VITEPSK—THE CZAR AT MOSCOW.—16. FIGHT AT KRASNOI—BATTLE OF SMOLENSKO.—17. COMBATS AT VALOUTINA, GORODECZNA, POLOTSK, AND RIGA.—18. BATTLE OF BORODINO, OR DE LA MOSKWA.—19. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF PRINCE BAGRATION.—20. THE RUSSIANS CONTINUE THEIR RETREAT.—21. THE RUSSIANS SET FIRE TO AND ABANDON MOSCOW, WHICH THE FRENCH ENTER.—22. NAVAL WAR.—23. WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.—24. THE AMERICANS INVADE CANADA.—25. PENINSULAR WAR—SOULT RAISES THE SIEGE OF CADIZ.—26. WELLINGTON LAYS SIEGE TO BURGOS.—27. KING JOSEPH UNITES THE FRENCH ARMIES, AND RELIEVES MADRID AND BURGOS.—28. WELLINGTON UNITES WITH HILL, AND RETIRES INTO PORTUGAL.—29. WAR IN THE EAST OF SPAIN—BATTLE OF CASTALLA.—30. A BRITISH EXPEDITION LANDS AT ALICANTE.—31. RUSSIAN WAR—THE FRENCH RETIRE FROM MOSCOW.—32. BATTLE OF MALO-JAROSLAWITZ.—33. BATTLE OF KRASNOL.—34. NEY, WITH THE REAR-GUARD, JOINS NAPOLEON.—35. THE FRENCH CROSS THE BERESINA.—36. THE GRAND ARMY IS UTTERLY DISSOLVED—NAPOLEON RETURNS TO PARIS.—37. THE PRUSSIAN ARMY, UNDER DE YORK AND MASSENBACH, JOIN THE RUSSIANS.—38. THE AUSTRIAN ARMY ACCEPT AN ARMISTICE.—39. THE CZAR REWARDS HIS GENERALS AT WILNA.—40. INTESTINE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA.—41. NAVAL WAR—SINGLE SHIPS.—42. BOAT ACTIONS.—43. BRITISH AND AMERICAN CONFLICTS.—44. WAR IN THE EAST.

1. REFLECTIONS.

It is a delusion very common with successful leaders, to which Napoleon formed no exception, that their art, which is essentially one of practice, should be made amenable to theoretical rules and axioms.* One of his favourite precepts was: Never to do two things at a time; and to make only one real attack, and that *en masse*. Notwithstanding the decided wisdom of this dictum, the great conqueror, having on his hands a war *à l'outrance* in the Peninsula, where French glory had already begun to wane, resolved at the commencement of the year 1812 to undertake one of the most gigantic enterprises ever recorded in "The Annals of the Wars." It was clear to the common sense of the merest tyro in war or politics, that, notwith-

* It is a singular contrast to the old-soldier afterthoughts of Frederick, Napoleon Bonaparte, and some others, that the two great English generals, Marlborough and Wellington, never, either by word or writing, propounded the unstable theory that war was an abstruse science of strategy and tactics; for they both well knew, in their Anglo-Saxon truthfulness of heart, that war is, in reality, an ordinary game of chances, mistakes, and accidents, in which he who encounters the fewest gains the victory—and they left it so.

standing his immense power, the Emperor was not above the caprices of fortune; and that a signal reverse might destroy all his prestige in Europe. He knew this well, for it is related that, while cogitating over the state of public affairs at this period, his better judgment whispered—"Non ! rien n'est assez établi autour de moi, même chez moi, pour un guerre aussi lointaine ! Il faut la retarder de trois ans." Even his own diplomatic agents endeavoured to bring thoughts of prudence to turn away his animosity against Russia; and the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin acted in precisely the same sense. Nay, just at the commencement of the new year, Count Nesselrode arrived at Paris, sent by the Czar, who desired, *en dernier ressort*, to afford a pacific opening to his brother Emperor by showing that he was already better prepared for resistance by the termination of the Turkish war, and that he was even ready to settle matters with the Porte in a spirit acceptable to France. But fate—destiny irresistible, inevitable—produced the crisis which in the councils of the Almighty was decreed to re-establish the repose of the world.

2. WAR IN THE PENINSULA — CAPTURE OF VALENCIA BY SUCHET.

Napoleon, amidst the throes of his mighty preparations for the Russian war, regarded with indifference the solid basis on which Great Britain was consolidating her immense bulwark of power, and on which Wellington was establishing his military policy, for he sought to blind his people by a little ray of vain glory with which he even expected to intimidate the Czar and his negotiators. With this view he received with most disproportionate joy the tidings of the victory of Murviedro, and readily listened to the requirements of his new Marshal to be further reinforced for the siege of Valencia. He therefore sent immediate orders to General Reille to quit Aragon, and repair without any delay to Suchet's standard; to General Caffarelli to take Reille's command; and to Dorsenne to take that of Caffarelli in Biscay. At the same time, he requested the intrusive King to deprive himself of one of the divisions at the capital, to aid his new Marshal, and ordered Marmont to despatch Montbrun's division of cavalry to Cuença. He boldly pronounced that the British army had 18,000 invalids, and were accordingly incapable of assuming the offensive at the opening of the year, and that therefore they needed not to be taken into any account at this juncture. These orders were all executed to the letter, and before the end of December General Reille and General Severoli had already arrived at Segorbe with 14,000 or 15,000 men and 40 guns; and with this increased force Marshal Suchet lost not a moment in investing Valencia. General Mahy at the head of one Spanish army, and Villacampa at that of another, had no mind to be shut up in the city about to be besieged, and where the Captain-General Blake had an army sufficient for every purpose that could be required, and therefore they contrived to make their escape from the lair before the noose was drawn around the fortress. To General Brogniat Suchet intrusted

the siege. General Valée commanded the artillery, and had collected at Murviedro 60 siege guns, 24 mortars, and ammunition for 700 rounds of shot. Valencia is situated in a beautiful vega or plain, watered by an infinite number of canals, communicating with the river Gaudalaviar, which extend to the salt lake of Albufera on the side of the sea, about half a league distant: the irrigation thus derived renders the district so fruitful as to be termed a garden (Huerta di Valencia), which name the number of villas and pleasure grounds that adorn the landscape fully justifies. It is situated a little way from the point at which the Mediterranean receives the waters of the Gaudalaviar or Turia, which wash its walls. Valencia, which has been more written upon than any city in Spain, is not unknown to military history. It bore its present appellation under the Romans, and is said to have been originally fortified by Scipio. It was taken and destroyed by Pompey, and rebuilt by Sertorius. It was taken from the Romans by the Goths, and from the latter by the Moors; from whom it was recovered to the kingdom by the famous Cid in 1094, but not finally conquered from them till 1238. The walls now standing are 30 feet high and 10 thick, so that a practicable road is carried along their summit and goes quite round the city. This road is carried by a clumsy bridge across where the river should run; but the bleedings that the stream undergoes for the purposes of irrigation are so numerous that scarcely water enough attains to the Gaudalaviar in which to wash a handkerchief, except in the season of the rains, when the floods brought down from the Cabrillas are great and violent. The Grao, or port, is about a mile from the town; but the mole, which had made something of a harbour of it, has been long since swept away, and it is now therefore a mere open roadstead. The population is computed to be near 100,000, in a great degree clerical, and not at all commercial. It has a university as well as a cathedral, and was for a long time the city in Spain in which the greatest number of books were printed, so that it is thought that if literature should ever again revive in Spain it will probably be at Valencia. Around the city wall, about a mile farther out, enclosing the suburbs of Rurefa, San Vincente, and Quarte, was traced the rampart of the Spanish entrenched camp, five miles about, which was formed of earthworks, 12 feet in height, with a wet ditch and very steep slope, requiring scaling ladders, and furnished with bastions, redans, and zigzags, forming good flank defences. The Spanish engineer had, in anticipation of the siege, cleared the ground of all its olive yards and wood shelter to a distance of 600 feet in front. Upon being reconnoitred by the French Marshal, the salient of San Vincente was deemed the weakest point of the periphery, while that of Mont Olivette might be flanked and silenced from both sides of the river. Enclosed forts were therefore thrown up all round the suburb of Seranos, to restrain the imprisoned army of Blake from attempting to relieve itself on that side.

On the night of the 1st of January, the trenches were opened.

under the direction of the engineer, Colonel Henri, who was killed in this first operation. Blake, on discovering the intention of the French army, endeavoured to force his way out of his camp by the left bank of the river; and, if he had taken the advice of the able engineer Zangas, he might have succeeded; now two bridges had already been thrown over the Guadalaviar by the besiegers, by which 3 divisions of infantry were crossed. A few days after, a similar attempt at escape was made on the road to Alicante; but the Spanish cavalry were driven back in confusion on Torreña, and the Murcians, fearful of being surrounded, fled to Catarroja. Despairing now of getting away or of defending the extensive entrenched camp with a force already somewhat dispirited, he abandoned it on the 5th, and carried the entire army within the city.

Marshal Suchet, delighted at a state of affairs which could not fail of throwing everything into confusion inside by the agglomeration of such a mass within the walls, resolved to open his batteries without loss of time upon the accumulated garrison, so as to put an end as soon as possible to all resistance, rightly conjecturing that terror was as available an agent as science in such an emergency. A bombardment was immediately commenced, at the rate of 1,000 shells per diem, which knew no moment of intermission day or night. After a time, thinking the guns had done their work and had fully prepared the besieged for a submission, he sent in a summons to General Blake. Something was said in the reply of the Captain-General as to terms, which the French Marshal would not listen to for a moment, and the bombardment immediately re-opened. Ere long, some of the finest buildings in the city, with the noble libraries of the Archbishop and the University, were reduced to ashes. After the fire had again continued for some days, and the town had been set on fire in many places, Blake summoned the city authorities, and, with their concurrence, sent out a flag of truce on the 8th to demand permission for his army, with all his guns and baggage, to march away to Alicante or Cartagena; but Suchet would not listen to any such terms, and therefore, on the 9th, Blake, with his whole army, consisting of 23 generals, 890 officers, 10,219 rank and file, 393 pieces of artillery, 42,000 stand of arms, gunpowder, cannon-ball, shell, &c., surrendered at discretion. For this glorious conquest, the last of any great distinction that accrued to the French army in the Peninsula, Suchet obtained the title of Duke d'Albufera,* by which he is afterwards known in history. On the day when Blake capitulated, General Montbrun, with 15,000 men, had already reached Almanza, on his way to join the besieging army.

* Albufera is a salt lake about 4 leagues in length and 2 in breadth, but very shallow, some miles distant from the city, and was in no degree whatever connected with the siege works. It supplies the city with fish and water-fowl, and on its edge are salt-pans. The Valencians make it their junketing-place, and once or twice in the season crowds of sportsmen assemble in boats and make prodigious havoc among the birds covering the surface of the lake, among which flamingoes, a bird unknown to our sporting world, are sometimes met with.

3. WELLINGTON BESIEGES AND TAKES CIUDAD RODRIGO.

While the British army rested in their cantonments, its chief had not only an eye towards the enemy's movements on every side, but employed his mind in devising the means of improving the land transport of his own army. The wagons of the country were very cumbrous in form, and of such rude mechanism that the time they exhausted yielded very imperfect service. Accordingly, he employed those men among his troops who were conversant with the construction of wheels and carriages to build about 600 vehicles upon an improved model, which were organised under the denomination of the Commissariat Wagon Train. He also employed the engineer and naval officers with the army to render the Agueda more navigable, which might shorten the land transport considerably. He had good information of Suchet's designs upon Valencia, and of the concentration, by order of Napoleon, of all the French *corps-d'armée* to assist that operation. He also knew that about 60,000 of their best troops, including all the Imperial Guard, had been called back to France. Dorsenne, in command of the army of the North, had been, as we have seen, given so extensive a district, that the duty of observing Ciudad Rodrigo had been confided to General Barrié, who had, indeed, reported faithfully that food was beginning to fail the garrison, but his importunities were received with the neglect that those of subordinates often are, and the duty of a closer vigilance and care of the place postponed. The French army was at this time spread for subsistence from Salamanca to the Asturias on one side, and to the valley of the Tagus and Toledo on the other. When Lord Wellington had satisfied himself on this condition of affairs on the side of the enemy, he directed Hill to advance upon Merida, with the view of alarming Drouet, and drawing him away from any serious attempt upon the army of Ballasteros, while he himself resolved to attempt the siege of Rodrigo, feeling that, even if he failed there, he might afford time to the Asturians, Galicians, &c., to do something. The loss of one undisciplined horde more or less, though styled a Spanish army, and looking powerful on paper, did not materially affect the contest in the Peninsula; but yet it was important to keep up the national spirit; nor did even the subjugation of the entire east of the kingdom, by which a vigorous military rule was established over entire provinces, now lost to the national exchequer and government, render the ultimate termination doubtful to the British general's mind, although it largely extended the moral influence and increased the creature comforts of the French armies. The real danger to the French occupation of Spain lay where the national vanity was unwilling to acknowledge it — in the progress of the British authority in the west of the Peninsula. There Wellington rested, tranquil, like a great spider within his nest, with all his powers of aggression prepared — ready to pounce upon his prey the moment it came within the touch of his web. From causes

which it is not our province to investigate, he heard that the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo was at this moment reduced to little more than 1,500 effective men, while he also heard that Marmont had been appointed to the command of the north, and had quitted the banks of the Tagus for Salamanca, leaving 2 divisions of his army at Almaraz. That marshal could not, therefore, have more than 4, or at most 5, divisions with which to cover the whole extent of country committed to his superintendence between Leon and the Asturias; and, in support of his own weakness to do this, he was already entrenching himself at Salamanca with works of importance and magnitude, in order to impede the advance of the British towards the north. Yet he appeared to be signally supine in deeming Ciudad Rodrigo in no immediate danger of attack, although he must have seen that it was manifestly necessary for his antagonist that he should strain every nerve and neglect no opportunity which might occur to him to possess Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, which two fortresses prevented his farther inroad into Spain.

With Marmont devoid of all suspicion of a siege, notwithstanding that (however unaccountable it may be) the villages of Gallegos, Villa de Cierro, and Espeja were already filled with siege stores, and a battery train established in Almeida, yet none of which things had been made known to the Duke of Ragusa, or had been slighted by him, Soult had all his attention fixed on Cadiz and Tarifa, and the eyes of Napoleon were intent on Valencia, and on withdrawing troops from Spain for the Russian war: it was not unreasonable, therefore, for Wellington to calculate that he might obtain possession of Ciudad Rodrigo, or hamper the movements of the French *corps-d'armée* in the operations about Valencia, if he moved his army forward. Accordingly there was not a moment to be lost in taking advantage of the opportunity which fortuitous circumstances had thus unexpectedly opened for offensive operations against Rodrigo, so that, on the 1st of January, every auxiliary arrangement being complete, orders for the siege of the fortress were suddenly issued. Snow, however, fell heavily that night and again on the 3rd, and lay already on the ground to a considerable depth; moreover, a violent gale came on, drifting it most inconveniently for siege operations. Such are the trifling crosses to which a general must submit. The weather improved on the 5th, and on the 7th a trestle bridge, which had been quietly prepared in the British cantonments, was thrown across the Aguada, and on the 8th the river was crossed in force, and the place invested. The same day, head-quarters were advanced to Gallegos, and a reconnoissance made by Lord Wellington, attended by Colonel Fletcher, proved that the place was in a good state of defence, for the old breach had been repaired, although, as it seemed, only with rubble stone. To add to the defences, however, on the height called the Grand Teson an earthwork had been constructed, flanked by 2 guns and a howitzer, placed on the flat roof of San Francisco. The difficulty of contending with a rocky soil, and the delay that would be occasioned in getting possession of the suburbs, determined ~~the side~~ to be selected for attack — the same as that by which the

French had approached the place, notwithstanding the increased fire which could now be brought to bear from that front. Moreover, it was seen that the ground on which was placed another fort, called the Lower Teson, overlooked the covered way, so that a breach might be directed from thence against the wall thus exposed as readily now as when the French had effected one. It was omitted to be stated, under the French siege of this fortress, that the line of *tracé* in front of the old wall was in effect a continuous *fausse braye*, that is, a rampart of earth, with its ditch and covered way running parallel with the old wall, but so low as to give little or no protection to it. This is a vicious construction, rarely found in modern works, because, instead of strength against the besiegers, it facilitates the altitude of the exterior defences; consequently, it facilitates an escalade, and admits of a *piéd à terre*, by which the assailants might advance right and left in their operations, while it is perfectly untenable by the defenders as soon as the breaching batteries have opened.

The first step now contemplated was to carry the earth redoubt on the Teson Grande, and for this purpose, as soon as it got dark on the evening of the 8th, Colonel Colborne, commanding the 52nd, marched to its attack, and was not discovered or expected till within 150 yards of the work, when one party escaladed and another attacked it at the gorge, before the besieged could bring a gun to bear against them. Such a tempest of shot and shell was, however, directed from the place through the night, as soon as the side of attack was discovered, that the workmen were unable to proceed, and were directed to open the trenches more to the right, when, by daylight, through the effect of good system and hard work, 600 yards of the first parallel were sunk to the depth of 3 feet. On the night of the 9th, the trench having been finished off, the batteries were begun, which were made sufficiently extensive to contain 33 pieces of ordnance. The scarcity of transport, however, already caused delay, for the drivers of the native carts were indolent, and most of the 24-pounder ammunition had to be brought all the way from Aldea Ponte. Rumours of Marmont's advance already came in to the British camp, which induced Wellington to hasten operations in every way, and it became necessary to give up all thoughts of scientific modes of approach, and resort to the old English practice of breaching and assault, notwithstanding its inevitable loss of life. There were two suburbs without the town on the side of attack, which clustered around the convents of San Francisco and Santa Cruz; and in 1810, when the Spaniards first apprehended a siege by the French, these had been surrounded by earthworks, which were now converted into strong infantry posts, which flanked and strengthened the detached lunette on the Teson Grande. On the night of the 13th, accordingly, the convent of Sta. Cruz was ordered to be stormed, and this was surprised and carried without loss by the light companies of the brigade of Guards, and a lodgement effected in it. At mid-day on the 14th, General Barrie, the governor, ordered a sortie; and as it was just at the usual

moment of relief, when, by a bad custom, the works were for a few minutes left imperfectly guarded, some mischief was done: but General Graham arrived with Lord Blantyre's brigade in time to save the guns in the batteries from being spiked. At half-past 4 in the afternoon, 26 breaching guns opened fire upon the works of the town; but as the musketry from the San Francisco Convent incomed the guns, that convent was stormed and carried by the 40th regiment in the night of the 14th-15th. The whole of the fire was then directed upon the old breach on the salient, without paying further attention to the flanking fire, and with such prodigious success as to give hopes of speedily bringing the old wall down. Twenty-seven heavy guns continued to play, which were responded to by every piece of ordnance that the garrison could bring to bear. The weather was remarkably serene, and there was not a cloud in the sky. The spectacle is declared by those who witnessed it to have been fearfully sublime and strikingly magnificent. The ground shook under the incessant fire of 80 large guns; the roar reverberated among the distant mountains, and volumes of smoke enveloped the town, of which the towers and loftier buildings alone were faintly visible through the haze. The breach could not be seen, but the balls were heard to rattle against the stonework, and the crash of falling masonry told that the uproar was no unmeaning noise.* But the besieged were dimly perceived to be raising an interior defence behind the wall, and, accordingly, a battery of 7 guns was got up to bear upon an old tower near the Salamanca gate, under which a second breach was effected, at a spot well chosen to render useless the labours of the besieged. The condition of the defences was now such, that, in order to spare life in an assault, General Barrie was summoned to surrender. His reply was worthy of an officer in trust: "Sa Majesté l'Empereur m'a confié le commandement de Ciudad Rodrigo. Je ne puis pas le rendre. Au contraire, moi et la brave garnison que je commande s'enséveliront dans ses ruines." On this refusal, the second parallel was carried on to completion on the night of the 17th-18th, and zigzags were formed to approach the counterscarp opposite the great breach, and to establish a breaching battery of 6 guns to bear upon the wall from the Lower Teson. This battery soon brought down the old tower bodily into the ditch on the 18th-19th, and played with good effect upon the great breach. Lord Wellington now made a close personal observation of the state of the wall, and was satisfied that an assault might be given with success. Sitting on the embankment of a field-work, undisturbed by the roar of artillery going on around him, the Allied commander wrote out an order for the attack on the night of the 19th-20th, precise and circumstantial in every detail. It happened to contain the words, "Ciudad Rodrigo must be stormed this evening." "We will do it," was the soldiers' comment on Wellington's decree.

For the storm the 3rd and Light Divisions and Packe's Portuguese were organized in four subdivisions. One was to cross the Agueda in order to get possession of two guns in front of the

* Napier and Lord Londonderry.

old castle which bore on Santa Cruz ; and after securing them, it was to enter the ditch at that extremity of the counterscarp by cutting down the gate with their axes. The next portion, consisting of 180 men, was to move out of the second parallel, carrying bags of hay, which might be thrown into the ditch so as to enable the brigade of General Mackinnon to descend the counterscarps, and cross to the main breach. The 83rd regiment was ordered to protect and cover this advance, and line the second parallel, while the rest of Picton's division was to be ready in support. The third portion was to consist of the Light Division, also provided with hay-bags, which was to assemble behind the convent of San Francisco, in order to assault the small breach, and after ascending the *fausse braye*, it was to pass to support the right. The division of General Packe was to make a false attack near the gate of San Jago on the farther side of the town. As soon as it became dark, and the toll from the cathedral had marked seven o'clock, these movements were executed with mathematical precision. The forlorn hope, led by Lieutenant Mackie, and followed by Major Manners, threw their bags of hay into the ditch, which reduced the depth from 13 to 8 feet, and, jumping at once upon them, escalated the *fausse braye*. The third division stood to the order of "Stand to arms," when the main breach was given out as the object of their attack. Not a word was uttered by the silent and obedient soldiery; but off went their packs, their stocks were unbuckled, the cartouche-box examined and turned for more convenient use, flints were examined and screwed home, each man after his individual fancy fitting himself for action. The men were tolled off; not one was missing. When suddenly, amid the gloom and silence which had hitherto prevailed, a shouting was heard upon the right towards the bridge. It was taken up immediately by the whole line of attack, and a hurrah, such as the British alone can give, "amazed the welkin." At the bottom of the ditch a range of live and other shells had been placed by the garrison to check the advance; these, however, were now prematurely fired, so that, as soon as their fury had been expended, the assailants pushed across and up the breach: but a serious opposition yet awaited them. M'Kinnon's brigade of the 5th, 77th, and 94th regiments, under Colonel Campbell, won their way amidst the whistling of grape and musketry, and the shrill cries of the French who were behind the inner entrenchment, when, as the men were getting forward, a mine was sprung, and the foremost, with their general, were blown into the air. The rest, nothing daunted by the melancholy fate of their comrades, only redoubled their exertions and mounted in the most gallant manner against an equally determined opposition; but the bayonets of the assailants prevailed, and gained them a footing on the summit of the parapet. Lieutenant Mackie, who led the forlorn hope, dropped from the rampart into the town and found an opening by which his men might enter, and through this opening the Light Division poured. Meanwhile the smaller breach had been attacked by Cranford. But 300 volunteers, under Captain Napier, with a forlorn hope under

Lieutenant Gurwood, would not wait to cast in their hay-bags, but jumped down the counterscarp, a depth of 11 feet, and rushed up to the top of the *fausse braye*. In the confusion the forlorn hope missed the breach by inclining too much to the left, while the storming party went straight to it, where Napier in command was struck down, having his arm shattered by a grape shot; but, notwithstanding this, he loudly called on his men to charge. The impulse of victory had been given by him, and with a furious shout the breach was carried. The supporting regiments (52nd and 43rd) soon came up, and, wheeling right and left, all further opposition was easily overcome, although in one of the heavy volleys of musketry the brave Craufurd, leading bravely among the first, was mortally wounded. Meanwhile, Packe's false attack had become a real one; for not only had they been able to distract the defence, but to escalate the gate of San Jago and overpower the party that held it, when, rushing along the *fausse braye*, they joined the 3rd division. The troops now plunged into the town from every side, and after all resistance had ceased, the usual scene of riot, plunder, and confusion ensued, which naturally and by prescription attaches to a night storm. Excited by the battle and maddened with drink, the soldiers committed frightful excesses, setting fire to the houses, menacing their officers, and attacking one another. Some of the garrison who still offered a useless opposition were put to the sword. The leaders of the two forlorn hopes happened to follow after the enemy towards the citadel, and both Gurwood and Mackie claimed the Governor's sword, which Wellington adjudged to the former. The entire loss of the British during the siege was 9 officers and 217 rank and file killed, and 84 officers and 1,000 men wounded. 78 officers and 1,700 soldiers yielded themselves prisoners at the assault. The prisoners were collected and marched off under an escort, and down the great breach, where unfortunately a mine exploded as they passed, and killed numbers of them. The siege lasted only twelve days, whereas that of the French, against the same fortress in 1810, lasted twice that time. Singularly enough, the cost of the attainment of the fortress to both armies was nearly equal in the amount of killed and wounded.

Marshal Marmont had gone to Valladolid in compliance with the order he received from Napoleon, so that it was not until the 15th that the first information of the siege reached him. He set himself immediately to work to assemble a force of 30,000 men, with which he might force the British General to raise the siege: but at Fuente el Saucó, on the 26th, he heard that it had already terminated, and he at once counter-ordered all his divisions, and fell back with his army on Valladolid. Had he persevered he might have found the besiegers in a terrible plight; for the river had overflowed the stone bridge, and carried away the feeble trestle-bridge of the Allies across the Águeda; the breaches were not closed, and no resistance could have been opposed to a bold descent on a harassed and fatigued adversary.

The capture of Ciudad Rodrigo not only added considerably to

the military reputation of Wellington, but obtained for him from the British sovereign the patent of an Earl, and an annual pension of 2,000*l.* The Spanish Cortes decreed him the honour of a Grandee of Spain of the first class, with the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, while the Portuguese Regency, which had not before exercised the functions of sovereignty in the dispensation of honours, created him Marquis of Torres Vedras. Marmont was well aware that he could expect nothing on his side but reproaches from his master, but sent an aide-de-camp in his confidence to Paris, to throw the blame on everyone and everything but his own want of vigilance and enterprise. He blamed General Dorsenne, and denounced General Barrie as *un misérable*: yet the officer who resists a summons with firmness and spirit, and receives an assault with courage, fulfills all the duties that can be expected from the governor of a besieged fortress.* The Duke of Ragusa, for his fame, had better have called no names; for he admits that "there was something incomprehensible" in his having been completely out-generalled. If he had sooner quitted the valley of the Tagus, as he had been required to do, and had marched with greater *élan* and rapidity, he might have relieved Rodrigo.† Ciudad Rodrigo was now placed under the temporary government of Lieutenant-General Leith, to fill up the trenches, repair the breaches, and make additions to the outworks; but on the 5th of March it was formally given over to Castaños, Captain-General of the province, on behalf of the Spanish Government, and to Calvet, the Spanish engineer, for further repairs and alterations.

4. THIRD ENGLISH SIEGE OF BADAJOZ—SOULT AGAIN ADVANCES TO ITS RELIEF.

Wellington, throughout the whole of his career, evinced the military quality of forethought to a greater extent than any one of his contemporaries. Since December, and even before he sat down against Ciudad Rodrigo, he had been active in preparing all things necessary for the siege of Badajoz. Elvas was his great entrepôt in this operation; for siege stores could be more easily and unsuspectingly collected in a fortress than anywhere else. Pontoon bridge material had also been carried there from Abrantes, which might be as reasonably intended to bridge the Tagus, or any other river, as the Guadiana. So indolent or so dull of apprehension was the home Government to answer the requisitions of the British army, that, even after the sad casualties of the siege of Rodrigo, we find the noble general's despatch of the 11th of February 1812 to this effect: "I would beg to suggest the expediency of adding to the engineers' establishment a corps of sappers and miners. It is inconceivable with what disadvantage we undertake anything like a siege, for want of assistance of this description. There is not a French *corps d'armée* which has not a battalion of sappers and a company of miners attached to it. But we are obliged to depend for assistance of this kind on men of the line, who, however brave

* Thiers.

† Drialmont.

and willing, want the requisite knowledge and training. They are, accordingly, unnecessarily exposed to casualties, and lose much valuable time."* A battering train of 78 pieces had been silently collected at Lisbon, whence it had been conveyed to Alcazar de Sol, an interior castle of considerable strength near Setubal. It was at this time in the very act of being transported across the Sierra Alpedveira to Villa Vicoso. A few days after Ciudad Rodrigo had fallen, Colonel Fletcher, the commanding engineer, and the Commissary-general, were directed to embark at Lisbon every kind of material for an army in the Alemtejo, and orders were transmitted to Cadiz for additional engineers and military artificers.

General Philippon, the governor, was not ignorant of what was going on at Elvas, and shrewdly suspected that he was about to receive a visit from the British army. He had, it is true, less than six weeks' provisions in his magazines, and lacked both powder and shot; but this was not his fault, for the proper supply of a fortress is at all times rather the business of the general in the field, after due requisition made; and the governor is alone responsible for the condition of the works and the efficiency and discipline of his garrison, which, in Badajoz, numbered 5,000 effective men. An accident which had occurred in the previous year, rendered the task of supplying food for this large body of men peculiarly difficult. In the month of May, 1811, the woods and fields, "already white for harvest," were set fire to in the midst of a native frolic, as is often the case during dry weather. The conflagration lasted fifteen days, destroying farms and property to a vast amount, and scarcely sparing the town of Merida, which, indeed, owed its safety to its friend and neighbour the Guadiana. Philippon, in the energy of his character, had organised the stock of beasts belonging to the Intendance of the garrison to plough the ground near the fortress, and had had it sown with grain by his own soldiers—a precaution the advantage of which was now fully appreciated. The place was in a good condition of defence, for the two breaches in Fort San Christoval had been thoroughly repaired; and the castle had been not only restored but greatly strengthened; for as the English had already twice attacked the same faces of this enceinte in their former sieges, it was to be apprehended that they might advance against the same side again. The stream of Rivillas, which runs in front of the castle, had been dammed up at the lunette of San Roque, so that it inundated all the little valley which lay between Fort Picurina and the town. Fort Pardaleras had been enclosed at the gorge, and connected with the Puerto del Pilar by a double *caponniere*.

The British army broke up from its cantonments about the Agueda on the 6th of March, and, leaving there the 5th Division with some light cavalry, reached Elvas on the 11th. Part of the army crossed the Tagus at Abrantes, and on the 16th all crossed the Guadiana by the pontoon bridge. The 3rd, 4th, and Light Divisions, and a Portuguese brigade, under Beresford, invested

* Wellington Despatches.

Badajoz the same day; while Graham, with the 1st, 2nd, and 6th, and two brigades of cavalry, moved by Zafrá on Llerena; and Hill, with the 7th British and one Portuguese division, and one brigade of cavalry, advanced by Almendraledo on Mérida. These two covering *corps d'armée* were intended to stop any advance from Almaraz and Seville, and to watch and prevent a junction of the armies of Soult and Marmont. The weather had been hitherto fine, but now broke up, and was particularly cold and rainy.

Wellington, with all his staff, made a most minute reconnoissance of the north and south fronts on the morning of the 17th, while the commanding engineer, unnoticed even by the vidette on the height of San Michele, made a close and careful examination of the Picurina and the bastion of Sta Trinidadá in its rear. It was found that a counterguard in front of the right face of this last, having been left unfinished, could be breached from the elevation on which the out-work stood; and it was in consequence determined to run the first parallel so as to embrace both the Picurina and the lunette of San Roque. It was known in the history of the fortifications of the place, that when they were erected, in 1757, the curtains were of low relief and extremely ill-built; and no doubt was therefore entertained that batteries from the first parallel could effect breaches in them with facility. The engineers' parc was fixed on a rising ground, about a mile from the works, from which it was concealed by the intervening height of San Michele. It was resolved to take advantage of the change in the weather, and to break ground, with 1,800 workmen, under cover of the darkness, within 160 yards of the salient of Picurina, on the night of the 17th-18th. The rain fell in such torrents, and the tempest raged so violently, that these men were not discovered till daylight broke on the 18th, when the trench was already 3 feet deep and nearly 4 feet wide, and the operation had been so well organised that the parapet was already carried to the extent of 600 yards in length. On the 19th, the governor having perceived that the right of the first parallel rested on nothing, ordered a sortie after dinner-time, with 2 battalions and 40 horse, under General Viellana. The detachment issued from the town by the Trinidadá gate unperceived, and formed up behind the covered way which united the fort and the lunette, whence, debouching in good order, they were pushed forward at a brisk rate so as to reach the parallel before the workmen could stand to their arms, and the guard form up to receive them. The cavalry dashing past the trench, charged up to the engineers' parc beyond the hill of San Michele, where they took two engineer officers prisoners, disabled some of the men in charge, and carried off about 200 entrenching tools; but Picton, as soon as he had time to rally, brought up a reinforcement, which, with the loss of 150 killed and wounded, compelled the entire sortie to retreat. Picton converted his resistance into so sharp an attack, that the besieged own to an equal loss. A picquet of the 14th Light Dragoons, under Lieutenant Edward Cust, was accordingly brought to defend the engineers' parc from further insult. Unfortunately for the besiegers, Fletcher, the chief

engineer, was struck at this time by a musket shot, which, but for a silver dollar in his pocket, would have cost him his life. The ball forced the obstacle into the groin nearly an inch; and the wound was so severe as to deprive the army of his services for some days, but he returned to his duty before the conclusion of the siege.

On the 21st, the garrison found means to carry three guns to arm a small *épaulement* which they had thrown up near the Gevora, on the right of the Guadiana, and which were made to enfilade the first parallel for several hundred yards. Accordingly, the General-in-Chief brought Leith's division from Campo Mayou to draw still closer the investment on this side, and the enemy quickly withdrew their guns into the town. The rain fell night and day all through the 20th, 21st, and 22nd, and not only were the trenches filled with water, but the river attained to so rapid a current, that the pontoon bridge across the Guadiana was carried away, and eleven of the pontoons sunk at their anchorage, so that the besieging army was cut off from all its supplies, and serious apprehensions were entertained that this unfortunate contingency would oblige the siege to be raised. Moreover, from the state of the soil, the heavy guns could not travel within the parallel or across the fields to arm the batteries, and no progress was, therefore, made with the attack for some days. These are the occasions that try the stuff of which a commander is made. By marvellous energy on the part of Wellington, backed by the zeal, activity, and intelligence of those who worked with him, the first disaster was in a short time remedied by the substitution of a flying bridge; the other obstacles yielded to the determination of the troops, and were at length overcome, and by the 24th the breaching batteries were armed, and happily on the 23rd the weather cleared up. Fire was opened upon Picurina at about mid-day on the 25th from 29 heavy guns, and the roaring of the artillery was considerable, but nevertheless the effect produced by it could not be correctly ascertained. A clever dodge was, however, hit upon to prepare the fort for an assault by the gorge, that of firing shell from howitzers with small charges, so as to pitch them first upon the top of the palisades, where, by the explosion, they might damage or destroy them, before they touched the ground. But now the batteries that enfiladed all the faces and flanks which bore upon the fort being in full play, and the lunette de San Roque silenced, it was determined to storm Picurina on the night of the 25th-26th, and Major-General Kempt, with 700 men of the 3rd Division, was ordered on that duty. However, the palisades at the salient angle having been injured by the fire of the batteries, the escalade at that point entered the work, but the attack by the gorge had more serious difficulties to contend with, for it had been closed with three rows of thick paling, and every man at its defence had two muskets. After a resistance of three quarters of an hour, the fort was at length in the hands of the British, and Colonel Gaspard Thierry and about 100 men were captured in it. A battalion sent from the town to reinforce the defenders was intercepted by one of the columns of attack, and forced back with loss; and, lest a

more forcible attempt should be made from the town ramparts to recover possession before morning, three battalions were moved up to protect all approaches to it. Just as the day broke, the alarm bell was rung in the town, and every one was prepared for a considerable sortie, but it was *quitté pour la peur*, nothing ensued.

The garrison now kept such a vigorous fire upon the approaches, that they destroyed, in the course of this day, much of the boyau that was forming to connect the fort with the parallel. Nevertheless, the besiegers' batteries replied to the rampart shot well, and their ricochet practice improved in effect every day. From the platform of Picurina, the foot of the scarp of the bastion could be seen as was anticipated, and the second parallel was accordingly run through it and in front of the lunette San Roque, of which, as it covered the inundation of Rivillas, it was of importance to obtain possession. The trenches, therefore, extended their approaches to the very top of the glacis and covered way, which protected its face, and several guns were now brought to bear upon the dam behind it. On the night of the 2nd-3rd of April, a bold attempt was made to blow this down, but it failed. Two officers, with some sappers, glided behind the outwork, surprised the sentinel, gagged and disarmed him, and, placing powder barrels there, stuck in them a slow match. The explosion did not effectually destroy the dam, though it made it leak considerably. As there could now be no longer any doubt respecting the point of attack, the governor caused a retrenchment in earth, five or six feet in width, to be commenced in rear of the bastion and curtain of La Trinidad, in which three large breaches were already reported practicable. The depth of the inundation was by this time sensibly diminished. Philippon had never been summoned, as, from the well-known character of the man, it was deemed needless. Nevertheless, the garrison could perceive the approach of wagons, laden with scaling ladders, which indicated an early assault; and the governor therefore called the principal officers into council, who unanimously determined to stand the assault. Directions were accordingly given to fabricate every species of combustible that ingenuity could devise, to hurl upon the heads of the assailants, as well in the ditch before they could attain the breach as upon the summit. The fire of the besiegers was so incessant and well-directed, that the besieged were unable to clear away the rubbish at the foot of the breach, which of course rendered its ascent less steep; but, to make it as difficult as possible, thick planks, well garnished with tenter-hooks in order to prevent the employment of the hand to remove them, were fixed by iron nails into its face, and at its summit were arranged strong *chevaux de frise* armed with sword blades and strongly chained together. Casks, filled with tarred straw, powder, and loaded grenades, were connected with about 60 live 14-inch shells, and slightly covered with earth, which, communicating by a powder-hose in the manner of mine tubes, were placed in the bottom of the ditch; where there was also a large boat filled with soldiers, to flank by their fire a *cunette* full of water, which had been

during the siege so as to divide the dry ditch into two parallel portions. All these things rendered access to the inner retrenchment almost impossible.

Indeed the crisis of the siege had now arrived. It was well known that Soult, with his whole disposable force, was advancing to the relief of the place. He had augmented his army by calling in the divisions of Drouet and Daricau, making it 24,000 men. Wellington had scarcely force sufficient to carry on the siege and fight a battle; and accordingly, he had given orders to the 5th Division to join him from Beira in the north. Leith was directed to carry his division from the trenches to the front, and Hill, destroying the bridge over the Guadiana at Merida, came in to Talavera Real. Sir Thomas Graham withdrew before Soult's advance, and the covering army was therefore now concentrated on the old position of Albuera, as if to try the fortune of war on that famed battle-field. Information also came in at this time that Marmont was in motion southward; that masking Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, he was pushing down by Castello Branco, Sabugal, and Guarda. Soult had, in fact, already arrived at Llerena on the 4th, and had patrolled forward small detachments of cavalry as far as Usagre; but Marmont was still distant, for he had been reconnoitring the fortress of Almeida on the 3rd. It was, therefore, Lord Wellington's conviction that, even though he might fail in taking Badajoz, he might strike a blow at Soult before he was further reinforced, if that marshal would indeed remain in Extremadura to receive the battle.*

5. ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF BADAJOZ — CAVALRY AFFAIR AT LLERENA.

At noon, on the 3rd of April, Lord Wellington made another personal reconnoissance of the breaches, and seeing the great extent of wall beaten down, and feeling the importance of every moment in the existing emergency, he resolved to order an assault that very evening. The engineers, however, having continued a more attentive examination of the obstacles prepared for the defence, reported that an obstinate and protracted resistance was to be expected, and that to deliver an assault with any chance of success, it would be necessary to open another breach which might turn the retrenchments erected by the besieged. It was, therefore, determined to carry out the original intention of breaking down the curtain wall between the two breaches, the old masonry of which it was expected might be ruined in a few hours' cannonading. The assault for the evening was accordingly countermanded, and directions given for 14 guns to be turned against the spot indicated, while a continuous fire of grape shot from all the batteries should be kept up all through the night, so as to clear the breaches and the ditch from the workmen employed there; and although the counterscarp was still standing unbroken, the escarpe was visible to its very base. By 4 in the *same afternoon*, a good practicable breach was reported, and Lord

* Wellington Despatches.

Wellington, soon after coming into the trenches to satisfy himself on this point, directed all the guns to maintain a hot fire against the defences, and then withdrew to organise the assault, which was determined for that evening. Leith's division was called back to take part in it, and was under orders to make the false attack on the side of the Pardaleras, with one brigade, and with the other to make a real attack against the bastion of San Vincente, abutting on the river on the opposite side of the fortress farther to his left, and whose scarp was 30 feet high ! Picton's division received orders to escalate the castle, the walls of which were from 7 feet to 15 feet high. Two divisions, namely, the Light under the command of Colonel Barnard, and the Fourth under that of Major-general Colville, were directed to storm the great breaches. Besides these three principal attacks, General Power was to make a feint against a new redoubt called Moncoeur, near the bridge head ; and Major Wilson, with the 48th Regiment, was to undertake, during these operations, the capture of the lunette of San Roque. On the side of the besieged everything was fully organised for effective resistance. Sixteen companies were appointed to repel the assault at the breaches, and a battalion to line the entrenchment behind them. The chief engineer, Lamare, was on the spot, with a corps of engineers and miners under the engineer Mailhet, thoroughly acquainted with all the means of annoyance, which he had himself prepared, and resolved to prove that the breach was the most formidable point of the whole *tracé*. The attack was to begin on all points simultaneously at 10 at night ; but the batteries unwisely ceased firing at half-past 7, so that the French worked for nearly three hours with characteristic energy in accumulating in profusion all the impediments which their ingenuity could suggest.

The attack upon the right was, in fact, anticipated a full quarter of an hour, owing to the accidental falling of a lighted carcass upon the earth, which exposed to the view of the garrison the formation of the 3rd Division, and forced them to immediate movement, when Wilson, during the fire thus drawn upon their advance, fixed his ladders and mounted into the rear of the lunette San Roque before any real resistance could be made. The 3rd Division moved forward, closing rapidly up in columns at quarter distance, and reached the brook Rivillas ; and Kempt, forming up his men after passing it, ran up the rugged ground at the head of his men with his known courage, and surmounted the castle hill ; then logs of wood, large stones, loaded shells, crushed all those who were employed to fix the foremost ladder, and their gallant leader himself fell at the foot of the castle severely wounded. Picton came up as he was carried to the rear, and the assailants, re-formed by Lieutenant-Colonel Ridge, again springing forward, caught up the ladders, and in an instant he and the Grenadier Canet were on the ramparts, with others pressing after them. All this was accompanied with deafening shouts, while the roar of musketry plied with fearful truth and rapidity, the crash of ladders, and the shrieks of soldiers struck down by the falling weights, palled the ear. Ridge fell, than whom no soldier ever died more

gloriously ; but the garrison gave way, and were driven fighting into the town. The castle was won at half-past 11. At the breaches the tumult was such as if the earth had been rent asunder. The two divisions had only just attained the glacis when the fire at the castle was heard. The French soldiers were seen in the gloom to be all ready ; but all was darkness and nothing stirred ; during which suspense the forlorn hopes and storming parties descended into the ditch without opposition, but with some difficulty, for the effect of the breaching fire had done nothing to diminish the height of the counterscarp, which was 12 feet deep. In a moment was heard "*les voilà ! les voilà !*" and in another instant a shower of fire-balls emitted a radiance rivalling the brightness of noon. The ramparts were now not only seen crowded with dark figures and glittering arms, but a crash of thunder followed ; hundreds of exploding shells and powder barrels, blazing rockets and detonating balls, dealt death around, while many found it in the *cunette* and were drowned. To avoid this obstacle, the Fusileers turned to the left, to an unfinished redan or ravelin, which they mistook for the breach, and which they mounted in the most unflinching and determined manner. This spot soon became crowded with men, who, not knowing where to go next, gathered in dark groups, and leaning on their muskets, looked up with sullen desperation at the Trinidad breach, whence the enemy, stepping upon the ramparts, delivered their fatal shots with the cry of "*Pourquoi n'entrez-vous pas ?*" The Light Division, whose directing engineer was killed, had nevertheless made their way to the breaches in the curtain, which the 4th Division were intended to storm, for all had missed their way, and got some in one place and some in another, running about bewildered, an easy mark to the muskets of the enemy. Great was the confusion, for the troops who were in the ravelin found themselves unable to get out of it at the gorge ; for there they had to make another steep descent into the ditch, in the bottom of which all the divisions at length got so mixed that they were choked in a crowd, cheering vehemently, while the emissaries of death cracked, whizzed, and roared around them. The officers of both divisions did all in their power to maintain order and to lead them to the points of attack ; and, after much time lost in doing this, some of them did at length reach the summit of the great breach, and grappled manfully with the keen-edged sword blades immoveably fixed in the ponderous beams chained together. Some of the foremost got upon the planks, with which for 10 feet the ascent was covered, slipping and rolling forward upon the spikes and nails with which they were armed. The carnage was frightful. It is doubtful whether, since the invention of gunpowder, any mass of men had ever been more fearfully exposed to all its murderous power. The dying were piled upon the dead in mounds, which the living could not pass ; and the French soldiers, undisturbed in their avocation, raised the deriding cry of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" About midnight, after 2,000 brave men had fallen, Wellington sent an order for the troops to be withdrawn ; but this was quite as impossible as to go forward. The officers, not

rightly understanding the order, endeavoured to stop the soldiers from going back ; but all the regiments were mixed together, and all discipline and order broken ; however, at length some ladders were placed against the counterscarp, and the survivors mounted up them. Wellington had ordered that they should be re-formed for a second assault at daybreak, but in the interim an aide-de-camp of Picton's arrived to say that he was in the castle. Lord Wellington instantly transmitted orders that the castle should be held by the 3rd Division till morning, and the further assault of the breaches was countermanded.

Meanwhile, the 5th Division, in two columns, had advanced against Pardaleras and San Vincente. The former work, defended by Colonel Peneau, resisted all Leith's attempts to get inside by storming ; but the brigade under Major-general Walker, moving up the side of the fortress near the river, reached a French guard-house at the barrier gate undiscovered. After some disappointments (for the engineer officer conducting the party with the scaling ladders had lost his way), some ladders were placed against the wall under an embrasure which had no gun in it, and which was only stopped by a gabion. Some of the defenders of this portion of the enceinte had been withdrawn to aid in recovering the castle, and accordingly the ramparts were not fully manned. Half the 4th Regiment now got into the town, while the 30th and 44th pushed along the ramparts towards the breaches, when they were discovered by the garrison. By dint of hard fighting they had nevertheless passed three bastions in their course, when Walker, encountering more severe opposition, fell with so many wounds that it was a wonder how he ever survived them. There are no means of destruction more alarming to the mind of a soldier than mines. In the darkness of night, and treading hostile ground, where it is known that this species of obstruction has been prepared, the bravest troops are liable to be seized with irresolution and fly under such circumstances from the most trivial alarm. The flame of a portfire at this time struck this momentary terror into the minds of the 5th Division, who mistook this appearance for the flash prelusive to an explosion ; and these fine fellows, who feared neither steel nor gunpowder from any set of men in the world whom they could see, gave way in a panic, broke, ran, and were pursued by General Veillande all the way back to San Vincente ; but Leith had most judiciously brought up and placed in reserve a battalion of the 38th, so that when the French came up to them, they poured in a volley which, followed with but a single charge with the bayonet, stopped the triumphant enemy, and drove them off effectually. Meanwhile, the detachment of the 4th Regiment had entered the town, and had marched on, finding it empty but brilliantly illuminated. The houses were bright with lamps, but the square was as empty and silent as the streets. The tumult at the breaches becoming more audible as they advanced, tempted the party to take the assailants in rear ; but the enemy turned about upon them and received them with a *raking musket fire*, which drove them back to their division with loss.

However, though the besieged at the breaches had not budged an inch, either from assailants in front or from this unexpected attack from behind, at length the most sinister reports reached their ears. An officer of the name of Rio came in with a rumour that the stormers had made a lodgement in the town from the river side; and a dragoon at the same time arrived at a gallop to announce the loss of the castle. The breaches were at once abandoned; the governor's orders were no longer obeyed; desultory combats ensued, but became less frequent; the reserves disappeared; the morale of discipline was destroyed, and the confusion became momentarily worse confounded. The unhappy city was now a scene of frightful carnage, disorder, and pillage; and at 1 in the morning, Philippon and Veillande, with their staff and about 100 horse, quitted their commands, passed the bridge, and entered Fort San Christoval. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, with great promptitude, pushed after them to the draw-bridge before the garrison had time to raise it or even to organise any further resistance; but it was nearly 6 in the morning before the governor gave in his submission, and before he did so, he contrived, with wonderful resolution, considerable enterprise, and an imperturbable judgment, to organise a sortie of 14 horsemen from the fort, who, in the darkness of the night, escaped along the right bank of the Guadiana and carried the information of the loss of Badajoz to Marshal Soult, in order to prevent his risking a battle to retain it. The loss of the besiegers amounted to 131 officers and 1,707 rank and file killed, and 564 officers and 6,083 men wounded. The garrison lost 1,300 killed, and 4,200 men became prisoners.

It has been frequently made a charge against Wellington that he carried on his sieges in contravention of all rules, by a wanton waste of blood. Let him be heard himself in his own justification:—"The assault was a terrible business, of which I foresaw the loss when I was ordering it. But we had brought matters to that state that we could do no more: it was necessary to storm or raise the siege. I trust, however, that future armies will be equipped for sieges with instructed people, who can carry them on as they ought to be; that the counterscarp should at least be blown in, instead of leaving the poor officers and troops to get down it and leap the ditch as they can."* It is also said that "when the havoc of the night was told to Wellington, the pride of conquest sunk into a passionate burst of grief for the loss of his gallant soldiers." †

Badajoz thus fell after 21 days of open trenches; and although the besiegers had made three good practicable breaches, yet after all they entered the town by escalade in two places, where the defences were still entire. The French, in 1810, took 41 days of open trenches to make their practicable breach, which, by the way, they were themselves obliged to render *more* practicable to allow the Spanish garrison to march out in fulfilment of the terms of their treacherous capitulation. The laurels of victory are always tarnished when soldiers with arms in their hands are emancipated from the checks of *discipline*: and man becomes more or less a demon when unbridled

* Wellington Despatches.

† Napier.

lust and unrestrained cupidity are let loose in the darkness of night. During two days and two nights Satan reigned triumphant within the walls of the conquered town. On the 3rd, when the entire city was sacked, and the soldiers exhausted by their very excesses, the tumult at length subsided. The first care of the victorious general was to apportion buildings for the shelter of his wounded men, whom he caused to be removed there as speedily as circumstances permitted. Finding that riot and drunkenness still continued, he directed Power's Portuguese brigade to march into the city, and, highly incensed at the continuance of disorders after repeated commands that they should cease, he sent in more troops, until the provost-marshal was posted in the square with discretionary powers to punish. At length a gallows was erected to awe the refractory, and some of the worst of the plunderers were publicly executed. Order was by these vigorous proceedings at length restored, and head-quarters were removed into the fortress. The damaged works were immediately examined and ordered to be restored, the trenches and parallels filled up, and the parc of artillery which had been employed in the siege removed to Elvas. By these means this important conquest was placed in an attitude of respectable resistance.

The Duke of Dalmatia had reached Fuente del Maestro and Villalba, and was marching forward to Santa Marta on the morning of the 8th, when some of the fourteen horsemen who had escaped from San Christoval on the morning of the 7th, brought him the despatch from Governor Philippon of the capture of Badajoz. He also received intelligence at this time that the Conde de Villemar, from the army of Ballasteros, was at the gates of Seville. He accordingly resolved, as Marmont had not come in from the north, and he was not strong enough to cope with Wellington single-handed, especially when the object of the conflict was over, that he would immediately withdraw across the Sierra Morena. The altered feeling of the French troops at this period may be learned from some trifling circumstances. The report of the peasantry in whose houses they had lodged in Extremadura, stated that the soldiers, on hearing of the fate of Badajoz, exclaimed: "*Tant mieux! tant mieux!*" and on a chapel wall was discovered, scratched with charcoal, a rude writing couched in these words: "*La guerre en Espagne est la fortune des généraux, l'ennui des officiers, et le tombeau des soldats.*"

On the 9th, the British cavalry outposts were again at Villa Franca, and on the 11th they pushed the enemy through Usagre and to Villa Gracia, where 2,000 cavalry, under General Soult, checked the British advance. Sir Stapleton Cotton accordingly directed the Honourable Colonel Ponsonby, who commanded three squadrons, consisting of about 600 men, to endeavour to amuse the enemy in front, while he moved Le Marchant's brigade on the other side of the heights between the Llerena Road and Bienvenida. The disposition was very ably conceived and executed. The French, seeing that the few men in front of them were little more than the skirmishers of the 14th Light Dragoons, drove them back until they appeared to be in the very jaws of the destroyer, when suddenly the

16th Light Dragoons and 5th Dragoon Guards were seen on the right galloping quickly down a valley. Neither side now waited to deliberate. Both simultaneously turned about, and pursuers and pursued went at full speed for four miles across the plain to the very outskirts of the town of Llerena, where 10,000 infantry and seven guns, under Count de Eslon, were formed up, behind whom General Soult led his cavalry. Cotton now halted, having captured in this brilliant affair one lieutenant-colonel and 3 officers, with about 150 mounted dragoons. The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia was followed as far as Guadacanal, when it was learned that his whole force had got across the mountains, and had passed through La Cazalia and Constantina on their road to Seville. The Marshal Duke of Ragusa had strictly followed the instructions of Napoleon in proceeding first to Almeida, and trying, by a demonstration, to get possession of that place. He did not, however, "push parties upon Coimbra," as he was likewise ordered, but crossed the Coa, and attacked and dispersed a corps of Portuguese militia, under the command of Sylveira, on the 4th. After which he seemed as though he would have penetrated to Castello Branco and Villa Velha, when the unexpected news of the fall of Badajoz induced him to withdraw again into Spain on the 17th; and he re-entered Salamanca on the 25th of April. The state of both Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida now demanded the immediate attention of the British commander, for the Spanish Government had taken no steps for provisioning the former of these fortresses, and the Portuguese Regency had scarcely secured the other against a *coup de main*. Moreover, Marmont had, in this raid into Beira, set fire to some considerable magazines which the British had collected at Castello Branco and Celorico; and Wellington, becoming apprehensive for his communications with Portugal, determined to select Marmont for his next antagonist, and accordingly the head-quarters of the British army were brought up to Fuento Guinaldo, and both armies rested to recover their strength and replenish their magazines for the future operations of the campaign.

6. WELLINGTON MARCHES TO THE NORTH—HILL STORMS THE FORTS AT ALMARAZ.

Not for one moment, however, was the mind of the great leader unemployed; he resolved that his next step should be to carry the war into the heart of Spain. For the furtherance of this object, it was necessary that the whole course of the Tagus through Extremadura should be in his power. On arriving, therefore, at Fuento Guinaldo, he sent Colonel Sturgeon to superintend the application of a very ingenious contrivance for repairing the fractured arch at Alcantara. Here was a magnificent Roman bridge 212 feet above the bed of the river. The Moors had demolished one of the arches in the 16th century, which had been rebuilt by Carlos I. The Portuguese, on evacuating the district after the peace of Utrecht, had thrown down two arches, which had been rebuilt by Carlos III;

and in the middle of the bridge there still stands an arch of granite 40 feet high, which is said to contain the ashes of the architect. The French had now again destroyed one of the arches of the most extensive span above an appalling height. The gap was frightful to contemplate, and it was determined to bridge it by an expedient which would sustain the equipments of an army, and at the same time could be withdrawn on the approach of an enemy. This was effected by cables drawn to their utmost tension without any prop or support from below whatever. The great net beams and transverse bearers were rolled up like a web of canvas, so that they might be in the first instance prepared at Elvas and brought to Alcantara, and might again be carried away upon a pontoon carriage. The name of Sturgeon would, in any other country, have been honoured for this invention; but he has descended into a British grave "unhonoured and unknown." His varied intelligence, extensive and scientific information, combined with sound judgment, unwearied assiduity, and undaunted courage, have indeed been remembered by his brother officer, Sir Andrew Leith Hay, and his name is slightly noticed by Alison. He merited more fame.

In order the better to prevent the junction of the French armies in any operation he might hereafter prosecute, Wellington deemed it necessary, as a preliminary measure, to gain possession of Almaraz, and to destroy the bridge and forts there on the two sides of the Tagus. The works were very strong, and the position facilitated the combination of the enemy against him; the place, however, was become a great dépôt of military stores of all kinds, and was now almost the only line of communication between the French armies on the north and south of the river remaining to them below Toledo; for the permanent bridges had been destroyed by one or other of the belligerents in the course of the war, and Soult's pontoon equipage had been captured in Badajoz. Wellington accordingly wrote to General Hill at Almendralejo on the 24th, to desire him to move with part of his corps to reduce this French post, and to destroy their bridge across the Tagus; and Graham, with two divisions, and Cotton's cavalry, were despatched to Portalegre, so as to be in a situation to give support to this enterprise, if required. Hill's first step was to restore the bridge over the Guadiana at Merida, which was not accomplished till the 12th of May, but in the interval he had organised his preparations in secret for his principal expedition, which included a pontoon brigade and a small siege train. No idea was entertained of its destination, when it reached Truxillo on the 15th of May, but General Foy, who commanded at Almaraz, concluded that Hill was marching to cross the Tagus with a pontoon bridge at Bella Casa, and had no apprehension of an attack upon himself. It was a very perilous enterprise, for Almaraz was well guarded. The division Foy watched the entire valley of the Tagus, the division D'Armagnac was at Talavera with a considerable force, and Drouet, with 8,000 infantry and 1,000 sabres, was on the Medellin road. The works were exceedingly strong, and had been constructed with great expense and labour, and with the especial view of securing

the communication between Marmont and Soult's armies. On the right of the river stood Fort Ragusa, a redoubt for 400 men, which was now filled with stores and provisions, and, though not finished, was very defensible. It had a stone tower within its enceinte 25 feet high, having two rows of loopholes pierced for musketry all round. As its situation was slightly distant from the bank of the river, a flèche or field work was constructed nearer the bridge, which kept up the communication and flanked the fort. On the left of the stream was a tête de pont, *revêté* and of good profile; behind which, at a short distance, on a summit, stood a redoubt for 450 men, called Fort Napoleon. This was an enclosed fort capable of excellent defence, and had a second interior retrenchment with a loop-holed stone tower within its area. These forts and bridge heads were armed with 18 guns, and garrisoned with 1,100 men. The road leading up from the south passes through a high mountainous range, precluding any passage of wheels or guns from Lower Extremadura, save by the Camina Reale from Truxillo, which crosses the range of heights about four or five miles from Almaraz, where stands the old Casa del Puerto de Miravete, which the French had surrounded by a rampart 12 feet high, armed with 12 guns. They had also thrown works across the throat of the pass. Hill saw that to reduce the Mirabete fortifications would incur more loss than was justifiable, and might so reduce his force as to render him finally unable to accomplish the great object of the enterprise; he therefore passed it by, and on the morning of the 16th his force reached Jarailejo, whence he employed the 17th and 18th in the most indefatigable though fruitless attempts to discover some opening in the mountains through which he might reach the bridge forts with his guns. In this difficulty Hill adopted the bold resolution of leaving the battery train on the Sierra under the protection of a column, which should make a false attack upon the old castle, while he marched direct upon the bridge, trusting for success to bold hearts and British bayonets.

He remained concealed until the evening of the 19th, when General Chowne, with his brigade of the 28th and 34th, were ordered to move against Mirabete, while General Howard, with the 50th, 71st, and 92nd, were to march, by a considerable *détour*, to the right through the pass of Roman Gordo, and descend thence on the bridge. Another column under Major-General Long, consisting of two Portuguese regiments to protect the artillery, marched by the high road. The pass through which the right column had to march was considerably longer than was expected. Nevertheless, by the morning's dawn its head had arrived within a few hundred yards of Fort Napoleon, while the rear was still winding through goat paths which no human foot save that of the shepherd had ever trod before. While waiting for the stragglers the opening roar of cannon announced that Chowne had commenced his attack, and pillars of white smoke rose upon the lofty brow of the Sierra. The sound of the guns boomed through the valleys, but while the *garrison*, crowding on the ramparts of the Fort Napoleon, were gazing with wonder at these signs of war, a British shout close at hand

broke upon their astonished ears, and they could scarcely believe their eyes when they saw the 50th and 71st come bounding up the ascent, with the fort at Mirabete still untaken. Howard formed his detachment into three divisions: one to storm the fort, another to advance against the bridge-head, and the third, consisting principally of Portuguese, to remain in reserve, while the general himself leading the escalade rushed in good earnest upon the fortification and jumped foremost into the ditch. Musketry and artillery plied the British front, under which those who had already descended reared the ladders against the wall. There was a ledge or "berm," about two feet wide, below the escarpe, on which the men jumped, and then pulling up the ladders after them, and simultaneously mounting them, they won the rampart. The defenders gave way before them and rushed into the stone tower, but the assailants were so quick after them that they entered the doorway together with the fugitives, and General Hubert, who headed the defence, was here wounded and taken prisoner. The garrison now abandoned Fort Napoleon and the stone tower and made for the bridge-head; but here they found Long's column, which had marched by the high road, and the two divisions joining rushed together into that work, which they entered simultaneously with the enemy. The British soldiers pushed their headlong charge, against which the flying enemy could not deploy. The confusion was tremendous, all crowding to the bridge, which the British would have passed also, if some of the boats composing it had not been sent adrift by those who were first over. Many French were thus cut off, some of whom leaping into the river were drowned, the rest were made prisoners. Fort Ragusa opened its guns, but on finding to their consternation that their fire was responded to by Fort Napoleon, where the British artillerymen had already manned the guns, the French garrison, after a few rounds, evacuated that fort also, made a hasty formation, and marched away to Naval Marel. The governor of the fort, for this dastardly evacuation of it, was tried and shot at Talavera de la Reyna. Two British grenadiers, by name James Gould and Walter Somerville, who were in this affair ordered to swim across to bring back some boats, were gratified when they returned from this perilous adventure, by their generous general taking all his money from his pocket and presenting it to them on the spot. The river was forthwith passed. The 92nd got over, and destroyed the towers and works at Ragusa, with all the stores, ammunition, provision, and boats, and, as soon as the destruction beyond the river was complete, the bridge was hauled in, set on fire, and destroyed. In the course of the 19th Hill was about to reduce the fort at Mirabete, which still held out; but a report came in that both Soult and Marmont had discovered the object of Hill's march, and had respectively put their forces in motion upon Almaraz, so that, although it turned out to be a false alarm, Fort Mirabete was left unattempted. The moment for seizing it was indeed past. Foy had already called in the brigade D'Armagnac, although these, meeting the fugitives on the road, had caught the panic and retired. Sir R. Hill felt, however, that he had effectively accomplished "all

the objects chalked out in Wellington's instructions, and now considered that nothing was to be gained by the possession of the mountain fort equivalent to the valuable blood that must have been shed in taking it." The garrison in Mirabete was accordingly left completely isolated, with only six weeks' provisions, and at the end of that time, being well watched, would have been forced to capitulate to the Guerillas from famine, but that the French general found an opportunity of relieving it on the 16th of July, when the works were blown up, and the pass of the Sierra and the river at Almaraz became completely open. The total loss in Hill's brilliant enterprise was 177 killed and wounded; and Wellington justly records that "too much cannot be said of the brave officers and troops who took by storm, without the assistance of cannon, such works as these forts on the two banks of the Tagus, fully garrisoned and in good order, and defended by 18 pieces of artillery."

Hill returned to Truxillo on the 20th, but soon found that he had set the whole hive in motion by robbing them of their treasure at Almaraz. Foy followed him on the 25th to Truxillo, and Soult sent Drouet after him across the Sierra Morena. King Joseph's despatch to the latter general was intercepted, in which he directed that Drouet should "marchez-lui sur le corps, et va passer le Tage, soit à Alcantara, soit à Mecas, soit au pont de l'Arzobispo:" but this information gave little alarm to Hill, who coolly replied on its reception, "If Drouet is not supported, it will not be difficult for me to disturb him." Ballasteros, however, took advantage of Drouet's absence to march with 6,000 men to Bornos, a central position between Cadiz and Seville; and Couring, who commanded the French, judiciously permitted the Spaniards to assault his entrenched camp there on the 1st of June, when he repulsed and put them to the rout, with the loss of 1,500 killed and wounded. After this, Soult saw that he had little to dread from the Spanish army in Andalusia, and sent two divisions of cavalry and one of infantry to reinforce Drouet on his march to threaten Hill, who accordingly, on the 18th of June, took up the old position at Albuera; nothing, however, occurred beyond a series of marches and countermarches, except an injudicious cavalry affair between the British General Slade and the French General L'Allemande on the 11th of June. The former, at the head of the 3rd Dragoon Guards and Royals, attacked the latter with the 17th and 29th Dragoons near Maguilla, when Slade made a brilliant charge, in which many were killed and an aide-de-camp of L'Allemande's was made prisoner; but the general insanely pushed them nearly three leagues in advance through a defile, which they passed in disorder, and then came upon a French support, who drove the British back with the loss of 50 killed and wounded and 100 prisoners. On the following day Lieutenant Strenuwitz, aide-de-camp to Sir William Erskine, led the French into an ambush, when out foraging near Belango, on which occasion the British not only killed and wounded 80, but took 26 prisoners and recovered all those *who had been wounded and taken the day before.* Wellington *after this strengthened the force under Hill in Extremadura to*

20,000 British and Portuguese, which enabled him to restrain Count d'Erlon in any offensive operation, while he pursued in person the important movements which he contemplated on the banks of the Tormes. The opposing forces of Hill and Drouet gazed at each other for some days at Albuera, as if pondering who should give the first blow; but on the 2nd of July the British general received a letter from the Commander-in-Chief in these terms: "Fall upon the enemy, if you can with advantage, rather than allow Drouet to remain in possession of Extremadura and keep you in check." Accordingly, on the 2nd, Hill advanced and Drouet fell back before him to Fuente del Maestro; but the British continuing to press the French left flank, by way of Feria and Los Santos, they retired across the Sierra; and Hill, deeming Drouet unable or unwilling to effect anything of importance against him, left off further pursuit at Llerena and put his troops into quarters about Villa Franca and Zafra.

7. THE BRITISH CAPTURE THE CONVENT FORT AT SALAMANCA.

A very considerable advantage accrued to the British at this season from the fact, that living from their own magazines they were able to operate at all seasons; whereas the French, who depended on the resources of the country, had to take into consideration for their movements the moment of the harvest. Wellington had now learned by experience this important fact, and therefore it had entered into his calculations in laying out the plan for the ensuing campaign; for the harvest in Castile and Leon was several weeks later than in Andalusia, and therefore he thought he could achieve some success in the north before the harvest was fit to be got in, if he took the field immediately after the rains should cease. In the middle of June, therefore, all his dispositions were complete, and by the possession of the bridges across the Tagus, at Alcantara and Almaraz, Hill was nearer Wellington by a fortnight than Drouet was to Marmont. The Duke of Ragusa, who was naturally quick of apprehension, discovered from these preparations that he was likely to be made the object of Lord Wellington's attack, and renewed with great earnestness his application to the intrusive King and to Soult that Caffarelli, who had 38,000 men in the north, might send some reinforcements to his *corps d'armée*; but Soult firmly believed that it was the intention of the Allies to invade the southern province, and succeeded in persuading Joseph and Marshal Jourdain into this error. Caffarelli held stoutly to the instructions he had received from Napoleon, and positively refused to stir or send a man without direct orders. These differences of opinion and dissensions amongst the French marshals were, through the activity and enterprise of the partidas, openly made known to Wellington by their intercepted despatches, and the British general therefore entertained the hope that he might suddenly throw himself upon the Duke of Ragusa before he was prepared to resist him effectually. The army of Wellington had received, since the com-

mencement of the year, considerable reinforcements, and had become more formidable both in numbers and discipline than at any former period of the war. The entire force which he had under his orders north of the Tagus amounted to 40,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry; and Hill in the south commanded about 18,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, with 24 guns. This summary is irrespective of the irregulars, both Spanish and Portuguese, and the garrison in Cadiz, which amounted to 6,000 men.

The rains had no sooner moderated, than on the 13th of June the British army crossed the Agueda, and on the 16th the outposts of the two armies became engaged. On the 17th, Wellington ordered the troops to ford the Tormes at Santa Marta and Los Cantos, above and below Salamanca, because the bridge was barred by the fortifications erected by the French for its defence, and Lord Wellington himself entered the city about 10 in the forenoon of the 17th. It was filled with people clamorous in their expressions of welcome to the British general. He was attended by a numerous staff and by an escort of the 14th Light Dragoons, and every window and balcony was gay with cloths and carpets, and with other signals of respect and enthusiasm. The day was brilliant, presenting all the glowing luxuriance of the climate on a hot summer morning. Salamanca is a very fine town of 18,000 souls, with a handsome Gothic cathedral and a university of 24 colleges. The bridge is a Roman structure of 27 arches, 300 paces long. The piazza, or square, is exceedingly elegant, and is surrounded by piazzas, so that all the streets enter it under archways. There were several fine convents, with churches attached to them in the early days before the war; but the French had destroyed 13 of them, and employed the materials to construct three strong fortifications. The vast convent of San Vincente, situated on an almost perpendicular cliff above the Tormes, was converted into a fort, and the religious edifice was made subservient to all the purposes of a citadel. The building was loopholed, and furnished with a drawbridge, and in the cloisters were the barracks with the gunpowder magazine. All the surrounding houses were demolished to afford a clear space for the guns, and a regular *enceinte revêtée et bastionnée*, with a rampart 15 feet thick, surrounded the whole with a covered way and glacis sufficiently high to conceal the foot of the escarpe at any distance. Part of the Collegio del Reale, isolated from all adjoining buildings, was transformed into another fort, called La Merced, and the convent of San Gayetano was converted into a redoubt, called by the same name. A ravine "*dite des tanneries*" divided San Vincente from the other two redoubts, and a passage was contrived across it to keep up the communications. All the structures were substantially built and armed with artillery, so that they could only be reduced by a regular siege; but the precaution had not been taken to secure from fire the buildings retained for the defence. It may also be stated that the stone rubbish of the other destroyed convents was scattered in front of the works, so as to impede the construction of parallels and zigzags for the attack. The British

army, defiling through the city, took up a position outside it on the height of San Christoval; but the 6th Division, under General Henry Clinton, immediately invested the forts. The battery train, however, did not consist of more than four iron 18-pounders, with three 24-pound howitzers; and, when the works were reconnoitred from the top of the cathedral, it was found that they were much more finished and respectable than had been supposed. To the engineer, Lieutenant-Colonel Burgoyne, was intrusted the siege, but the extreme paucity of means provided necessitated that the attack should be of the simplest nature; and he therefore proposed to erect a breaching battery on the platform immediately to the north of San Vincente, and 250 yards from the wall, and as soon as the breach was rendered practicable to give the assault. The batteries were commenced against San Vincente on the night of the 17th; but the old foundations and rubbish prevented the formation of trenches without bringing earth in baskets for the parapets, so that when, after a short night, the daylight appeared, the work was hardly up to the men's knees, which exposed them fearfully to the enemy's fire. Upon closer inspection, the ditch of the fort was found so great an obstacle to the proposed breach, that Lieutenant Reid, with four miners, were sent to a spot where the glacis was not complete, to endeavour to blow in a piece of the counterscarp; but the vigilance of a trained dog baffled this design. A battalion of German Light Infantry, dispersed amidst the ruins, kept down, by a well-directed fire, the musketry of the garrison, except from the loopholes and two field 6-pounders, which opened from the windows of the convent of San Bernardo, which, as it was still occupied by brethren, was not thought of by the besiegers. On the night of the 18th of June, the battery was armed, and at early morning of the 19th, the whole of the seven old guns opened; but the ordnance was most unmeet for the battering, and it was at once resolved to send to the rear for more battering guns. Colonel Jones says that "the only information that had been received regarding these forts, when the march begun, was through a confused sketch from a Spaniard, not a military man," and it was entirely owing to this that the siege was undertaken with such inadequate means. From the lofty spire of the cathedral, however, the whole plan of the forts was distinctly to be traced. The convent wall was seen to be reduced to ruins, but as this did not facilitate the capture of the place, it was determined to vary the point of attack, and to direct the fire upon an angle of the building nearest the Tormes. For some time the convent appeared to stand unshaken by the cannonade, when suddenly a portion of the front wall and the roof fell with a tremendous crash, and as soon as the cloud of dust and lime cleared away, the interior of the building was laid open very extensively. But the ammunition now already began to fail the besiegers, and the works were necessarily suspended till the arrival of the expected convoy from Almeida and Rodrigo.

On the advance of Wellington, Marmont had withdrawn leisurely before the British army to Fuente el Sanco, where, having collected

four divisions and a brigade of cavalry, composing a force of 25,000 men, he again advanced on the 20th to relieve his isolated garrison. His advance was clearly descried at some considerable distance, for the ground naturally trended from the heights to the basin of the Tormes. The British general was, therefore, enabled to make his dispositions to receive him. The battery guns were withdrawn and sent across the river for security, and a brigade of the investing division was sent forward to the covering army, which now formed up in order of battle on the position of San Christoval. The range is four miles long, and has a broad summit, at this time waving with corn ready for the sickle. The right wing rested on the Tormes near Cabrarijos, and the left on Villares de la Reyna; and the entire post was rendered more defensible by the stone walls, farms, and hollow roads, which mark the general face of the country. The situation, however, was burning hot at this season, and those who were there will never forget the long exposure to the sun without even the shelter of a tree. On the 21st, the enemy was drawn up in front, as if threatening the British right, but reconnoissances could be distinctly perceived during the day, and that the troops were moving about continually from right to left and from left to right. In the evening, the French marshal was clearly distinguished on the side of Aldea Seca, and advanced so near to the division of Leith that Wellington, who was present, ordered Colonel Ponsonby to take two squadrons of the 12th Light Dragoons and "make the Duke of Ragusa keep his distance." The scene which followed was animated and interesting. The men and horses, lightened of every incumbrance, advanced rapidly under cover of the village, while the privates and officers of both armies crowded to watch the result. Marmont was so intently occupied that he alone was unconscious of the approach of the dragoons, and so narrowly did he escape interception, that he owed it to the fleetness of his horse, and to the tirailleurs in the standing corn, that he got away unscathed. The firing, however, which began in consequence, did not cease till after dark, when the French took possession of the village of Moresco, and established themselves for the night within gunshot of the Allies. Wellington, wrapped up in a cloak, slept on the open field under a few blankets raised upon sticks. The first streak of light on the 22nd saw both sides under arms; and it has been thought that if, at this period, the British leader had brought on a general engagement, he would have gained considerable advantage.* About 10 o'clock, some cannons were fired, which were probably signals to the forts, and towards evening the French were driven out of the village of Moresco. Baggage and horses were, however, now seen moving away to the rear of the French army before night closed in, and in the morning of the 23rd Marmont was clearly commencing a retreat. As, however, it was ascertained that he was also moving his left to the heights of Aldea Rubra, which command the ford of Huerta on the Tormes, Sir Thomas Graham, with the 7th

* Brialmont.

Division, advanced on the right of the Allies, and dislodged the enemy from a little hill they had there, while the cavalry was pushed as far as La Veilles, whence they were afterwards called in. The French army, abandoning the road to Toro, and refusing its right, had taken up ground across that to Tordesillas; but on the 24th, Wellington, understanding that two French divisions had even passed the river, sent Graham across at Santa Marta, with infantry and cavalry, to watch their intentions.

From a closer examination made by the engineers, it had been seen that the parapets of La Merced and San Gayetano were much beaten down, and the palisades knocked away; accordingly, it was resolved to attempt an escalade of both these minor forts on the night of the 24th. But the besieged were on the alert, and the moon shone so brightly as to lay open to their observation the slightest movement of their enemies. Generals Hulse and Bowes commanded the troops ordered on this service. The former attacked La Merced, and the latter Gayetano, against the walls of which Bowes himself (whose rank might have excused his taking such a part) reared a ladder, and rushed up it, but was unable to force an entrance, and fell to the ground wounded. While, however, they were dressing the general's wound, word came in that his troops were giving way, whereupon he returned to the fight, and died sword in hand in the *mêlée*. Both attacks proved unsuccessful, and incurred a loss of 120 killed and wounded. The French marshal, ignorant of this failure, hesitated to bring on a general action, and repossessing the river, resumed his ground opposite the position of San Cristoval.

On the 26th, additional guns having arrived, Wellington was resolved, notwithstanding Marmont's proximity, to resume the siege of the forts. A new battery was opened the same day against San Gayetano. All the artillery was also brought back to the batteries, and the fire was resumed at 3 in the afternoon of the 26th. On the 27th, more ammunition came to the front, and three batteries were now fully armed and in operation with redhot shot against San Vincente, which set its roof on fire in several places, but the besieged succeeded in extinguishing the flames. Communications were now carried along the valley "des Tanneries," which isolated the large fort from the other two, and Gayetano and La Merced from each other. The miner advanced by means of this passage, and was preparing a gallery 24 feet long to underwork and blow up the Gayetano, when the fire in San Vincente broke out afresh, and raged beyond all the efforts of the garrison to extinguish it. Colonel Duchemin, the Governor, therefore displayed the white flag, and offered to surrender in three hours; but Wellington, judging the proposition an artifice to gain time, offered five minutes, and at the same time issued orders for a double assault. No further appearance of surrender being shown, the guns reopened fire. One column, conducted by Lieut.-Colonel Davis of the 56th Regiment, with little resistance entered Gayetano at the gorge, and the other, composed of Portuguese picadores, escalated and carried Gayetano. The Governor then replaced the white flag, and Major-General Clinton entered.

San Vicente without further opposition. Marmont withdrew his army from the vicinity of the Tormes on the 28th, and on the 29th took up a position at Trabanjos, whence on the 2d of July he crossed the Douro at Tordesillas. He also withdrew the garrison which he had left in Alba de Tormes, and Wellington ordered the destruction of all the fortifications at both places. The whole loss of the Allies in the siege was 540 men, of which the killed and wounded in the operations of the covering army are included.

The British officers in great numbers, together with their General-in-Chief, attended a grand performance of the Te Deum in the Cathedral of Salamanca on the occasion of this success, which was a very striking ceremony. The spacious building was crowded to excess, and the service was performed, with all the pomp and splendour of the Romish worship, to a mixed crowd of Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, and British, Romanists and Protestants. The Church and the army here met to offer thanks to God for the retreat of the French from Salamanca, and to implore the continuance of the Divine blessing on the Allied arms. The brilliant and varied tones of the organ were associated with the stirring clangour of drums and fifes, and numerous military bands. The señoritas furtively gazed on the fair yellow-haired lads from Britain, whom they now saw for the first time, captivated by their handsome open countenances and fine military bearing; while the scarlet uniforms, massed with the rich priestly vestments, gave the glow of colour to the brown Castilian peasant dress and the sombre gowns of the monks and other unofficiating clergy. It was an enthusiastic and imposing scene, not readily to be erased from the minds of young soldiers fresh from their mother country, and entering on their career of manhood.

8. THE TWO ARMIES TAKE POST UPON THE DOURO.

Wellington, having paid his devotions to the great Giver of all victory, resumed the active practice of those duties which were to merit a continuance of the blessing. The British army immediately advanced upon the French line of retreat, and on the 30th arrived at the Douro. Marmont occupied the north bank with 100 pieces of cannon and from 36,000 to 37,000 infantry, but with little cavalry, for the boldness of the guerillas had obliged the French armies in mass to employ their horse to maintain their roads and communications; but he had fortified posts at Zamora and at Toro, and had broken the bridges there, as well as at Puente Duero and Tudela. The head-quarters of Wellington were therefore placed at Rueda, and his army rested in cantonments, awaiting the endeavours of the Spanish Gallican army to take Astorga. It was the British general's policy to force Marmont, who had now lost his base at Salamanca, to live on his fixed magazines, which he might have elsewhere amassed; but these depôts were not numerous, and, through the watchfulness of the Spanish partidas and guerillas, he was prevented from foraging the country, or collecting the harvest.

On the side of the French, it might be expected that the intrusive

King, who was now intrusted with supreme authority, would have come to the succour of the Duke of Ragusa ; but Joseph, though not deficient in judgment, lacked his brother's resolution and firmness of purpose, and was totally unable to compel unity of action in the operations of the different French marshals. Soult was offended because the Emperor had superseded him as Joseph's Major-General, and had appointed Jourdain in his stead ; and he entertained some not ill-founded suspicions that both the King and his advising Marshal were very much disposed to deprive him altogether of his independent command in Andalusia, and to transfer his army to the Count d'Erlon. Soult accordingly called in all his detached posts, which maintained the road open to Madrid, upon the plea of want of force, and thus prevented the transmission of any orders which might be disagreeable to him.* Suchet refused downright, for an English army was expected in his front at Alicante ; and Caffarelli would do no more than detach 6,000 men, under the command of General Bonet, from Galicia, which furnished, in fact, the only reinforcement that arrived at this time to Marmont. Thus the two opposing armies remained for fifteen days in presence of each other ; and the weather being beautiful, and the country rich, the troops on both sides fared well. Indeed, the wine was so plentiful, that it was hard to keep the soldiers sober. The wines of Rueda are proverbially strong, and the caves cut in the hard rock below the surface were so immense and so full, that the drunkards of the two armies failed to make any sensible diminution in the quantity.

While the hostile forces lay fronting the Douro, Wellington received some intelligence that much disappointed and mortified him. It had been settled with the British Government that General Lord William Bentinck, who commanded the troops in Sicily, should be ready to menace the Peninsula from the east, where Alicante and Cartagena still offered a good base for offensive operations. He relied much on this diversion when he quitted Portugal and planned his advance into Spain ; but now he heard that, seduced by some phantom of Italian revolt, Lord William had carried his troops on expeditions to Minorca and Sardinia, with a view of making descents on the Italian shores, instead of upon the Spanish, as had been agreed upon ; and, what still more thwarted operations, Lord William had taken up \$4,000,000 from Gibraltar to assist him in this Quixotic enterprise, when Wellington was straining every nerve to obtain money for the liberation of the Peninsula.

Marmont's army had become augmented to 45,000 men, and he was urged by Jourdain to take advantage of the moment to beat the British army before Wellington should call Hill from the south. He had looked to all the circumstances of the case, and taking into account the King's orders, which he alone of the French marshals considered it an obligation faithfully to obey, and convinced that he had now no considerable succour to expect from any side, he made up his mind to act upon the offensive. There were three points of the water line dividing the armies by which Max-

* Thiers.

mout might pass the Douro and attack the Allies : by the bridge of Tordeasillas, then in a perfect state, and in his possession ; by the fords at Pollos, which the summer season rendered low and passable ; or by the bridge at Toro, which his soldiers were repairing with great alacrity and industry, and which formed the shortest cut to Salamanca. The plan of the French Commander-in-Chief was to manœuvre so as to menace the British communications, and at the same time to withdraw Wellington from making a forward step to assist the attempt against Astorga, which had now no more than a fortnight's provisions. Marmont had the difficult problem to work out of crossing a rapid river in the face of a formidable opponent, and, commencing his operations most ably, very much puzzled his opponent. On the 16th, he moved his army to his right and crossed two divisions under Bonet at Toro, and Wellington accordingly set his troops in march towards his left at Canezat on the Guarena, when suddenly the French troops were recalled, and repassed the stream, destroying the repairs of the bridge which had been so ostensibly carried to perfection. On the 17th he again passed the Douro at Pollos and Tordesillas, and assembled his army on that day at La Nava del Rey, having marched not less than ten leagues in the course of the day. Wellington, seeing the bridge of Toro destroyed, immediately retraced his steps, and on the 18th found Cotton, with the cavalry and the 4th Division, engaged with the enemy six miles in rear of the Trabancos. Brock's, Le Marchant's, and Alten's brigades of cavalry had joined Cotton, together with the Light Division, and the general, seeing only the enemy's horsemen before him, pushed across the river, when he was attacked at Castrejon, and forced to fall back to the village of Castrillo, but in the act of doing so he ordered Alten to charge the head of the advancing French column in echelon of squadrons. This brought up the French brigade Boyer in support, and the 43rd was hastily sent to assist the cavalry, the whole body of which turned and charged with good effect. In the *mêlée* Wellington and Beresford came up, and both were like to have been slain together ; for a single French squadron, having the appearance as though they were desirous of deserting, broke away from their column and mounted the table-land on which they stood. Led by a daring officer, they came down with a shout on the English troopers, who, taken by surprise, galloped through a mass of friends and enemies, and went like a tempest to the bottom of the slope, carrying the two generals along with them. The reserves, however, now came up from Alaejos, and turned about, when all, except the dashing leader, were cut to pieces.

During this episode, Marmont crossed the Trabancos in two columns. The British general, not deeming his position a good one, determined to retire, and the movement was performed in three columns, in admirable order, with the cavalry on their flanks and rear ; and in this fashion they crossed the Guarena. This river offered a very strong line of defence, and the junction of the different corps of the Allied army was now secured. In descending the

banks of the Guarena, Marmont unexpectedly brought up some guns, which suddenly opened as the English soldiers were slaking their thirst at the river; but, at the cost of a few casualties, the troops formed on the heights of Canizal. The French, however, pushed some men across the stream at Castrillo. Here Cole was posted with the 27th and 40th regiments, and Alten's and Anson's brigades of horse. General Carrier, with a brigade of cavalry, led the enemy forward, followed by a column of infantry, just as the 4th Division had gained the table-land. Victor Alten suffered the enemy to cross the sedgy banks of the Guarena, until, perceiving an advantage, he assailed them by successive squadrons, first of the 14th Light Dragoons and then of the 3rd Dragoons. The French stood with unusual firmness; but the British regiments, notwithstanding the fire of the infantry, pressed forward with alacrity and resolution. General Carrier was wounded and captured, when the enemy retired closely pursued, and leaving 240 prisoners and a gun in Alten's hands. With this affair terminated Marmont's attempts on the left of Wellington's army.

On the 19th and 20th, the enemy moving so as to turn the British right, the British made corresponding movements parallel with them, and so little distant that from time to time the most advanced detachments approached each other. The stillness of the air was remarkable, and the silence uninterrupted, save by an occasional shot; for some cannonading had taken place on both sides till nightfall. As the heights occupied by the British trended backward towards the Tormes, a battle was to be apprehended; for the two lines were within musket-shot of each other; but the French preserved the lead, and first gained the ford of Huerta, and passed the Tormes between Alba and Huerta on the 21st. It appears, however, from the Wellington Despatches, that the British commander did not desire to fight "unless under such favourable circumstances as to afford the reasonable hope that the Allies would be able to maintain the field." General España had been desired to place a Spanish garrison in Alba de Tormes, which, it was thought, would prevent the French from venturing to cross the river; but Marmont found none there, for the Spaniards had been withdrawn without Wellington's knowledge. The French Marshal now threw some troops into it, and thus completely outflanked his adversary, and turned the right of the British army; for their general had resumed his old position at San Christoval, and was therefore still on the right bank of the river. On the same evening, however, Wellington crossed the British army by the fords of Santa Marta and Aldea Lengua. No one who witnessed the grand spectacle of 90,000 men moving for so many days in parallel lines can ever forget it. The line of march was seldom out of the range of cannon, and often within that of musketry. The guns on both sides exchanged rough salutations as the accidents of ground favoured their play; and the officers of both armies, like gallant gentlemen who bore no malice and knew no fear, made their military recognitions to each other, though watching with eager eyes for an opening to charge. The most trifling accident, the slightest advantage of

ground on a plateau which presented endless defensive positions, might have at any moment brought on a general action.

The heat was intense, and the French and Allied stragglers successively sought for shelter and drink in the villages which lay in the space between the armies. The commissariat stores and private baggage appeared to offer an easy prize to either adversary, and General Bonet requested permission of the Duke of Ragusa to make a raid upon it; but this did not meet the views of the Marshal. The 5th Division, in like manner, saw French voltigeurs in a village equi-distant from both lines of march; but it was not deemed advisable by General Leith to disturb their quiet possession of it. Marmont's project was not yet fully developed, but Wellington had, without doubt, come to the resolution of retiring upon Ciudad Rodrigo, although the enemy had still troops on the right bank of the Tormes at Babila Fuente; and, accordingly, he maintained one division and D'Urban's Portuguese cavalry on the same bank. The remainder of the French army rested outside a considerable wood near the two villages of Calbarassa d'Abaxo and Calbarassa d'Ariba, and the chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Pena. Wellington placed the 1st and Light Divisions confronting the enemy in these villages. The rest of the army extended in front of the Arapiles to the great road leading to Ciudad Rodrigo through Aldea Tejada.

9. BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.

The night was one of more than common darkness, for a storm—the frequent precursor of a battle—broke with violence over the landscape. Torrents of rain had already swollen the river fords, and, as the men emerged dripping out of the water, the deafening thunder rolled in successive peals, and the lightning flashed out brilliantly, playing with remarkable vividness on the tops of the soldiers' bayonets and the scabbards of the marching cavalry. In the midst of this crash of the elements, the whole of the column, cavalry and infantry, gained an uncomfortable bivouac very late. An unusually vivid flash of lightning killed some men, and so frightened the horses of the cavalry, that they broke loose from their pickets, and, galloping wildly across the country, were mistaken in the obscurity for patrols of the enemy. But this dispersion of the frightened and riderless horses added to the awful effect of the tempest, and was altogether a scene ever to be remembered.

As the morning broke, the French marched from Calbarassa de Ariba to the wooded height (on which was an old chapel) called Nuestra Señora de la Pena. The divisions Foy and Ferey, supported by Boyer's dragoons, however, still held that village, and skirmished till about 10 with the British, who had moved parallel with them from their night bivouac towards Calbarassa d'Abaxo. There stood conspicuously on the field a pair of solitary hills, which, from some common peculiarity or resemblance, were called indifferently *Dos Arapiles* or *Los Hermanitos*. These hills stood about half cannon-shot from each other. They were called by the first name from

the village near which they stood ; and the second from their being brothers in form and character, for they were both steep and rugged. The divisions Clausel, Sarrut, Maucune, and Brenier, forming the centre of the French army, were in rear of one of these hills, and almost at the same moment the idea appears to have seized both armies to obtain possession of them, for detachments of English and French soldiers were seen to break their ranks and run impulsively towards them : the French gained one, and the British the other, which proved to be the lower. General Bonet with his division occupied the former, and established a battery upon its top. The 5th and 6th British Divisions were congregated on their own Hermanito ; and the 4th Division, with the light companies of the Guards, were placed in the village of Arapiles below, and upon the open ground behind it.

The situation of the British general was, perhaps, critical ; for the loss of the more distant Hermanito rendered his farther retreat difficult, as the heavy artillery from that rocky height could plunge its fire upon the entire plain, and it formed a secure protection behind which Marmont could wage a dangerous battle against such a movement. The atmosphere had cleared after the thunderstorm, and all was bright and unclouded sunshine, and nothing obscured the sight over the wide expanse of undulating landscape. There were no woods to show where either army stood ; but the dust from the arid ground designated the movements of troops everywhere, and the French could of course perceive that the British commissariat and baggage were moving to the rear. The Duke of Ragusa, in pursuance of his plan of cutting off the Allied army from Ciudad Rodrigo, resolved to seize a height near Miranda, half a league from his left flank, and thus to occupy the road to Tamames. The division Thomière, with the light cavalry and 50 guns, were directed about 2 in the afternoon to effect this object. As they were put in motion, a very heavy cannonade from about 20 guns was commenced upon the British line, which, however, did little damage, and the division Maucune, in a heavy column of about 10,000 men, assumed so threatening an attitude, that Leith sent word of it to the Commander-in-Chief, who forthwith came in person to the spot. Having, however, satisfied himself that no operation of consequence was here intended, he ordered the 5th Division to lie down, so as in some degree to shelter them from the effects of the cannonade, and repaired himself again to see what was passing on his right flank. Arrived at the top of his Hermanito, he observed through his glass the movement of the division Thomière without the least concern, since it rather favoured his scheme of operations than otherwise ; for he saw at once that, by the extension of the French left wing to the hill of Miranda, there would be an interval of nearly two leagues unoccupied between their left and their centre ; and, with admirable precision and quickness, he hit the blot. A few brief orders passed his lips, and, turning round to General Alava, he exclaimed, " Mon cher Alava, Marmont est perdu." Pakenham's division was forthwith ordered to stand to their arms, and a strong body of cavalry was

brought with expedition from the right wing to the left. The 5th, under General Leith, was commanded to deploy on the right of Cole's division, having the 6th and 7th, under Clinton and Hope, formed up in column in a second line. Behind them again the 1st and Light Divisions and Packe's Portuguese were to rest in heavy masses in reserve. Whilst these dispositions were carrying into effect, Wellington sat down on the grass with the 3rd Division, and took a hasty repast. This celebrated body, called by the army "the fighting division," was now commanded, during the continued indisposition of its brave leader, General Picton, by Pakenham, Wellington's brother-in-law. After their simple and soldier-like meal had ended, the Commander-in-Chief gave his orders somewhat in the following words: "Do you see those fellows on the hill, Pakenham? Throw your division into columns of battalions — at them directly — and drive them — to the devil!" He knew his man. The order was obeyed instantly, and without a word, and Wellington, turning to his staff, said: "Did you ever see a man who understood so clearly what he had to do?"* It is quite impossible to describe the energetic exultation with which the welcome intelligence was received by every division of the British army, when the order for the immediate attack of the enemy reached them. If a primary impulse could gain a battle, that of Salamanca was won before a soul had stirred in the fight.†

The 3rd Division and the cavalry, with about 12 guns, hidden partly by the heights, marched forward, with unsurpassed energy and spirit, to cut off Thomière's line of march; while Leith, Cole, Clinton, and Hope moved forward to assail the centre, followed by Le Marchant's heavy horse and Anson's light dragoons. Marmont, from the top of his Arapile, suddenly saw the ground beneath his view covered with troops in rapid formation and movement. He saw that his enemy had launched against his left advance troops so much more numerous than it could possibly contend with, that they would never be able to hold their ground, nor, from their situation, know what superiority of force they had to encounter. He discovered the mistake he had committed, by extending inconsiderately his line of flank march. He already perceived the English troops debouch from the village of Arapiles, driving before them Maucune's and Bonnet's divisions from height to height, and bringing forward their right so as to increase the power thrown upon the flank in proportion to their advance. Packe was observed to dash against the foot of the Hermanito on which he stood with exceeding gallantry; but the Portuguese, before they reached the summit, were charged by the infantry from the other side, and sent flying down the hill. Marmont had despatched officer after officer to convey his orders, and galloped now in person to hasten the march of the troops in the various directions required, when an exploding shell stretched him on the earth with a broken arm and two deep wounds in his side. General Bonnet assumed the command temporarily, but he also was wounded at this time, and the

* Lord Londonderry.

† Leith Hay.

greatest confusion occurred to the French army in consequence of suspended command. Maucune bravely endeavoured to force back the British into the village of Arapiles, and Sarrut came down to his support; but Leith ordered his line to fire and charge, and a deadly roll of musketry was followed by the proud cheer that was now known as the habitual prelude to the British charge. The French gave way before it: but, at the moment, General Clausel, who had succeeded to the command of the French army, arrived at the spot and rallied the retiring divisions, so as to check the British advance. Marshal Beresford immediately brought up the second line, which sustained Leith's flank, and the French were forced back, leaving almost all their generals and superior officers wounded, so that the battle had become already a series of British triumphs.

General Thomière had all this time continued his march, and had passed the open isolated hill, or peak, of Miranda, when he was thunderstruck on receiving an attack where he had expected to see the Allies in full retreat towards the Ciudad Rodrigo road. He at once sent out a crowd of light troops, who poured volleys of musketry upon the front and flanks of Pakenham, while the French gunners vomited showers of grape, under which their main body endeavoured to display a front: but the British, bearing onwards, broke the half-formed line in fragments; and their guns opening, took them in flank, while the 14th Dragoons, under Felton Harvey, and D'Urban's cavalry, with the 5th regiment, repulsed an attack of French cavalry and defeated every attempt to form, sending the whole line in confusion upon their advancing supports. Thomière fell gloriously, under the most energetic resistance, at the head of his men. Pakenham continued his impetuous course against the remainder of the French division, who were for the moment arrayed on a wooded height; but, unable to stand, they fell back upon the division Brenier, which was coming up to their support, but was carried along with them in disorderly flight. Clausel saw that it was now impossible to re-form his army, and ordered a general retreat, calling in the two divisions Foy and Feray from the right of his army to assist with that of Sarrut in restoring the destroyed morale of the four divisions Thomière, Brenier, Maucune, and Clausel; but before the order of battle could be re-formed by these officers, their Commander-in-Chief and 2 other generals had fallen, and the left of the French army was completely turned.

The confusion which reigned now was terrible; some of the troops were in double lines, some in columns, some in squares, and a dazzling evening sun struck full in the faces of the French, so that they were obliged to deliver their fire at random. Just at this moment, as the 3rd and 5th Divisions were steadily advancing with a storm of fire and resistless steel, Le Marchant's heavy brigade and Anson's light cavalry came up under Cotton's command at full speed, and overthrew and trampled down 1,200 French infantry. The charge was vigorous, but its success cost the life of General Le Marchant. Bewildered and disordered, the foe cast away his

arms, and, running through the intervals of squadrons, stooped and asked for quarter. Victory, however, appeared yet to waver; an irregular stream of fire opened on the victorious horse and emptied a hundred saddles; but Lord Edward Somerset, at the head of a squadron, broke through the assailants, and, with a happy perseverance, captured five guns. In this encounter Beresford, Leith, and Cole were wounded; and, the 6th Division being brought up to take the place of the 4th, the battle was restored in this quarter.

The right of the French army had been gradually reinforced by the arrival of the troops from the left, and still stood firm. Wellington therefore brought up the 1st and Light Divisions, with General William Anson's brigade, to turn the right of their new position. The struggle was still no slight one; Cole was already in action with the division Bonnet, who made so firm and gallant a resistance that it required him to call up a brigade of the 6th Division to his aid, when the French gave way before him, and retired step by step to the heights, where they mingled with the fugitives of Thomière's flank divisions. But suddenly a great change was here visible. The division Ferey arrived and joined them. The division Maucune still held the French Hermanito, and the division Foy was at its base. Packe, believing himself in the midst of victory, had carried his Portuguese brigade up the height, when the enemy leaped suddenly from behind the rocks when he was within a few yards of the summit and drove them back. Cole's division then went up the slope, when just as it arrived at the top, breathless and disordered, 1,200 French, arrayed on the reverse side, met them and drove them down the hill, occasioning a second wound to Cole in his flight. Clausel, founding a hope on these accidents, attempted to stem the tide of battle; but victory will always in the end remain with the general who has the strongest reserves in hand, and Wellington brought up the 6th Division, which turned the scale by a vigorous and successful charge. Hulse's brigade, with the 6th and 11th regiments, won their way desperately; Boyer's dragoons were met and broken by the firmness of the 53rd. The French General Des Graviers was killed, Clausel was wounded slightly, Meune severely, Ferey mortally.

The day was declining; the crisis of the battle had arrived; Pakenham still bore onward with conquering fury, continuing to outflank the enemy's left. Maucune was therefore obliged to abandon the French Hermanito, and the whole French army moved off with great firmness, and with some degree of order and under cover of the darkness. General Foy commanded the rear-guard with his usual ability, and, throwing out a cloud of skirmishers, retired by wings in succession, firing heavily from every rise of ground upon the 1st and Light Divisions, with which Wellington himself pursued them hotly. Though worn with fatigue and slightly wounded by a spent ball which had passed through his holster, the conqueror pushed straight for the ford of Huerta which he imagined to have been the only road open to the routed enemy to retire upon; but when he arrived at the river bank he found that by España's neglect the

bridge of Alba was also at their command; accordingly, he sent Cotton thither with the cavalry, who followed after the fugitives till 2 in the morning, by which time they had all passed the Tormes. As the cavalry column moved onward, with their commanding general at their head, jaded and nodding on their horses' backs, suddenly, in the thick obscurity, a voice was heard to challenge, followed by a double shot, which, singularly enough, struck both General Cotton and his orderly in the wrist of the bridle-arm. But the balls did not come from a foe, they were fired by two Portuguese sentries who mistook them for French. It was a most fortunate circumstance for the enemy, that the bridge of Alba de Tormes had, by España's negligence, been left open, for they would scarcely all have escaped by the one ford of Huerta.

The loss on the part of the victors amounted to 1 general and 24 officers, with 686 men, killed, and 5 generals and 182 officers, with 4,270 rank and file, wounded. The trophies of the victory were 11 pieces of artillery, 2 eagles, 6 standards, and 7,000 prisoners. What was the entire loss to the French has never been correctly stated. The Duke of Ragusa is said to have brought into the field of Salamanca, on the 22nd of July, 42,000 men, with 74 guns. On the 18th of August, Clausel reports to the Minister of War at Paris that his entire army only consisted of 20,000 infantry, 1,800 horse, and 50 guns. Doubtless the disorder, rapine, and pillage, which he records in the same despatch, must have tended to diminish the force, since he says, "more than fifty soldiers have been seized by the provost-marshal and executed;" but, considering that some slight reinforcements must have joined the army since the battle, it would seem that the French were the worse for the victory of Salamanca by 22,800 men and 24 guns.

The retreat was continued through the night as far as Peneranda, where Clausel at length established his head-quarters ten leagues from the field of battle! After a short hour's repose the pursuit was again taken up, and the British cavalry crossed the Tormes without seeing an enemy, but moving rapidly up stream they overtook the fugitives near the village of La Serra posted on the Almar rivulet. They were a mass of all regiments and divisions; yet with that wonderful elasticity which accompanies a French soldier in his direct reverses, they immediately formed squares against the horse and maintained a bold front until the heavy German dragoons, commanded by General Brock, and the light cavalry brigade of Anson, formed column and hurtling on the mass charged three squares in succession and went clean through them, so that while many fell dead, as many men as would have composed three battalions were broken, dispersed, and made prisoners.* When the French rear-guard found the fugitive troops behind them thus

* It is probable that there is not upon record so successful a charge of cavalry upon infantry without the aid of artillery as the one here recorded. It is unreasonable to expect that, against soldiers under perfect discipline and armed with a weapon deadly both to fire and to pierce, the mere impetus of a horse can overbalance such advantages; but when the mass is broken and the strife reduced to an encounter of individuals, the horsemen must ever be triumphant.

attacked, they turned to their succour; but, seeing the Light Division coming up in support, they recommenced their retreat. The head army was joined on the retreat by Caffarelli's cavalry and artillery, numbering about 1,900 men, who had arrived too late for the battle, yet covered the further retrograde movement with a resolution which deterred the allied cavalry from meddling any more with them. The intrusive King, with 14,000 men, was also marching up to reinforce Marmont, and had already reached Blasco Sancho, in the neighbourhood of Arevalo, only one short day's march from the beaten army. Irritated at the indiscretion of the Duke of Ragusa in having given battle without waiting for his arrival, Joseph returned in all haste across the Guadarama mountains, in order to defend his capital, which he expected might be Wellington's next object; but Clausel continued his retreat across the Douro, and was followed on the 30th by Wellington, who entered Valladolid in triumph on the 31st; Clausel retreating in breathless haste on Burgos.

Valladolid, the second city of Old Castile, is a name known to every schoolboy as a city of romance, and was naturally a subject of much interest to the officers of the British army. It is a rambling town, spreading over a very extensive surface; and the numberless spires, domes, and turrets of its sacred edifices give it the appearance of a large metropolis; but a considerable portion of the ground within the walls is covered with gardens, squares, and orchards. In the reign of Philip III. it was a royal residence, and it still boasts a palace of the king's, an elegant substantial country-house, though the mansions of the courtiers are fallen into decay, and exhibit a picture of utter desolation. The Plaza Mayor is spacious and venerable, surrounded with balconies, in which, it is computed, 24,000 persons might be seated to witness the bull fights which, in the halcyon days of its prosperity, were here triennially celebrated with unusual pomp. Architecturally, the city is mean, with dirty old houses and wooden pillars, but many hundred granite columns still lay about, relics of its former magnificence. The cathedral is massive, but heavy; and the streets narrow, but much decorated with bargeboards of old woodwork on the gables. There were at this time about 20,000 inhabitants.

The victory of Salamanca won for the conqueror the title of Marquis from his own sovereign and the collar of the Golden Fleece from the Spanish regency, and at once established his military superiority. It had been a field of more than ordinary science, and was rather the general's than the soldier's victory. His adversary had proved himself a dangerous opponent, for of all the marshals none handled troops more beautifully than Marmont, and he had successfully outmarched and outflanked the British general. For successive days no error of his adversary afforded Wellington an opportunity of bringing affairs to the crisis of a battle, which he saw was his only chance; but as soon as he saw the order of march severed, "he fixed the fault with the stroke of a thunder-bolt," and defeated 40,000 men in 40 minutes. The moral effect

of the victory was even greater than its material consequences, and it has been said by a Frenchman, that "the battle of the Arapiles settled the question of the French occupation of Spain." But it did far more; it fell on the ears of the French soldiery in their toil-some march through Germany and Poland like the voice of a bird of ill omen, croaking the calamitous issue of their ill-fated Russian campaign. The intelligence of this great disaster reached Napoleon on the eve of the battle of Borodino. He was naturally enough most indignant, and very severe on Marmont. "Putting together all the circumstances," he said, "one is forced to believe that the Duke of Ragusa was afraid lest the king should participate in the success of a battle, and that he sacrificed to vanity the glory of the country and the good of my service."

10. WELLINGTON ENTERS MADRID IN GREAT TRIUMPH.

The British army was not, however, permitted to enjoy much repose at Valladolid; for, seeing no prospect of again coming up with Clausel, and being aware that he must be disabled for a considerable time from undertaking any offensive operation against himself, Wellington desisted from further pursuit, and recalled his army across the Douro, when head-quarters were carried forward to Cuellar. It was now necessary to reap the fruits of victory, by driving the intrusive King out of his capital; but, to suit so complete a change of direction from the previous line of march, it was likewise necessary to alter the route of supplies from the rear, so that Lord Wellington, in order to effect this change in the most important consideration of *matériel*, required time, and did not resume his march till the 6th of August, when, leaving Clinton's division with Anson's brigade of cavalry, to watch the progress of affairs beyond the Douro, he issued general orders for the rest of his army to march on Madrid by way of Segovia. They reached that city on the 7th, without having seen an enemy; but Joseph had previously levied a parting contribution upon its inhabitants, and laid his hands on such church plate as had hitherto escaped the cupidity of the French marshals. From Segovia also he again addressed Napoleon with complaints of the condition to which his kingdom was reduced by the disobedience of the generals of the north, of Aragon, and of the south, to his requisitions. Let us now, with the British army, enjoy a moment's leisure, which is, perhaps, as agreeable to readers as to tramping soldiers, who may tire occasionally even of victory. About a league and a half before entering Segovia, the army encamped in the royal park of Rio Frio—literally, the "cold stream." What would even our gallant leader have given for a draught of this pure cold water, when he placed the laurel chaplet on his brow on the 22nd of July! The earliest fruits had but just ripened in this region. Strawberries, raspberries, and currants, reminded the over-heated Briton of home, and more particularly when, instead of the plains of Castile, where not a blade of grass was to be seen, he now found green meadows, and carnations.

and roses in the parterres ; for, owing to its lofty situation, August and September are, in this garden region, like an English summer in its fruits and flowers. The castle of Segovia is the prison in which Francis I. was confined by the Emperor Charles V., after the victory of Pavia in 1525. It is built on high ground, nearly inaccessible on three sides, and is surrounded by a very deep ditch, and by walls 10 or 12 feet thick. It had been converted by the French into a military prison, with 3 or 4 pieces of artillery on the summit to overawe the Guerillas, but they had now dismantled and abandoned it. At Segovia exist many Roman and Moorish antiquities of great interest to antiquarians. First, the great Aqueduct (the work of the former people) stands at the entrance into the city, and unites the two hills between which it runs. It is supposed to have been built in the time of Trajan, and is so well preserved, that, after a lapse of nearly eighteen centuries, it is said not to leak in any part of its extent. From the point where it receives its rivulet to that where it delivers it into the reservoir is 2,400 feet ; its greatest height is 104 feet ; and it is composed of a double row of arches one above the other, built of square stones without mortar. The Alcazar, or royal residence, is seated on a rock in one of the most imposing situations, and commands an extensive view of the open country. It is a Moorish work, but Ferdinand and Isabella established their Court here ; and it contains several superb halls, adorned in semi-barbarous taste with a profusion of gilding. Ranged along the cornice of the great saloon are effigies of all the Kings of Spain seated in state. This is the residence of the department of Engineers and Artillery in Spain. Before the great outer tower is a large court, celebrated by Le Sage as the prison of Gil Blas, which renders it a classic building to the literary world. Two leagues from Segovia stands the great royal palace of La Granja, or San Ildefonso, situated in a deep recess of the Sierra Nevada, embosomed in the most charming leafy shade, and open only to the cool northerly breeze. To this retreat the sovereigns of Spain retire when the rest of their kingdom is parched with heat, in their almost tropical summers. The quantity of fine water with which these celebrated gardens abound, overflow numerous *jets d'eau*, after the fashion of Versailles, and is the great recommendation of this palace. The waterworks, from the abundance of the element, are even superior to those of France. Swinburne writes, "The waterworks surpass all I ever saw." At the Plazuela de las ocho calles, eight walks, each with a fountain in its centre, unite in a sort of star ; and here is a figure of Fame seated on Pegasus, with a trumpet to her mouth, throwing up a stream of more than 2 inches diameter to the height of 132 feet, which is visible even from Segovia, 10 miles distant !

On the 10th, the British army crossed the Guadarama Pass, still unopposed : but here the advanced guard of the Allies, under Brigadier D'Urban, encountered and drove in the French outposts, commanded by General Treilhard, who occupied Majalahonda. Brock's German dragoons and Macdonald's troop of horse artillery

were marching immediately in D'Urban's rear. About 5 in the afternoon, Treillard, having been reinforced by Schiazzetti's Italian dragoons and the Lancers de Berg, came back upon the British from Navalcarnero. D'Urban immediately called up his support, and, seeing the enemy's leading squadron somewhat too much advanced from the rest, ordered the Portuguese brigade to charge; but, unfortunately, they were seized with an unaccountable panic, turned about and fled, leaving their commander, Le Visconde de Barbacena, in the enemy's hands; when the Germans, with their accustomed bravery, galloped up for their protection, but not before 3 guns, which had got upon rough ground, broke down or were overturned, and were for the moment captured. The German brigade soon repaired the disaster to the Portuguese, with the loss of their Colonel, De Jonquière, who was also taken prisoner; but Colonel Ponsoby's cavalry brigade and a part of the 7th Division opportunely coming up, the enemy was driven back and the guns recovered.

The army found itself bivouacked in the Parco del Monasterio, attached to the palace of the Escorial. Again we ask permission to rest a moment on our march, for this is regarded as the grandest monument raised by the most sumptuous and grandiose of monarchs, at once the residence of the stately Court of Spain, the delight of its religious superstition, and the last home of its royal race. This edifice combines both a royal residence and a convent. Regal costliness, united with religious gloom, aptly characteristic of its founder, Philip II., distinguish it from the cheerful residence we have just left on the other side of the Sierra. Its plan is that of a gridiron, the residence forming the handle, while the feet of the utensil are represented by four towers, standing conspicuous at the corners of the edifice. The foundation is said to owe its origin to a vow made by the King before the battle of St. Quintin, which was fought on the festival of St. Lawrence in 1557, of the martyrdom of which saint the gridiron is the emblem. This extensive building had been so frequently occupied as a barrack by the French, that it had become much dilapidated and dismantled. The pictures and other valuables, even to the damask hangings which adorned the walls, had all been removed. In the chapel, the high altar, ascended by nineteen steps of red-veined jasper marble, which elevate it to a majestic height, alone remained. The altar piece is composed of eighteen columns of red or green jasper, between which are great gilt statues; and eight large original paintings of the great masters had here been suspended, but had been carried away to France. The walls of the church, painted in fresco by Spanish artists, were still untouched. The figure of Charles V., in his imperial mantle and uncovered, stands here conspicuous, with this inscription: "Hunc locum, si quis posterorum Caroli V. habitam gloriam rerum gestarum splendore superaverit, ipse solus occupato, ceteri reverenter abstinete." Descending twenty-five steps, through a door inlaid with rich woods, you arrive at the entrance of the royal mausoleum. Passing on and descending thirty-four marble steps, with panelled side-walls, cased in polished jasper, and furnished

with fixed brackets, supporting massive candelabras, you enter a circular vault 36 feet in diameter, by 38 in height, radiant with marbles of every hue, and with ornaments of elegant virtu. Here are deposited, in black marble urns, with gilt bronze mouldings, the ashes of Charles V., Philip II., and the succeeding monarchs of Spain and the Indies; but no corpse not royal has been admitted into these vaults, with the sole exception of that of the Marshal Duc de Vendôme, the hero of Villa Vicoza, which victory confirmed the crown to Philip V. and to the Bourbon line of kings.*

The population of the capital had been reduced by its occupation by the French troops and concurrent causes to a third of its former amount; but still the intrusive King had collected about the seat of government a great number of idle retainers, and all that multitude of dependents who form "the state that does hedge about a King;" and, in the pauperised condition of the Spanish Hidalgos, vast numbers, male and female, who had found it their interest to put principle and patriotism aside, continued to enjoy the ease of a Court which many even believed was fated to become an effective part of the Napoleon dynasty. Great excitement, accordingly, existed when it became known that Joseph had returned to Madrid in considerable trepidation, and that he was about to yield up the possession of the capital to the victorious army of the Allies. On the night of the 11th, there was much hurrying to and fro, and much vacillating loyalty. Three thousand carriages and 20,000 people hastened to march out, escorted by a strong armed force. Nothing could have been more easy than to drive into the Tagus that mass of miserable fugitives, mixed up in frightful confusion, as "the caravan" passed through Valdemore, on the way to Aranjuez; but, whether through pity or in policy, Wellington abstained from hostile interruption, and let them go undisturbed.

On the 12th of August, the natal day of the Prince Regent of Great Britain, the allied army entered the capital of Spain in grand array. The streets were adorned for the occasion with draperies of embroidered cloths, velvets, and carpets, all displayed as if for one of their accustomed religious ceremonials; garlands of flowers of various hues decorated the doors, and festoons of every coloured silk the balconies. Long before the first troops appeared on the Guadarama road, crowds of men and women thronged thither, impatient to witness their entrance. No words can express the enthusiasm which prevailed when the weather-beaten sunburnt joyous band, in their scarlet uniforms, first came in sight, tramping to the sound of military music, their riddled standards unfurled to the breeze, in "all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war!" Incredible were the ways in which the universal transports of joy and delight manifested themselves. The columns as they arrived were not only greeted with continued shouts and cries of welcome, but the ladies from the balconies, without any reticence, showered kisses and roses, while they waved their handkerchiefs in the air; and the women in the streets, rushing up to the side of the officers' chargers,

* See "Annals of the Wars," 1712, vol. i. p. 133.

embraced the knees of those who were on horseback, and in a delirium of joy threw their arms round the astonished but not unwilling men, with that open, earnest, and enthusiastic bearing which attaches to a southern excitement and the "electric shock of a nation's gratitude."

Madrid was still, however, vexed by the presence of an enemy, who occasionally boomed a cannon-shot to mar the gala. The palace of the Retiro, which had been fortified, was left garrisoned with 2,000 men, to guard enormous stores of all kinds, corn, wine, and oil, together with 20,000 stand of arms, with 180 pieces of artillery, including the eagles of two French regiments. The so-called palace of the Retiro was situated in the centre of a public garden called *Las Delicias*, adjoining the famous public walk of the capital, so well known as El Prado. On the higher ground there had once existed a royal palace, celebrated for the extent and beauty of its gardens, called El Retiro. Charles III. had, however, already deserted it as a royal residence, and had appropriated it to a manufactory of porcelain, fantastically covering the architectural exterior with Chinese decorations. It had now been converted by the French into an extensive citadel called Fort La Chine, consisting of the buildings belonging to the manufactory, which had received an enceinte bastioned and revêted; in fact, a regular octagonal star fort. This was surrounded by a second *tracé* of nine large forts with bastions and ravelins. The park wall, throughout its whole extent, had fleches or towers thrown forward in parts to yield flanking fire. The fortifications were nevertheless far too extensive for the garrison to which its defence was committed; and it seems extraordinary that so experienced a military chief as Marshal Jourdain should have left it behind, a certain sacrifice. On the 13th, Wellington, having appointed Carlos d'España governor of Madrid, for the maintenance of order in the city, made a reconnoissance of the citadel, and ordered the 3rd and 7th divisions to march up for its investment. On their approach the enemy withdrew their posts from the exterior line and showed no farther disposition of defence than in the Star Fort. The British troops were on the alert on the morning of the 14th to attack the line of second defence, and were preparing for an escalade, when the governor, Colonel La Fond, seeing that he was scarcely sure of a due supply of water from the cisterns, and that the extent of works, even of this interior citadel, was out of all proportion to the number of men left for its defence, sent out an officer to express a desire to capitulate. The terms were at once accepted, and the garrison marched away as prisoners of war to Portugal; but they were basely robbed and murdered by their Spanish escort before they had scarcely got out of sight of Madrid.

The Marquess of Wellington was now installed in the palace and capital of the kings of Spain. The battle of Salamanca had been the most successful of all his Peninsular triumphs. It had established the reputation of the British army, as it had manifested in an equal degree the brilliant strategic qualities of its general. The delusion

of French military superiority had received a damaging blow. The confidence of wavering allies had been confirmed, nay, the loyalty of the Spanish people was saved; for it is now well known that secret negotiations between the intrusive King and the Spanish Cortes had been already opened. The victory of Salamanca occurred at the most momentous crisis of the war. Napoleon, with a countless army, was marching across the breadth of Europe to humiliate, if not to subjugate, the Czar of Russia; and a success against his legions, occurring at this particular moment, was hailed throughout all Germany and over a great portion of Europe, as the dawn of a new era.

11. WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.

It is not within the province of this work to trace the causes of war. They are, however, generally of a mixed character, partly personal and partly political, and in what proportions these operate to effect a result are matters of dispute, or imperfectly known until time has laid open the bureaux of diplomacy and the correspondence of the principal agents. Even for nations separated by a quarter of the habitable globe, there exist material interests which must occasionally be antagonistic, if they do not actually clash; and it was scarcely probable that two such autocrats as Alexander and Napoleon, whose empires had by the course of events become substantially co-terminous, could exist without having differences of some sort. But when Napoleon had but one subject in his mind and one policy in his system, a policy which accorded ill with France and much worse with Russia; and when there were thousands of men at arms ready for combat on each side, there could be little doubt but that an outburst of war would be merely a question of time. The policy alluded to was not French, but Napoleonic; it was the senseless idea that a vast continent could be absolutely closed at the command of one power, by some impassable wall, against the countless insinuations of commerce. It was clear that some crevice would always be found open, through which the manufactures of England might pour with overwhelming effect. The rock of Heligoland was an opening of the kind, and had become the richest bazaar in the world; for thence was brought, by neutral vessels of the United States, the colonial produce so essentially necessary to the comforts of people of the continent; and the autocrat could neither reach that source by his power, nor by his policy stop up the channels through which commerce flowed in a fertilising stream through the thousand ports of the Baltic. The Emperor Alexander, moreover, could not brook the insolent anger of a monarch working against the interests of his people; and had besides personal grievances which offended his sensibilities. The territory of Oldenburg, to which family he was nearly allied, had been seized by the great conqueror, who would give neither reason nor compensation for the usurpation. Stralsund and Swedish Pomerania were also taken possession of in January by Davoust at the head of 20,000 men; and Sweden, though under the sway of a French

soldier, would not forgive the robbery, but appealed to Russia, who readily agreed to make common cause with her. Insult also had been added to injury by the language which the French Emperor addressed to the Crown Prince in answer to his remonstrance. Military preparations on a grand scale were accordingly making everywhere. A garrison of 20,000 men, under General Rapp, had been placed in Dantzic; those in Stettin, Custrin, and Glogau were largely reinforced. A *senatus consultum* of the 10th of March had divided the French empire into military cohorts, Bans, and Arrières Bans. The grand duchy of Warsaw was garrisoned with French troops; and although formal negotiations continued until the 24th of April, when Russia gave in her ultimatum, it was clear to all the world that war had become inevitable. Napoleon, in his own exalted position, could scarcely be expected to concede the entire evacuation of Prussia by the troops of his empire, nor a demand from any sovereign to diminish the amount of the garrisons he thought fit to place in his fortresses.

On the 29th, Alexander arrived at Wilna to superintend the formation of his armies, and on the 9th of May, Napoleon quitted Paris with the Empress and his court, and repaired to Dresden, where all the sovereigns of Europe, except the Czar and the Kings of Great Britain, Spain, and Sweden, repaired to pay homage to the great arbiter of nations. Never before had such an array of royalty been assembled together. The Emperor Francis and his august daughter, the lamb of sacrifice of his military blunders, here met in equal rank for the first time. Never was more imperial splendour displayed than Napoleon and Marie Louise now exhibited. Banquets, balls, pageants, and (that essential accompaniment of French gaiety) a company of Parisian players, varied the amusements and augmented the contentment of the assembled grandees, wits, and beauties of Europe. Kings waited in the ante-chamber of the Emperor, queens were the handmaids to the Empress. Galaxies of stars, and crowds in every uniform known to European drawing-rooms, followed them when they moved; brilliant bands proclaimed their presence, and noble guards with military honours heralded their progress, while splendid equipages and the most costly liveries followed the imperial carriage wherever it went. Poets and artists lent their most refined flatteries to the imperial grandeur and magnificence. Such a court had never perhaps been witnessed since the time of Louis XIV. There was, however, one striking distinction between the saloons of the Bourbon and Bonaparte dynasties. The French courtier of the old school was at best a polished trifier—*un bon causeur*; but in the circle of Napoleon there was no chatter. People talked little, or under their breath; not out of fear, but from a sense of the seriousness of the occasion. A serene calmness, a sober gravity, overawed *les flâneurs*. The Emperor did not relish from those around him a tone of scepticism, and in general his counsellors had such implicit reliance on his wisdom that they were disposed to submit cheerfully to his dictum. Nevertheless, at times, *Caulain-*

court, Duroc, Daru, Lobau, Rapp, Lauriston, and even sometimes Berthier, ventured to speak the truth, and braved its ill-reception; some with firmness, some with tears, some with impassibility, some with disrespect: but in the end they never sustained, in return for their candour, however accompanied, the slightest appearance of diminished affection or loss of favour from their master. Ségur tells us this anecdote:—The King of Prussia was not invited to appear at Dresden, but came and announced his arrival in the proper way. The Emperor refused to receive him. “Que lui veut ce prince! N’était-ce pas assez de l’importunité de ses lettres et ses réclamations continuelles! Pourquoi vient-il encore le persecuter de sa présence! Qu’a-t-il besoin de lui!” But Duroc interceded, recalling to Napoleon the imprudence of exciting the illwill of the King; and his Majesty was received and treated as became his rank. Something of a similar scene is related by Thiers when the Duke de Bassano brought him the reply of Bernadotte, with the conditions demanded by Sweden for her friendship. “Le misérable!” he repeated this name continually, “il manque à sa gloire, à la Suède, à sa patrie; il n’est pas digne qu’on s’occupe de lui; je ne veux pas qu’on m’en parle, et je défends qu’on lui fasse arriver aucune réponse ni officiel ni officieuse.” Although he was restored to more calmness by his minister, he would not receive M. Signeuil, the bearer of the despatch, but ordered him to Bohemia to take the waters there till he should be sent for.

Napoleon at Dresden, surrounded by all the chivalry of France and Germany, at the head of an army, actually under arms and in march, of 500,000 men, appeared to all human calculation to be above the possibility of decline or decay. None dared to prognosticate evil to his star, or to whisper that this was perhaps the last flicker of its rays, and that the drama in which he had been for so long the supreme and successful actor had nearly run to its termination. But the Czar was holding at the same moment at Wilna a more really military court than his adversary. Plain in character and severe in his entourage, without either confidence or despair, he found himself drawn into a vortex out of which he could only extricate himself by resolution and the help of Heaven. He had calmly considered the dangers which attended a conflict with the hero of Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, and Friedland; but he consoled himself with the reflection that he was not the aggressor, and his patriotism assured him that his country demanded at his hands imperatively the risk he was about to run. He was surrounded by the most able ministers and generals of his land, who by their wise counsels confirmed him in his determination. The French Emperor, thinking he had imposed upon the Russian Czar by the great assemblage of crowned heads and princes assembled around him at Dresden, despatched his aide-de-camp, General Narbonne, to the Russian head-quarters, to assure *them* of the pacific disposition of France; and Lauriston, his ambassador at Petersburg, was authorised to reopen negotiations. The offer was disdainfully declined, and Narbonne was not even ad-

mitted; but he brought word that the attitude of the Russian army was neither boastful nor depressed, that they openly declared that they preferred war to a disgraceful peace, and that they were prepared to tire out Napoleon by perseverance and resolution, rather than to place the safety of their country at the hazard of a single cast. It was in the consultations at Wilna that this course of action was resolved upon. Two great and separate armies were to be formed, the one on the banks of the Dwina and the other on that of the Dnieper, the two great frontier streams of Russia, which, having a nearly common origin, flow in contrary directions, the one to the Baltic the other to the Black Sea. The outposts of both these armies were to be stationed on the Niemen, and on the approach of the enemy both were to retire concentrically, presenting an imposing force of 250,000 men for the protection of either capital. An army of reserve was also to be formed, of 100,000 men, to supply the casualties of the forces in the field; and a third army of 40,000 men was to observe the frontiers of Austria in connexion with the 60,000 men who had formed the army of the Danube, and which, now that peace was concluded with Turkey, might be rendered available to act on the right flank of the enemy's attack; Sweden was at the same time prepared to furnish an army which should threaten the other flank. Great Britain lavished her assistance by the most liberal subsidies of money, arms, and supplies of all kinds. The high and imposing character of the Czar's attitude told considerably on all the populations and courts of Europe—and Russia counted for something the obtaining of the unanimity and sympathy of public opinion. Even France herself was not indifferent to the sight. Fatigued with incessant wars, in which the blood of her children was wasted for the glory of one man, she began to consider, "Qu'il fallait se croire surnaturel pour tout dénaturer et déplacer ainsi, sans craindre d'être entraîné soi-même dans ce bouleversement universel!" Austria, still bleeding from her former wounds; Prussia, smarting under defeat, subdued and powerless, but vindictive; and even Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony, which the imperial breath had made into kingdoms, saw themselves obliged to furnish contributions in men and money to a contest which was at variance with all their patriotism and their interests. The wretched peasantry of Poland, which was again to become the theatre of the war, saw the labours of their hands about to fall a prey to military robbers. There was a latent hope, therefore, that in the gigantic invasion to which Russia was now exposed, united Germany might yet be induced to rise upon the tyrant's rear at the first reverse, and that Napoleon might there find a Pultowa, in which he, like Charles XII., might lose his star. But it is without doubt that the conduct of Spain had been a pregnant example to every people, and that their unselfish patriotism in the way they had met an invasion had been deemed worthy of imitation by those countries which the French army was about to visit. To excite a war of partisans which might lay waste the country through which so vast an army was to be marched and maintained, appeared quite as

practicable amidst the snows and forests and niggard cultivations of the North, as it had been found available and successful in the teeming plains and valleys of the Peninsula: and to all these preparations and hopes must be added, that which was a most essential characteristic of the Emperor Alexander and the Russian people, a firm reliance on the Almighty protection, under the open appeal to God by the prayers and rites of a church, the vibrations of whose mystic chords thrilled with equal power the hearts of the Muscovite soldier and the sovereign.

12. NAPOLEON TAKES THE FIELD.

Napoleon knew by experience the importance of taking the field before the sickle had been applied to the growing crops, and that therefore the period to make the swoop he contemplated should not be later than June, when he would command the agricultural resources of all the provinces of Poland as well as Germany, for the nourishment of his troops. As early as January he had written confidentially to the Viceroy Eugene to assemble the division of Lithuanians and Poles under his command at Brescia, Verona, and Trieste, in order that these might be ready to march to the Vistula in February, to join the army that was assembling on that river under the Marshal Prince of Eckmühl. He had likewise already withdrawn all the Polish regiments that were in the Spanish armies of Soult and Suchet, and they were silently on the march across France to the same destination. The Dutch Guards were also ordered to be in readiness to march out of Holland, where and in Westphalia great purchases of horses had been made for the use of his cavalry and artillery. Shoes and other requisites of equipment, together with corn, brandy, and other articles of nourishment, had been for some months in movement as quietly as possible, so as not to excite public notice; and he had thus formed and prepared vast magazines for the war with, he hoped, very little if any observation. Soon, however, as time advanced, the roads of Germany were seen to be covered with military processions of all kinds. The King of Westphalia, at the head of his guards, crossed the Oder and took post at Stettin, whence, on the arrival of other contingents, he moved forward to Warsaw, and anticipating magazines so far forward, he pillaged Poland without mercy. The Emperor quitted Dresden on the 29th of May, and marched by Posen upon Thorn, where he established the head-quarters of his great army on the 2nd of June. Here he was met by the indignant remonstrances of his faithful allies, who complained loudly of the treatment to which they had been exposed by the Westphalian army; and Napoleon sent for his brother Jerome, and openly rebuked and even threatened "His Sacred Majesty" in face of the people. In like manner he reproached Ney and even Prince Eugene; but the heaviest measure he dealt out was against the Prince of Würtemberg, who commanded his own people, and had pillaged beyond all the rest, when he told him indignantly, "*qu'on allait lui attirer une guerre de*

Portugal si on devastait ainsi les pays que l'armée traversait." Such an army as now flashed across the whole length and breadth of Germany had never been heard of since the invasion of the Barbarians; but the 400,000 infantry and 80,000 horse now congregated seemed to have inherited the confusion of the Tower of Babel, as, "bearded like the pard, sudden and quick in quarrel," they chattered and swore dreadful oaths in French, Italian, German, Spanish, Portuguese, and Polish, of so many different nations that it would require the skill of a Homer to recount the grandeur of their leaders and the prowess of their standards. The head-quarters at Posen glittered with the staffs of every army, composed of all the highest-bred youth of the time in the most elegant attire, as if they were about to obtain transcendent renown through some "route royale" of war. Napoleon divided this multitude into 9 corps *d'armée* of about 3 divisions each. The first, however, comprised 5 divisions, and was under the command of the Marshal Prince of Eckmühl, having Generals Morand, Friant, Gudin, Compans, and Desaix under him. The regiments of which each division was composed consisted of from three to four battalions each. Five regiments of light cavalry and two divisions of cuirassiers, under Gerardin, Bajol, and Bourdesoll, made the entire force assembled under Davoust to consist of 70,000 men. The second corps was confided to the Marshal Duke de Reggio. It consisted of the divisions of Legrand, Verdier, and Merle. The cavalry was under De Doumerc, Cartel, and Corbineau. The entire command of Oudinot was 42,000 men. To the Marshal Duke d'Elchingen was confided the third corps. It was composed of the divisions of Ledru, Razout, and Marchand, with the cavalry of De Wolwarth and Mourier, making Ney's command from 30,000 to 40,000 men. The fourth corps was also called the army of Italy. It was under the orders of the Viceroy, having under him Broussier, Delzons, Liechi, and Pino, with the cavalry of Guyon. Prince Eugene had under his orders 42,000 men. The fifth corps included the Polish army, the command of which was given to Prince Poniatowski, with the generals of division Zayonscheck, Dombrowsky, and Kniasewitch, and the general of cavalry Kamensky. It numbered 35,000 men. Count Gouvion St. Cyr, who had been for some time in the bad books of Napoleon, was taken back to favour and given the command of the Bavarians, who formed the sixth corps of 22,000 to 25,000 men, and had in fact made part of the French army and been brigaded with them since 1805. The divisions were under the respective commands of Wrede, Deroi, and Siebein. The Saxons, who numbered 16,000 or 17,000 men, had also often served with the French command, and were willing to receive Reynier as their chief, with the German generals of infantry Lecocq and Funk, and the general of cavalry Gablentz. The Westphalians and Hessians were nominally under their King Jerome, but in reality formed the eighth corps under Junot, consisting of 16,000 or 18,000 men, under generals of division Thareau and Ochs, the cavalry being commanded by Wolff. The ninth corps was delegated to the Duke of Belluno, and a tenth corps was to be assigned to the

Duke of Tarentum. They were respectively to comprise 32,000 men, under the generals of division of infantry, Pastonneaux, Daendels, Gerard, De York, Mössenback, and Granjean, and the cavalry generals De Delaitre and Fournier.

To the above enumeration must be added the Old Guard under the Duke of Dantzic and the Young Guard under Mortier, the whole comprising 40,000 men, commanded by Laborde, Curial, Roquet, Clarapède, and Walther; and the reserve, an army of itself, under Augereau, consisting of 50,000 men, among whom were 6,000 of the best cavalry, with artillerymen enough to man 200 guns. Without counting sick and detached, the entire force that crossed the Niemen on the 24th of June, including a corps of Austrians under Prince Schwartzburg, offered to the view an armed mass, under the most perfect organisation, of 423,000 soldiers, of whom 300,000 were infantry, 70,000 cavalry, and 30,000 artillery, with upwards of 1,000 pieces of artillery, 6 pontoon equipages, and a train of carriages containing provisions for a month. The wheels accompanying the army were calculated at 20,000, the horses of all the services employed at 200,000. Napoleon proceeded from Posen to Dantzic, and thence to Königsburg. On arriving at Dantzic, he met his brother-in-law Murat, King of Naples, who had not been invited to the great royal gathering at Dresden, and accordingly had been obliged to avoid that town, and repair to Berlin, where he awaited with dutiful patience the summons of his Suzerain, whom in truth he had displeased by some overtures on "maritime affairs," which he had ventured to make in his independent royal character, to the British Government. Fatigued by his journey, humiliated by the indignity shown in his exclusion from the splendid reunions he gloried in, and by his cold reception here, he was now altogether unlike the "hero of the snow-white plume" that we picture him in our imagination. Napoleon bluntly enquired if he was ill, or dissatisfied at having become a king; to which he humbly replied that he was so no longer, but, as ever, the most attached of his master's lieutenants. "Je ne vous ai pas fait rois, vous et vos frères," rejoined the arrogant chief, "pour regner à votre manière, mais pour regner à la mienne, pour suivre ma politique et rester français sur les trônes étrangers." King Murat chafed, but did not venture one word in justification. The Emperor reached Königsburg on the 12th, at which place he concluded his personal inspection of his magazines. Berthier, Caulaincourt, Duroc, and Rapp here conferred with him on the great dépôts which had been formed, their extent and sufficiency, and on the means of forwarding the supplies in order to his advancing troops. Napoleon also gave his particular attention to the hospitals of the army, and beds for 20,000 sick were provided at Königsburg, Braunsburg, and Etling. In all these labours he evinced that character of great personal application in remedying the wants and providing for the comfort of his soldiers which marks all his operations.* On the 22nd Napoleon moved his head-quarters to

* Among the requisites of a great army here enumerated, we do not find any notice of a chancellerie and secrétariat: yet the office at head-quarters is a most

a small farm in the forest near Welkowsi, whence he issued a proclamation after his accustomed style, in no wise remarkable except for its plain speaking. Nothing of the enemy was visible on the other side of the Niemen, which was now in his front, save scattered troops of Cossacks patrolling the country round; but before he lay down to rest, the experienced chief borrowed a cavalry cloak, and, in company with General Haxo and General Eblé, reconnoitred the banks minutely and directed the immediate formation of three bridges.

The Russian army, which was about to dispute the passage of the Niemen, was composed of six divisions. The first, commanded by Count Witgenstein, having under him Generals Berg, Saxonof, and Kakowski, consisted of 28 battalions, 16 squadrons, and 3 regiments of Cossacks, in all 25,000 men. The second corps was under General Bagawout, with the divisions Olsonsief and Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg, and contained 24 battalions and 8 squadrons, numbering nearly 20,000 soldiers. The third and fourth *corps-d'armée* were under the orders of Schouveloff and Touchzoff, and these four together comprised the army of the West. The second army was commanded by Prince Bagration, and was formed of the fifth and sixth *corps-d'armée*, which were under the orders respectively of the Grand Duke Constantine and Raefskoi, with the divisions of the guards of Yermolof, Despreradovitch, and Galitzin; and of Generals Doctorov and Borosden, with the divisions of Kapzewitch and Likatchef, and the cavalry of Ouvorov, Korf, and Paylen, altogether forming a force of 130,000 men. To the above are also to be added the Cossacks, under the Hetmann Platoff, which consisted of 8000 horses. Marckoff, in second line, organised a separate corps of 45,000 men, consisting of the 7th and 8th divisions, besides the cavalry of Sievers and nine regiments of Cossacks; and Tormassoff had a corps of 40,000 men in reserve; while Admiral Tchichagov commanded in Moldavia an army consisting of 102 battalions and 116 squadrons. The entire force of the Russian army at the commencement of hostilities is stated at 188,994 infantry, and 38,138 cavalry, besides 18,000 Cossacks, and 20,335 artillery with a considerable number of guns: in all, 265,467 men, under the supreme command of General Barclay de Tolly. This army was posted and divided so as to cover a considerable extent of ground; and the Russians fortified Dunaburg, and prepared a strongly entrenched camp at Drissa, to protect the passage of the Dwina, evidently expecting that the enemy would direct his march so as to threaten St. Petersburg; but Napoleon's plan was different, namely, to pierce the centre, and bear direct through Wilna upon Moscow. To meet this contingency, a *tête de pont* was constructed at Borissov on the

important adjunct of the *État-major*. The immensity of business connected with a large army-command renders the acquirement of good business habits indispensable. The published correspondence of Napoleon, Berthier, and Wellington gives a good idea of the extent of *chancellerie* experience demanded from a chief of the staff, while the attainment of a good style of writing, and of clearness and conciseness of expression, is of first-rate importance in a *secrétariat*. These matters ought to be attended to in the education course of the Staff College.

Beresina, and the ramparts around Smolensko, the old bulwark of Russia, were put in a respectable state of defence.

13. THE FRENCH ARMY CROSSES THE NIEMEN.

There is scarcely any night in these latitudes at Midsummer. As soon, therefore, as the bridges were ready, which was about one in the morning of 24th June, Murat, at the head of all the cavalry, marched in front of the corps of Marshal Davoust, and crossed to Kovno. The corps of Oudinot and Ney followed. All the 12-pounders were ranged in a semicircle to cover the passage, but not an enemy appeared to dispute it. The Emperor from his tent, placed on an eminence, looked proudly on the three columns descending from the heights, like three exhaustless torrents pouring down their waters into the valley of the Niemen. Their bayonets and helmets were lighted up in the early morning, as the cloudless sun played over their bright steel. Napoleon had mounted, and was riding to the shore, when suddenly his horse fell and he was thrown on the sand; but, confident in his star, he for once was heedless of superstitious influence. "C'est un mauvais présage—un Romain reculerait," exclaimed some daring young staff officer, but no notice of it escaped the lips of the hero. Scarcely had he set his foot on the Russian soil than the sun darkened, and the wind arose, and a furious tempest, accompanied by thunder and lightning, broke over the army; but the invader passed on as if he heeded it not. He galloped along one of the bridges, traversed the town of Kovno, and immediately went forward, diving, as it were, into the solitudes of the forests, for nearly an hour's space, and then wheeled his horse round and retraced his steps. He slept that night at Kovno, and indeed rested there two or three days, to afford time for the rest of the army to cross the river. The Emperor Alexander was at a ball at the country house of General Benningsen on the evening of the 25th, when Barclay de Tolly sent to apprise his Imperial Majesty that the French were crossing the Niemen. He immediately ordered his generals to their posts, and addressed proclamations to his army and to his people, shortly stating his hopes of peace to the last, until "the Emperor Napoleon, by a sudden invasion of our soil at Kovno, has declared war;" and, he added, "He has forced me to unsheathe the sword, and I will not return it to the scabbard as long as a single enemy remains upon the Russian territory." The general plan of the campaign had been drawn up under the personal supervision of the Czar by General Von Phull, a Prussian by birth, who had entered the service of Russia after 1806. He had been in early life associated with Scharnhorst and Massenbach, and, in the estimation of the superior staff of the Prussian army, was considered as a man of genius, and possessed of many qualities of a great general. The order was now issued for the orderly retreat of the entire Russian army to Vidzoui, as the point of concentration, and the head-quarters of the Czar were

removed from Wilna to Polotsk on the 28th, on which day Napoleon entered the former city, at the head of the Polish regiment of Radzi-vill, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who raised their national banners and reassumed the ancient Polish dress, under the impression that the conqueror would at this time restore their kingdom. But Napoleon was more intent on the Russian retreat than on the re-establishment of Lithuania, and pushed rapidly through the town, as far as the outposts of his army.

At the same time that the main body crossed the Niemen at Kovno, Marshal Macdonald crossed it at Tilsit, and marched to Rossiena, where he threatened Wittgenstein, who fell back before his approach, as did Bagawonst upon Wilkomir, both crossing to the right bank of the Wilia, after burning the bridges. The whole Russian army now retired on Dunaburg and into the entrenched camp at Drissa. Doctorov, who was far on the left, fell back on Lida, communicating by Platoff's Cossacks with the rest of the army of Prince Bagration at Grodno, forming the extreme left of the Russian army. These troops received orders to retreat to the banks of the Dwina. The King of Westphalia and the Viceroy, who had passed the Niemen at Preuw, received directions to follow this left wing of the Russian army, and to endeavour, in conjunction with Napoleon's advance on Wilna, to separate the two armies of Barclay de Tolly and Bagration.

The King of Naples, according to his habit, glittering with gold tags and crowned with waving plumes, capered at the head of the cavalry in full glory, and, thoughtless of all but himself, had already outstripped his supplies, fatigued his horses, and was considerably ahead of Davoust's infantry, when, to his astonishment, a Russian envoy, M. de Balachoff, presented himself under a trumpet. Always gracious, Murat treated him with every civility, and sent him on to the Prince De Eckmühl, who gave him a very different reception. The rude old Marshal scarcely noticed him, except by an invitation to partake of his dinner, laid out on a house-door placed across some tubs, and ordered him a billet in the town, where he remained till Napoleon came up to Wilna. On the same morning of the 28th, however, Murat, galloping on, suddenly found himself at Dveltovo, in the midst of the cavalry of the corps of Doctorov, descending the course of the Wilia in the direction of Drissa, having both infantry and artillery in support. A cannonade was at once opened on both sides, but the Russian general was not prevented from pursuing his course until the Prince De Eckmühl's corps was brought to bear against him, when a shock ensued, and Doctorov fell back with the loss of his baggage, although, by a rapid flank march, he contrived to make his way to Svertziana, where he joined the army of Barclay de Tolly.

The Emperor had during his stay at Kovno ordered General Eblé to establish a permanent bridge across the Niemen, and to fortify the town so as to render it safe from insult, in order that it might form his great communication with his base, and then he departed for Wilna, where he rested a fortnight, after the exertion of this first operation. He has been severely blamed for this, and it has

been thought to denote a sad change in energy since the days of General Bonaparte, though it may be that affairs of state, a regard to General Balachoff's mission or to the affairs of the kingdom of Poland, that may have required it, or it may have arisen from the necessity of bringing his vast army into line to make ready for further operations; for up to this time the Viceroy was greatly in arrear on the French right flank, and, in fact, did not cross the Niemen till the 29th, nor did Schwarzenburg do so till the 2nd of July. Already there had commenced evils, some of which were inseparable from so vast an assemblage of mouths, and others that perhaps could neither have been expected nor guarded against. Many of the divisions were already out of bread, salt, and spirits, and some of the cavalry out of provender. Moreover, though the weather had been hitherto favourable, it broke up on the 29th, and a succession of storms burst over Poland. The roads in that part of the ancient kingdom are formed of logs of wood, through the interstices of which the legs of both men and horses floundered, and in many cases were broken, and the bogs were perfectly bottomless. Accordingly, privations occurred from the effects of the weather, the immediate consequence of which was that dysentery and other ailments broke out among the troops. The Italians and Bavarians especially suffered, and hung back, apparently glad to get away, if possible, from the cheerless region into which they had been drawn, without feeling any national interest in the cause of the war. The army carried no tents with them, and were, therefore, for the most part without any shelter from the inclement blast. The corps of Davoust and the Guards found a few old habitations standing; but Ney and Oudinot, more to the left of the Wilia, found no cover whatever. The Viceroy, coming up on the already beaten track, left men and horses by hundreds to die on the road. But King Jerome, with his corps of 75,000 men, still lagged behind; for he did not quit Grodno till the 1st of July, when he advanced to Mir, where his cavalry encountered the Cossacks at Platoff on the 9th and 10th, with some advantage. Davoust had, however, before this time come seriously to blows with the corps of Prince Bagration, which had at Minsk stopped his march on the Dwina; so that he was obliged to change his course, and doubled back upon Bobroisk, on the Beresina, which he reached on the 18th of July. The Viceroy, having passed the Narotsch on the 13th, pursued his way to Vileika, across the Wilia. At the left of the grand army Macdonald had encountered and defeated the troops of Wittgenstein at Dveltovo, and had arrived near Duneburg on the 13th; while Sebastiani, with the advance of the cavalry, reached Drissa the same day. Wittgenstein had previously crossed the Dwina at Dunaburg, and Barclay established head-quarters at Drissa on the 10th.

Napoleon was so dissatisfied with the want of energy in his brother Jerome's movements, that he desired Davoust to unite the two corps under his own command, which greatly offended the Westphalian King, who had already been chafed by his Imperial brother more than once. He now, therefore, left the grand army

altogether, and on the 18th or 19th took his way back to Westphalia. This indolence and slowness of march of the Emperor's brother had, indeed, hindered Davoust from enveloping Bagration upon the Beresina, and obliged him to resort to another manœuvre, which was to anticipate him upon the Dnieper at Mohilov.

The Russian entrenched camp was formed on the left bank of the Dwina, with a covered way of 6,000 yards of development, uniting 12 palisaded redoubts placed on high ground, at a point where the river made a considerable bend. It was armed with 354 pieces of cannon, and was one of the greatest military constructions of modern times. It had cost two years' labour, and it enclosed immense magazines, which formed in truth its principal value, because, strategically, it was almost impossible to unite the Russian armies at this point, seeing the distance at which Bagration was already obliged to march in fulfilment of this especial object of the campaign; for, while the army under Barclay was at Drissa, that under Bagration was to the south of the Smolensko road at Mir. The Czar, therefore, resolved upon an entire change in the plan of operations, and ordered Barclay to break up from the camp at Drissa, leaving Wittgenstein with 25,000 men for its defence, and to march on Polotsk, while Smolensko was given as the point of junction for the two armies. The Czar remained to review his forces on the 16th at Polotsk, where he left them and repaired to Moscow.

At length, on the 16th, Napoleon broke up the Imperial headquarters at Wilna, and established them on the 18th at Gloubokoe. Here occurred a delay of 18 or 20 days without any apparent necessity, and which has never been satisfactorily accounted for. It is to be feared that Napoleon had already approached the stage so graphically described by the English minister, Elliot, as that at which the great Frederick had arrived: "Il commence déjà à babiller." Listen to the account he gives of himself in the bulletin he at this time sent to France. "Le voilà donc, cet empire de Russie de loin si redoutable! Ce sont des barbares! À peine ont-ils des armes! Point de recrues prêtes. Le ciel inonde ou brûle une terre sans abri: mais cette calamité est moins un obstacle à la rapidité de notre agression qu'une entrave à la fuite des Russes. Ils sont vaincus sans combats par leur seule faiblesse, par le souvenir de nos victoires." It is the mildest phrase to employ against this official report, that there is not a word of truth in it. The short march of head-quarters revealed to his sight the privations to which his army was already exposed in a region sparsely inhabited, boggy, and woody, the country being half covered with water in the form of rivers, pools, or marshes, which required bridges to be laid down at every step, while the extreme heat of July in these latitudes was painfully evident in the fatigue and sickness of the troops, who were straggling and deserting in every direction. Cars full of provisions were plundered by the vagabonds who infest the rear of every advancing force, and the army was reduced to half rations of bread, though they still had abundance of meat. The commander,

with that wonderful activity and energy which never flagged, gave his mind at Gloubokoë to the re-organisation of the magazines. He found some unoccupied convents in the town, which were immediately converted into storehouses, and the canal of Lepel, which united the waters of the Dwina and the Dnieper, assisted to bring up the supply. Large ovens were also constructed, new hospitals prepared, and a strong provost-marshal's police created to remedy the increasing disorders in so vast a horde of marauders as already followed the army. The Emperor remained six days at Gloubokoë. His army now rested its right at Kamen, with the Viceroy before him at Onkatsch; but his left, comprising the divisions of Morand, Friant, and Gudin, with all the cavalry under the King of Naples and the corps of Ney and Oudinot, was still in observation of the Russian camp at Drissa. On the 22nd the Imperial head-quarters were removed towards Witepsk. Napoleon now learned that Barclay had abandoned the entrenched camp, and had come into collision with his advance, under Sebastiani, who had allowed himself to be surprised near Druia by the Russian cavalry, who carried off General St. Geniér prisoner; but, being reinforced by Murat, he had driven back this irruption, and had taken prisoner General Koulnieff, who commanded it.

14. COMBATS OF MOHILOV AND OSTRONOV.

While Napoleon moved forward the head-quarters to Kamen, Davoust was pressing hard on the line of march of Bagration. He had seized Minsk on the 8th of July, and was already threatening the Beresina, so that the Emperor, on receiving the report that the Russian corps was enveloped between the rivers, exclaimed "Ils sont à moi." Bagration, however, on finding the French in his way, passed rapidly to Bobrinki, where he crossed the Beresina, and subsequently the Dnieper at Nov Bickov. Leaving the fortified place of Bobrouisk, Davoust marched, on the 21st, to Mohilov, where the divisions of Compans, Desaix, and Clarapède encountered Platov with his Cossacks, who fell upon the light cavalry of Bourdesolle, and, though they fell back before the French, they gave a rough welcome to their arrival on the Borysthenes. The Prince of Eckmühl, with General Haxo, reached Mohilov on the 22nd, and immediately made a reconnoissance of the ground on which to receive the enemy; for somewhat to the Marshal's surprise he found that he was in advance of the enemy, and had outmarched so many of his own detachments that he had not now with him more than 30,000 men to stop the march of 60,000 Russians. He chose a position behind the Mischowska, at the point of its confluence with the Dnieper, crossed here by a bridge, which he barricaded. He créneléed the mill of Falova, and an inn or post-house which abutted on it, and so disposed his guns as to bear most effectually upon all the approaches; and finally placed his divisions in such a way as to defend every point of vantage, and to leave a sufficient reserve for any contingency. On early morning of the 23rd,

Bagration was in motion to cut his way through the enemy. Leaving the division of Borosдино to watch the road from Bobrouisk, by which he apprehended that King Jerome might be coming up against him, he attacked the bridge and mill with the divisions Raeffskoi, Kobroubakin, and Paskewitch, supported by some heavy artillery. After a sharp action, in which the Russians are represented as losing 4,000 men, Bagration passed the Dnieper at Staroi-Bickov, and moved forward on Metialav and Smolensko.

As soon as Napoleon received information of Davoust's engagement with Bagration, he put his centre in motion. He directed Oudinot to cross the Dwina and march on Polotsk, to interpose between the corps of Wittgenstein and the main army. The Viceroy crossed the Oula on the 23rd, and prepared to lay a bridge across the Dwina at Beszenkowicz on the following day, but came upon the division of Doctorov, forming Barclay's rear-guard, moving along the right bank to Vitepsk. Here Napoleon arrived at the river bank, and was the first to cross the bridge under the escort of the Bavarian cavalry. The order of march of his battalions was so precise that at the same moment they came pouring down from the north and from the west; but he at once discovered that, notwithstanding, he was too late to intercept the line of march of the Russians, who had already passed. Some disorder ensued on the arrival of so many divisions, but the strong arm of the conqueror soon brought order out of chaos. Murat was ordered to carry forward the cavalry on the road to Ostronov, and Prince Eugène was commanded to move his corps with all haste in the same direction. The hussars were already within two leagues of the place, when they came suddenly on three regiments of the Russian guard with 6 guns, under Count Pahlen, in position behind the Lutchassa between Budilowa and Ostronov. General Piré, without waiting for Murat, charged so vigorously that he drove the Russians from their guns; but on the arrival of the King of Naples to the front, he saw before him a whole *corps-d'armée* of the enemy, consisting of a numerous body of both infantry and cavalry, under General Ostermann. He immediately sent to the Viceroy to bring up some foot regiments, and made his dispositions for the attack. Ostermann forthwith lined the woods with light infantry, and sent forward the dragoons of Ingria to threaten the French right; but Murat, always prodigal of life, dashed forward at the head of some dragoon regiments, and sustained the fight until the division of General Delzons arrived on the field. General Huard was immediately directed to attack the front, which, after a first failure, he succeeded in doing, and in dislodging the enemy from the woods, when Ostermann, finding his front and flanks successfully assailed, took advantage of night to retire from the position, and passing through the town established himself in the strong ravine behind it. At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 26th, Murat and Ney led forward the pursuit, and passing through Ostronov at the head of Delzons's infantry, found the Russians formed up in position with increased numbers; for Barclay had sent up the division of Konowiltzin to

reinforce Ostermann. The position was simple enough. The troops were in lines across the great road, which is here bordered with birch trees, having the Dwina on their left and thickly wooded heights on their right flank. The Viceroy ordered the 13th and 14th Divisions of infantry to advance in support of the cavalry under the King of Naples, who, not considering the obstacles which these woods opposed to their movement, pushed on against the enemy under a heavy fire from their guns, admirably served by General d'Authonard. The Russians, however, disputed the woods with stubbornness, and Konownitsin launched all his power against the centre and left of the French advance. Their columns were shaken, and their artillery already in danger, when Murat came

"Dashing
On his war-horse through the ranks,
Like a stream which burst its banks,
While helmets cleft and sabres clashing,"

led the way for Eugène to go forward with Ricard's regiment, who saved the guns, and threw back the Russian battalions to be dealt with by the merciless Polish Lancers, who are said by the French accounts to have been roused into fury by the recollection of former bitter oppression. However, both the King and the Viceroy doubted the prudence of continuing the contest with their insufficient force against the masses which now showed themselves, and thought of retreat, when at the right moment the Emperor, surrounded by a brilliant staff, arrived on the field, and was received in the manner that generally indicated his presence, by clamorous cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" He saw the ground covered with the Russian dead, and that the French likewise had lost many killed and wounded; nevertheless, after concluding his reconnoissance, and taking time for deliberation, he concluded that the Russian generalissimo did not intend any serious check, and accordingly ordered the fight to be renewed on the following morning, and the pursuit to be pushed on "sans relâche." He bivouacked for the night with the advance of his army, and ordered up the guard, the 1st *corps-d'armée*, and that of Ney, to relieve the Bavarians in the front, who were quite knocked up, and required some rest; and, on the other hand, Barclay sent Count Pahlen with all the cavalry to relieve Count Ostermann; while the Russian army continued its march to Vitepsk, along the right bank of the Dwina.

Napoleon, in person, headed the French advance on the 27th, and saw before him a Russian army drawn up in battle array. The sun was bright, and the day was lovely, but rather hot. The division Broussier of the army of Italy, with the Viceroy at its head, was marching forward, preceded by Nansouty's cavalry, and had reached a ravine, the bridge over which had been destroyed by the enemy, but while this was repairing, Napoleon, eagerly observing the Russians from an eminence, doubted whether he should consider this as an offer of battle, and cried a halt, but, nevertheless, *thought it prudent to send off in all directions to hasten up the divisions in the rear; although he was delighted, as well as the*

whole French army, at the prospect of a fight. The Russian cavalry advanced and attacked the French infantry in the plain, who formed square to receive them; and as the Emperor eyed them from the height, he saw the fearful assault repelled with much resolution and firmness. He immediately put spurs to his horse, and galloped in amongst them. "Qui êtes-vous, mes amis?" The reply was, "Voltigeurs du 9^{me} de ligne et tous enfants de Paris."—"Eh! bien! vous êtes des braves, et vous avez tous mérité la croix."

15. NAPOLEON AT VITEPSK—THE CZAR AT MOSCOW.

Barclay de Tolly had rallied his army in a position behind the Luczissa, in order of battle, that he might effect a junction with Bagration, whom he expected to be in the direction of Orcha; but towards evening of the 27th an aide-de-camp of the Prince arrived at the Russian head-quarters with an account of the combats of Mohilov, in consequence of which the generalissimo determined to effect the proposed junction with the second army at Smolensko, by way of Mestilav, and accordingly ordered the first army to abandon Vitepsk, and continue its march. After sunset, therefore, the Russians, leaving their watchfires burning, broke up their camp with such order, precision, and silence, that it was not till day broke on the morning of the 28th that the French discovered that the road was clear for their entrance into Vitepsk. The Emperor was amongst the first at the outposts, and could not conceal his chagrin at the continued retreat of the Russians, the cause of which he could not divine; but he immediately rode forward into the town of Vitepsk, where he dismounted the same evening, and took up his abode in the governor's house; and while the troops took up their quarters he called the King of Naples, Eugène, Bertrand, and Ney into council. He saw that all his projects against Barclay were now played out. He had utterly failed to prevent his junction with Bagration, and he was (singularly enough for Napoleon when in the field) *au bout de son latin*. With the single exception of the conference after Essling with Massena and Davoust in the island of Lobau, he had never needed counsel since his earliest days at Castiglione: but what was to be done? His cavalry was already "done up." His artillery was struggling with difficulty through the mud of "bottomless" roads. He had outmarched his magazines and his hospitals. To halt until the frosts dried the roads and diminished the streams was not suited to the habits and prestige of the French army. Besides, he could not even canton his army where he was, for there were no quarters for them in Lithuania. Nevertheless, it was essentially necessary to halt his troops for a few days' repose. He also called General Belliard to the council, who declared frankly that if the cavalry continued the march another week it would be at an end. His little parliament, therefore, unanimously recommended a halt here in this narrow pass between the Dnieper and the Dvina. "Now, then," said Napoleon, unbuckling his sword, and laying it

down abruptly upon a quantity of maps which covered the table. "Je m'arrête ici, je veux m'y reconnaître, y rallier, y reposer mon armée et organiser la Pologne. La campagne de 1812 est finie! celle de 1813 fera le reste. 1813 nous verra à Moscou, 1814 à Pétersbourg. La guerre de Russie est une guerre de trois ans." His councillors retired to their quarters, and to discuss with their respective subordinates the state of affairs at Vitepsk.

From his windows Napoleon looked out upon the plain of the Dwina, over the ruined buildings of the town, the walls of which rested on profound ravines, bordered by precipices, and he amused himself with the thought that it would not take his engineers a month to make it an almost impregnable fortress. Then he awoke to other reflections, and, beholding the miserable prospect before him, was heard to exclaim: "Croyez-vous donc que je sois venu de si loin pour conquérir cette mesure?" The magazines, which had been considerable, were found to be all emptied or destroyed; the inhabitants had all fled; and it was near the end of the day before the French could find a single person to give them any information. The exhausting heat of the weather was equal to what the Imperial commander and many of his comrades in the French army had experienced in Egypt, and not unlike it; for the heated atmosphere was charged with a fine sand, which was very annoying to the troops, so that men and horses fell on the way quite exhausted.

It was an unailing characteristic of Napoleon, that even the leisure of his resting-places on a campaign was devoted to the amelioration of the condition of his soldiers, by every means that his wonderful genius could suggest. He directed his Surgeon-General, Larrey, to organise the hospitals anew, and to devise some means of more easy travelling for the sick, who were without the *ambulances*, which the constant advance of the army had left behind, and to collect in the town of Vitepsk, for the express comfort of the sick, all the little luxuries of wine, sugar, and coffee, that could be found in the houses of the affluent. He also commanded that the most rigid search might be made by the "*Intendance Générale*" through the highly cultivated land between the Dwina and the Dnieper for grain and cattle for the provisionment of the forces. But what especially caused him anxiety was the extraordinary diminution which was now found to have occurred in the ranks of the army. He ordered the roll-call to be everywhere made, and it was discovered that Macdonald's corps, which had had little work, was already reduced from 30,000 to 24,000, but that Oudinot's *corps-d'armée* had fallen from 38,000 to 23,000. Marshal Ney who had begun with 36,000, had now only 22,000 who answered to their names. Murat, from 22,000 horse, had only 13,000 or 14,000 fit for service. Even the Imperial Guard had lost 10,000 men, principally from the ranks of the Young Guard. The single division of Clarapède, which had brought out of Spain 7,000 men, was found diminished to less than *one-half*. The Viceroy had been continually in action, and his *ranks* had been diminished by no less than 35,000 men. The *Bavarians* had not only been exposed to hard service, but to disease,

for dysentery had prevailed greatly amongst them, and they had lost altogether 14,000 men. The entire army that had crossed the Niemen 420,000 strong was already reduced to 255,000 rank and file fit for duty. Napoleon had, it is true, reserves always coming up out of Germany, and, indeed, might well consider that an army of the amount he had under arms was sufficient to conquer the Russians in an open field; but, on examining closely into the causes of this diminution, it was found that it was occasioned by such as were certain to continue, and that, if it went on at the rate it had done, he could not tell when he would be in a condition to conclude the campaign.

The function of conducting armies is not confined to merely placing yourself at the head of armed men, and guiding them into mortal combat; but embraces the difficult task of gaining the confidence of the masses when suffering under privations, the remedies for which they are totally unfit to determine for themselves, but which nevertheless they severely examine into, and frequently attribute to the shortcomings of their superiors, without daring openly to denounce them. The feelings thus engendered in large bodies of men go on fermenting, as it were, into general dissatisfaction. To this cause may be traced the sickness of heart and body which attaches to weak temperaments; and desertions in the lowest ranks, amongst foreigners especially; which are the certain consequences of depression, greatly increased, very often, by the idle talk and wild ideas of men in the highest places. The great Emperor, though not much inclined to mingle familiarly with his subjects or his soldiers, was necessitated by the requirements of a campaign to mix with all ranks, and to hear many unwelcome remarks. He therefore directed his attention to increasing the gendarmerie, which formed a portion of his cavalry, and ordered up from Paris some of the most intelligent of that force that could be spared, to check as much as possible indiscreet speech in the army. He also inspected the ovens in person, tasted the food, and inquired into the regularity of its distribution, and, in order to put a stop to the deterioration in the material condition of his soldiers, he appointed at this time the Counts Lobau and Durosail, in quality of *Aide-Majors-Généraux*, to examine at stated periods into the wants and requirements of the respective regiments, and to see that the dépôts of food and the comforts of the sick and wounded were cared for by the intendants and the surgeons. At the same time, for the purpose of putting himself into more intimate communication with the regiments, he ordered a considerable space to be cleared about Vitepsk, where he might pass in review, successively, the different divisions, brigades, and regiments, in order to see close-ly their condition, enforce their discipline, and excite their enthusiasm. It was on one of these occasions, when he had assembled the grenadiers of his guard, that he took his sword from his side, and, presenting it to General Friant, desired them to acknowledge him as their colonel. This general was regarded throughout the army as the accomplished model of a French soldier; for he was brave as a hero, just as Aristides, true and firm in character, and inspiring confidence from his knowledge of the art of war, yet crowning all this merit

with singular modesty. The gracious words with which Napoleon accompanied this action excited the enthusiasm of the men, and formed the conversation of the whole army for days afterwards.

The Czar was at this time at Moscow, personally superintending the armaments in the interior of his empire. By a ukase, dated the 12th of July, and issued at Drissa, he had already ordered a new levy of one in every hundred of the population of his numerous provinces; and he now addressed to the inhabitants of Moscow an energetic proclamation, breathing the most ardent piety mingled with an earnest appeal; which, emanating from the ancient capital, spread burning enthusiasm to the extremities of his vast dominions. "Illustrious Nobles! In every age you have been the saviours of your country. Holy Clergy! By your prayers you have always invoked the Divine blessing on the arms of Russia. People! Often have you broken the jaws of the lions which were open to devour you. Unite, then, with the cross on your hearts and the sword in your hands, and no human power shall prevail against you. May the destruction with which we are menaced recoil upon the head of the invader; and may Europe, freed from the yoke of servitude, have cause to bless the name of Russia!" Alexander might well have been confident, if he had been aware at this moment of the difference between his orderly, well-fed, and obedient soldiers and those of "the invader," as we have just pictured them. He ordered up his distant armies from Finland, Volhynia, and Moravia, to threaten the flanks of the invading army as it progressed towards the interior of the empire. His flanking *corps-d'armée* had already met with some partial successes. The Russian army, 25,000 strong, under Count Wittgenstein, was, as has been stated, left behind the Dwina, to prevent any attempt of the French to advance on St. Petersburg, which the corps of Oudinot and Macdonald threatened. On the 30th of July, the Russian general was attacked by Oudinot, near Polotsk. His vanguard, under Kutusof, had imprudently crossed the river on the 1st of August, near Polotsk, when he became engaged with the French division Vendier, which brought on a general action, in which the Russians, after a long and bloody struggle, had the best of it. Oudinot, weakened by the loss of 4,000 men, retired across the Niszcz. Napoleon reproached the marshal for this reverse, and sent St. Cyr with the Bavarian contingent to reinforce him, while, at the same time, the Czar sent Count Steinheil with 16,000 bayonets to reinforce Wittgenstein. On the other flank, Tormasov had fallen upon the corps of Saxons, under Reynier, at Kobrin, on the 23d, and made prisoners of the entire brigade of General Klingel, who were in cantonments, in that town. Prince Schwartzenburg, with the Austrian army, was ordered, on the 1st of August, to move his subsidiary force, in support of Reynier, to Slonim, when, advancing against the Russians of Gorodeczna, he drove Tormasov back again to Slonim. The army of Bagration, however, effected its junction with Barclay at Smolensko on the 3d of August.

Although the condition of the Russian army was, as has been

stated, very far preferable to that of the French at this period, yet there was amongst them great discontent, arising from that impatience of retreat which belongs to all armed men, especially when their country is laid waste before their eyes by an unscrupulous invader. When, therefore, Barclay and Bagration at length formed a junction, and found themselves at the head of a united force of the enormous magnitude of 140,000 men, it is not surprising that they welcomed each other with the common grievance that they were still condemned to fly before a ruthless enemy. To satisfy the *frondeurs* of the Russian armies, a council of war was called on the 5th of August, at which Barclay de Tolly, Bagration, the Grand Duke Constantine, the Generals Yermoloff and St. Priest, chiefs of the staff; together with Toll and Wolzogen, quarter-masters-general, assisted. Toll led the popular cry for attack, and was followed by every one present, except the general-in-chief and Wolzogen; and of these two neither was Russian by name or origin. Barclay de Tolly, however, with the Czar's consent, adopted the advice of the council, and orders were issued for a march forward on the morning of the 7th; for it had been stated that the French army was considerably weakened by its dispersion as well as by desertions.

It was during Napoleon's stay at Vitepsk that he received a despatch from Duroc announcing the ratification of the treaty of Bucharest by the Sultan on the 14th of July. He had confidently relied on the ability of his ambassador, Maret, Duke of Bassano, to avert this evil. Continued reports had been sent thither of imaginary successes of the French over the Russians; and gold had been dispensed freely in the Seraglio, to stay the hand of the Sultan, and to induce the Porte to spin out the negotiations till the invasion of Russia had been consummated. Napoleon was much chagrined at finding that an army of the enemy would now be at liberty to advance from the south for the protection of Russia. Indeed, troops were known to have already marched out of Moldavia upon Wolhynia. He also learned, almost at the same moment, that, although Bernadotte had amused him with propositions as late as the end of May, yet that he had, as early as the 24th of March, entered into a secret treaty with the Czar, assuring him of the neutrality, if not the active co-operation, of Sweden against France; and it was to be dreaded that this he would strengthen the enemy's force opposed to Macdonald. Moreover, he now became apprised that Russia had concluded a treaty with Great Britain on the 18th of July, by which it had obtained a very considerable subsidy to assist the war. The Emperor was almost overwhelmed with all this intelligence, so that on the 6th of August he called Davoust into council, as the friend best suited to advise him in this emergency. An old soldier has but one expedient for any difficulty, namely, to go forward, break the centre of the enemy, turn his flanks, and envelope his columns. This was the species of advice rendered and adopted. The country that now intervened between the two armies was a mass of woods and marshlands, behind which an advance might be made, unobserved, upon the Dnieper; that river crossed, Smolensko

(which was not supposed to be fortified) might be surprised. The advice being of the nature to solve a difficulty which, perhaps, admitted of no other solution, was accepted by Napoleon, who determined, accordingly, in opposition to his former resolution, to continue the campaign. Orders were forthwith issued for the different *corps-d'armée* to be ready to break up from their quarters on the 10th and 11th: but Barclay had anticipated the Napoleonic resolve. The Russian army was already in motion.

16. FIGHT AT KRASNOI—BATTLE OF SMOLENSKO.

On the 7th of August, the 1st Russian army in two columns, and the 2nd in one, advanced against the French army in their cantonments about Roudnia and Nadwai; and on the 8th, the first, under the immediate orders of Barclay, appeared unexpectedly and suddenly at Inkovo, where General Sebastiani was quartered with Montbrun's light cavalry and one regiment of light infantry. The surprise was imminent, for it was almost dark; and it was with some difficulty that the French got together and retreated, with the loss of 500 men, and some guns; but, falling back on Ney, that marshal brought out his corps from their cantonments in support. In the meanwhile, the Russians, patrolling to their right, found the corps of the Viceroy also wide awake and ready to receive them at Porczia. The Russian commander-in-chief, therefore, concluded from this vigilance that Napoleon was on the alert, and, under this persuasion, ordered a retrograde movement. It is believed that Barclay de Tolly had been urged to the advance by the imprudent ardour of Bagration, and that seeing the rashness and impracticability of resuming the offensive, he was ready enough to withdraw the army back to Smolensko. This affair at Inkovo roused the anger of Napoleon; he conceived it an insult to the French army, and issued immediate orders to his dispersed forces to concentrate. On the morning of the 11th, the three *corps-d'armée* of Murat, Ney, and the Viceroy, with the three divisions of Morand, Friant, and Gudin, and the Imperial Guard, broke up from their quarters, and marched upon Orcha. They were accompanied by the pontoon equipage under General d'Eblé, who, on arriving on the banks of the Dnieper at Razazna and Liady, threw six bridges over that river. The whole army crossed at these points, and were united to the number of 175,000 men on the left bank of the Dnieper on the 14th. By this operation the divisions of an immense army, scattered over 50 leagues of ground, were quickly united and thrown upon the enemy's left flank, without their having the slightest apprehension of an attack. The passage of the river by this grand military procession, with the Emperor at their head, marching under a bright but not oppressive sun, through woods and across plains occasionally clothed with their scanty harvest, is spoken of as a most splendid sight. No enemy was seen, because, as remarked, Barclay was expecting this movement on the other flank. The march was opened by the cavalry, under Grouchy, supported by the division of Nansouty and Montbrun, all under the

King of Naples; who, having crossed the Dnieper, came up at Krasnoi, on the afternoon of the 15th. with the division of Neveroffskoi, of Prince Bognation's army. The assault of such a powerful body of horse was sufficient to have overwhelmed the 7,000 or 8,000 men who were posted there; but the commanding general was stout-hearted, and had his men so well in hand that, forming his army into squares, he retired slowly and in good order before the enemy's cavalry, which enveloped him on all sides. By the approach of night he had reached Kortynia, and, though obliged to sacrifice a few guns and 1,100 men, he arrived there with his ranks unbroken, and with all his colours successfully defended. Here they found the main body, under Raefiskoi, making their entire force 19,000 men, and these now continued their march on Smolensko, where they halted on the 16th, and awaited the arrival of Barclay's army. A considerable firing had been heard on the side of the French army on the previous day, which had made each Russian army conclude that the other was attacked; but it proved to have been the celebration of the Fête Napoléon, which had excited the childish enthusiasm of the French troops. The Emperor was adverse to this display, and complained of the needless waste of gunpowder in the midst of such important operations; but the army replied, through the marshals, that it was only that which they had taken from the enemy; and the chief was pleased, and smiled at this egregious flattery. It was the last time, however, the French army ever kept the holiday of the 15th of August!

Smolensko is a very considerable town placed on two elevations between which the river Dnieper flows. It is surrounded by an ancient wall, thirty-five feet high and eighteen feet thick, built partly of stone and partly of brick, which is commanded by the elevated ground on the opposite side of the river. This wall is nearly five miles in circumference, and is flanked in its course by thirty-two towers, and is further strengthened by a shallow ditch and a covered way. There is also a small pentagonal citadel on a mound, constructed of earth. The houses within the lines are, for the most part, one story high and built of wood; but there are some few palaces of the nobility built of stone, and there is a cathedral, a venerable structure, with vast gilded domes, which as the French approached glittered gaily under the bright sun. The city is divided in its entire length by one straight paved street, — the rest are mere by-ways laid with planks. Its population is not above 4,000 inhabitants. This place was held in great veneration by the Russian people, having figured prominently in their wars with Poland, and has been since regarded as a kind of boulevard to Moscow. It was even the subject of an old proverb: "When Smolensko shall be taken, the Czar's throne will be shaken."

Between 3 and 4 o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the Emperor, the King of Naples, and the Duke d'Elchingen met on the heights overlooking the city, and immediately commenced the attack. Ney, ever ready, spurred forward, but found himself suddenly surrounded by Cossacks, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. ~~As was~~

as he had extricated himself he made successive attempts, with Grouchy's cavalry and the infantry of the 3rd *corps-d'armée*, to break the enemy's strength, but could not succeed. The forces who occupied the city under Raefskoi, supported by the reserves under Paskiewitch, repulsed all the marshal's attempts to pass by, until toward evening, when clouds of dust announced the arrival of the two armies of Barclay and Bagration. The latter was directed to move up the Dnieper and defend the passage of the river at the numberless fords which at this season are practicable; while Barclay himself resolved to undertake the defence of the city with the 6th corps of Doctorov and the division Konownitzin. Ney hastened to apprise the Emperor of this arrival, who returned with him to a woody height, whence 120,000 Russians could be distinguished moving towards the city. At sight of them he is said to have exclaimed with raptures of joy, "Enfin je les tiens!" Napoleon, feeling the importance of vigour in an invasion, resolved on carrying by force so important a city as Smolensko, and forthwith commanded the army to be under arms at half-past two in the morning to take it by storm.

He ordered Marshal Ney to advance by the suburb of Krasnoe, abutting on the Dnieper, to the left; and Davoust, with the divisions of Gudin and Friant, to attack the suburbs of Mstislavl and Roslavl; while Poniatowski, with the Polish army, was to possess himself of the suburbs of Nikolskoi and Sloboda-Raczenska, and the reserve of cavalry, under the King of Naples, to occupy the ground to the right, where some low land abuts upon the river. The Imperial Guard was in second line on the heights, and the Viceroy and Junot, with 40,000 men, had not yet come into line. For one instant Napoleon reflected on the blood which the enterprise would cost, and sent to reconnoitre the upstream for a ford, but found the river bank so well guarded by the enemy that to attempt to cross in face of Prince Bagration would be too desperate. Some delay occurred in carrying out these reconnoissances, and in consequence it was 10 or 11 o'clock before Napoleon gave final orders for the assault. After some resistance in all the suburbs, the Russians retired within the walls, which the French vainly endeavoured to breach with their field-guns. As soon, however, as Barclay perceived that the suburbs were in the power of the enemy, he ordered Bagration to commence the retreat with his army to Dorogobrij on the road to Moscow, while he himself, with the corps of Doctorov and Bagawout, determined to defend the ramparts in order to afford time for the second army to get forward. The courage and valour of the Russians successfully resisted the attempts of the French to obtain possession of the place for the entire day. It is amusing to read the French accounts of this gallant resistance, which "tous les efforts de nos braves" could not overcome. We are assured that it was entirely owing to the cannon shot sticking in the brick walls! (See Jomini, Thiers, &c.) In truth, the entire attack had degenerated from any attempt at a storm into a mere cannonade, which continued till dark, at which period some houses had been set on fire by the shells.

The Russians, after an arduous conflict, remained masters of the city, and at 7 in the evening their troops drew off from the walls, so that by 9 at night all firing had ceased. It is always difficult to estimate losses, for each party reports them so dishonestly, unless, as in the case of the British returns, they are made after a regular muster of regiments. The French declare they only lost 6,000 or 7,000, killed and wounded; others say 15,000. As Napoleon had positively commanded the city to be stormed, General Haxo, under a tremendous cannonade, made the reconnaissance, before the fight ceased, of the whole circuit of wall, and at length discovered a place called "the royal breach," made by Sigismund, King of Poland, in ancient times. It was immediately opposite to Davoust's attack, who told off the division Friant for the honour of entering the place at early morning. To the incessant roar of artillery and the tumult of mortal conflict, which had endured throughout the day, succeeded a night of tranquillity, unusual in such military operations. The Emperor had retired to his tent, but not to rest, when in the midst of this momentary cessation of hostility, "au milieu de l'obscurité, on vit jaillir tout-à-coup des torrents de flammes et de fumée. Les Russes faisant sacrifice de cette cité chérie, y mirent volontairement le feu que nous n'y avons mis qu'involontairement avec nos obus." I take the account of M. Thiers in preference to the other French accounts, because it is probably most near to truth, that the burning of a town of wood, and with roadways of wood, was more the act of the assailants with their mortars than of the defenders with their torches. It was about 3 in the morning when the storming party ordered by Davoust scaled the walls, and to their surprise found Poniatowski's Poles already in possession, having entered from the side of Raczenska. The Russians had wholly abandoned the city and crossed the Dnieper; for Barclay had silently withdrawn the main army, leaving General Korf to conduct the rear-guard, with instructions to destroy all the bridges. The French would endeavour to make the world believe that in their utter failure to take the city of Smolensko by assault they only lost 1,200 killed, against 4,000 Russians killed, 7,000 wounded, and 2,000 prisoners; and M. Thiers "reste modeste" in calculating the Russian loss at this number.

17. COMBATS AT VALOUTINA, GORODECZNA, POLOTSK, AND RIGA.

The rear-guard remained in position in the new town or suburb of St. Petersburg on the 18th, while the rest of the Russian army marched away by the road to Moscow, and an attack made by the French to pass the Dnieper at a ford was successfully resisted by Korf; but in order to cover the circular movements prescribed to Bagawout and Ostermann, General Tonevzkof was ordered to occupy the heights of Valoutina, and Prince Eugène of Würtemberg to hold Gedeonova. The accounts given by Ségur of Napoleon's carriage and conduct on entering Smolensko exhibit him much degenerated in character from the hero of

former victories. He was like himself when he went to his wounded men on the field of the fight, and gave them words of encouragement and tokens of regard; but his conversations with Ney, Davoust, Mortier, Duroc, Rapp, and Lauriston, show a disappointed man, naturally reserved and silent, suddenly become verbose, and trying to drown his own reflections on a worthless victory and conquest by imposing on his lieutenants strange conjectures.

It was the morning of the 19th, before the French could establish bridges over the Dnieper, when Davoust, Ney, and Murat passed across the river with their divisions. Grouchy immediately marched straightforward through the new town, and found Bagawout in force upon the St. Petersburg road. Ney found himself at the branch of the two roads, but could not meet with a peasant or a townsman to show him which was the way, and to explain whither they led, but took at hazard that which led to Gedeonova, by which Korf had marched with the rear-guard. He instantly attacked, but Prince Eugène of Würtemberg coming up in support, the Duke d'Elchingen sent word to the Emperor of this increase of force, who ordered the division Gudin of Davoust's corps to reinforce the marshal. The Russian baggage requiring time to proceed, Barclay sent up Woronzof to strengthen the force which had taken post on the heights of Valoutina, on which 30,000 men were now collected on each side. Here, at 6 in the evening, Gudin met with his end by a musket-ball on the field of honour on which he had so long defied death; his loss was much lamented. Gérard succeeded to his command. The Russian cavalry, under Orloff Denisov, long resisted all the attempts of the King of Naples to force the left of the position along the high road; and when Davoust and Ney had at length nearly overcome the resistance of Touczkof, the division of Konowitzin arrived to his aid and re-established the battle. The ground was thus maintained by the Russians until night put an end to the combat. In the meantime Junot had crossed the Dnieper by a ford near Pondichevo, which brought the right of the French army upon the Russian rear. Napoleon, as soon as he heard of the resistance to his troops at Valoutina, mounted his horse and was so angry with Junot for his want of energy in not moving boldly against the rear of the Russians, that he sent Rapp to supersede the marshal, but afterwards relented towards his old comrade when at daylight the following morning he arrived in person on the plateau of the battle.

Prince Schwarzenberg and General Reynier had had an engagement on the 12th near Gorodeczna, where General Tomasov, who had only 25,000 men, was pitted against the united forces of Austrians and Saxons, numbering 40,000. The Russian general showed so firm a countenance and manœuvred so well, that without much loss he retired on Kobrin, and on the 13th took post behind the Styr, where the Austro-Saxons followed him, but did not attempt to force him out of that position. On the left, Wittgenstein advanced against Oudinot on the same day, and forced the French marshal back on Polotsk, where the Bavarians, under General Weide,

came up to his support. The Russian general, ignorant of this arrival, attacked the French division on the 17th, when Oudinot was wounded, and obliged to give up the command to St. Cyr. On the 18th, the fight was renewed by the French advancing, under General Déroy, against the Russian centre and left at Sprass; but they were resisted firmly on the Polota, although the issue remained long uncertain. The battle, in fact, lasted all day, until at night the Russians fell back on Garselovo, leaving 10 guns and 1,000 prisoners in the hands of the French. General Deroy, a distinguished officer, was killed in the action, and the Emperor gave St. Cyr for this success the bâton of marshal. After this, these two armies respected each other's prowess for two months, and made no move on either side till the 18th of October. Marshal Macdonald continued slowly to advance towards Riga, on the extreme left of the grand army; possessed himself of Dünaburg, of which he destroyed the fortifications; and brought up his right wing to Jacobstadt, while the Prussians occupied Mittau. General Esser, the governor of Riga, having received information that the siege artillery of the Duke of Tarentum was coming up to this point, sent out from the fortress General Lewis to act in concert with an English flotilla, under Captain Stuart, to carry it off from the Prussians; but these last defeated Lewis on the 26th of August, at Grafenthal, near Riga, and the enterprise failed.

The corps which had been intrusted to Marshal Victor to discipline, and which till now had watched the rear of the grand army, came up to the front and joined Napoleon at Smolensko. The void occasioned by this advance was filled by a new army, under Marshal Augereau, which was ordered up from the Elbe to the Niemen; while the National Guard of Paris, which had been put on a war footing, was sent to occupy the strongholds about the Elbe and Oder to complete their discipline and organisation. The corps of Ney, which had hitherto borne the brunt of the advance up to Valoutina, was now displaced by that of Augereau, who were pushed forward with all the cavalry under Murat, to whom, as King, was given the supreme command of the advance. These found the Russians formed up behind the Loujea on the 24th, but as Davoust had not come up with the infantry, the enemy retired to Dorogobonge. Day by day the King found his orders to the marshal ill taken, and not very punctiliously obeyed; so that many altercations ensued between them, and the Emperor, on being referred to, found that his lieutenants on every side were acquiring an independence which clashed very seriously with the successful operations of so vast an army.

Although it is thought that the object of Barclay de Tolly, in quitting Smolensko by the St. Petersburg road, was only to avoid a retreat by the side of the Dnieper, which exposed his flank to the insults of the enemy, and that, as he knew communications at this season by the by-roads were perfectly practicable, he determined to adopt this direction because it would enable him to follow with greater advantage Bagration's army to Solowievo; yet Napoleon

was so far deceived by it that, before he carried his army forward, he had desired the Viceroy to make a reconnoissance on the great road to St. Petersburg as far as Doukhovstchina. Now, however, he called in that *corps-d'armée*, merely desiring Eugène to leave one division on the *Sourage* to form a *corps volant* in observation of General Winzingerode. The misunderstanding between Murat and Davoust continuing, Napoleon quitted Smolensko, and on the 25th brought up his guard in person to the front at Dorogobouge. The Russian rear-guard, here commanded by Rosen, consisted of light infantry, cavalry, and artillery, who was retiring by echelons without the least appearance of haste or disorder, and with extraordinary firmness, was formed up at Dorogobouge, in a position where the little river Ouja falls into the Dnieper, and now offered battle. On receipt of this news, Napoleon, eager for this mode of settling a question which had already begun to disturb his spirit, set forward with his army, but found to his mortification that the enemy had again decamped. Barclay had in fact retreated upon Wiazma. The two French commanders, who had quarrelled on every point, were at length brought to agree by the Emperor's presence. Napoleon, therefore, contented himself with reconciling his lieutenants, and, while praising Murat's zeal, brought his tact and experience to agree with the judgment of Davoust, that the Russian commander was retiring with no view of drawing him into a difficulty, but simply with that of seeking the most advantageous position on which to offer battle; and that it was only his ardent desire to bring matters to that issue which determined him to follow up the pursuit. The Emperor did not then know that in the enemy's army there was, with all its firmness of movement, a much more considerable disagreement between Barclay de Tolly and Prince Bagration, and that the ground which had been taken up at Dorogobouge had been only relinquished because the two chiefs could not agree as to the policy of retreat or fighting.

The state of the harvest satisfied the immediate wants of the French army, nevertheless about 1,000 carts, charged with provisions, accompanied head-quarters. These supplied the guard and the numerous camp followers who always accompany a general commanding an army. The corps of Davoust carried independently eight days' provisions with them, but the rest of the army had to collect their own food as they could in the country through which they marched. Accordingly, it was necessary to separate the columns in their line of march. The King of Naples went first, followed by Davoust and Ney, and after the latter the Imperial guard. Latour-Mauburg, with his cavalry, preceded the Polish army under Poniatowski on the right; and the Viceroy, having the cavalry of Grouchy before him, marched on the left. The villages to the right and left of the great road were found to be left untouched, with their inhabitants remaining, and their resources available, and these amply supplied the flanking columns. Thus they marched on until, on the 28th, they arrived at Wiazma, where, as usual, they

found the bridges destroyed, the town burned, and the inhabitants, as in every great town, fled. Napoleon was vexed at finding that his enemy constantly escaped his grasp, and could not but feel "at each remove a lengthening chain," as he was led into the extreme danger of continuing the pursuit beyond the reach of all his resources. It was not his habit to talk confidentially with anyone, but perhaps he habitually and necessarily gave more of his confidence to the major-general of his army than to any other officer; and it is said that at Wiazma Prince Berthier ventured to give expression to some fears he entertained of the great risk the Emperor was running, and, notwithstanding that his own sentiments in very truth concurred with those of his monitor, yet he answered him so offensively, that Berthier was deeply offended, and would not occupy his accustomed place at the Imperial table for several days.

Again the French army went forward on the 31st, and the Russians, as before, continued their retreat with their accustomed order and firmness. A few stragglers were occasionally come up with, all of whom agreed that their general would certainly fight a battle before they yielded up Moscow; and M. Thiers tells the story of a young Cossack who was captured by the outposts and brought to the Emperor, who ordered him to be mounted on a horse and placed on the march between himself and his interpreter, M. Lalougue, that he might question him at his convenience. Some humorous remarks escaped him in ignorance of the quality of his questioner; but no information of any importance could be derived from the prisoner, who probably did not really know anything. On the 1st of September, the head-quarters were at Gjatks, which, like every other town and village, was deserted and burned. The Emperor saw no occasion for hurrying thus after a continually receding enemy; and, although it might be said that the expected battle was "*différé et non perdu*," yet he deemed it preferable that it should be fought by troops whose discipline and strength were unimpaired, and therefore he called a halt here for three or four days.

Napoleon obtained, during his stay at Gjatks, a piece of information, which completely assured him that the opportunity of a stand-up fight would speedily be offered him. The policy of continued retreat had been pursued under the eye, and with the full consent of, the Czar; but it became now well known that it was not approved of by many high military men, and especially by the second in command, Prince Bagration. Alexander had gone to St. Petersburg after having set things in order in Moscow, where he had appealed to the patriotism and attachment of the high nobility, most of them old soldiers, whose age obliged them to retire from the active duties of war; but he had found in the capital that the complaints of the camps were shared in by those military circles, so that he was persuaded (as it is believed, against his better judgement) to displace Barclay de Tolly, and to give the command of his army to General Koutusov, who had lately acquired considerable reputation for his

successful conduct in his war against the Turks. He had at this time joined the army in company with General Benningsen, who was made chief of his staff. Napoleon's experience had taught him that, as a matter of course, the first act of a new commander would be in diametrical opposition to the tactics of his predecessor; and the result did not now disappoint him. The Russian leader had determined to try the fortune of a battle, and a position had been found at Borodino, near the river Moskwa, about 25 leagues from Moscow, on which entrenchments were now ordered to be thrown up to strengthen the ground, where, on the 30th of August, Miloradovitch joined with 30,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, with 24 guns. These soldiers, however, being for the most part recruits, were broken up, by order of the new commander-in-chief, and associated with the old soldiers in the divisions which had most suffered in the retreat.

The weather, of a sudden, became wet and tempestuous, and the discomfort which this occasioned to the invaders made the halt at Gjatsk one of great grumbling and discontent. The Emperor found fault with every one, and the marshals began to find their tongues to answer their great chief; so that at last Napoleon said, testily: "Eh bien, si le temps ne change pas demain, nous nous arrêterons." But the inevitable Nemesis had his sword ready to strike, and the sun came out again on the morning of the 4th, to brighten the hopes of both the Emperor and his lieutenants. "Le sort est jeté; partons, allons à la rencontre des Russes."

18. BATTLE OF BORODINO OR DE LA MOSKWA.

The French army marched in three columns, the advance of all the cavalry, under the King of Naples, being about 3 leagues ahead. The adversary who now commanded the opposing troops was a Russian of the old Muscovite school, affecting the Muscovite dress, the Muscovite air and speech—the Muscovite *par excellence*. Accordingly, the transports of the troops of the old provinces of Russia were extreme. The Cossacks circulated around the heads of the French columns, insulting and braving them. In vain the French horse were sent against them; the little active warriors dispersed faster than they could be followed. Ségur relates that King Joachim, at length, unable to stand it any longer, "s'élança seul et tout à coup contre leur ligne, s'arrêta à quelques pas d'eux; et que là, l'épée à la main, il leur fit d'un air et d'un geste si impérieux le signe de se retirer, que ces barbares obéirent et reculèrent étonnés." National habits differ. Had any general officer in the British service made such an ass of himself as this "aigrette blanche" did on this occasion, he would have been laughed to scorn by the entire army. The French, on the contrary, praise "le roi théâtral, l'air de ses vêtements chevaleresques, la recherche de sa parure, et cette audace menaçante la plus dangereuse des armes offensives."

Napoleon, marching past the abbey of Kolotskoi and along the banks of the river Kolocza, came suddenly, on the 5th, as they

approached Borodino, upon hillocks covered with troops and artillery; and the Russian rear-guard, as it withdrew before the French advance, was seen to take up their ground in order near the village of Schwardino, behind a large redoubt, round which 15,000 troops were posted. As soon as the Emperor arrived on the field, he found that this post prevented his making a satisfactory reconnoissance of the enemy's position; and, having at his side Murat with his cavalry, and the division Compans belonging to the corps of Davoust, he ordered them to carry the fort by assault. Murat soon obliged the protecting force to retire before him, and cleared all the ground in front of the redoubt; when Compans, deploying his regiments right and left of the post, carried the work by the bayonet, in spite of the resistance of the grenadiers of Woronzoff, commanded by the Prince of Mecklenburg. Some thousands of men perished on both sides. The loss on that of the French was so great that it is recorded that when Napoleon asked the colonel where was the third battalion of his regiment, he replied: "Sire, il est dans la redoute." It had indeed got inside, and had been driven out again three times, so that nearly the whole had perished. Koutusov's position was hence clearly visible to the Emperor's observation. The Generalissimo had selected a rising ground, with his right placed facing the town or village of Borodino, but turned rearwards, so as to rest upon the ravine of the Moskwa; the left was concealed by extensive woods, which covered the two roads to Moscow. This right wing was commanded by Barclay de Tolly, who, with remarkable devotion, took service under the chief who had superseded him. The left wing was placed under the orders of Prince Bagration. Towards the middle of the day, on the 6th, Napoleon, who had bivouacked for the night in the midst of his guard, near the captured redoubt, mounted his horse, and made a new reconnoissance of the enemy's lines, accompanied by his marshals. He could not obtain anywhere a very correct map of the ground before him, but, with his wonderfully shrewd observation, he saw that the Kolotza rivulet, running between high banks, made a sudden turn, almost at right angles, to the left, after passing Borodino, instead of pursuing its course into the Moskwa. This deviation, he concluded, must be owing to some natural opposing bulwark which diverted the waters, and necessarily rendered the ground occupied by the right wing of the enemy their strongest flank; and, in corroboration of this idea, he observed that, in the confidence of strength, the Russian General had denuded that intersected ground of the greatest masses of his troops, and that he had erected many forts on the left of his line, thus betraying an unusual anxiety for the defences of that portion of the position. He therefore resolved to assail the Russian left as the weak point, and hoped that, if the roads were practicable, it might be possible to turn that wing by the old road to Moscow, which runs from Jeluis towards Ulitza. The new road to Mojaisk and Moscow runs through Gorki, at the angle of the position of the intersected ground in the enemy's centre, near which was placed on a lofty mound a great redoubt, armed with 21 guns; but

this, it could be seen, was not palisaded, and the nature of the soil did not admit that it could be formed in very bold relief. To its own left, and between it and the village of Semenowskoie, were seen two other redoubts, armed with guns. Napoleon, as soon as he had finished his reconnoissance, said aloud: "Eugène sera le pivot—c'est la droite qui engagera la bataille: elle fera une à gauche et marchera sur le flanc des Russes, le ramassant et refoulant toute leur armée sur leur droit et dans le Kolotza." He then ordered Poniatowski to carry the Polish army through the pine woods on his extreme right, and to endeavour to get, by this means, into the enemy's rear; and he forthwith ordered epaulements to be thrown up on the field, and armed with 120 guns, to cover the attack against the great redoubt, which he ordered to be assailed by the two *corps-d'armée* of Davoust and Ney. The Viceroy, who was on the other side of the Kolotza, was to operate against Borodino; and the cavalry were to form in rear of the corps and divisions, in order to be ready to be brought forward whenever the ground, or the circumstances of the battle, might be thought favourable for that arm. The division Friant remained with the Imperial Guard, to form the reserve. The soldiers were ordered to keep out of sight of the enemy as much as possible during the day, and on no consideration whatever to quit their respective divisions; but the several commanders were instructed, immediately night fell, to take up the ground designated for the attack, by which time the batteries would be armed, while six trestle bridges, under the care of Generals Eblé and Chasseloup, would by that time be thrown across the rivulet. The Russian Generalissimo was equally satisfied that the position he had selected was the best that the country afforded, and he ardently hoped to be attacked in it by the French.

The contending armies were nearly equal, and exhibited the vast array of from 125,000 to 130,000 on each side, with an immense artillery, not counting less than 1,250 guns in the aggregate. The night previous to the battle was passed in a manner characteristic of the French and Russian nations. Victory! glory! invincibility! the possession of Moscow, and, what moves every soldier, the delights of a great city and its repose in prospect, with unlimited confidence in their leader! These were the subjects of conversation with which the night was passed in the French bivouacs. The Russians, grieving over their injured country, exasperated and sad, prostrated themselves before the holy pictures that each man carried in his bosom, and implored the aid of the Madonna; declaring themselves ready to die for their country and their religion, but asking revenge on the invader, and invoking the bared arm of the Almighty against the unbelieving spoiler. Even Koutusov himself, not at all given to superstitious exercises, walked, accompanied by a priestly procession carrying the image of St. Sergius,* through the camp, hat in hand, to rouse the enthusiasm of the soldiery, and, in all sincerity and devotion, to ask the blessing of God upon the Russian arms. The

* A Russian Bishop of the Eastern Church.

chant of the Russian soldiery floated in the air above the adverse hosts, and was heard in the French lines, where exceeding ridicule was bestowed by that unbelieving race on what they considered gross and priestly mummery. Napoleon, in his tent, occupied himself, as was his custom on the eve of a battle, with the most minute details for the impending action, neglecting no consideration, how trifling soever it might appear, for the coming battle; but, while so occupied, Colonel Fabvier arrived post from Spain, bringing him the account of Marmont's defeat at Salamanca and the latest news of the state of affairs in Spain. In the course of the same night another messenger also reached the imperial tent, M. de Bausset, *préfet du palais*, who brought from Paris, to the pre-occupied but delighted father, the picture of the King of Rome, painted by Girard.

At early morning Napoleon was on horseback in the midst of his divisions as they formed up for the attack. He was rather rheumatic after his short rest *en bivouac*; for he was no longer the "*jeune homme*" of the Italian campaigns, and not at all like his brother-in-law of Naples, who appeared at the morning rendezvous, equipped for battle, in a tunic of green velvet with yellow morocco boots, and a helmet radiant with plumes! Napoleon read to the troops a short proclamation, which was warmly received; and as a gleam of sunshine happened to break through the fog, the everlasting "*soleil d'Austerlitz*" was rung through the ranks with trumpet sounding and drums beating.

Napoleon had changed a little his order of battle, by directing the Viceroy to bring his corps across the stream to join with Davoust in the attack of the great redoubt, which he foresaw must be a fearful encounter. He also observed that his adversary had sent up to his own left the entire corps of Touczkoff to strengthen the flank, threatened by Poniatowski. At 6 o'clock, on the morning of the 7th, the French batteries opened with a fearful fire along the entire line, under cover of which their columns advanced to the several attacks. The Viceroy, as it happened, came first into the fight; but, in order that the enemy might be induced to suppose that their right wing was still the quarter threatened, he had directed the division Delzons to throw itself into Borodino, while the division of Morand and Gérard, with Broussier in reserve, led the way against the great redoubt. The first report which reached Napoleon was that Borodino was carried after a short resistance, in which General Plauzonne had fallen. The French column of Davoust, consisting of the divisions Compans and Desaix, were now perceived to move steadily forward; but no sooner had they come within range of the enemy, than a crushing fire of all arms fell upon the advance. The leading general, Compans, was struck down as the column moved along the open ground before the grenadiers of Woronzoff, and almost all the officers were soon wounded by the intensity of the fire. Davoust rode into the midst of the encounter, and received a severe contusion, under which he fell senseless to the ground just as the regiment he was leading entered the open work. Napoleon sent Murat to take Davoust's command, and ordered Ney

to march up quickly in aid; but Davoust would not quit the field, and when Ney came up at the head of the division Ledru, he charged the enemy *en vrai grenadier*, and, notwithstanding all the exertions of Neuroffskoi with his valiant division, he got possession of the other two open works. Bagration sent off to Koutusov to inform him that he was overcome by the numbers of his assailants, and urgently demanded reinforcements. With the aid of these, one of the open works was recovered from the French, and the Douka cuirassiers, at the same time, made a dash after the division Razort as they retreated out of the fort; but these were soon checked by Murat, who led up General Bruyère's light cavalry, and enabled Razort to re-form and again to possess himself of the *flèche* from which he had been expelled.

After about two hours' conflict at the earthworks on the left, Koutusov ordered Bagawouth's corps to march from his unassailed right wing and to occupy Semenovskoi and Oulitza, for Ponia-towski's cannon was already heard in that direction. Soon the cavalry of Prince Galitzin came into the midst of the Westphalians, who had been sent up to open the communication with the Polish division, but the division Desaix coming through the wood débouched in the rear of the cuirassiers and forced them to fall back again. The heights beyond the ravine and around Semenowskoie now became the principal objects of contention. The corps of Raeffskoi occupied the village and the hill between that and the grand redoubt, and soon opened a deadly fire, while the grenadiers of Prince Mecklenburg, a brigade of guards, and the remainder of Woronzoff's and Neueroski's division, fell upon Ney and Davoust with such fury that Rapp, who had taken Compans' command, was sent to the Emperor to demand fresh succour. "Que fait-on là haut?" was Napoleon's reception of his old aide-de-camp, who replied, "Qu'il y faudrait la garde pour achever." "Non," was the imperial reply; "je ne veux pas la faire démolir; je gagnerai la bataille sans elle." Murat observing, however, as he rode to the front, that the ravine before the village was not so deep as he had apprehended, sent Latour-Maubourg across it with his cavalry division, followed by Friant's infantry, and, to protect the manœuvre, opened all the guns within his reach. The troops rushed upon the Russian infantry, who formed squares, which repelled the Saxon cuirassiers, and in this attack General Friant was wounded. Bagration, who defended himself bravely, was also seriously wounded in this encounter, as well as St. Priest, the chief of his staff. Konownitzin accordingly assumed the command, and, with great presence of mind, withdrew the troops from the ravine and established them on the ridge in front of the village under the protection of his own artillery, while he called up the reserve of the Imperial Guard, which checked the French advance in this quarter, where he maintained his ground for the rest of the day.

In the meanwhile, the Viceroy had launched the division Morand against the great redoubt, supported by the division Gudin, and, in spite of the opposition of the division Paskievitch, had carried that

formidable entrenchment. Koutusov, knowing the importance of this possession, ordered up Yermoloff with the guards, and Wassiltschikoff with his division, to return to the redoubt under the fire of Doctorov's artillery, and these succeeded in driving the division Bonancy clean out of it, whose commander fell in the conflict, pierced with many bayonet wounds. Eugène now came up with Gérard's division, and the fight recommenced so furiously that on the side of the Russian defence Yermeloff was grievously wounded and the younger Tonchskoff killed.

It was not more than 10 o'clock when Napoleon was sought for on every side with reports as to the state of affairs, and it was some time before he could be found. He was, in fact, wholly off the field, seated upon the redoubt of Schwarino, which had been captured two days before. The King of Naples sent Borelli, and Ney sent up Belliard, and here they found him. His rheumatism so afflicted him that he could scarcely stir from his seat. Instead of walking nervously about or mounting his horse to see the real condition of affairs, he received the accounts of the battle "avec une triste résignation, un calme lourd, une douceur molle." When urged to send up his guard, he enquired the hour, and asked how they could expect him to employ his reserves at that early hour of the battle. He added, "qu'il y vouloit mieux voir; que sa bataille n'était pas encore commencée, qu'elle commencerait dans deux heures." Some cannon-balls, however, as they whistled by him, or fell at his feet, came in aid of the arguments urged against him, and to Borelli's urgency he yielded the Young Guard, but in a few moments countermanded it. Poniatowski had not succeeded in his attack on the flank, for Tonschhoff, receiving reinforcements from the division of Bagaworath, kept him entirely at bay. That commander, the eldest of three brothers in the battle, one of whom was already killed, now also received his death-wound. Nevertheless, the ground was held firmly, and the Polish division could not force its way. Although Murat and Ney were dissatisfied at not receiving the reinforcements they had so urgently demanded, they resolved to make a vigorous push to force the position of Semenowskoie. The cavalry of Nansonty and Montbrun were brought up at a gallop across the ravine, and the ground actually trembled under the concussion with which they encountered the Russian cavalry of Lithuania and d'Ismailov. The *mêlée* was frightful, and the brave Montbrun was struck dead by a musket-ball in the midst of it. Rapp also received four wounds, and Desaix was struck; but Murat and Ney, always in the very thickest of the fight, appeared to possess charmed lives. At midday, however, the Emperor thought it high time to force the battle to a conclusion, and resolved to send up the reserve of his Young Guard to assist the efforts of the Viceroy on his left wing, who now found a new enemy in the division of Ostermann, which had been sent up to Borodino. Suddenly a cry arose from the opposite side of the stream. Koutusov had ordered Platoff, with his Cossacks, and Ouvaroff, with his regular cavalry, to cross the Kolotza, and they were now seen in the very

midst of the baggage and in conflict with the division of De Gort. Eugène immediately galloped across the brook and through Borodino, when he found his troops formed up in squares and successfully resisting the enemy.

This incident kept the battle in suspense more than an hour, during which time the Russians established themselves more firmly in their several positions. Nevertheless, a terrible fire still raged between Borodino and Semenowskoie, where the Russian guns responded nobly to those of the French, and 800 pieces vomited death and destruction within the space of half a league of ground. It was about 2 o'clock, when the Viceroy encountered the Russian columns advancing from Sacharina and Novoie Selo, driving the brigade Delzons before them into Borodino, the Cossacks pressing their line of march. Eugène ordered them to form squares, and placed himself and his staff within them. Colonel Fabvier, Marmont's aide-de-camp, who had been sent with the report of the defeat at Salamanca, and had now attached himself to the Viceroy as a volunteer, here fell wounded; but the enemy's impulse wanted ensemble, so that when the cavalry brigade of Ornano reached the field, the Cossacks were repulsed, and Delzons reinstated in Borodino. Eugène was now enabled to return to the attack of the great redoubt. He found the plain covered with the enemy's cavalry. Caulaincourt had been placed in Montbrun's command, and was ordered by the Emperor to penetrate through the Russian line, and take the great redoubt by the gorge. The Russian cavalry of Korff and Pahlen met the French horse, and the encounter was terrible. In the midst of it, Auguste Caulaincourt met a glorious end at the very entrance of the redoubt, which he was ordered to carry, having overthrown all opposition that either the Russian cuirassiers or the division of Lichotschef could offer. Grouchy, hoping to profit by the consternation which the capture of the redoubt was calculated to excite, dashed amidst the corps of Doctorov, already nearly destroyed; but Korff and Pahlen, recovered from the energy of Caulaincourt's dying struggle, fell upon Grouchy, and drove him off the field severely wounded.

It could no longer be the hope of Napoleon to destroy the Russian army, as he had anticipated; all that he could now expect to do was to possess the field of battle. He therefore gave the order to Marshal Bessières to advance the entire reserve of the Guard. The great redoubt and three open earthworks were effectively in the hands of his troops. Poniatowski had successfully established himself in front of Onlitz; and Delzons was, as stated, again in possession of Borodino. It was about 3 o'clock in the day, yet the Russian army still showed front at Semenowskoie. There were still, however, two or three hours of daylight, and 18,000 French troops might in other times have terminated the fight with great éclat; but Napoleon, suffering from his rheumatism, and with an irresolution altogether unlike his former self, merely authorised Bessières to take them "*où il le jugerait convenable.*" The stubbornness of his enemy, and the fearful loss of life which had occurred amidst the ranks of his own

generals and superior officers, added to his disordered nerves, so paralysed his mind, that, turning to his staff, he exclaimed, "Jc ne ferai pas démolir ma garde. A huit cent lieues de France, on ne risque pas sa dernière réserve." The Russians, nevertheless, stood in front of him, firm and unbroken, and his experienced eye could not detect an opening through which to pour a crowning and conquering torrent. They seemed to defy his power by their determined aspect; so that, revoking again the order for the advance of the Guard, he in a moment of anger ordered all the guns to be brought forward, and poured upon the opposing ranks of the enemy. "Puisqu'ils en veulent encore, donnez leur en:" and immediately 400 guns opened upon the enemy's columns. The Russians responded, in equal tone, to this frightful chorus, and stood unmoved under the iron storm; but the French divisions were glad to seek shelter. This cannonade lasted till night, and terminated the battle. Both armies rested on the field of battle. Napoleon retired to the tent he had occupied the night before, his flatterers saying that the Russians were destroyed, and the road to Moscow open; but a looker-on would have missed the joyous acclamations with which the troops at the close of a victorious day welcomed the conqueror of Austerlitz and Friedland.

The killed and wounded on both sides on this most sanguinary day are reported to have been 80 French and Russian generals killed and wounded, and about an equal number of colonels, and no less than 80,000 men! The French alone had fired 60,000 shot, and consumed 1,400,000 cartridges. The Russians had discharged 90,000 cannon-shot in the conflict. By them it was called the Battle of Borodino, because that village was in the centre; but the French call it La Bataille de la Moskwa, from the adjoining river, which, however, was not in any way the scene of action. Probably they did so to mislead the distant public with the impression that the glory of the contest was in some way or other connected with the possession of the city of Moscow, to which general attention had been long directed. The Emperor, at half-past 5, mounted his horse with difficulty, and rode over the ground on which the conflict had raged hottest, where he congratulated Murat and Ney with a feeble voice and broken-down spirit, finishing the day with this unvictorious sentence, "de n'avancer ni reculer quoiqu'il arrivât."

The contending armies slept on the field in their ranks, almost side by side, the dead and the dying along with the living. The demands upon the surgeons exceeded the possible resources of their art. Three entire days were scarcely sufficient to dress the wounded. The little bread the army possessed was quite exhausted. The horses had no hay, and even straw was wanting for the wounded to lie down upon. In the middle of the night some Cossacks made an irruption into the French lines, and the Imperial Guard was obliged to stand to their arms for the protection of their Emperor. "Un événement assez fâcheux la veille d'une victoire."

19. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF PRINCE BAGRATION.

The most severe loss to the Czar by the battle of Borodino was the death of Bagration. This most celebrated Russian commander was descended from the Princes of Georgia, and born in 1765. He entered the Russian service in 1782, when his native country had submitted to the Czarina, and was but 17 years old when he first saw service. He gradually rose to be Major of Cuirassiers in 1792, having had many opportunities of distinguishing himself in that interval, both by his bravery and good conduct. He was in the campaigns under Potemkin, and served in Poland, in 1794, with Suwarrow, under whose personal notice he obtained such credit as to be termed by that redoubtable chief "his right arm;" and to be recommended to the Czarina's esteem and favour. He gave fresh proofs of resolute courage, great skill, and able generalship, in the Italian campaign, where he compelled Brescia to surrender by his personal daring; and he greatly added to his previous reputation as a soldier and leader at the battle of Trebbia, where he commanded the Russian advance. During the memorable retreat by the pass of St. Gothard, and through Switzerland, he distinguished himself as a commander, and on more than one occasion was spoken of in the highest terms to the Czar Paul. On his return into Russia, however, he shared in the disgrace with which his illustrious chief was visited by his capricious sovereign. On the accession of Alexander he was again employed, and intrusted with the command of the vanguard of the army, under Koutusov, in the campaign of 1805. After Austerlitz, he was placed in charge of the rear-guard of the Russian army; and when cut off from the rest at Hollabrunn, and summoned to capitulate by Soult, Lannes, and Murat, at the head of 30,000 men, he, with considerable address and wonderful courage, made his way through his foes, and succeeded in re-joining his army, who had given him up for lost. For this surprising feat he was named lieutenant-general. He fought at Eylau, Heilsburg, and Friedland, and, at the close of hostilities, was sent into Sweden, where he carried on the war successfully against Generals Adleskreutz and Klingspoor, concluding the campaign by entering Abo in triumph. These successes obtained for him considerable rewards of territory from the Czar. He was less successful in his subsequent campaign against the Turks in 1809, and he was in consequence superseded by Kamenskoi. We have seen with what extraordinary boldness, skill, and activity he commanded the Western army of Russia in this memorable campaign, and how, after a masterly retreat, he joined the main army under Barclay de Tolly, at Smolensko. He chafed at the policy of that generalissimo in surrendering so much of Russia to the enemy, but still served his sovereign with zeal, and received a severe wound in the ankle from a shell at the battle of Borodino, *in consequence* of which, and the great bodily fatigue subsequently endured, through the necessity of continued travelling, united with *deep affliction* at the condition of his country, and anguish of mind

for the destruction of Moscow, he expired at Sema on the 12th of September. It is reported of him that, while seated on the ground, waiting to have his wound dressed, he saw the French advancing along the great redoubt, and, in his delight at any display of valour, could not restrain this exclamation, even to an enemy, "Bravo ! Français, Bravo !"—a remarkable characteristic of a noble military mind.

His death was regarded by the Russian army as a general calamity. If he was not the most highly distinguished of the generals of that nation, he was one of the bravest and most experienced. He had scarcely passed six months of his whole life out of harness ; had served under and against very great commanders, and had proved his skill in leading armies under circumstances unusually perilous. His entire military career is a study. He was deemed personally brave even by Suwarrow, and his skilful marches to evade very superior forces proved him to be in the possession of those first military qualities, vigilance and activity. His name is venerated in Russia as nobly conspicuous in the list of patriotic warriors who signalled themselves in the face of Europe in this memorable campaign. He is not thought to have possessed the scientific knowledge or method of his companion in arms, Barclay de Tolly, and it is to be feared that he was the leader of those who disparaged that prudent and judicious commander. He was altogether a soldier of a different stamp from Barclay ; highly impetuous by nature, his love for the excitement of danger led him often to share in the duties of a common lancer or grenadier at the outposts. Such men are valuable at certain junctures, but are often a very great curse to a general-in-chief, who requires in the high rank of second in command one with whom he might rather take counsel than settle questions by personal bravery.

20. THE RUSSIANS CONTINUE THEIR RETREAT.

Barclay cordially supported Prince Koutusov in the proposal for continuing the retreat. He had resisted Napoleon through a long day, and the magnitude of their loss in the battle-field of Borodino rendered it too hazardous in them to continue the struggle another day, for the mere name of victory, when it was indispensable to the object of the campaign to preserve the army entire. The safety of the country demanded its preservation. Accordingly, orders were issued during the night for the retreat to commence on the following morning ; and to Miloradovitch was assigned the command of the rear guard. They retired only four miles, and in such order that no pursuit was attempted ; and such good countenance did this gallant rear-guard maintain, that Koutusov was enabled to hold Mojaish till his whole artillery and baggage, and almost all his wounded, had passed through. On the 9th, at 10 in the morning, that town was evacuated. On the same day, Murat was again on horseback, at the head of his cavalry, preceding Davoust's corps, but the marshal followed in his carriage, suffering too much

from his wound to mount his horse. Poniatowski led the advance of the right column, and the Viceroy that of the left. Napoleon, with his guard, rested a day on the field of battle of Borodino, but on the 11th established his head-quarters in Mojaïsk, which was only partially burned, and where he established a second hospital, while the several columns moved forward on Moscow.

Napoleon's condition of mind and health at this period is thus described by Count Ségur: "Il était resté trois jours à Mojaïsk, enfoncé dans sa chambre, toujours consummé par un fièvre ardente, accablé d'affaires et dévoré d'inquiétudes. Une rhume violente prise au bivouac lui avait fait perdre l'usage de la parole. Forcé de dicter à sept personnes à la fois, et ne pouvant se faire entendre, il écrivait sur différents papiers le sommaire de ses dépêches et s'il s'élevait quelques difficultés, il s'expliquait par signes." The importance of physical health to the success of a commander is obvious; and in one of his own letters from Austerlitz, Napoleon gives his evidence on the subject: "La santé est indispensable à la guerre, et ne peut être remplacé par rien. On n'a qu'un tems pour la guerre: j'y serai bon encore pour six ans, après quoi moi-même je devrai m'arrêter." Bonaparte was at this time 36 years of age, and he succumbed just at the term he here named. Under 50 is the time of action to every one; and, although exceptions may be named, most men will be found to deteriorate from their pristine vigour about that time of life.

The Russians retired by the great road to Moscow, and 20,000 carts with the wounded preceded their columns; but they only fell back as far as Mojaïsk, where they had already prepared batteries, before which the Viceroy and Murat were obliged to halt. Napoleon, as was ever his wont, occupied himself, as soon as he awoke on the 8th, with the care of his wounded. The abbey of Kolotskoi was converted into a hospital, and there Larrey, his celebrated surgeon-general, introduced order and collected all the little comforts that could be found for the sick. Accounts, however, now came in from the front that the Russians showed head before Mojaïsk, covering the two roads leading to Moscow and Kalouga, and that a deep ravine covered the position they had assumed. King Joachim, as impetuous as though he had just risen from repose, was with the advance, and was with difficulty restrained from engulfing his horsemen in its marshy bottom; but at length he despatched Belliard to discover if it could be turned on the left, and in making this reconnaissance that distinguished officer was wounded. Murat therefore contented himself with opening fire from his guns, and only partial engagements ensued, in which it is said some 2,000 men were sacrificed. The Russians, having set fire to the town, retreated again in the night. In the evening of the next day Napoleon established his head-quarters at Mojaïsk.

Miloradovitch again checked the impetuosity of the King of Naples on the 10th at Knimskoïe, and it took the whole day to force back the Russian rear-guard from the position it had assumed at this place behind the Nara. On the 13th, the whole Russian army were

found drawn up before the gates of Moscow, having the Moskwa behind them, the village of Fili on their right and that of Worobiewo on their left. Koutusov, whose characteristic was an artful self-confidence, stood here, not to oppose the further advance of the enemy, but to console the citizens for their abandonment; and with this view went through the farce of a council of war, to determine whether they should fight another battle or abandon the ancient capital. Considerable difference of opinion existed amongst the leaders, but Koutusov and Barclay agreed to retire, seeing that to continue the retreat was to lead the enemy into a snare where his destruction would be inevitable. On the morning of the 14th, therefore, the whole Russian army retired through the streets of the sacred city, of which Count Rostopschin had been constituted governor, with, it is said, secret injunctions from the Czar for its destruction. The inhabitants, for the most part, quitted their abodes, and, submitting to the will of their sovereign, abandoned them to the enemy.

21. THE RUSSIANS SET FIRE TO AND ABANDON MOSCOW, WHICH THE FRENCH ENTER.

Napoleon, recovered from his indisposition, mounted his horse and joined his advance within a few leagues of Moscow. He ordered every military precaution to be taken for the preservation of each flank from insult; for he was perfectly persuaded that he must fight a battle before Moscow would be surrendered to him. Suddenly a cry arose in front, "Moscow! Moscow!" It came from the advance, which had reached an elevation known as the "hill of salutation," at which point all true Muscovites prostrate and cross themselves before they proceed to the city. Napoleon hurried to the point and exclaimed, "Le voilà donc enfin cette ville fameuse!" and immediately ordered Murat to hasten forward and prevent all disorder. It was past noon when the French advanced guard arrived at the gates, where a flag of truce from Miloradovitch awaited them. This was simply a proposition to stay all hostile proceedings, for the sake of those who were left behind and those who entered the city, in order to avoid a sanguinary contest in the streets and houses. The Emperor readily accorded the request, but kept his eye steadily to his glass awaiting the deputation which he confidently expected would be sent forth to him by the municipal authorities of the city. Two anxious hours passed while Napoleon sat on the "hill of salutation," when a messenger arrived from the front with the verbal declaration, "Moscou est déserté!" News so utterly unexpected and disagreeable excited the indignation of the Emperor, and he immediately rode down to the gate Dorogomilov. The Viceroy had by this time reached the gate of Zwenijorod, and Poniatowski that of Wereja. When the Emperor came up to the advanced guard, the King of Naples confirmed the fatal intelligence, and endeavoured to persuade him to enter the city; but he refused, and ordered Daru to see whether he could meet with any of the authorities who might have remained behind, at the same time constituting Marshal Mor-

tier governor, with this injunction — “Surtout point de pillage ! Vous m'en répondez sur votre tête. Defendez Moscou envers et contre tous.”

Moscow is the most un-European city imaginable; a city so uncommon, so extraordinary, and so contrasted with all they had ever seen, that the army looked upon its domes, and steeples, and minarets as they glittered in the sun, which this day shone in all its brightness, with surprise and wonder. Cairo, Memphis, Milan, Vienna, Berlin, and Madrid had successively received Napoleon as conqueror, and now he prepared himself to play that character for the last time. Moscow is considered to be the most extensive capital in Europe, though far from being the most populous. The rampart which encloses it is twenty-six miles in circumference. It embraces five great cities. The Kremlin and Kitaigorod, or the old Tatar-town, which is the central and highest part, contains the citadel and palace of the Czar; and this division includes no inferior edifices, nor is it deformed by wooden houses. The cathedral of the Assumption, with its seven towers, is said to have been the first place of Christian worship in Russia, and to have been originally constructed of the trunks of trees, but it is now built of brick in imitation of the ancient wooden church. Wooden stairs lead down through the walls of the Kremlin to the river quay below. The university, printing-house, and many public buildings, with the public exchange and the chief houses of trade, are here situated. The Moskwa flowing below the Kremlin is here a river of importance, and makes Moscow a place of commerce by means of the Volga, of which it is a tributary. The palace of the Czar in the Kremlin did not boast of very great antiquity, but it had been raised with princely magnificence around the two cathedrals, midway between which stands the lofty tower of Ivan Veliki, and it is still approached through the awe-commanding portals of the Holy Gate, under which every Muscovite walks bareheaded. In the cathedral of St. Michael the sovereigns of Russia were formerly interred, and their bodies were deposited in raised sepulchres, on each of which a silver plate records the name and time of death of its occupant. On great festivals these were covered with costly palls studded with jewels. The cathedral of the Assumption is that in which the Czars are crowned. A great bell, weighing 443,000 pounds, was presented to the church by one of the sovereigns; it is the largest known in the world, and still remains at the bottom of the tower, in the pit in which it was cast. Taken altogether, Moscow may be regarded as an Asiatic town gradually becoming European. The streets are exceedingly long and broad, and some of them paved; but many parts of the city have the appearance of a sequestered desert, others that of a populous town; some resemble a contemptible village, others a great capital. Wretched hovels are blended with large palaces, cottages stand in juxtaposition with superb and stately mansions; so that the Prince de Ligne happily said of it, “Moscow looks exactly as if 300 or 400 old chateaus had come to live together, each bringing along with it its dependent accompaniment of a village.”

The Kremlin is surrounded by a high wall, but there are no ramparts round the city, only an outward circle of barriers and gates for fiscal purposes.

Napoleon did not pass a very comfortable night in the suburb. Some French inhabitants who had remained in the city reached his quarters with sinister apprehensions of fire. Several conflagrations had already occurred, and the exchange behind the bazaar had been burned, with a considerable portion of the crowded streets in its vicinity. This might have been the effect of accident; but, at 2 in the morning, he was aroused from sleep to see the horizon illuminated by a bright and lurid light. Although the full amount of the calamity did not yet occur to the imperial mind, Napoleon was deeply affected, and was visibly dejected and pensive. Nevertheless, he determined to make his public entry into the Muscovite capital with drums beating and colours flying, although there were no spectators to the triumph, nothing but the ragged army which made the procession. The Emperor took up his quarters in the palace of the Czars, and forthwith mounted the tower of Ivan Veliki to cast his eye over the vast and silent city, and to judge of the place and extent of the conflagrations which had been reported to him. The Imperial Guard at once took the duty of the Kremlin, while the marshals found the palaces of the high nobility awaiting their arrival with all their servants prepared to render them hospitality. The houses generally contained food and comforts of all kinds, though their masters had everywhere quitted their abodes. Against the house of Rostopschin, the governor, was affixed a writing of the following ominous purport:—"During eight years I have embellished this country-house and lived happily in it, in the bosom of my family. The inhabitants of my estate, to the number of 7,000, quit at your approach, in order that it may not be sullied by your presence. Frenchmen! at Moscow I have abandoned to you my houses with their furniture, and with half a million of roubles. They will be worth nothing to you but ashes." The authorities of the city had received orders that all the fire-engines should be carried away, nor was any known contrivance for arresting a conflagration to be found anywhere, and no way but that of destroying the burning houses could be resorted to to save the city when ignited. The fires continued, for combustibles had been secretly stowed away in many of the principal edifices to give vigour to the flames. The persons to whom was intrusted the duty of setting fire to the city (it has been said) were the felons released by the governor from the jails; but, whoever they were, they appear to have kept their orders secret and to have faithfully executed the obligation imposed on them. The act was done with considerable judgement. On the very first night after the departure of the inhabitants fires broke out in several parts of the city, which were thought to be the consequence of some military excesses, and were not regarded: but on this same night, the 15th, the spirit magazine burst into a brilliant spire of flame which was admired for its magnificence; for no settled plan of conflagration was yet suspected, and it was deemed to be the act of some drunken

soldier. After a short time it was subdued; but on the night of the 15-16th, an equinoctial gale set in, and the great bazaar caught fire. This was a depôt of the richest merchandise and of great value. The wind carried the fire rapidly amongst the wooden buildings, and an immense conflagration soon raged right and left through the city. The superior officers now took the matter in hand, and exerted themselves to establish companies of firemen to check the flames which destruction alone could not stay. Then search was made for fire-engines, but none could be found; and at length the truth forced itself irresistibly upon the Emperor himself and upon the French army, that the fires were preconcerted. But it was chiefly during the night of the 18-19th that the fire attained its greatest violence. At that time the entire city was wrapped in flames, which were accompanied in their ascent by loud explosions, plainly indicating that combustibles must have been designedly placed in some of the houses. It was soon discovered that the Kremlin was the depository of immense stores of gunpowder. The burning sparks fell in showers upon the roofs of the old palace, and fears soon began to be entertained for the safety of their beloved Emperor. He was earnestly urged to quit that residence; and General Lariboisière, the general commanding the artillery of the army, undertook to show him the peril of his situation, and, with the freedom of age, insisted on his departure. Napoleon long clung to his stay in the city, but, yielding at length to the solicitations of his followers, he removed his head-quarters to the imperial palace of Petroffskoie, ten miles north of Moscow.

It was high time, for the fire was already so intense that his followers could scarcely induce their horses to pass the burning mass as they rode through the gates and barriers. As the Emperor went forward he encountered the Prince of Eckmühl, who, still unable to walk or ride, was carried in the arms of the soldiers. He received him with cordial affection, but passed on without a word. Prince Berthier, as he quitted the city, said, "All is lost, for there are no further quarters for our army." "Non, non," said Napoleon, "nous n'en pensons pas." However, when he on the following evening cast a melancholy look from Petroffskoie upon the burning town, he exclaimed, after a long silence, "Ceci nous présage de grands malheurs!"

Immediately the Emperor quitted Moscow, the King of Naples, the Viceroy, Davoust, Ney, and, indeed, all the superior officers, followed his example; and then commenced those horrors which the cupidity of men fearless of death always creates after the check of discipline has been removed. No bar was so strong that it was not broken, no door so closed that it could not be prised, no treasure so hidden but that either earth-borers could detect it or water-buckets lay it bare. The city was necessarily abandoned to pillage, when, to the astonishment of the plunderers, a number of inhabitants appeared from hidden holes and corners to protect their property, or (some of them) to join with the soldiery in the work of plunder. A frightful tumult succeeded to the

stillness that had for the first 24 hours reigned in the deserted streets—cries, imprecations, lamentations filled the air. Not the least extraordinary part of the clamour arose from the howling and cries of numerous dogs which had been chained up and were now burned. It is said that the generals, seeing the condition of affairs, permitted their soldiers to take what they could find, as some compensation for their disappointments, and that even officers were found to avail themselves of this privilege. M. Thiers asserts that 15,000 wounded Russians perished in the flames, and that the foundlings in the hospital were only saved by the successful intervention of the Emperor. The conflagration continued until the 20th, when the rain which followed the wind assisted materially in extinguishing it. Napoleon beheld with the deepest grief the disorders which pervaded the troops, and knew that such licence, if not checked, would disorganise the entire army. As, happily, the Kremlin had resisted the fire, the Emperor returned and took up his residence in it on the 19th, for the purpose of restoring the order so preeminently essential to an armed force. It was of the first consequence to take measures, before it was too late, for provisioning and organising his army and getting it into condition for future operations. Five-sixths of Moscow were already a pile of ashes; 1,600 churches, 15,000 houses, 53 principal streets, and 472 bye-streets were found to be already wholly consumed; and 300,000 inhabitants are said to have perished in the flames. The British Allies of Russia showed themselves in nowise insensible to the immensity of the sacrifice made by the sovereign and the Muscovite people. In addition to a Parliamentary grant for the relief of the sufferers, solicited in a formal message from the Prince-Regent of the United Kingdom, considerable private subscriptions were collected, amounting to not less than half a million sterling!

It is probably now verified beyond dispute that Count Rostopschin was the author of that sublime effort of patriotic devotion, the burning of Moscow. To what extent the Czar was privy to the intention remains uncertain. There is no doubt that much distrust of Alexander's firmness, and much apprehension that he could be fooled by the wiles of Napoleon to some concessions that might have averted the war altogether, or subsequently stop it, occasioned much anxiety amongst his entourage, and that great precautions had been taken by the statesmen of his cabinet to surround him with sure advisers; but he had since become firm. That Koutusov was privy to Rostopschin's intentions is almost certain; but the honour which attends both their memories for a stratagem happily unparalleled in the history of the world, is justly due, in a preeminent degree, to the memory and name of Count Rostopschin, although he was disgraced for the heroic deed, which, in truth, involved a responsibility greater than any individual or government could support.*

But what had become of the Russian army after they quitted Moscow? Murat with the cavalry had followed them on the road

* Alison.

leading to Raizau. Detachments of their horsemen had been traced by the flying patrols going northwards towards Klin on the road to Petersburg; and some had gone towards Tonia. There was great doubt which of the many high roads leading in every direction from this grand centre of Russian communication and commerce the army of Koutusov had chosen. For eight days this uncertainty prevailed, when Sebastiani, who had succeeded to the command of the advance, discovered that they had taken up a position behind the Nara at Tarantina, midway between Toulou and Kalouga. Military critics have greatly praised this skillful manœuvre of Prince Koutusov. By this bold stroke he covered the richer provinces of the south, which might have been made to nourish the invading army, and he also threatened the rear of the French army by the shorter road back to Smolensko. The commander-in-chief did not lose a moment in teaching his adversary the value of his position, for a herd of Cossacks had already attacked and carried off from the high road at Mojaïsk a convoy of ammunition coming up from the rear for the supply of the grand army.

22. NAVAL WAR.

The naval war between the two principal powers, France and England, was this year nearly inactive; but France continued adding to her already powerful navy new line-of-battle ships and frigates. A three-decker was launched this year at Toulon, a 74 gunship at Genoa, at Naples 2 line-of-battle ships of the same force, and there were everywhere large vessels on the stocks. The Scheldt fleet, of from 16 to 20 sail of the line and 8 or 9 frigates, evinced in the course of the spring and summer an inclination to put to sea, but was too narrowly watched by that indefatigable British Admiral, Sir Richard Strachan, to succeed in their object. Towards the end of the year, the drafts which had been made from the effective strength of the French ships to supply the requirements of the grand army in the Russian campaign, kept their fleets of necessity everywhere stationary. Nevertheless, although the squadron in the Texel was prevented from sailing out, the keels of two new 74's were laid down at Amsterdam. The British Mediterranean fleet, under Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, continued their listless task of watching a superior but inactive enemy. On the 3rd of January 14 sail of the line, with frigates and corvettes, sailed out of Toulon roads under Rear-Admirals L'Hermite, Baudin, Violette, and Duperré, but soon sailed in again. Once or twice in the course of May this manœuvre was repeated under the superior command of Vice-Admiral Emeriau, and on one occasion a few shots were exchanged between the fleets. On the 28th of May, while the "Menelaus," 38, Captain Sir Peter Parker, was chasing off Hyères the French frigate "La Pauline," 40, and the brig "L'Ecureuil," 16, the entire fleet, to the number of 11 ships, weighed anchor from the roads. Sir Peter, notwithstanding, kept his eye upon it until he came under the very guns of Pointe Écampeba-

sion, which opened fire upon him, and a shot from one of the batteries cut the foretopmast of the British frigate nearly in two. At this time Rear-Admiral Hallowell's in-shore squadron was hulled down to leeward, so that the two advanced French line-of-battle ships thought to make an easy conquest of the "Menelaus;" but by extraordinary good management Sir Peter got clear off without the loss of a man.

Venice, the great maritime port of the Adriatic, had been selected by the Emperor to become an important naval depôt. On the 16th of February, the "Victorious," 74, Captain John Talbot, accompanied by the "Weasel," 18, Captain Andrew, arrived off that city, to watch the motions of some new 74's which had been built in the arsenal there, for "Le Rivoli," 74, had been already launched at Malamocco; and two other 74's, "Le Mont St. Bernardo" and "Le Regentor," had been launched from the same slips. "Le Castiglione" was almost ready to launch, and "Le Reali Italiani," with the frigate "Piani," were as high up as the main deck. There were 8 other two-deckers on the stocks, but the more important demands of the time to military matters had greatly retarded the progress of naval affairs, or they would have been afloat. "Le Rivoli" had been floated over the bar, and was in commission under Commadore Barré, and the departure of this ship was now anxiously watched and expected by Captain Talbot; so that when, on the 21st March, the look-out descried a large ship, with three brigs and two settees, about twelve hours' out from Venice, steering for the port of Pola in Istria, the two ships chased the enemy. On the 22nd, the "Weasel" came up with and engaged "Le Mercure," 16, when, after an action of about twenty minutes' duration, the French brig blew up. Upon this, another brig, "Le Jéna," 16, which had joined in the midst of the fight, taking advantage of the confusion of the moment, made off. The "Victorious" was in the meantime engaged with "Le Rivoli," and a mutual cannonade lasted for three hours, during which Captain Talbot became disabled from a splinter wound in the eye, and the command devolved on Lieutenant Peake, who recalled the "Weasel" to his aid, and, placing himself within pistol shot of the bow of the 74, poured in three rapid broadsides that made the French ship reel; meanwhile the fire of the "Victorious" brought down "Le Rivoli's" mizenmast, so that, after the action had continued for nearly four hours, she hailed that she struck, on which Lieutenant Peake boarded and took possession of her.

The French fleet in the port of Lorient consisted of 5 line-of-battle ships, "L'Eylau," 80, "Le Guilemar," 74, "Le Marengo," 74, "Le Vétéran," 74, together with some smaller war vessels, under the command of Vice-Admiral Allemand. It was known that they lay in port waiting an opportunity to elude the vigilance of the British squadron off the roads, which consisted of the "Tonnant," 80, Captain Sir John Gore, "Northumberland," 74, Hon. Captain Hotham, "Colossus," 74, Captain Alexander, and "Bulwark," 74, Captain Browne. On the 9th of March, Sir John

discovered that the French fleet had effected their escape; but it was mid-day ere the "Diana," 38, Captain Ferris, sighted four French sail-of-the-line off the Penmarcks, bound for Brest. The British frigate communicated her information to the "Pompée," 74, Captain Sir James Wood, which immediately joined in the chase, together with the "Poitiers," 74, Captain Beresford, and "Tremendous," 74, Captain Campbell. The pursuit continued during all the 10th and 11th, when foggy weather coming on, they were lost sight of. Thus left to himself, the French admiral cruised about at his leisure, and, making a few inconsiderable prizes, anchored again in the roads of Brest on the 29th, to the just boast of Allemand, who had set at nought two or three British squadrons, who were anxiously looking out for him.

On the 9th of January two French frigates, "L'Arienne," 40, Commodore La Forestier, and "L'Andromaque," 40, with the corvette "La Mamelouck," 16, sailed from Nantes upon a cruise, and having escaped in several chases from British cruisers, committed many depredations upon British commerce. Rear-Admiral Sir Harry Neale, now commanding the blockade of Brest, was, under these circumstances, directed to send out vessels to intercept this French squadron on its return to France. The vessel selected to watch the port of Lorient was the "Northumberland," 74; and it had been laid down, that one of the first duties of a naval officer is to acquire a complete knowledge of the coast on which he is employed. Captain Henry Hotham, who commanded this "man-of-war," so well applied the time allowed him that he made himself perfectly acquainted with the locality. On the 22nd of May, his look-out discovered the object of search southward of the Isle de Groix. The French commander, as he approached the port, saw the British ship, and found himself reduced to a considerable difficulty. The only alternative allowed him was to make a bold push between his enemy and Point Talieu, which he judiciously and gallantly endeavoured to effect, but failed in consequence of the superior local knowledge of his adversary. By steering close to the dry rock called Le Graul, Captain Hotham prevented him from passing outside of it, while he knew that inside there was not sufficient water for the enemy's ships to run. He had signalled to the brig "Growler," 12, Lieutenant Weeks, to chase them, and the two French frigates and brig, seeing no help for it, attempted the passage, but there was not water to float them, and they all grounded upon a ridge of rocks with every sail set. Seeing them thus securely fast upon a fixture of their own choosing, Captain Hotham hauled off to repair damages, leaving them to the slow but sure operation of the falling tide; but the "Growler" brig, getting up, opened fire upon the grounded vessels, which by this time had fallen over on their larboard sides, "L'Arienne" lying nearest to the shore, with her copper exposed to view. The "Northumberland," after about two hours' interval, opened her broadsides *also* upon them, which "L'Andromaque" returned with a few guns, and a heavy fire from the batteries on the shore did their best to

give them a little help; but so judiciously had Captain Hotham placed his ship, that only one of them could even reach her, and the "Northumberland" deliberately kept firing into the ship within point-blank range for an hour and a quarter, until "L'Andromaque" took fire, when the foretop and her main and mizenmasts soon went by the board. The crews had by this time all deserted the ships, and the "Northumberland" had received so much injury in her hull that, deeming his object completely accomplished, Captain Hotham weighed and removed the vessel out of gunshot. The "Growler," however, continued cruising about, occasionally pouring a dangerous fire on the shore, with the object of preventing the crews returning to their ships. At length, after dark, the British had the satisfaction of hearing all three of the enemy's vessels blow up in succession, and on this the "Northumberland" and "Growler" stood away to sea. These 3 vessels thus destroyed had themselves destroyed 36 merchant ships of different nations, and had, at the time of their own destruction, the most valuable portion of their cargoes on board. A fine French two-decker lay with sails bent in the harbour of Lorient, a mortified spectator of this achievement of naval skill and gallantry, but could do no more than send her boats to remove the crews. The British loss was 5 killed and 28 wounded. Captain Hotham was knighted for this exploit.

23. WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

From the temper manifested by the President and Congress of the United States of America in their intercourse with the British Government at the close of last year, it was evident that nothing could prevent a rupture between the two countries except a change in the commercial policy of Great Britain, or a dread in the young republic to enter into active hostilities; but England's difficulties have always been charitably deemed by her cousins the opportunity of America, and accordingly it was seen in the month of January that in the committee of Congress on foreign relations hostile resolutions were passed by preponderating majorities. A loan for carrying on a war was raised, but it was from various causes as late in their session as the 18th of June before their discussions resulted in a declaration of war. This momentous determination was carried in the House of Representatives by a majority of 79 against 49, the votes for war being chiefly from the Southern States; and the States manifested their feelings on the occasion rather singularly. Mourning was displayed on the day of the declaration of war in Boston, whereas in Baltimore a furious mob perpetrated cruel atrocities against the advocates of peace. The American Government deemed that the whole of Canada would fall into its hands as a matter of course; but the immediate object in precipitating hostilities was to secure the capture of the homeward-bound West India fleet, and a number of privateers had already left the Southern ports to prey upon British commerce.

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 ... the actual
 ... the 13th of June, was
 ... when a
 ... the "President,"
 ... Commodore Deane,
 ... Captain Lawrence,
 ... in the morning under
 ... and was clear of Sandy
 ... was in full possession
 ... of 100 sail,
 ... the preservation of a very
 ... the American squadron fell in with
 ... Captain Byron, who was un-
 ... but had heard a few days
 ... it was likely to happen,
 ... the American squad-
 ... with their national
 ... a British ensign, and cleared
 ... every precaution against the
 ... beginning the war. The
 ... had sighted
 ... the "Pre-
 ... she opened fire from her
 ... a musket on board of the
 ... and soon a running
 ... when another
 ... The "Belvidera" then
 ... and throwing
 ... one of the "Pre-
 ... 15 persons were
 ... the commodore himself, who was
 ... Captain Byron, in the meantime, shot
 ... the American ships.
 ... was seen to wear and heave to,
 ... and Captain Byron
 ... the British frigate
 ... the captain; that on board
 ... was killed and 15
 ... The forces
 ... and the struggle must have ended un-
 ... but that the steady fire and
 ... which all the officers themselves
 ... enabled her to come well out of the
 ... Besides the honour and glory, it was a great
 ... the Jamaica merchant
 ... he was carried too far to the northward, and all the trading vessels
 ... The American squadron went
 ... as far as Madeira and the Azores, but
 ... New York, much disappointed, on the

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24. THE AMERICANS INVADE CANADA.

The conquest of Canada was the object which the American Government had principally in view at the first declaration of hostilities; for they regarded it as of easy attainment, while Great Britain was so extensively occupied on the continent of Europe; and it was thought at that time by many that the attachment of the Canadian people to the mother country was, at the best, equivocal. An occurrence near Montreal about this period animated the hopes of United States politicians. Some militia were ordered to be embodied and disciplined, and a sort of mutiny or resistance to the British authorities ensued; but the Governor acted with great lenity and judgment, and discharged the insurgents without punishment, only denouncing the instigators. Early in July, General Hull, at the head of 2,500 men, crossed the Detroit, and invaded Upper Canada; but General Brock immediately assembled as many regulars and militia as he could collect, and advanced against Hull, whom he successfully opposed in three different attempts to cross the river Canard. General Hull then fell back to Fort Detroit, on the American side of the St. Lawrence, and Brock followed, and immediately invested the fort. Batteries were forthwith constructed and armed, and, having opened fire, the British general made preparations for an assault, but first sent in his aide-de-camp, Captain Glegg, to summon the United States general, whom the British officer induced to surrender up the fort on the 16th of August, with all its garrison, amounting to 2,500 men, and 33 pieces of cannon.

In the meantime, the American seaboard was bristling with armed vessels. On the 11th of July, the United States frigate "Essex," 46, Captain Porter, fell in with 7 British transports, under the convoy of "Minerva," 32, Captain Hawkins, and succeeded in cutting off the rearmost of them, having on board 197 soldiers. Both commanders, unwilling to be the cause of a war, conducted themselves with wonderful discretion. Captain Hawkins left the brig in quiet possession of its captors; and Captain Porter disarmed the soldiers, and released the vessel on a ransom, allowing her to proceed on her voyage. On the 13th, the "Essex" encountered and captured the British ship-sloop "Alert," Captain Langhorne, whom Porter took without the loss of a man, and, having disarmed her, sent her into St. John's, Newfoundland, with

Notwithstanding that New York is 240 miles distant from Washington, the act of the American Congress declaring the actual existence of war, which was passed on the 18th of June, was followed three days afterwards by its open exercise, when a squadron of the United States' navy, consisting of the "President," 54, Commodore Rodgers, "United States," 54, Commodore Decatur, "Congress," 36, Captain Smith, "Hornet," 18, Captain Lawrence, and "Argus," 16, Captain Sinclair, sailed in the morning under the command of Commodore Rodgers, and was clear of Sandy Hook the same evening. Their intention was to get possession of the homeward-bound British West India fleet of 100 sail, known to be not far from the coast, under the protection of a very feeble convoy. On the 23rd, the American squadron fell in with the British frigate "Belvidera," 36, Captain Byron, who was unacquainted with any declaration of war, but had heard a few days previously from a New York pilot-boat that it was likely to happen, and finding his private signals unanswered by the American squadron, which had ostentatiously decked itself with their national colours, the "Belvidera" hoisted a British ensign, and cleared for action, but at the same time taking every precaution against the possibility of her being charged as beginning the war. The American squadron, however, chased immediately it had sighted the "Belvidera," and as soon as the commander's ship, the "President," had come within 600 yards, she opened fire from her bow guns. One of the shots killed a seaman on board of the "Belvidera," who accordingly returned fire, and soon a running fight commenced, which lasted about three hours, when another American frigate arrived in action. The "Belvidera" then lightened her cargo by starting some of her water and throwing overboard most of her boats. Just at this time one of the "President's" 24-pounders burst, by which accident 16 persons were killed and wounded, including the commodore himself, who was hit severely in the leg. Captain Byron, in the meantime, shot ahead, and was soon some miles distant from the American ships. About midnight the "President" was seen to wear and heave to, thus putting an end to all further pursuit, and Captain Byron proceeded towards Halifax. The loss on board the British frigate was 2 killed and 22 wounded, including the captain; that on board the American squadron was 3 killed and 18 wounded. The forces were very disproportionate, and the struggle must have ended unfavourably for the smaller antagonist, but that the steady fire and nice aim of the "Belvidera," which all the officers themselves carefully superintended, enabled her to come well out of the unequal contest. Besides the honour and glory, it was a great triumph to have effected the preservation of the Jamaica merchant fleet; for, by the American commodore chasing the British frigate, he was carried too far to the northwards, and all the trading vessels passed on their course unheeded. The American squadron went afterwards in quest of them as far as Madeira and the Azores, but were obliged to return to New York, much disappointed, on the

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a cartel. The "Essex," continuing her cruise, fell in with the "Shannon," 38, Captain Philip Broke, who immediately chased her, and the American frigate ran for shelter into Delaware Bay. That active and intelligent officer had obtained a thorough insight into the real state of affairs, and was not a man to be trifled with by any enemy, European or American. He had received orders to take under his command the "Belvidera," 36, Captain Byron, "Africa," 64, Captain Bastard, "Æolus," 32, Captain Lord James Townshend, and "Guerrière," 38, Captain Dacres. This squadron sighted on the 16th of July, and immediately chased the United States frigate "Constitution," 44, Captain Isaac Hull, who, however, escaped from their pursuit on the 19th. Broke, pursuing his cruise, burned a number of American vessels, and took many prizes. The "Constitution" made her way, in the meantime, to Boston harbour, which she again quitted on the 2nd, in search of adventure. Hull had received intelligence of a British ship-of-war to the southward, and, making sail in that direction, found he had not been misinformed, for the "Constitution," on the 19th of August, came down upon the "Guerrière," while cruising alone on the banks of Newfoundland, and both ships ran up their colours. The eventful action that ensued began at about 5 in the afternoon. The American frigate was decidedly superior, both in number and weight of guns and in force of crew; but, notwithstanding that disadvantage, Captain Dacres did not decline the conflict, and for an hour the two ships fought with an equal chance of success, when the fight was decided by one of those accidents to which ships of war are liable and cannot guard against. At about 6 o'clock, a 24-pound shot struck the Guerrière's mizen-mast, and passed right through it. In fifteen minutes the mast fell over the quarter, and the hammer dragging in the water brought the ship up in the wind. The "Constitution," bearing up quickly, placed herself in such a manner as to rake her opponent with a very destructive fire. The two vessels soon, however, fell on board each other, and preparations were made by the American to board the British frigate, but the musketry of the latter brought down all the leaders, so that the attempt failed, and in a few minutes they got clear. Captain Dacres, however, from a rifleman in the enemy's mizen-top, received a bad wound, while animating his crew; yet, though seriously hurt, he still kept the deck, and, with the aid of his officers and men, exerted himself to get the ship before the wind; but valour, skill, and resolution had become alike fruitless. The "Guerrière" lay, an unmanageable hulk, in the trough of the sea; and, as it was utterly vain to contend any longer, the jack was hauled down, at a quarter before 7, from the stump of her mizen-mast. The "Guerrière" had 15 killed and 63 wounded; the "Constitution" had 7 killed and 7 wounded. Captain Dacres had handled his ship in a manner to win the applause of his enemies, and lost no reputation by his defeat in the estimation of either the British or the American navy. The "Guerrière" was so complete a wreck that it was impossible to carry her into port, and she was therefore set on fire at sea, and burned by her captors.

The disaster that befell General Hull on land had disconcerted the American plan for the invasion of Upper Canada, the inhabitants of which, being of British origin, were strongly animated with loyal and patriotic feelings, and had taken up arms universally to repel the inroad of their republican neighbours. The United States, however, with democratic heedlessness and presumption, not only put aside an armistice, which had been agreed to by General Dearborn, commander-in-chief on the northern frontier, and Sir George Prevost, the British Governor of Canada, but disavowed it, and determined on a vigorous prosecution of the war. They assembled a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Niagara, and on the 13th of October, the American General Wadsworth, with 1,300 or 1,400 men, crossed the frontier, and made an attack on the British position of Queenstown. On receiving this intelligence, General Brock sent orders to Brigadier-Major Evans, who commanded at Fort-George, to batter the American fort at Niagara, which was done so effectually that the garrison was forced to abandon it. The general himself then hastened to Queenstown, and at once led on the troops for its defence, but unfortunately, while gallantly cheering on the 49th Regiment to the assault, he fell mortally wounded. The American general now held his ground until Major-General Sheaffé, who succeeded to the command, could bring up reinforcements of regulars and militia, when he advanced to the attack with 800 men, supported by his artillery; while Norton, the Indian chief, with a considerable body of backwoodsmen, menaced the enemy's flank. After a short but spirited conflict, the Americans were driven out of their position, with a considerable loss in killed and wounded, and General Wadsworth surrendered himself prisoner on the field, with 900 troops, a stand of colours, and one 6-pounder.

Irritated rather than discouraged by their repeated failures by land, contrasted with their uncommon good fortune afloat, the United States Government strained every nerve for a third invasion of Canada. Their naval force on Lakes Ontario and Erie was augmented, and General Dearborn, who still commanded their army on the frontier, was so considerably reinforced, that by the middle of November he was at the head of 10,000 men. A combined attack on the British settlement was accordingly arranged. General Smyth crossed the St. Lawrence between Chippewa and Fort Erie on the 28th of November, with about 500 men, and encountered a small British detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bishop, who repulsed him with severe loss. On the 16th, General Dearborn broke up from Plattsburg, and marched to Champlain, threatening an advance upon Montreal; but no sooner had he pushed his reconnoissances beyond the line of frontier than he found General Prevost had made such vigorous preparations to receive him, that his plans were entirely disconcerted, and he thought it prudent to withdraw the United States army from further aggression on the 22nd, and placed them in winter quarters about Plattsburg and Albany.

25. PENINSULAR WAR—SOULT RAISES THE SIEGE OF CADIZ.

The British army tasted with their laurels a repose at Madrid which had never before been experienced by those who had outlived the assaults and conflicts of the past year, and, indeed, it was a *de-lassement* unprecedented in the annals of the Peninsular War. The Spanish officers of the army had good quarters, and continually met together in regimental dinners at the Cruz de Malta, &c. Wellington occupied the royal palace at Madrid, and his generals the great halls of the aristocracy. Balls at the palace and elsewhere, and plays and operas enlivened many an evening, and a bull-fight and the many delights of a capital filled up the day. But this could not be permitted or expected to last long. The general only waited at Madrid long enough to see what consequences would follow from his victory at Salamanca, and his bold march upon Madrid. The hour for action was only suspended, not lost sight of for a moment. The situation of the English general, though brilliant, was full of peril. No assistance of any amount, either in money or substantial strength, was to be obtained in the Spanish capital. The authorities were unable, or at least no efforts were made, to call forth any additional troops, although orders were sent to Castaños to carry his army to Clinton, at Alicante, but a whole month elapsed without any news of him, and he was now called back. In the meantime, stimulated to fresh exertions by their late reverses, the French generals endeavoured on every side to show a good front. The defeated army of Marmont was gathering fresh strength under Clausel. Marshal Soult had evinced some activity in the south, and had pushed forward Drouet, who was enabled to drive back Hill as far as the old position at Albuera, where a battle was even expected again to take place, but the news of Marmont's defeat and of the advance of the British army towards the capital altogether changed the aspect of affairs in Andalusia, and he was called back. Wellington, in consequence, sent orders to Hill and to General Cook (who commanded the English troops at Cadiz) to act immediately on the offensive; and the French marshal received at the same time the positive commands of the intrusive King (backed this time by an order to give up his command to Count d'Erlon, if he was disinclined to obey), to come with all his forces to the assistance of the army of the centre for the recovery of Madrid. Orders were therefore given to remove or destroy all the siege stores at Cadiz, and to raise the blockade. Indeed, there was no time for delay, for as soon as the Duke of Dalmatia had quitted Seville on the evening of the 26th August, a mixed force of Spanish and British, under Colonel Skerrett, entered the city next morning, and took 200 of the French rear-guard prisoners; so that Drouet coming down from the mountains upon Seville the same evening, was surprised to find it in possession of the enemy, and retired hastily upon Carmona. The French leaders had always before their eyes a vision of Dupont at

Baylen, and were glad to get past that unpropitious pass of the Sierra as quickly as possible. Soult therefore hastened by to Valencia to take counsel with King Joseph and the Duke of Albuera upon the course to be adopted in this new phase of the campaign.

26. WELLINGTON LAYS SIEGE TO BURGOS.

While these operations were in progress, Wellington at Madrid was revolving his further plans. Three courses were open to him: 1, He might advance into the south against Soult; 2, He might proceed to the eastward and unite with the British army just arrived at Alicante; or, 3, He might proceed against his old adversaries in the north. By adopting either the first or second of these expedients he would seriously risk his base of operations, which, in truth, jeopardised the subsistence of his army, and in proceeding either north or east, he would expose his flank and rear; he accordingly resolved upon the third, and sat down to write his directions for the instruction of the British commander at Alicante. He now ordered Hill to Almaraz* with his corps, and placed Ballasteros, with his Spanish army, in dependence upon him; and after assigning two divisions for the garrison of Madrid, he quitted that capital with the remainder of his army. It was indeed time; for Clausel had so far recovered strength that he had actually returned upon his steps with 22,000 men and 50 guns, and had entered Valladolid on the 18th, driving the British division in the north before him across the Douro. The French general at once despatched Foy with a strong division towards Galicia, to recover the garrisons which, in the haste of Marmont's retreat, had been left behind in Leon and elsewhere. Astorga, however, had already surrendered, with a garrison of 1,200 men, to Santocildes before Foy could reach it, but all the other garrisons were relieved and brought away. It was under this new condition of affairs that Wellington resolved to strike a blow against Clausel before the French armies could arrive from the south to his disturbance. He therefore concentrated 21,000 men at Arevalo, and took the command of them in person on the 7th of September, on which day he passed the Douro, and, driving the French before him, retook possession of Valladolid. General Clausel fell back on the approach of the allied army, retreating slowly up the beautiful valley of the Pisuerga, filled as it now was to repletion with corn, wine, and oil, and not deficient in military strength. Cross ridges continually furnished strong positions, flanked with lofty hills on both sides, on which the French general offered battle; but Wellington, daily expecting to be joined by Castaños and the Galician army, was unwilling to assail, and was content by flank movements to dislodge his enemy and move forward. Thus the French general barred the way eight several times, at Cicales, Dueñas, Magoz, Torquemada, Cordobilla, Revilla, Vallejera, and Pampliega, and

* The repair of the broken bridge here was most ingeniously effected by Sturgeon, the British engineer, with some cordage and captives captured in the Retro.

finally covered Burgos on the 16th, by taking up the strong position of Cellada del Camino.

At last, on the 17th, the tardy Castaños arrived at Palencia, but instead of an efficient force of 25,000 men, which, from the Spanish grandiloquent reports, had been expected, his army scarcely mustered 11,000 men, utterly deficient in equipment and organisation, badly officered, and generally undisciplined. Clausel, however, alike wary and skilful, retired before the allied forces to Frandovinez and thence on Brivesca, yielding up the city of Burgos, containing large stores of grain. As he withdrew, he was joined by General Souham, who, by virtue of his seniority, assumed the command of the army, to which the Emperor had designated Massena, but that veteran marshal resolutely declined further service. Caffarelli, therefore, received orders to come in from the north, and, having arrived, immediately applied himself to putting the castle of Burgos in a state of defence. He had also provided a garrison of 1,800 excellent infantry, which he had placed under the charge of General Dubreton as governor, who was reputed to be an officer of courage and skill. When the advanced guard of the allies entered Burgos, they accordingly found the city in the utmost confusion. The garrison was in the act of retiring into the castle, and had set fire to some houses which were thought to impede the defence, and the Partidas, ever hovering upon the wings of the enemy, like wolves in search of prey, were already in the city, marauding and plundering in all directions. The conflagration, being unchecked, spread, and there was even some fear that the entire city, including the splendid cathedral, might be burned; but D'Alava, the Spanish Commissioner at Wellington's head-quarters, and Don Carlos d'España, the Spanish general, exerted their authority and influence to arrest the flames, to have the Partidas expelled, and order at length restored.

Burgos is an ancient city, the capital of Old Castile, and pleasantly situated on the right bank of the river Arlançon, at the foot of an eminence on which are the ruins of an old castle, the abode of the ancient kings. It was formerly remarkable for its riches, industry, and commerce; but, like most of the famous strongholds of ancient Spain, it now presents a melancholy picture of poverty, idleness, and depopulation. Its cathedral is one of the most magnificent Gothic fabrics in Europe. Burgos was the birthplace of two of the most renowned military heroes of Spain, Gonzales and The Cid.

The castle did not naturally possess much means of defence, except from its lofty position, which commanded all the country around, and from its guns, which defended all the roads leading to the city, as well as the bridge over the Arlançon. The Emperor himself, when he was last in Spain, had, however, ordered it to be put into a state of repair, so as to protect the communications and to form one of the great dépôts of the French army. It was accordingly put into the hands of the engineer, and now offered three fortified enceintes, or lines enclosing the entire rugged hill, between which and the river the city of Burgos was situated. The first was

an old Moorish wall, to which had been given a new parapet and flanks; the second was a line of earthworks well palisaded; and the third was a kind of redoubt enclosing the old square-built donjon-keep and a building known as the White Church. In front of this highest point of the hill had been constructed a casemated work called the Napoleon battery, which commanded everything around, and whose fire bore upon the hornwork of San Michele, placed at a distance of near 300 yards upon a hill scarcely less elevated, which was itself *réveté*, and defended with a sloping scarp of earth, twenty-five feet high, covered by a ditch and counterscarp ten feet deep, but without covered-way or glacis. The gorge of this fort had been temporarily closed, on the approach of Wellington, by an exceedingly strong palisading. Time, indeed, had not admitted of any *caponnière* being made across the ravine to unite this outwork to the castle, although something of the kind had been traced. The castle of Burgos was amply provisioned for a siege. Nine heavy guns and eleven field-pieces, with six howitzers and mortars, were already mounted on the works, and the French commander had ample stores within this large *dépôt* to increase his means of offence to any extent that he pleased. It was said, however, that water was scarce on the top of that steep hill, and that the provision magazines were not secure from conflagration. On these accidents, therefore, more than on any preparations commensurate with the undertaking, must the British general have relied for success in the capture of this stronghold; for his means were most scant. He had but three 18-pounders and five 24-pound mortars for the whole of his siege train, and his supply of powder did not exceed fifteen barrels, nor of shot more than 300 rounds. His supply of siege tools amounted to no more than fifty mule-loads, which had accompanied the army; but fortunately a *dépôt* of French tools and sandbags was found in the town. Some difficulty in forming the investment occurred at the very commencement, for every bridge and ford of the river was exposed to the fire of the castle. The siege was allotted to the 1st and 6th divisions, under Generals Clinton and Campbell, and the brigade of Guards was passed across the river above the town on the morning of the 19th, when the French posts were driven in and the allied outposts established on the different points of the hill, where any cover could be found to protect them from the fire of the forts. The rest of the army was advanced to Quintanapala as a covering body to hold Souham in check.

Immediately on being invested, the defences were examined under a strong reconnoissance. Lord Wellington, somewhat undervaluing these, and sensible of his insufficient means for a siege, determined on commencing the same evening by an assault on the hornwork. Two parties were accordingly told off to assail each of the demi-bastions, and thus enter the ditch where the counterscarp was unfinished, while a third party was to march round the work and force the gorge. At 6 in the afternoon, while it was yet light, these detachments were put in movement, and were at once discovered by the garrison, who opened a heavy discharge of musketry upon the

advance from the whole front of the hornwork, which, however, very much shielded them from the castle. The British line, contrary to orders, opened their fire also, but at a manifest disadvantage. The Portuguese troops allotted for the attack of the left demi-bastion were preceded by a party of the 42nd Highlanders, under Lieutenant Pitts, who, disregarding the heavy fire, coolly descended into the ditch, and raised the scaling ladders, on which his men even mounted to the upper steps; but their Portuguese followers, having been much demoralised by the fire upon their approach, which had killed and wounded a large proportion of them, could not be prevailed upon to follow, and of course no entry was effected. The escalade of the right demi-bastion was equally unsuccessful. No troops could have effected an entry at that point. Those who attempted it were bayoneted from above; while shells, combustibles, and cold shot were hurled on the assailants, who, after a most determined effort, were driven back into the ditch. They carried, however, the three small lunettes which had been thrown up upon the slope of Mont St. Michael for the protection of the picquets. The storming party at the gorge, led forward by the Honourable Major Cocks, at the head of the 79th Regiment, marched along the glacis of the branches, not without very serious loss; but the principal portion of the garrison, being engaged in repelling the attack in front, the scaling ladders were placed against the palisades with but little opposition, and the assailants successfully scrambled over them into the inside of the work. Cocks then divided his party, leaving one to secure the gateway, and the other to ascend the parapet; but the assailants, not being closely supported by any corps of reserve, the garrison, by weight of numbers, literally ran over the party left to oppose their retreat, broke through them, and, getting safe out of the hornwork, mostly escaped into the castle. The loss of the several storming parties was excessive: 71 killed, and 340 wounded or missing. The French do not acknowledge to a greater loss in the affair than about 150 *hors de combat*. One captain and 62 men were made prisoners in the several outworks. As soon as the hornwork fell, a lodgement was effected the same evening; and, notwithstanding the vigorous fire of the Napoleon battery upon it, good cover was obtained for the working parties in the course of the night. The trenches were now opened against the hill, and a battery for five guns was ordered to be established on the right of the captured hornwork. A sap was thence to be pushed from the trenches towards the enceinte wall, but, under the circumstances of the insufficient battering train, it was intended to proceed principally by mine and assault. The garrison immediately opened heavy fire on the working parties, but the besieged were exposed the first day to the casualty of a gun bursting in the battery Napoleon, and a magazine exploded in the castle during the night of the 21st-22nd. The guns of the besiegers were drawn up the hill and placed on platforms on the latter day, and a new battery was commenced; but Wellington, impatient to get possession, and proud of his first

success, ordered a new assault against the outermost line on the night of the 22nd-23rd. The time selected was midnight, and the storming party succeeded in escalading the wall, but they were hurled down from the summit of it by the defenders, who, jumping upon the parapet, cast upon the heads of the unfortunate assailants, as they fell, every species of combustible and missile. Major Laurie, of the 79th, who led this assault, was killed, and his men, deprived of their leader, unable to advance and unwilling to retire, were at length ordered to be withdrawn, leaving near half their numbers killed or wounded at the foot of the line. A truce was accordingly demanded next morning, to bury the dead and carry off the wounded, which the governor conceded for the space of two hours only after daylight.

The attack by escalade having failed, it became necessary to revert to the original project; and 250 men, furnished with gabions, undiscovered from the castle, now converted a hollow road, 50 yards distant from the enceinte, into a parallel, and thus got to within 150 yards of the defence. The besieged cast shell and shot upon this advance, but failed to stop it, and the cover that it rendered was speedily taken advantage of by the besieging sharpshooters, who were enabled to prevent, for a considerable time, any one of the enemy from manning the parapets; but a few good French marksmen got behind a projecting palisade, and did great execution upon the men working in the hollow way, who, after ineffectually trying to dislodge them, found the struggle too unequal, and it was resolved to trust entirely to the effect of mine and artillery fire. The flying sap became exceedingly difficult and perilous on this side of the hill, on account of the shells rolled down the bank, and the steady fire maintained against the head of the sap from the parapet. In the night of the 25th, the miners commenced their galleries, and on the 26th-27th a second mine was also begun to be formed; but the workmen, not being experienced in military mining, and not having the proper miners' tools, made very slow progress. It was the 28th before the first gallery had been carried 42, and the second 30 feet; but on the 29th the miners reported their belief that they were under the foundation of the escarp of the castle, so that on that night the first mine was exploded; but the besieged soon repaired again the small breach thus effected, before it became practicable, and accordingly the party ordered for the assault could not attempt any lodgement, and were withdrawn. A breaching battery now tried its effect upon the breach, and, notwithstanding that the garrison had diminished it by means of sand-bags and barrels, the gun-fire, after three hours, re-opened it, but not sufficiently to attempt a storm. The effects of the first mine, therefore, having been lost, every exertion was used to push forward the second gallery; and Lord Wellington ordered the construction of a small battery to assist in the formation of a breach when it should be exploded; but the more commanding fire of the castle soon disabled the few guns which the engineers could place in battery, and it was determined to relinquish the idea of employing ordnance in

the lower attack altogether. A number of wool-packs had been found in a store of the town on the night of the 1st of October, and these formed good revêtements to the batteries, and, being stuffed into the gabions, they sustained most effectually the cheeks of the embrasures. The weather, however, had turned to incessant rain, and all the earthworks speedily became deteriorated. The night of the 2nd and 3rd of October was excessively wet, dark, and tempestuous, and, in consequence, the working parties became much discouraged, and did not work with energy. At 5 in the afternoon of the 4th of October, the second mine was exploded, and its effect was ruinous. The wall came down in masses, and shattered the masonry to a length of nearly 100 feet. The storming party which was formed up ready for the assault immediately the mine was sprung, consisted of a portion of the 24th Regiment, under Captain Hedderwick, and so quickly did this party arrive at the ruins, that it was even before the dust caused by the explosion had subsided. The assailants, however, came into a hand-to-hand conflict with the defenders on the summit of the breach; but the supports followed up closely, and in a few minutes a lodgement was effected, with the loss of about 240 killed and wounded, and amongst them the conducting engineer. Here the British were enabled to maintain themselves, and during the night new boyaux were carried forward on the space between the outer wall and the first line of earthworks; but the darkness and the confusion into which the stormers and workmen had been thrown rendered the possession of the ground both imperfect and insecure, so that, on the evening of the 5th, the garrison made a spirited sortie upon it, and drove back the besiegers at the point of the bayonet, gaining possession of all the tools, and overturning the earthworks of the lodgement. Fresh troops came up to retrieve this disaster, and under a desperate and most destructive fire from the place, the position was again carried, and the besieged driven back within their second enceinte. The breaching batteries reopened on the 6th, but the gunners could not see the wall sufficiently near the foot to do it much injury, and the garrison responded to the cannonade by a heavy fire from the Napoleon and other batteries. The weather again became stormy, and the rains exceedingly heavy, which rendered the workmen uncomfortable and negligent, and very much retarded the works; for it required indefatigable labour to drain the trenches, and maintain their steep banks. The gallery for a new mine was about to be commenced, when, at midday on the 8th, Dubreton, wishing to examine and destroy the approaches, ordered a strong sortie; and 400 men fell unexpectedly on the indolent soldiers, and drove the guard of the trenches and the workmen over the wall. The besieged succeeded also in levelling much of the work, and carrying off the entrenching tools; but what was most grievously felt was, that the commanding officer in the trenches, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cocks, an officer most highly distinguished throughout the war for zeal, intelligence, and intrepidity, and who had only just received his promotion for his gallant conduct in the first storm, fell in the defence, together

with 200 men and officers. This success enabled the besieged to scarp the breach, by removing the fragments which lay at the foot of the wall. On the 9th, an unsuccessful attempt was made to burn the White Church with hot shot; but a practicable breach, to the extent of from 20 to 25 feet, was effected by the batteries, and on the side towards the town a gallery was commenced to form a mine for blowing up the Church of St. Roman, in which, it was understood, was a garrison store. At half-past 4 in the afternoon of the 18th, this mine, loaded with 900 lbs. of powder, was exploded under St. Roman, and an assault was immediately made. Eight battalions of Spanish and Portuguese troops, divided into three columns of attack, lodged themselves in the mines. The Guards, in one column, assailed the old breach, and escalated the second enceinte; and the German Legion, following them, actually gained the third, but were again obliged to retire from it, owing to the murderous fire of the enemy. Meanwhile, the third column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, advanced against the White Church, and drove back its defenders within the second line; but the Engineer Pinot, seeing his advantage, set fire to a train, and exploded a counter-mine under the foundations of the church, which brought it down with a horrible crash, burying 300 men in the ruins. On the 19th and 20th, the post of St. Roman was alternately taken and re-taken several times, but remained at length to the besiegers. However, the determination had now been come to to raise the siege; and on the 20th Lord Wellington gave up the direction of the investing force to Major-General Packe, and on the 21st proceeded to the army in his front at Monasterio.

Wellington had, in fact, received despatches from Hill, dated Madrid, the details of which, coupled with an offensive movement made by Souham upon Monasterio on the 18th, had determined him to raise the siege. It had lasted 38 days, and in its course 4 mines had been sprung and 4,000 cannon-shot fired; 5 breaches had been opened, and 5 assaults had been delivered; yet the garrison could still show 1,200 men under arms, and it can scarcely be said that the besiegers had gained thorough possession of any part of the works except the hornwork. The loss to the besiegers had been 24 officers and 485 rank and file killed, 68 officers and 1,487 rank and file wounded; while the garrison only admitted to the loss of 193 men killed and 443 wounded. They had made five sorties, all of which had met with some degree of success, and had completely foiled the besiegers. General Dubreton was very justly praised for his defence, which was a brilliant feat of arms, and in after years Wellington had himself an opportunity of congratulating the general upon the exploit. The public mind in England was very censorious upon their general for this failure. It was without any question that the siege was undertaken with inadequate means, and with some inappreciation of the extraordinary skill and resources which the French military have always evinced in the improvised defences of walls and bulwarks. Wellington justified himself on the plea of insufficiency and inexperience in the troops

employed; but the fault did not lie with the troops, it lay solely with himself. He had with him only Lieutenant-Colonel Burgoyne and three engineer officers. There was not even one instructed miner, and there were no proper mining tools. The men employed in this process were volunteers out of the ranks, who were set to work with no better implements than the common pick and shovel. The ordinary characteristic of a British soldier was singularly apparent in their leader on this occasion. He held cheap the skill of the engineer, and, indeed, was not a devoted disciple of any art in war, but rested all his hopes on the efficient employment of time; deeming dash and bravery less destructive to the life of troops than the chances and interruptions occasioned by the delays of science. He had, as we have seen, endeavoured to make up for deficient matériel in the engineer and artillery department by ordering escalades, which very rarely succeed, except upon what may be termed "taking the odds." Vauban himself, without cannon or tools, and without a sufficient number of engineers or workmen trained to siege operations, could not have achieved the capture of Burgos; and Wellington, addressing the minister on the 21st of September, the day after the capture of the hornwork, writes (and at this time candidly and justly):—"I am apprehensive that the means which I have are insufficient to enable me to take the castle. I may have it in my power to force them to surrender, although I may not be able to lay the place open to assault."

27. KING JOSEPH UNITES THE FRENCH ARMIES, AND RELIEVES MADRID AND BURGOS.

Whatever Wellington might have intended to accomplish by the capture of Burgos, there is little doubt that it could only have given him a more advanced line of winter quarters between that place and Ciudad Rodrigo; for the intrusive King had still numerous armies under his hands for aggressive operations, as soon as he could get them together. The progress of Marshal Soult's army had been closely watched by General Hill from Madrid; and an officer of cavalry* had been sent into the Sierra Morena in observation, who had had, indeed, the good fortune to witness, from a spur of the range on the southern side, the whole of this *corps-d'armée* in actual march. Joseph had appointed Fuente de Higuera, on the confines of Murcia, for the place of meeting with his generals to take counsel as to the future, and especially as to the recovery of the capital. Here it was resolved, after much deliberation, upon the advice of Marshal Jourdain, to unite 56,000 men, with 100 guns, and force the line of the Tagus, leaving Marshal Suchet to remain at Valencia, with about 40,000 men,

* The author—at that time a Lieutenant employed on the outposts of information, at about 150 miles in front of head-quarters; and who, attended by only one orderly dragoon, was able, unseen by the enemy, to note down every gun, battalion, and squadron that was in march upon a road not a mile distant from the wooded height on which he stood.

in order to watch the east seaboard of the kingdom, where a small British expedition had already landed, and where the Partidas were still very active and dangerous. General Souham had assumed the command of the army of Portugal, as it was still termed, on the 3rd of October, but could not either send to, or obtain information from, the intrusive King or the marshals in command of the other armies, in consequence of the intervention of the British forces and the activity of the guerillas upon his communications. At length he is said to have learned, through the English newspapers, that Soult had joined the King, and that no reinforcements had been sent to Wellington. Souham, therefore, determined on an advance to save Burgos, if possible. As early as the 13th, he had moved forward a considerable body of infantry, with 6 squadrons of cavalry, from Briviesca, which came upon the British outposts on a stream beyond Monasterio, where Captain Perse, commanding a body of the 16th Light Dragoons, was twice forced from, and twice recovered, a bridge, which he at length maintained until the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Ponsonby, who commanded the cavalry reserve, arrived in support. Ponsonby and Perse were both wounded in the affair, which was followed by various other demonstrations, in one of which an advanced picquet of Brunswickers was captured.

On the 18-20th of October, the united corps, under the personal command of King Joseph, advanced in two columns against Madrid: one, under Marshal Soult, by Chinchilla, San Clemente, and Olaña, on Aranjuez; the second, under Count d'Erlon, by Requena, Cuença, and Fuente Duena, where he passed the Tagus. Both columns were well supplied with provisions and every requisite of an army, and the expedition was accompanied by his Majesty in person, and his Major-General, Marshal Jourdain. They arrived, without encountering any enemy more serious than a few guerillas, at Aranjuez and Fuente-Duena, on the 27th and 28th. Upon hearing of the French advance, Hill prepared to withdraw from Madrid; but on the 30th, extended his left flank for some purpose as far as Alcala. However, on the following day, he did, in fact, abandon the capital, and on the 3rd of November carried his whole corps across the Guadarama. The intrusive King now made his entry, and was well received in Madrid, but, with an unusual activity for his habits, he left it again on the 4th, and on the 7th reached Arevalo, where he gave the hand to the army of Portugal, and now found himself at the head of a force of 90,000 men, of whom 12,000 were cavalry, with from 120 to 150 pieces of cannon.

Some fighting had meanwhile taken place in and about Burgos. General Maucune had advanced with two divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, on the 20th of October, and after gaining some advantage, had been driven back by Sir Edward Paget. The garrison saw from the top of the old donjon-keep the heads of the French columns coming over the hills, and concluded from other unmistakable evidence that the siege was raised. The troops left in the trenches had been for some days burning gun carriages and

destroying ammunition, and an attempt had been made to blow up the hornwork, all which predicated a retreat. On the 22nd, the city of Burgos was evacuated by the British at daybreak, and at 10 o'clock the advanced guard of the French army arrived there from Villa Frias. The British army had, in fact, already quitted its position in front after dark on the 21st, and had in the most daring manner crossed the bridge under the fire of the castle, carrying away the heavy siege train by muffling the wheels with straw. Although there was moonlight, such was the good order observed by the troops, and such the secrecy, silence, and rapidity of the operation, that Governor Dubreton, watchful and suspicious as he was, knew nothing of this *escapade* until the Partidas, with some weakness of nerve, began galloping after them, when he opened his guns, which were already pointed on the bridge, and poured down a destructive fire. "*Fas est ab hoste doceri*," and the game played against the Austrian governor of the Fort du Bard by Bonaparte in 1800, was now repeated with equal success against the French governor of the castle of Burgos. By this bold and delicate step Wellington extricated his entire baggage, and field equipage, and General Souham was compelled to follow, instead of intercepting, the retreat. The French advance, however, came quickly upon the British, and having passed through Burgos on the 22nd, attacked the rear-guard, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, on the next day, near Celada del Camino. The cavalry of Anson detained the enemy's advance above three hours at the village of Hormaza, but were hard pressed near Venta del Pozo. Colonel Merlin, with the French hussars, overthrew Longa's guerillas in a charge, when, coming pell-mell amongst Anscn's squadrons, Colonel Pelly, with Lieutenant Baker and 33 men of the 16th Light Dragoons, were made prisoners, and about 40 or 50 of that regiment killed and wounded. The German Legion, under General Halkett, were repeatedly charged in square by the French General Boyer, who was always repulsed with considerable loss. However, the next day, drunkenness and insubordination (the usual concomitants of an English retreat) broke out in Wellington's army, when the soldiery found out that the vine vaults at Torquemada were still well stored, and as many as 12,000 men were at one time in a state of inebriety! There was, therefore, a necessity to check the enemy's pursuit, and the army halted at the confluence of the Carrion and the Pisuegra on the 24th, where a reinforcement of Guards joined the British army from Corunna. Wellington offered Souham battle on the 25th, for the weather was severe, and his convoys of sick and wounded had been so delayed that as yet they were not all across the Douro. But, if fame does not lie, the number of French drunkards were as numerous as those of the British army, and therefore Souham had equally found it necessary to halt his head-quarters to recover his stragglers. As usual at an important crisis, the Spanish generals foiled the British generalissimo. Ballasteros, who had gained some reputation for activity and energy, professed to be mortified at the directions of the Cortes to obey a foreigner,

and not only hung back at a critical moment, but published a proclamation to his troops appealing to Spanish pride against the supposed indignity of serving under Lord Wellington. His own Government deprived him at once of his command, but the mischief was done, and the French armies were enabled to combine against the British general because the native Spanish army was checkmated. A battalion of the Royals had been sent to Palencia to protect the bridge where it crossed the river, but they found Foy's division already there. The bridge at Villa Muriel was, however, destroyed, but the enemy discovered a ford near, and passed over a considerable body of cavalry and infantry. This untoward event compelled Wellington to throw back his left. General Oswald was, at the same time, ordered to attack these troops, and some Spaniards, under Alava, were sent to co-operate with him; but a sharp fire of great guns opened on this reserve, which threw the latter into confusion, and Alava, in the act of restoring order by exhortation and example, was wounded. The 5th Division, however, drove General Maucune out of Villa Muriel, and rested there for the night. Foy had already turned Wellington's left; and on his right, the bridge at Tercejo having been exploded imperfectly, the covering party of the 68th were made prisoners, and the enemy was enabled to throw a corps across the Pisuerga, and thus threaten that flank also. In this critical state of affairs, the British chief, keeping good watch on his adversary, and knowing the ground well, by a fine stroke of generalship, withdrew all his troops before daybreak on the 26th, and made a 16-mile march to place them behind the Pisuerga near Cabezon del Campo the same afternoon, when he secured the bridge by some works and barricades. Here he passed to the left of the river, and being thus master of his movement, sent troops to secure the bridges over the Douro, and despatched his baggage in the night to Valladolid. From the bad state of the roads, and the weakness of the bullocks, the march of the army was impeded by the accompaniment of the siege guns; their trunnions were therefore ordered to be knocked off, and the carriages destroyed, and they were left behind. General Souham, finding the position behind the Pisuerga at the bridge of Cabezon unassailable, immediately bore away to threaten his adversary's right, and on the following day possessed himself of Simancas, where the Allies, however, had time to destroy the bridge. Wellington now recommenced his retreat down the Pisuerga, and hastened to get across the Douro, which he did on the 29th. On the previous day, however, the French had already reached the banks of the Douro, when they found the bridges at Tudela, Puerte de Duero, Simancas, and Tordesillas, destroyed. That of Tordesillas had a tower upon it, in which 30 men of the Brunswick regiment still defended themselves, and prevented the French repairing the bridge. Accordingly, Captain Guingnet, a daring man of the division Foy, proposed to swim over the river with 11 officers and 40 picked men, and attack the post. This they did so gallantly and effectually, that it became necessary for the

Allied army to take up fresh ground. Wellington therefore ordered his army to incline to their right on the 30th, and take post between Rueda and Tordesillas, when, fronting his enemy, he determined to offer him battle to allow Hill time to come up. At the same time, the bridges at Toro and Zamora were both destroyed, and entrenchments thrown up, which menacing and bold attitude restrained Souham, so that Hill had time to move upon Alba de Tormes, and to be prepared to unite with Wellington's army on the old ground of the battle of Salamanca.

28. WELLINGTON UNITES WITH HILL, AND RETIRES INTO PORTUGAL.

General Hill had not been pressed on his retreat, for Soult was ignorant of his amount of force, so that he reached Arevalo without any impediment, when he received his chief's new instructions, which apprised him that Souham having repaired the bridge at Toro, he could no longer remain where he was. On the 6th of November, therefore, Wellington again fell back, and on the 8th reached San Christoval. Hill attained Fontiveros on the 4th, and crossed the Tormes at Alba on the same day. Thus the Allied army was united in a position covering full 5 leagues of ground; rather too extensive for the 64,000 men, British, Portuguese, and Spanish, which now occupied it with about 70 guns. Hill was directed to place an efficient brigade in the Castle of Alba, but not to load the mine of the bridge, for fear of losing a communication with the garrison; and, if the enemy attempted to try any of the fords across the Tormes, to "fall upon the first who cross." At half-past 4 on the afternoon of the 9th Sir Rowland informed his chief that the enemy was before him in force, and that he had seen large bodies of cavalry and infantry moving towards Babalfuente—"the mine is all ready, if you think fit to give me any directions about it." The intrusive King fell in with Souham's scouts on the 8th at Arevalo, and thus effected the junction of the three French armies, comprising 95,000 men of whom 12,000 were cavalry, and 120 pieces of cannon; and on the 11th they stood before the Arapiles; the army of Andalusia on the left, Joseph and Jourdain in the centre, and the army of Portugal on the right. The united army was delighted to find itself with such a preponderance of force on ground on which it now hoped to avenge the disaster of July, and the French historian supposes that the British were "*beaucoup moins fiers qu'au lendemain de leur victoire des Arapiles.*" For some time there was hesitation among the French leaders regarding the proper point of attack. Soult and Jourdain differed, but Joseph adopted the advice of the former, who, thinking the Allied position too strong for attack, proposed to turn its right. The principal difficulty was the passage of the Tormes. On the 10th an attempt was made to force the position at Alba. Fifteen squadrons of cavalry and 20 guns advanced against General Hamilton's Portuguese division but made no impression upon them. Occasional parties of voltigeurs rushed forward under the crushing

bombardment of General Howard, and the brave regiments of the brigade bayoneted them back. Wellington rather relied too much on the weather, which at this season he knew would fill the river so as to render it impassable; and he thought under this advantage to maintain himself upon the rocky monuments of his former glory until the French should be compelled to withdraw from before him by the want of the supplies requisite for so large a force. The Duke of Dalmatia was not the man to rest still in the front of an enemy, and therefore employed the three next days in closely reconnoitring the ground. Three fords were sounded near Encinas upon the upper ground, and trestle-bridges were constructed to cross the Tormes so as to reach Mozarbes and threaten the road to Tamames. Wellington was quietly resting in his head-quarters at Salamanca when he heard that on the morning of the 14th the Duke of Dalmatia was crossing the Tormes by means of the trestle-bridges and the fords, 7 or 8 miles above Alba. The British general had committed the imprudence of leaving the upper river unwatched. With his wonted activity, however, he was soon upon the ground, and immediately ordered the whole army to take up the position of the Arapiles, and the bridge at Alba to be blown up; yet he was still so confident that the enemy was not serious, that he would not abandon Salamanca, and even thought himself of making an attack upon the enemy in his front. Soult was, however, too much set upon a flank movement to afford his adversary this satisfaction, and again resisted the proposition of his brother marshal to receive a battle, when the explosions from the side of the city showed clearly that Wellington was still there destroying his stores. The French army therefore took up some strong ground at Mozarbes, and extended its left so as to approach the road leading to Ciudad Rodrigo. The weather broke up at this time and shrouded the operations of the troops, while the ground became so saturated with rain that they could scarcely move.

Wellington saw that the French position was too strong for attack, for they had already begun to fortify it; and he soon perceived that their cavalry advance pointed to his rear, which left him no longer in doubt as to the nature of Soult's tactics. Accordingly, on the 15th, he adopted the bold determination of defiling at 2 in the afternoon in face of the enemy; and, putting his army into 3 columns, he crossed the Zurguen and encamped the same night on the Valmuza; he thus completely passed the enemy's left at little more than cannon-shot from his position. This was a wonderfully bold and surprising operation, but might have produced disastrous consequences to the Allies had not a thick mist accompanied it. The heavy rains rendered all attempts to interrupt it impossible; the roads had attained the consistency of marsh mud, and as the men moved forward, each step sunk them beyond the ankles, while at night they rested in a wood, where the soil was literally a swamp. The French army found the pursuit equally difficult with the British retreat, but it was continued until the 17th, when the French advanced light cavalry suddenly fell upon the British column near

the Matilla river. The thickness of the forest had enabled the French horsemen to pass the flank unperceived, when they dashed in amongst the baggage, with which the road soon became strewn; the batmen running in for protection here and there, some wounded and all breathless, encumbered the columns of march, and General Sir Edward Paget was induced to proceed at once to enquire into the disturbance. Here, as he was riding without an escort (and he was by nature extremely short-sighted), he was attacked and carried away prisoner, in the interval between the 5th and 7th divisions, who were not above half a mile apart at that moment, and Wellington might have shared the same fate, for he was on the same road and on the same errand. Soult, hoping to forestall the Allies in their march at Tamames, had pushed a column after Hill, but, finding his troops on the alert, turned short to their right to cut off the rear-guard, and passing the river Huebra, in many places came unexpectedly upon the road where the Light Division with some English and German cavalry was marching. The banks of the Huebra were steep and broken; nevertheless, the 43rd, 52nd, and Rifles under Charles Altea, supported by the 7th Division under General Lord Dalhousie, quickly stood to their arms and received the attack, in the midst of which Wellington happily came up; and, though 30 pieces of heavy French artillery played upon the retiring body, he got the troops all over the river at a critical moment, losing, however, nearly 300 men in the combat. Unable to feed his troops any longer, Soult could not follow the retiring army beyond the Huebra, and the British, therefore, unpursued, continued their course by three roads, which all led to the Agueda. That river was crossed on the 18th, and their whole army was cantoned between the Agueda and the Coa; for the weather had turned to snow, and both men and horses had suffered much in this hasty and uncomfortable retreat.

The weather was indeed inexorable, but the discipline of the British army had become most sadly and fearfully relaxed. Some of the generals even took upon themselves to lead their divisions by roads which appeared to them fittest for the retreat of their divisions, although the general commanding had expressly ordered them to march by other roads; he having attained the knowledge that these by-roads had become impassable from the waters with which the whole flat country was inundated. Wellington, always active and vigilant, suspecting something wrong when the generals were not met with where he had ordered them to march, galloped after them, and found them in the utmost difficulty and despair at being stopped by floods, for which they were utterly unprepared, and which he had arranged that they should especially avoid. The practical rebuke they now received was, it may be believed, sufficiently severe, when, more in contempt than in anger, he himself guided back the troops to the proper road. The marshy plains over which the march was continued exhausted the strength of the men. The wearied soldiers straggled, and got into the wine cellars; drunkenness produced cruelty; and many of the

peasantry, well affected to the Allies, perished by the hands of these infuriated savages. On one of the first nights of this retreat an incident occurred which would have been laughable but that it added fearfully to the disorder. The country through which the army marched is thickly covered with the ilex or evergreen oak, the acorns of which were ripe and at this season falling from the trees in perfection; and it is the custom of the natives to drive the herds of swine into the woods to batten on the wholesome food. The bivouac was scarcely formed, therefore, when these pigs were discovered, and partly for fun and partly for food, they were chased from division to division, until it may be said that the whole army was engaged in the sport. Some steady old soldiers, who, having performed their day's work, had lain down to sleep, in order to nurse their energies for the next march, were shot by mistake, and, indeed, the firing became so heavy at one moment that Wellington thought the enemy was upon him. Two delinquents, who were taken "red-handed" and in the very act, were hanged by the provost-marshal; but the evil was not abated by this example. The property of the inhabitants of a whole district was swept away in a few hours, for every man had pork for supper; and, in spite of the most strenuous efforts to stop it, the pig-shooting was repeated on the following night, and the temper of the troops threatened the greatest damage to their discipline, if the retreat had been longer continued. On the arrival of the British in their cantonments Wellington published a stinging "order of the day," censuring in the strongest language the misconduct of the troops during the entire retreat from Burgos. He said:—"I have no hesitation in attributing these evils to the habitual inattention of officers of regiments. The inexperience of many induces them to conceive that the period in which an army is on active service is one of relaxation from all rule, instead of being, as it is, the period of all others during which every rule for the regulation and control of the conduct of the soldier; for the inspection and care of his arms, ammunition, accoutrements, necessaries, and field equipments, his horse and horse appointments; the receipt, issue, and care of provisions, both food and forage; should be most strictly attended to by the officer of his troop or company, if it is intended that an army shall be brought into the field of battle in a state of efficiency to meet the enemy on the day of trial."

Neither the intrusive King nor Wellington had any desire to prolong the campaign. The former was destitute of provisions and magazines; for he had in the course of this year's campaign lost those he had formed at Seville, Granada, Madrid, Almaraz, Salamanca, and Valladolid. Wellington was equally powerless to keep the field; because his army was as deteriorated in its moral condition as in its equipment and organisation. The allied forces were accordingly located in the villages round about Ciudad Rodrigo, where head-quarters were established on the 19th. Joseph now returned to Madrid, and the French armies were placed in cantonments to the north of the Tagus, occupying the entire length of

Old Castile. Soult fixed his head-quarters in Toledo, and Count d'Erlon established his in Valladolid. Thus ended Wellington's campaign of 1812. It has been much canvassed. It has been thought "in the highest degree useful to the Spanish cause, glorious to the allied army, and honourable to the general who commanded it." It had put him in possession of two of the most important fortresses which cover the principal approaches into Spain out of Portugal. It had been illustrated by the victory of Salamanca, which had proved a most important historic event, a momentous triumph, most fertile in durable results. It had opened the capital of Spain to the occupation of the Allies. It had obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Cadiz; to evacuate Andalusia; and to abandon most important depôts in the north, east, and south of the peninsula. The fame of it had flown on eagle's wings to the conflict in the North of Europe, where it had paralysed the French arms by encouraging the Russians to resist, and by ringing that boding knell in the ears of Napoleon which warned him that the glory of conquerors is perishable.

29. WAR IN THE EAST OF SPAIN.—BATTLE OF CASTALLA.

Marshal Suchet reposed upon his laurels in his head-quarters at Valencia during several months, employing his leisure very beneficially in the organisation of the east of the kingdom, and in keeping down, by dint of great vigilance and resolution, the incursions of the Partidas. No band of guerillas had appeared between Tortosa and Villena for some time, and individual orderlies might convey his despatches to the confines of Catalonia and even to France, so completely was the district tranquillised. In March, however, Tarragona was threatened by the bands of Gay and Mirales; but the governor, General Bartoletti, sent out General Decaen against them, who dispersed them, and General Pannetier had some success against Mina at Robres, on the left bank of the Ebro. Suchet, however, prudently limited his conquests to the south by establishing his most advanced guard on the river Xucar, which gave him a secure front towards Alicante, where a strong fortress remained still in the hands of the Spaniards. In the month of April, however, the Duke of Albufera sent General Harispe's division across that river to Xixona, who pushed forward General Gudin as far as Muchamiel, where the Spanish garrison stood firm and fell upon the French with so much energy that they were obliged to retreat in hot haste, and carried back to the Duke of Albufera the assurance that Alicante was in a mood of defence, and entertained every disposition to make a stout resistance, if attacked. General Harispe was accordingly now sent forward with his division to watch General Joseph O'Donnell (the Count de la Bisbal's brother), who had collected a force between Aspe and Elche; and with this view he entrenched a strong position at Castalla, near Xixona, commanding a bridge over a rivulet. O'Donnell resolved to attack him there, and, with that object, set *himself* in march on the night of the 20th of July. He expected that

a column of about 3,000 men, under General Bassecourt, would come up from Alicante to fall upon the rear of the enemy's position, while eight squadrons of cavalry, under Colonel Myares, should march by Villena upon Biar. Harispe, finding himself exposed to such a combined attack, quitted Castalla on the morning of the 21st to rally his men round a castle which he had occupied at Ibi, and the Spaniards immediately took possession of the village and opened fire from two field-guns on the retiring troops. The French general, mortified at such an insult, resolved to assume the offensive, and sent forward General Delort with a regiment to charge and take the two guns, when the Spanish infantry, forming square for their defence, were charged, broken, and dispersed, and not one Spaniard of that army escaped the sword or captivity!

30. A BRITISH EXPEDITION LANDS AT ALICANTE.

The British expedition, which had been so long expected from Sicily, at length appeared off the Spanish shores. Instead, however, of its being of the force agreed upon, it did not consist of more than 4,000 men; and, with that absurd jealousy which is so often found to jeopardise military success, Lord William Bentinck would not wholly divest himself of the command, but directed its leader, General Maitland, to place himself under the orders of Lord Wellington, but to continue to report to him in Sicily. The army arrived first at Port Mahon, in Minorca, in the middle of July, and these then stood across with a view of making a *coup-de-main* upon Tarragona; finding, however, that he could not rely upon sufficient assistance from any Spanish force in that neighbourhood, Maitland changed his object and made for Alicante, where he landed on the 7th of August. Here he heard of the disaster which, about ten days before, had befallen the only Spanish army in the neighbourhood at Castalla; but at the same time he was soon overwhelmed with offers from Spanish divisions considerable enough in point of numbers, but on whom it was impossible to rely with any confidence, to combine operations with the British corps. Besides this, every species of vexation was inflicted upon the newly arrived general by the unquenchable jealousy of a Spaniard towards any foreigner. The governor of Alicante refused to permit more than a very limited number of British soldiers to enter the fortress, and the moment that it was proposed to take the field, such unexpected difficulties in the matter of subsistence and transport were thrown in his way by the Spanish authorities and commanders, that Maitland abandoned the enterprise in despair, and on the 5th of October, under the combined influence of bad health and disgust, he resigned his command. Sir Rufane Donkin had disembarked 1,200 men at Denia, more to the northward and not far from the Xucar, but, being assailed there by the French forces, he was obliged to re-embark them, and carry them towards Alicante. General Mackenzie now arrived there to take the command, but after a few weeks he was superseded by General Clinton, and he in turn by General Campbell, who brought

with him a considerable reinforcement from Sicily. At length, on the 22nd of November, the British got possession of the citadel of Alicante, and two 74-gun ships, a brig of war, and other war vessels, arrived in the roads. Although this account is a lamentable proof of the weakness of those who set in motion the expeditions of the British at this period, the armament itself produced a very considerable impression in the eastern provinces, and proved the influence which a well-combined operation, vigorously conducted, might have had on the general issue of the campaign. The secret so necessary for such an operation was not only violated by the public press, but the news of it was openly circulated throughout Catalonia, spreading hope amongst the Spaniards and alarm amongst the French long before it appeared off the coast. Suchet was deceived by all the reports which the arrival of these various generals gave rise to, and by the habitual exaggerations of his Spanish informants; and believing that each general brought with him a new corps, he thought that a very important expedition was about to be organised in his front, and accordingly he was detained with his entire force on the east coast of Spain at a moment when all the other French armies were concentrating to crush Wellington in the plains of Old Castile. At length, on the 8th of October, two divisions, Harispe and Robert, with Delort's cavalry and 12 guns, which had been established at Villenas, moved as far forward on Alicante as San Vicente. Here they were encountered by the Anglo-Sicilian force, who showed such good countenance, that, after an affair which resulted in 200 or 300 casualties, the French troops retired back into their cantonments, and did not again disturb the vicinity of Alicante during the winter. The Partidas, by the reports of British aid, were excited to new enterprises. Lascy threatened Tarragona, and the approaches to Barcelona were intercepted by Eroes, Sarsfield, and others, so that it was difficult to keep these important fortresses supplied. Beaten at one place, they revved at another, and carried their depredations even across the Pyrenean frontier into the Ampourdan; and, while these chiefs harassed the French troops in Catalonia, Mina, Penetier, and Severoli overran Aragon, and occasioned great anxieties to the Marshal Duke of Albufera, though they did not intrude near his head-quarters in Valencia.

The British navy likewise lent an active aid to keep the contest alive in Spain. On the north coast Capt. Sir Home Popham in the "Venerable," 74, with "Surveillante," 38, Capt. Sir Ralph Collier, "Rhin," 38, Capt. Malcolm, "Medusa," 32, Hon. Capt. Bouverie, and "Lyra," 18, Capt. Bloye, co-operating with the guerillas, attacked, in the month of June, a body of French troops who held possession of a hill-fort at Lequertio or Lequito, while another body was posted in a fortified convent within the town. The latter might have been bombarded by the guns of the shipping from the sea, but, as this would have destroyed a considerable portion of the town also, it was determined to erect a battery on the hill opposite. This the French had considered quite inaccessible to cannon, and had still relied on that security. Captain Bouverie and Lieutenant Groves

therefore collected together 100 seamen, 400 guerillas, and 36 pairs of bullocks, and by their aid and a moveable capstan they hove up a ship's gun on the height and opened fire on the hill-fort. A breach was soon effected, which the guerillas volunteered to storm, but were repulsed in the attempt; afterwards, however, possession was obtained, and the little garrison of the enemy escaped into the convent. In the night the sailors landed a carronade from each ship, and on the morning of the 21st, they got up a 24-pounder, with which they bombarded the fortification so effectually that the commandant beat a parley and surrendered with 290 soldiers prisoners. The squadron also destroyed several batteries which the French had established along the same coast, and on the 4th of July they arrived off Castro, of which castle they took possession, and drove the garrison out of the town on the 7th. On the 10th, they proceeded to Puerta Galleta, to co-operate with General Longa in an attack upon Bilboa, which the French evacuated on their approach. The works on Plenica were subsequently destroyed, as well as the batteries of Algosta and Begona, and the castle of Galea was blown up. The French attempted to re-enter the ruins of Algosta and to establish themselves there with 2,000 men, but were compelled to retire on the approach of the squadron on the 30th of July. On the 1st of August a combined attack, with the guerillas under Porlier, was made on the town of Santander and the castle of Ano. The castle was taken, but the town resisted; and Sir George Collier and Captain Lake were wounded in the encounter, and Captain Noble taken prisoner; but on the 3rd, the French evacuated Santander, which was immediately occupied by the British marines.

On the south coast Captain Thomas Usher, in the "Hyacinth," 20, with "Termagant," 20, Captain Hamilton, and gun-brig "Basilisk," Lieutenant French, destroyed the castle of Nersa on the 20th of May; and on the 25th, the guerillas came down from the mountains and occupied the town. They had gained information that the French had retreated to Almunecar, a town about seven miles to the eastward; and, in order to co-operate effectually with the Spaniards, Usher carried his squadron to that place on the 26th, when, anchoring his ships within point-blank range, he silenced the castle in less than half an hour. In the morning of the 27th, the French re-opened fire, but, unable to maintain themselves against the shipping, they quitted the castle and fortified themselves in the church and houses of the town. As soon, therefore, as they had destroyed a privateer at anchor there, and had otherwise assisted in the defence, the "Hyacinth" weighed and ran back to Nersa for a reinforcement of guerillas, and having obtained 200 men from the army of Ballasteros, stood back with them, but found the French detachment had collected all their outlying parties and retreated upon Grenada. The object was now to destroy the fortifications, but, owing to the strength of the works, this service was effected with considerable difficulty. The castle was built on a rocky peninsula, with a wall 30 feet high, and the only entrance was over

a narrow drawbridge. The whole of this was, nevertheless, destroyed by mines, the ditch filled up, and the artillery brought away.

31. RUSSIAN WAR — THE FRENCH RETIRE FROM MOSCOW.

Napoleon, after his re-occupation of his quarters at the Kremlin, had had a conversation with a Russian gentleman, M. Jakoblef, who undertook to deliver confidentially a letter to the Emperor Alexander, and he set out with this missive on the 24th of September. To aid its effect, Count Lauriston was despatched officially on the 4th of October to the outposts of the army, with authority to propose an armistice. Koutusov sent away Prince Wolkonsky to the Czar with Napoleon's letter, and conceded a short and partial armistice between the outposts only until the return of the messenger. Benningsen, also, had an interview with Murat. The conversations between the generals evinced the desire of both armies to effect an accommodation, but in no degree advanced its probabilities of one. On the 9th of October, an Imperial missive reached Koutusov, couched in these words:—"Les entretiens que j'ai eu avec vous, vous avaient instruit de mon désir ferme et absolu d'éviter avec l'ennemi toute négociation et toute relation tendante à la paix. Maintenant après l'événements sus-mentionnés je dois vous répéter, avec la même résolution, que je désire que ce principe adopté par moi soit observé par vous dans toute sa latitude, et de la manière la plus rigoureuse et la plus inébranlable. Ma résolution est inébranlable, et dans ce moment aucune proposition de l'ennemi ne pourrait m'engager à terminer la guerre, et à affaiblir par là le devoir sacré de venger la patrie lésée." Meanwhile, Napoleon lay inactive, anxiously expecting some answer to the proposals he had made. But day after day, week after week, rolled on without any response. Uneasy at the delay, as winter was visibly approaching, the active mind of the Emperor resolved what was to be done, in the event of the necessity of renewing hostilities. His first thought was to combine a movement on St. Petersburg by Twer, Macdonald at the same time advancing on Riga; but to traverse morasses and forests at such a season, without any preparation of supplies or knowledge of the road, speedily led to the abandonment of this design. He next turned to the idea of marching his army south, to the rich and unexhausted district of Kiow; but Tormasoff, Tschichagoff, and Sacken barred that way, and there was no certainty that Austria could be relied upon as a permanent friend, in rear of the frontier, on the side of Galicia and Moldavia. There was a third alternative proposed, which was to fall back on the Lower Niemen, where the French had ample supplies at Dantzig, Königsberg, and Riga; but this would leave the whole road open into Germany to the Russians from the two sides of Minsk and Vitepsk. The least suggestion of a "retreat" made him shudder. He well knew that the love borne him both by Austria and Prussia was not very strong, nor was he insensible to the increasing force of public opinion in France against his power, and

he dreaded the consequences which loomed in the future upon his first retrograde step. In the uncertainty of adopting any satisfactory solution of the difficulty in the fearful position in which he stood, he relied, as he had always done, on "*his star*," and on the weakness and dissensions of his enemies; and, even now, he allowed himself to be buoyed up by the hope that the Czar would assuredly seize the offer to come to terms and reply to his letter.

Time passed on. Contrary to the usual course of nature in these latitudes, the climate during the first weeks in October continued fine, and Napoleon, in his bulletins, compared the weather at Moscow to that at Fontainebleau in September. No reply, however, came from St. Petersburg, and he received some disquieting reports of the operations of his enemy on his distant flanks. Prince Schwartzberg, finding the forces under Admiral Tschichagof increasing in his front, had retired behind the river Bug; and a reinforcement arriving out of Finland had disembarked on the shores of Livonia, under the Swedish general Steingel, and had made Macdonald uneasy from the increasing numbers opposed to him. At length, on the 13th of October, the first snow fell. The army had lost greatly in discipline since the plunder of Moscow, and Napoleon became seriously alive to the disastrous extremity to which he must be reduced if he delayed his withdrawal longer. He therefore gave orders for evacuating the hospitals at Moscow, and conferred with Berthier on the measures necessary for a retreat by Mojaisk or Wiazma on Smolensko, and on the necessity of clearing the great road of the hostile partisans which, as we have seen, had infested it since the Russian army had taken up the position of Kalouga. Baraguay d'Hilliers, who was in command at Wiazma, wrote back to Berthier that he was already almost surrounded by the enemy's light troops, and so entirely destitute of provisions or ammunition, that he was under the necessity of supplying himself from the convoys proceeding to the front.

General Koutusov, at the same period, wrote to the Czar in the most encouraging terms of the condition of the Russian army. "The army," he says, "was at rest, and daily receiving reinforcements. Abundant forage and good water have entirely re-established the cavalry. The troops experience no want of provisions. Hardly a day passes in which we do not make prisoners. The peasants give signals of the approach of the enemy from church steeples, and such is their patriotism that they come forward to demand arms, and join with us in attacking the French. The arm of the Most High is evidently upraised against our enemies." The Czar, in his reply, desires him to fall with all his weight upon the French columns, as soon as they showed the least evidence of retiring.

At length the Russian general thought himself justified in assuming the offensive. The two corps of Murat and Poniatowski, 30,000 strong, were at Winkovo, and maintained so negligent a look-out that a surprise was too tempting not to be overlooked. To Benningsen was intrusted the resumption of hostilities. At 7 in

the evening of the 17th of October, five columns, under Orloff-Denisov, Bagawouth, Osterman, Doctorov, and Raefskoi, accompanied by 72 guns, broke up from the camp at Tarantino and marched during the night, intending to fall upon the enemy on all sides as soon as day broke. The delay attending the exact march of so many columns, and the non-arrival of one of the columns, which took a wrong direction, left open the main road to Moscow, of which the French Prince availed himself, but made his retreat in such confusion, that 15,000 prisoners, 38 guns, and the whole baggage, including the "snow-white plume" of the King, fell into the hands of the Russians, who, however, had the misfortune to lose General Bagawouth, with about 500 men, in the encounter. This intelligence reached Napoleon as he was reviewing the corps of Marshal Ney, on a lovely morning, in the courts of the Kremlin. Suddenly, the fire of distant guns south of Moscow announced a renewal of hostilities; and when Murat's aide-de-camp arrived from Winkowo it appeared that, as usual, the King of Naples had only by the most daring gallantry saved himself from complete destruction. He had now therefore convincing proof that the enemy felt himself quite strong enough to resume hostilities.

The sound of cannon aroused all the native ardour of Napoleon Bonaparte. A thousand orders were immediately issued for the concentration of the troops; and the Viceroy, Davoust, and Ney were already in movement, and out of Moscow, on the evening of the 18th. The Emperor followed on the morning of the 19th, exclaiming, as he rode forth through the gates of the Kremlin: "Marchons sur Kalouga, et malheur à ceux qui se trouveront sur mon passage!" Mortier was left behind at Moscow with 10,000 men; and with orders to clear the town of all the troops, to collect supplies, raise entrenchments, and await further orders. On the 20th, the Imperial head-quarters were advanced to the castle of Troitskoi. The French possession of Moscow may be taken to have lasted about five weeks. Wherever Napoleon rested, he invariably applied himself with the most wonderful industry to re-organise his army. He had entered Moscow with 90,000 men under arms: he quitted it with 100,000, counting in either case the sick in hospital. He carried forth with him 600 guns and 2,000 tumbrils. Immense supplies attended the march; each company of every regiment was now accompanied with two or three light carts, to carry its provision. There were almost as many cars as combatants. Such impedimenta were not well suited to a retreat; nevertheless, practical men, who have had experience in war, know that these evils soon cure themselves, for baggage accompaniments to an army very soon melt away. Yet it seems strange that the Emperor should have permitted his movements to be encumbered with a quantity equal to that of an Eastern caravan; but perhaps, under the circumstances, it may have been only prudent to wink at the abuse. At the first start, it would seem that he did not so much contemplate the great measure of retreat as an operation to satisfy his army, which had been insulted by Murat's surprise and discomfiture, and to drive back

the Russians on Kalouga. But, on more maturely reflecting on his isolated situation, he appears to have adopted suddenly the important resolution of withdrawing altogether, and with great promptitude, out of Russia; for on the 23rd he ordered the Viceroy to turn sharply into the road to Malo-Jaroslavitz, while Davoust and the Guard were ordered to march by Ignatowo to Tomenskoie, Ney at the same time keeping the high road to Kalouga. By these sudden and new operations he either hoped to confuse the Russian general as to the real object of the movement, or, while he maintained the appearance of inflicting a retaliation on the enemy for the disaster at Winkovo, he would mask the retreat, which had now become inevitable. At the same time, Napoleon wrote from Troitskoie to Marshal Mortier, directing him to blow up the Kremlin and to burn the public buildings; having done which, he was to take the road by Wreja to rejoin the army. He also sent Junot orders to quit Mojaisk and take the road to Smolensko, the governor of which place was desired to direct Baraguay d'Hilliers, as soon as he arrived there, to march on Jelnia, and, if the Duke de Belluno should also come up, he was to follow the same route. Two roads were open for the march of the army on Kalouga: one by Borowsk and Malo-Jaroslavitz; the other by Winkovo, Waterslinka, and Tarantino. The Emperor himself parted at a gallop for Borowsk, where he was desirous of ascertaining the effect of his manœuvres on Koutusov; for nothing certain had been heard of the main Russian army, although the Cossacks were swarming already on the French communications, and around the corps of the Viceroy, who led the march, and who, on arriving at Borowsk, received orders from the Emperor to push forward General Delzons on Malo-Jaroslavitz, which was found unoccupied. With great prudence, however, he bivouacked his division outside the town, on the banks of the river Louja, where, at 4 in the morning, the Russians came down quickly upon him from the direction of Wereia.

32. BATTLE OF MALO-JAROSLAVITZ.

No sooner did Koutusov hear of the French quitting Moscow than he put his army in motion on Malo-Jaroslavitz, in the hope of anticipating Napoleon in the occupation of that important position. He at the same time sent orders to General Winzengerode, who lay at Klin, on the route to Twer and St. Petersburg, with 10,000 men, to march speedily to Moscow. That general was forthwith in movement, and entered the ruined streets of the city without opposition; but, on imprudently approaching the Kremlin with only the young Prince Narischkin, his aide-de-camp, he was suddenly surprised and made prisoner by some of Mortier's rearguard. The Russian General-in-Chief had pushed forward some Cossacks to Fominskoe, under General Serlavin, and had got wind of the French retreat on Borowsk, by the new Kalouga road, for they had succeeded in taking a French officer prisoner at the very gates of that town, and had despatched him to head-quarters. *It was in conse-*

quence of the information thus acquired that General Koutousov sent the orders to the corps of Doctorov in the night, which brought it so suddenly to Malo-Jaroslavitz. This town is situated on high ground above the river Louja, and in descending the hill you reach a bridge across that river, at a short distance from the town. The Russians had brought up with them heavy guns, which they placed on sinuosities of ground which flanked this bridge and Delzons's encampment, who immediately sent for support to the Viceroy. Doctorov forthwith ordered the town to be attacked with four regiments, by which the French were expelled; but the Viceroy, coming to the aid of Delzons with all his corps, immediately ordered it to be retaken, when one of the most desperate conflicts of the whole war ensued. Delzons was struck down early in the fight by a ball in the forehead, and was succeeded by General Guilleminot, who brought up the division Broussier and the Italian division of General Pino. The Russians, on the other hand, poured down a continuous stream of troops by the road from Lectaskova; but the French brought up a considerable force of guns, and, having got possession of a church and cemetery inside the town, a furious contest ensued for its possession between them and the Russians under Raefskoi, and it was taken and retaken several times. The violent cannonade on both sides set fire to the houses, and the combatants engaged in mortal combat in the midst of the flames. Generals Pino, Fontana, and Gifferra were severely wounded, and General Levié was killed. Napoleon received information of this affair at Ghorodinia, half a league from the field, and he immediately rode forward to the heights in front of the town, whence he could see the masses of Russians on the opposite bank of the Louja. The divisions of Gérard and Compans, belonging to Davoust's corps, were now sent up by Napoleon, who established themselves, with great difficulty, in the woods on each side of the roads by which the Russians were arriving. After the most strenuous efforts, the French troops forced their way with the bayonet through the burning streets, and at length drove the enemy entirely out of the town. Thousands of men lay in the way by which the guns were now brought up, the artillery horses being actually goaded over heaps of human bodies, necessarily crushing the wounded and the dying of both armies. The Viceroy, as the day closed, found himself master of bloody and smoking ruins, dearly purchased by the loss of 5,000 of his best troops. Although the Russians had abandoned the town, they were still bringing forward fresh masses. They, too, had lost considerable numbers, and amongst the casualties regretted greatly the death of the brave General Dorokov, who had been killed at the very commencement of the engagement. It is not very intelligible why the Russian Commander-in-Chief checked his hand at this critical moment. He may have been unwillingly drawn into a general action when it was not his policy to offer battle; but, for some reason or other, he now fell back towards Kalouga, with all his army, except only the corps of Miloradovitch.

Napoleon passed the night most anxiously in his cottage residence at Ghorodinia, revolving in his mind the various modes suggested by his genius of forcing his way out of the difficulties which beset him; for Koutusov, with his whole army and 700 pieces of cannon, posted on a semicircle not very remote from his front, appeared to preclude the possibility of advancing farther towards Kalouga. It is said of him: "Il se couche, se relève, appelle sans cesse, sans toutefois qu'aucun mot trahisse sa détresse." Before the dawn, he was on horseback to reconnoitre, and, having but just quitted the village, was halting on the banks of the river, when a sudden alarm was raised by the straggling batmen of the army, who arrived flying, with piteous cries, before 4,000 or 5,000 Cossacks, who had swam the stream and now came up, led by their Hetman Platow, in search of the Imperial chief. Had they been able to recognise Napoleon, he must have become their prisoner; for it required all the personal bravery of Murat, Rapp, and Bessières, with the officers of their various staffs, to rally round their chief. Lieutenant Dulac, with some hundreds of the dragoons of his guard, soon arrived to his assistance, and had little difficulty in dispelling the Cossack assailants, who, intent upon plunder, immediately turned to secure the guns, of which they carried off 11; but in the mêlée the gallant Hetman had the grief to see his son pierced by the lance of a hulan. Napoleon at once enjoyed his freedom, and, according to his invariable custom, rode with the Viceroy over the scene of the previous day's strife, which presented a most horrid spectacle. Four thousand French and 6,000 Russians, more or less, were lying dead; some killed by weapons of war, some charred and burned, some frightfully crushed by the cannon-wheels. Not even the field of Borodino was so hideous, for here Death had assumed all its most shocking instruments. The adventures of the day depressed his spirit. He had scarcely been a week from Moscow, and had already found and encountered his adversary without glory. He had passed through an interminable procession of his retiring mob, and there is, perhaps, no sight more disgusting and disheartening than a baggage multitude in retreat. He had witnessed in his own immediate presence the effect of an irruption of Cossacks into the midst of the ragged columns, and had before him an immense extent of ground to pass over before he could say he was nearly at the end of his troubles. He therefore now called to his councils his principal lieutenants, who flocked around him in the wretched village outhouse in which he had placed his head-quarters. In this obscure residence an Emperor, two kings, and three great and distinguished marshals held a free discussion. The greater part of the chiefs recommended an immediate return to the high road at Mojaïsk. Napoleon himself was for making the attempt to force his way on Kalouga. Davoust suggested an intermediate course—to take a path not known to any of the officers of the army, but still open, and passing by Medinsk and Jelnia, by which means they could attain the high road at Smolensko. In the momentary irresolution as to what

course to decide upon, Napoleon took aside his old friend, General Monton, Count de Lobau, who, without hesitation, and with some bluntness, replied: "Sortez tout de suite, et par le plus court chemin, d'un pays où l'on avait séjourné trop long temps." The resolution was therefore taken to regain the high road as soon as possible, and avoid any general engagement; and orders were accordingly issued to Ney and to the 4th corps to march on Wiazma.

Both armies passed the rest of the day in presence of each other. The sky was dull, the rain fell, the bivouac was cold and sorrowful, and Napoleon was again at the outposts at break of day, hoping against hope for some accident or other to mend his fortune. Could he but have known at that moment the mind of his enemy, the evil day might yet have been postponed. Koutusov had, as we have seen, determined, on his side, that he would not hazard a general engagement, and had actually given orders to withdraw his divisions to Gonzerovo, for the purpose of covering the road to Medinsk. But the die had been cast, Napoleon's orders had gone forth, Eugène and Poniatowski were in march, and Marshal Davoust, with the cavalry of Grouchy, alone remained at Malo-Jaroslavitz, to form the rear-guard. The celebrated retreat was commenced under the most inauspicious circumstances, amidst the storms of inexorable winter and the burning towns and villages of an insulted people. Napoleon's head-quarters were at Wereia on the 27th. On the 2nd of November he had passed Wiazma.

The Russian army was, to use a hunting phrase, somewhat "thrown out" by this sudden resolve of the French, and could not immediately be "laid on the new scent;" but Miloradovitch, who now received additional strength both in cavalry and light artillery, with orders to inflict every species of annoyance upon the retiring columns, adopted a line of march parallel to that of the French by Jelnia on Krasnoi. Marshal Davoust, with the French rear-guard, had a troublesome and dangerous duty to perform. Continually compelled to halt to allow the baggage and stragglers of the preceding divisions to pass on, repeatedly obliged to restore the bridges and causeways which the weight of cannon and heavily-loaded carts had broken down or injured on the way, he was under the necessity of assuming positions to defend the baggage from the incessant inroads of the Cossacks. Grouchy's cavalry had, in addition to the fatigue of their march, to go at evening to forage all about the country for their exhausted horses. Nothing could possibly have exceeded the courage, firmness, and vigilance of the Prince d'Eckmühl. He permitted, as far as he could, the gun carriages to be used by the weak and tired on the march, and proceeded on his way methodically, though the Emperor complained that he moved the rear-guard too slowly forward. On the 31st he had only reached Ghjat, but no hostile infantry had yet overtaken him, and *nothing* was known of Koutusov's operations. The Russian generalissimo has been much blamed for his excessive prudence and for *want* of ardour in pursuit. His first line of march was faulty, and it

was only when he heard that Napoleon had arrived at Wiazma, that he thoroughly comprehended his object. He then pushed forward General Miloradovitch by a forced march, who arrived on the 3rd of November at a point of the retreat between Wiazma and Federowskoe. Marshal Mortier, with 4,000 men of the Young Guard, 4,000 dismounted cavalry, and 2,000 artillery and engineers, escorting all the sick and wounded that could be moved away from Moscow, joined the grand army at Wereja without any mishap. He had evacuated the city and ordered the Kremlin to be blown up on the night of the 24-25th. Prince Eugène was, on the 2nd, just putting his *corps d'armée* en route from the position he had assumed at Federowskoe, when the Russians were seen on the left of his line of march pouring down a heavy fire upon the advancing column of Davoust, who, being more matutinal in his movements than the Viceroy, had already arrived to occupy the cantonments which the Italian army was quitting. The brigade of General Nagale, which formed the Prince's rear-guard, was attacked about a league and a half from Wiazma. He immediately halted his column to lend a helping hand to Davoust, but was soon arrested by the increasing forces of the enemy. By a vigorous charge the Russian cavalry, under Wassilchikoff, broke in upon the French line, and established themselves on the high road between the two *corps d'armée*, while Platoff was attacking the rear of the march at Federowskoe. At this critical moment a cannonade was heard beyond Wiazma. This was an attack which Paskevitch had opened on the corps of the Prince of Moskova. Ney, with the 3rd corps, was at Krapivna on the road to Dorogobouj, where there was a broken bridge. Here he had formed all his guns in battery, and stoutly kept back the Russians, so as to enable the Viceroy and Davoust to get away, for their position was most critical. He, with great judgment, converted this defence into a threatened attack upon the Russian rear, although by this he sacrificed some guns to the enemy. With the loss of some 5,000 men, the French only barely succeeded in getting across the river of Wiazma, and the shattered corps of Davoust here re-formed their battalions after dark by the light of the burning town, which stopped, at length, the advance of the enemy.

But Koutusov, always timid in his operations, had ordered a halt of his army at Bykovo, three leagues from the field of battle, contenting himself with sending forward his cavalry to Jonknow. Ney, now relieving Davoust of the duties of the rear-guard, showed such a front that he checked further pursuit for the entire day, and Napoleon's head-quarters were established at Dorogobouj on the 5th, and on the 6th Eugène arrived there, followed by the other *corps d'armée* in succession on the 7th and 8th. The weather was cold, but fine and clear, until the 9th of November, when the Russian winter set in with all its accustomed severity. Cold fogs ascended from the ground, cold winds blew with frightful violence, which, howling through the forests and sweeping over the plains, came charged with thick flakes of snow that covered the earth, confounding

hollows, and ditches, and bogs in one white level waste. The soldiers, as they marched, sunk and perished in treacherous pitfalls, and the driving snow soon concealed them also from the sight of their comrades. The cold suddenly increased to -9° or -10° of Reaumur, freezing even the food, and the weather had become altogether intolerable to men without tents or any kind of shelter. Fortune seemed at length to have hurled all its rigours upon the head of its hitherto spoiled child, for as Napoleon marched on Smolensko on the 6th, he received information from Paris of the conspiracy of Generals Mallet and Lahorie, which had set the capital into grievous excitement on the 23rd-24th of October. Nor could he in their present misery receive any of the ordinary testimonies of attachment from the wretched soldiers who accompanied him in his retreat. The marshals, generals, and the higher ranks of the army broke out into vehement complaints with the same recklessness with which they had, in his prosperity, showered adulation on their Emperor. He was now to be seen marching in front with his columns, like the true soldier he always was, grave but calm, and bearing the unmistakable evidence of "a great mind struggling with adversity."

Koutousov appears to have left entirely to the Cossacks the task of pressing the flanks and rear of the retreating French. He seems to have considered it better generalship or policy to follow in pursuit by roads not so wholly devastated, and thus, by threatening to anticipate their march, oblige them to hurry forward quite as rapidly as if he closely pushed them. His advanced guard, under Orlof-Denisov, thus came upon the march of Baraguay d'Hilliers at Liakovo on the 9th, and destroyed the entire brigade of Angereau after a trifling combat, only 300 men escaping by a retrograde hasty march with their guns on Smolensko, where the Emperor also arrived that same day. Ney failed not in the least of the efficient duties of the rear-guard, where he was always found combating with alacrity. He only gained Dorogobouj on the 7th, after a contest with Miloradovitch, and on the 8th he had a severe fight with General Jaskov. The Viceroy, not less energetic, contended nobly with ill fortune. Having to cross the Vop on the 9th of November, he sent forward the engineer-general Poitevin to construct a bridge, but when he arrived there with his corps, the flood in the night had carried it away. Knowing the effect of good example on such occasions, the Prince dashed into the stream and forded it, though it was nearly up to his arm-pits. The carts and cannons followed, but the ruts occasioned by their weight soon rendered even the ford impassable. The Cossacks, as usual, hovered around the spot, and, although from time to time they were charged and driven away, they could not be annihilated. All efforts to pass the carriages soon proving abortive, the whole of the artillery and baggage was left behind; the unfortunate possessors of booty burdening themselves to carry it, when obliged to abandon their fourgons and drotschis. One hundred guns and everything that ran on wheels here fell into the hands of the Cossacks, and Eugène only reached Smolensko on the 13th, as Ney

was approaching it with his rear-guard. The Imperial head-quarters were still there, and there the worn-out soldiers hoped to find a resting-place; but the large supplies which were expected to await the army had been dissipated by the improvidence of Victor's corps, who had formed its garrison, and had consumed 60,000 rations a day! Fresh evils also now came to light. Wittgenstein and Steinheil, from the side of Lithuania, on the left of the French line of march, had so pressed the division of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr that, after he himself had been wounded, he had been forced to yield successively Polotsk and Witepsk, and Victor and Oudinot had to be sent to reinforce him in order to save his communications with Smolensko. Tschichakow moreover threatened Minsk, and Tormasoff, uniting with the army of Moldavia, overwhelmed Schwartzenberg, and obliged him to recross the Bug,—an event of which the Austrian general availed himself to break off all further co-operation with the retreating French army.

The successive arrival of the different corps at Smolensko presented a most distressing spectacle. At sight of these long-wished-for towers their little remaining discipline gave way. The famishing troops demanded with eager cries the luxuries and food that they had so long been promised, and which had buoyed up their energies under the sufferings of the march. The Old and Young Guards alone preserved their ranks in the midst of the general confusion. A protracted stay at Smolensko was, nevertheless, impossible. The losses of the army were already immense. At least one-half of its enormous park of artillery was gone; of 40,000 cavalry which crossed the Niemen, not 5,000 sabres remained with horses. All that could be collected from their various divisions and regiments were formed into one body, and placed under the command of Latour-Maubourg. Nevertheless, 70,000 men were still under arms, with 250 guns, but, as already stated, they were woefully disorganised, and probably would be unequal to contend even with the 50,000 Russians who had already arrived in the neighbourhood of Krasnoi. On the 14th, Napoleon, with the Old Guard, quitted Smolensko. The Viceroy, Davoust, and Ney followed his line of march in succession, on the 16th, 18th, and 20th. This arrangement has been found fault with; and it has been thought that it would have been better for these three *corps d'armée* to have taken diverging or parallel lines of march, rather than to have moved along one and the same road, which was utterly exhausted of supplies. The thermometer had, on the 14th, descended to -21° of Reaumur, and the troops were now generally reduced to live on horseflesh. A great many men had lost or thrown away their fire-arms, and the 4th corps mustered but 4,000 armed combatants. On the 15th, the Emperor's head-quarters were established at Krasnoi, but not without the necessity of the Imperial Guards opening a way for their passage. Miloradovitch, with the cavalry of Ouvarov, making forced marches, came upon Sebastiani, who preceded the Emperor's column, and forced him to take advantage of a village church, into which he threw his infantry until Napoleon could collect some

cavalry and bring them up to his rescue. It was clear that Koutusov no longer adhered to the policy of a forced march, but was coming up in force to stop the French army, for on the following day the Viceroy found Miloradovitch at Chilowa, upon the great road between Krasnoi and Kortynia, barring the passage. To the astonishment and surprise of the whole column, which was led onward by Generals Pointevin and Guyon, a trumpet presented itself about 3 in the afternoon requiring them to lay down their arms! The only reply was an order to advance; but, such was the resolution of the enemy, that their best endeavours failed until the Viceroy, by some feigned attacks, deceived the Russian general, and doubling back at the village of Tornino and marching parallel to the high road at half a league's distance, reached Krasnoi in the night. This affair, however, cost Eugène 22,000 prisoners, 18 guns, and an eagle; and he barely saved his glory.

33. BATTLE OF KRASNOI.

The situation of Napoleon was now become most critical. Davoust and Ney were still in the rear, so that the enemy was, in fact, in the midst of the column of march. Koutusov, on the other hand, encouraged by his success against the Viceroy, resolved now to bring up his whole force to bear upon the divided column. He made his dispositions for a general attack next morning, and detached three divisions, under General Tormasov, with the cavalry corps of Count Ogaroffsky, to menace the French right flank, while he directed Miloradovitch to stop Davoust from joining the main army. The Emperor was not disposed to witness this attempt with folded arms, but on the morning of the 17th sent Mortier to attack the village of Ouwarowa, while he followed in person with his Old Guard, and surprised and defeated the head of the Russian column which had reached that village; but, although his army was at this time in a more concentrated form than it had been since the beginning of the retreat, he was sensible that the complete demoralisation of his troops scarcely permitted him to risk a battle. Koutusov ordered the attack to be made in three columns; and Napoleon, on seeing one of these, under Prince Galitzin, advance on Krasnoi, drew up his troops in two lines, with the Old Guard on the right, resting on the town, and the Young Guard on the left, with the little river Lossmina in front. Shortly before day broke on the 17th, he seized his sword, saying, "J'ai assez fait l'Empereur, il est temps que je fasse le général;" and, placing himself at the head of the division Gérard, he marched forward to the encounter with a view of giving time to the 1st and 3rd corps, under Davoust and Ney, to make good their junction with him. The Russians, however, in a short time established themselves on the heights above the Lossmina; but Davoust was suffered to pass Miloradovitch, who had been ordered by Koutusov not to compromise himself, and he now appeared marching on the road from Smolensko, moving in the midst of a cloud of Cos-

sacks. Nevertheless, the corps of Eugène, now under the Emperor's command, being pressed back by Galitzin, could no longer maintain its ground, and, if the column of Tormasov had at this moment appeared on the road to the right, the whole French division must have been compelled to surrender. Napoleon, seeing the danger, ordered a retreat on Liadi, which he succeeded in reaching and in occupying that same night, although he lost in the conflict, which he had been obliged to maintain, above 6,000 prisoners and 45 guns, together with many eagles. Much baggage was also here captured, and with it the baton of Marshal Davoust, and part of the archives of the Emperor. The 1st corps, however, was safe, but the 3rd, under Ney, was still in the rear. On the following day the army pursued its retreat to Doubrovna and Orcha.

34. NEY, WITH THE REAR-GUARD, JOINS NAPOLEON.

Napoleon, with 11,800 men, and the Viceroy, Mortier, and Davoust, found supplies at Orcha, and remained there some days; but in the meantime where was the intrepid Ney? Left in the command of the rear-guard at Smolensko, with especial orders from the Emperor, he had not since been heard of. Davoust had been able to communicate to the Duke d'Elchingen the danger in which all were placed in common who marched upon the great road to Wilna; but, in the petulance of his character, the only reply vouchsafed was in terms: "Que tous les Cosaques de l'univers ne l'empêcheraient pas d'exécuter ses instructions." His orders were to knock off the trunnions of every gun left behind, to assemble all the stragglers, and send them forward, to destroy every species of magazine, and to blow up all the towers that surrounded the sacred city. All this accomplished, he prepared to quit Smolensko on the 17th, with 12 guns, 6,000 bayonets, and 300 sabres; but he was obliged to leave behind at Smolensko 5,000 sick at the mercy of the enemy. He brought away everyone who could be carried or who could walk, including men, women, and children, and a host of stragglers who had lost their arms and accoutrements; and it is elegantly recorded of him, "Que cette fois encore le plus brave a été le plus humain." The scene which opened upon the devoted rear-guard, as they moved along, was heartrending. The way was strewn with the dead and the dying; men rending the skies with imprecations and demands for food and water; helmets, shakos, clothes, and arms intermingled in the snow and mud, and already half-frozen into one heterogeneous mass; cannon upset, carts and carriages overturned and broken; boxes and chests rifled, and their contents scattered around; and horses actually forming part of an ice-hill before they had ceased to breathe, and (more horrid still) devoured while in this condition by the newly advancing troops, who were as famishing as those who had gone before! The first day's march had nearly terminated before they encountered an enemy, but, on arriving at Kortinya, the incessant play of cannon on every side made known to the rear-guard its imminent danger.

and that it was completely cut off from the main column. Yet no armed men were seen in front, so that Ney sent General Ricard with his division to explore the cause, when it was found that a deserted battery had been seized by a band of Cossacks, who had opened this fire from its guns, but fled as soon as they saw the French advance towards them. The next day's march added to every other evidence of disaster the conviction that a bloody strife was impending. It was the field on which Napoleon had halted the day before in order to allow Davoust to come into line, but from which he had been obliged to fly, to the almost inevitable sacrifice of Ney. The gallant marshal pushed on, under a heavy and galling fire, and had reached the defile of Katowa, when a trumpeter arrived with a summons of surrender from Marshal Koutusov, but the indignant Ney abruptly terminated all the parley by ordering the officer into arrest, saying: "On ne parlements pas sous le feu; vous êtes mon prisonnier;" and the unhappy messenger was forced to remain so until the arrival of the French at Kovno, 26 days afterwards.

A Russian force, 80,000 strong, was in front and around the indomitable rear-guard, and Ney resolved to cut his way through. He ordered Ricard, with 1,500 men, to march forward, but they had no sooner descended the ravine than the entire force was crushed by the deadly fire opened from the Russian batteries. Ney, followed by Ledru, Razout, and Marchand, took their respective posts, and, ordering 400 Illyrians to advance against the enemy's flank, boldly assailed the enemy's front at the head of the infantry, and, succeeding in overturning the first line before them, now marched forward upon the second; but his generals were all struck down, the greater part of his men killed, and the whole column shaken. Just at this moment the Illyrians arrived upon the flank, and Ney, joining himself to them, moved forward in the midst of the Russian column until the night closed, when, under the darkness, they pursued their way, ignorant where it was leading, until they suddenly found themselves, about 8 o'clock, on the banks of the Dnieper. It was frozen, and they crossed over. Very unaccountably, no enemy had pursued; and Ney, having thus reached a line of defence, ordered a halt of 3 hours, during which he laid himself down in his cloak, and slept soundly; and then, while it was yet dark, he marched forwards with about 3,000 rank and file, and as many stragglers, and in a short time came on a beaten road, which led to the village of Gusiноe. Here they surprised 100 Cossacks, who were revelling in the luxuries of unsacked quarters. They were, of course, made prisoners, and Ney went on passing villages unoccupied, but full of such abandoned comforts as had not been experienced by his troops since quitting Moscow, when one evening, just at dark, the marshal found himself in face of Platoff, and a countless horde of his Cossacks. They did not, however, attack him, and consequently he remained quiet till night fell, when, in strict silence, but in closed ranks, resolute for any event which might occur, Ney put himself and his devoted little band in motion. Clinging to the stream to guard his

right flank, he went from hill to hill and from wood to wood, taking advantage of every natural protection which the ground afforded, and was thus always able to defend himself against casual parties of Cossacks. This state of things continued for two entire days, during which he contrived to traverse 20 leagues of road, when suddenly, in the midst of a wood, amid the darkness of night, a brilliant light appeared to the foremost of the march, and cannon was heard to fire in distinct signals. They wondered what it meant, and thought themselves lost; but when day broke on the morning of the 19th, they again found the road clear, and 50 Polish horsemen came up to inform the marshal that the road was open to Orcha, where General Jomini commanded. The Emperor, on the 20th, marching with the Viceroy, Davoust, and Mortier, had talked of Ney in danger, and, with the hope of being able to direct the rear-guard which way to come, had ordered signals of cannon to be fired, and these had been immediately replied to by volleys of musketry, so that the veterans were soon in each other's arms. As soon as Napoleon heard that Ney had come up to his column, he literally jumped for joy, and exclaimed, "J'ai donc sauvé mes aigles! J'aurais donné trois cent millions de mon trésor pour racheter la perte d'un tel homme."

But every day brought to light new combinations which seemed fatal to the escape of the French army. Reports came in on one side that Admiral Tschitchagov had, on the 21st, surprised the town of Minsk with its hospital and magazines, and on the other that Wittgenstein, driving Victor and St. Cyr before him, was already at Vileika or Zembina on the way to Wilna. Marshal Oudinot had been ordered to occupy Minsk, but had not advanced beyond Bobinsk, when he learned its fall. He immediately took his way to Borisov, where there is a bridge over the Beresina, but on his march encountered fugitives flying from General Dombrowski's division, who had been driven out of the *tête-du-pont* there by Tschitchagov, with a loss of 5,000 men. Oudinot immediately marched to the spot, surprised the Russians on the 22nd, took possession of the *tête-du-pont*, and seized all the admiral's equipage and baggage, together with 700 light troops; but General Lambert, who commanded, was able in retiring to fire the bridge at Borigov, which appeared to bar the passage to Napoleon, who had sacrificed all his pontoon equipage at Orcha. These tidings were brought by an engineer-general who had been sent to him by Marshal Victor to tell the Emperor that now he had no escape but by cutting his way through the army of Wittgenstein. Napoleon, in calmly discussing the difficulties of his position, could not divert his mind from contemplating the fate of Charles XII., who, a century earlier, in the prosecution of a similar mad expedition, had fatally toiled amid the snows of Russia. He exclaimed, in bitterness of spirit: "Il est donc écrit là-haut que nous ne ferons plus que des fautes. Voilà donc ce qui arrive quand on entasse fautes sur fautes."

In the sad position to which he had been now reduced there was no escape but by forcing a passage across the Beresina, and Napoleon was himself again so soon as he had resolved upon

this, and was preparing the miserable remains of his "Grand Army" for this only hope of escape. He immediately set himself to provide for the re-organisation of his force, and exerted all his genius to deceive the Russian admiral, who commanded the enemy assembled to thwart his retreat. He at once ordered his chancery and all the eagles remaining with the skeletons of regiments to be burned; and finding no more than 150 horses of his guard in good condition, he formed them into a devoted escort, of which he gave the command to Latour-Maubourg. Some 500 officers belonging to the cavalry were combined as a support, under the superior command of Grouchy and Sebastiani; and this body, in which generals of division served as captains, he termed "son escadron sacré." All the needless carriages and fourgons he burned, and made their horses over to the guns and tumbrils of the artillery; and positive orders were given that not even the horses of the Emperor were to be spared to save another gun from being abandoned. With his little army thus remodelled, he set himself in march for Borisov, and had the happiness to effect a junction the same day with Marshal Victor, who, with 15,000 men in good order, had been retreating before Wittgenstein. Marshal Oudinot with 5,000 men had also already arrived on the Beresina on the 24th.

It may be well to go back a little in the story, to account for this state of affairs. After the general retreat of the French army, Wittgenstein had, on the 7th of November, attacked and taken Vitepsk, which seriously menaced the right flank of Napoleon's retreating columns. He had with him about 20,000 or 30,000 men, with the advantage of the services of Colonel Diebitsch as chief of his staff, who afterwards became Sabalkanskoy. The Russian army of the south, which had been placed to watch Schwartzenberg and the Austrians and Saxons, had been commanded by Tormasov, but he having been called in to the main army on the death of Bagration, the command had devolved on Admiral Tschitchagov, who received orders to march northward on Minsk, where he arrived on the 16th, leaving a division under Sacken, on the Bug. On the first notice of the French retreat, the Czar despatched his aide-de-camp, General Tchernicheff, with an escort of Cossacks, to make his way to Wittgenstein, with orders to that general to seek a junction with the Admiral, and to bar the French retreat across the Beresina at Borisov, which place they reached at 12 at night on the 19th, on which day Napoleon was still at Orcha, on the Dnieper, with Oudinot a little in advance of head-quarters at Kroupki, and Victor at Smoliansky. Orcha was a strategic point of some importance; for here the Dnieper is nearest to the Dwina, being only about fifty-six miles from Vitepsk, and here the great road from St. Petersburg to the south intersects the road from Moscow to the west.

35. THE FRENCH CROSS THE BERESINA — PARTONNEAUX'S DIVISION LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS.

The moment was imminently critical to the fortunes of Napoleon. The bridge at Borisov, a structure of 600 toises long, was cut in three places, and the Russians from the hill commanding it prevented any attempt at its restoration. Just at this period the river was at its worst, very high and full of floating ice, and its ordinary characteristics utterly unknown. There was, accordingly, no hope to the French army of being able to cross, unless it should be possible to mystify and deceive the Russian Admiral. A Bavarian officer of the brigade of Corbineau had the luck to meet a Lithuanian peasant in the woods, whose horse appeared to be dripping with wet. He immediately seized him, jumped up behind him, and ordered him to carry him in this way over the river at the same spot at which he had crossed it. In this way the ford opposite Studienka was discovered, and it was immediately reported to head-quarters. This position was immediately occupied. The existence of two other fords was made known upon further enquiry; the one at Onkoholda, two miles below Borisov, and the other a mile above. The only sure and safe one, however, was that which the Bavarian officer had personally tested, and General Eblé was directed to prepare in secret the means of throwing a trestle-bridge across at that point, while the most open preparations were made for a passage across the two other points of the river bank which have been noticed. An officer of the staff, General Lorencé, had pounced upon a lot of Jews at Borisov, whom he resolved to turn to some account. He knew they were sure to report all they heard to the enemy, and, accordingly, he consulted them confidentially about these latter fords, feigning to accept their advice, and afterwards made them swear that they would meet him again on the lower stream with information of the Russian movements. Every preparation was at the same time made to march the army to the position on the upper stream. Napoleon took up his quarters, on the 24th, at Staroi-Borissov, a country-house of Prince Radzivil's, but it was late in the afternoon of the 25th before Eblé could collect a sufficient number of doorposts and roof timbers, together with some iron fellies from the wheels of abandoned carriages, with a little charcoal to work the two campaign forges which yet remained, and a few nails and implements. With which insufficient means he set about forming a bridge at Studienka.

Napoleon was sensible of the extreme danger of his position, and was on the move all night. On sight of the fires of the Russian encampment opposite, none of the marshals and generals who surrounded him thought a passage of the river practicable; and some said, "Que si l'empereur sortit de ce péril, il faudrait décidément croire à son étoile." Some went so far as to whisper the words "prisonnier d'état," not thinking how quick are the ears of the unfortunate of every grade and sex; on which others replied, "Ce maréchal n'oserait faire une si cruelle proposition à un si grand

general, à un guerrier si renommé." There were even some who at this time urged the Emperor to take a Polish escort who knew the country and seek his personal safety; but Napoleon firmly repudiated the dastardly idea of deserting his gallant followers at their worst fortune. When day broke a very poor structure of a bridge presented itself; and on the opposite bank was seen the division of General Tchaplitz, whom the Admiral had recalled from Zemin, and from whose artillery one single shot would have been sufficient to send the rickety thing floating down the stream. To the surprise and astonishment of the French the Russian column was found to be in march moving towards Borisov, followed by a herd of Cossacks skirting the border of some distant woods. Napoleon could scarcely believe his eyes, and exclaimed, "J'ai trompé l'Amiral. Voilà! mon étoile." By 1 o'clock the coast was quite clear, and the division Légrand crossed the bridge in presence of the Emperor, who himself lent all his personal aid to assist the passage of the guns and to cheer his men by his presence and example. Another bridge was forthwith undertaken a hundred toises up stream for the heavy baggage. The division of Dombrowski followed that of Légrand, and Marshal Mortier forthwith led forward 7,000 men upon the road to Zemin upon the right bank of the Beresina. On the 27th, the Emperor himself crossed the river, and Victor, leaving General Partonneaux to watch the 15,000 Russians under Tschitchagov opposite Borisov, took post to guard the two bridges at Studienka. But where was the Admiral? He had gone down stream while Napoleon was moving up the course of the river, misled, probably, by the studious endeavours to represent the lower stream as the object of Napoleon's solicitude, and conceiving that his object was to unite himself with Schwartzberg and force his way into Minsk. Tschitchagov only awoke to his error when he reached Szalaszaviczy and received a report from General Tchaplitz, commanding at the bridge of Borisov, that the French had crossed the river. The Admiral immediately retraced his steps, and might even on the 27th have easily crushed the division of Oudinot, who alone had crossed the Beresina; but great faults are only repaired by great promptitude in daring minds, and Tschitchagov not being prepared to take the initiative of a daring attack, hurried off to destroy the bridges when he should have stopped the enemy. But another enquiry arises, where was Koutusov at this important moment? The Russian general was resting from his fatigues at Kopy, upon the Dnieper, and had contented himself with sending forward to the pursuit Platoff with his Cossacks, and the divisions of Miloradovitch and Yermolov, counting about 10,000 men, who marched on Lochnitsa, while Wittgenstein and Steinghel were opposed to Marshal Victor at the bridges. Over and over again it can be shown that when commanders-in-chief are too old for their work, and leave it to subordinates, it fails.

The Emperor had sent orders to Partonneaux, who commanded a division of Victor's corps, to keep a resolute hold on the town of Borisov; for he doubtless thought that the firm possession of the

ground near the bridge would assist the passage of straggling divisions, and still check the Admiral's pursuit; but some of Wittgenstein's division, with Platoff and his Cossacks, came sweeping along to the river bank, and, taking possession of the high ground between Borisov and Studienka, planted themselves on the road to Orcha. The French general, finding himself surrounded, resolved to cut his way through the enemy, and with 3,500 combatants and 3 guns he sallied out of the town in the middle of the night of the 27-28th with this object; but he found himself in the midst of his own terrified fugitives, who had hurried into the town, with some 500 or 600 carriages, and a lot of baggage, to seek his protection, and he was obliged to give up all hope of making an effective movement; for their presence disordered his column, and destroyed the possibility of all ensemble in an attack. He therefore endeavoured to fall back, and make a better start in another direction; but in doing this he encountered Platoff and a pulk of Cossacks. He at first resisted the summons to surrender, and tried to escape by quitting the high road, and taking to the open country; but, deceived by the snow, he got bewildered, and, some ice breaking under the men, many were drowned, while others were engulfed in snow drifts, blinded by snow-storms, or cut down by the sabre, until the whole were confused and separated. One single battalion escaped, which, taking the stream as the guide of their march, had its protection on the flank, and a clearer course; and the baggage offered such temptation to the Cossacks, that while these were occupied pilfering, they slipped away unnoticed, and reached Marshal Victor's head-quarters, to whom they had the mortification of reporting Partonneaux's surrender.

The three Russian chiefs, Tschitchagov, Wittgenstein, and Platoff, now set their heads together seriously to stop Napoleon. The grand army, notwithstanding its diminished strength, was still crossing the Beresina. It had already occupied two days and two nights, but such was the number of camp-followers, and such the rickety construction of the bridges, that while the former idled away their time in the woods under the fancied protection of the troops, and tired of the privations of a retreat, the latter broke down continually, causing alarm, and a rush to the waterside. This came to a height when, on the 27th, the Guards marched to cross the river. Then a confused mass of men and women, horses and carriages, so crowded the passage, that the Emperor was under the necessity of using force to enable himself to get over. The crush was so extreme that Ney loudly declared, "Qu'il fallait brûler tous les équipages sur le champ:" an advice which ought to have been acted upon, but Napoleon was unwilling to displease his followers, even in this extremity, and thus add to the discontent which was already rising on every side. Leaving, therefore, the struggle to continue, the Imperial quarters were established a league from the ferry, at the hamlet of Zaniwki.

With the morning light of the 28th, Wittgenstein and Platoff, with 40,000 on one side of the river and Tschitchagov, with 27,000

on the other, bore down upon the bridges. Victor, with his armed men reduced to 6,000, resolutely defended himself against the former; Oudinot, Ney, and Dombrowski, with 8,000, held their ground against the latter, while *l'escadron sacré* kept watch over their Emperor. Now again the bridges were thronged with camp-followers. The Admiral did not make the attack with that confidence which circumstances justified. He cannonaded previously, but appears to have hesitated about coming into closer conflict. Notwithstanding that Oudinot, Dombrowski, Clarapède, Albert, and Kosikovski were all more or less seriously wounded, the intrepid Ney was still unscathed, and, placing himself at the head of Dounière's cavalry, he scattered the masses of the pursuing Russians, took 2,000 prisoners, and drove Tschitchagov back to the village of Stakhowa. Napoleon, in the meanwhile, anxiously observed the contest on the opposite bank between Victor and Wittgenstein, and placed some guns in battery to sustain the combat. The French resisted stoutly against every successive attack, until about the middle of the day, when the Russian force deployed so as to envelope Victor's left wing. On this, Latour-Maubourg gallantly crossed the bridges to his aid, and checked the advance with his horse; while General Fournier, at the head of a Hessian and Baden regiment, attacked and put the enemy's right wing on its defence. Thus matters remained till night-fall, the Duke of Belluno, with his 6,000 men, retaining the heights of Studjanka, and crossing the bridges against every attempt of 40,000 Russians to reach them. Towards 9 at night, Victor received orders to withdraw across the river. Still the town was full of camp-followers, and though fire was now put resolutely to every species of cart or carriage, it was half-past 8 in the morning before General Eblé ordered the remaining bridge to be burned, the other having broken down completely on the previous day.

Napoleon, with the "grand army," now defiled towards Zembin. The country was all forest and marsh, but a species of wooden causeway not only pointed out the way, but rendered it practicable. Moreover, the road to Wilna, after Zembin, crossed watercourses by several wooden bridges. Yet Tchaplitz had been already in possession of this ground, and might have set fire to these (for they were constructed of firewood, which is easily kindled, and burns rapidly), and had he done so, the whole French army, with their Emperor, caught in the narrow strait between the rivers and the woods, must have surrendered at discretion; but Koutusov was still far away at Kopjs, and Tschitchagov was discouraged by the drubbing he had received from Ney, while Wittgenstein was on the wrong side of the Beresina. From Zembin the army took the way to Plesztszenitzky, where the Emperor placed his head-quarters on the 30th, and where a Russian force of Cossacks and guns came upon him, but were, after some trouble, dislodged by Mortier, who was again wounded in the struggle. On these several days of march, it was remarked that Napoleon issued his directions to the various marshals as if each had still a *corps d'armée* under his command, although now they had not a

single organised company under their orders. One of them had the cruelty to destroy the illusion, by replying with bitterness that he had no followers of any kind. The Emperor turned short upon his old comrade, and said, "Pourquoi donc m'ôtez mon calme? Je vous demande, Monsieur, pourquoi vous voulez m'ôter mon calme?" He expected to find the Imperial cabinet awaiting him at Wilna, wherefore, to keep the course clear from intrusion, the division Loison and some Neapolitan cavalry were advanced as far as Ochsmiana.

36. THE GRAND ARMY IS UTTERLY DISSOLVED—NAPOLEON
RETURNS TO PARIS.

On the 3rd of December the French army again got upon the high road at Malodetzno, and found themselves in the midst of both supplies and supports. The Emperor here received couriers with despatches from Paris, and he now ordered troops to secure the road at Olita. The weather had become serene and more supportable, and it was therefore suggested to Napoleon to take some thought for the future. Here he penned that sad bulletin (the 29th and last) which announced to Europe the crisis of his disaster, and he determined to prepare Paris for its reception, and by his own presence, if possible, at the capital. The difficulty was how to quit the army without exciting discontent and anger. Accordingly, he took Daru and Duroc into his confidence; who tried to dissuade him from the attempt, but ineffectually, and he now, therefore, turned to Caulaincourt, and gave him secret orders on the 5th to prepare for his departure as soon as he had established his headquarters at Smorgoni. When the news of the Emperor's intended departure came to the ears of Berthier, accompanied by the intimation that the command of the army would be given up to the King of Naples, and that he must remain with it at his post of Major-general, the old man revolted at the separation from his master, and a scene is recorded to have passed between the two friends which ended in Berthier's resolution to resign the office. On arriving at Smorgoni, he completed all his arrangements, while feigning a long period of repose in his cabinet, and then called his marshals around him to a repast, having so arranged it that they should receive the notification of his intended departure separately in private audience, when he could convince them in succession of the necessity of the measure. He employed his most winning address in his communications, gave lavish praise to each for his fidelity and resolution through the campaign, and then sat down to table. Immediately the repast was over, he read to them the 29th bulletin which was about to be transmitted to Paris, and announced that he was going to leave the army within an hour, accompanied by Duroc, Caulaincourt, and Lobau; and that the command of the army should devolve on the King of Naples, whom he implored them to obey as implicitly as they would himself. He directed Ney to proceed to Wilna and re-organise the supplies, and Rapp to go forthwith and assume the defence of the

important fortress of *Dantzic*. He said the army must retire behind the *Niemen*, and take its stand there, where reinforcements and supplies of all kinds awaited it; and that *Lauriston* should take the command of *Warsaw*, and *Narbonne* go to *Berlin* to keep himself informed of all that passed in the Prussian cabinet, which he had the best reasons for distrusting now that his reverses had commenced. He showed them that his presence in France was indispensable, not only to provide for the exigencies of the moment, but to hasten forward reinforcements. He also remarked that he must take means to keep such doubtful allies as *Austria* and *Prussia* from breaking away. It was 10 o'clock at night when he took his leave, grasping the hands of all his companions in council most warmly, and entering a carriage, departed with the utmost expedition. The mighty chief whose preparations for the Russian war had shaken the entire continent, quitted the army like a caitiff runaway, shut up with *Caulaincourt* in the carriage, with *Duroc* and *Lobau* in the rumble behind, and with *Wonsovitch* and the *Mameluke* on the box before, all well armed, with pistols cocked and swords drawn, resolved on a resistance to the death, thinking every bush they saw was a *Cossack*, and every peasant a spy. *Napoleon* had too much wisdom to give any intimation by couriers in advance of his movements or his disasters, so that he was himself his own herald. At *Wilna* he met his attached friend *Maret*, Duke de *Bassano*, who announced to him that he had well-stored magazines there for his whole army. He replied that the information infused new life into his heart, and he would have the army stay there 8 or 10 days; and then leaving the city by the suburbs proceeded on his way. At *Warsaw*, which he reached on the 10th, he began to breathe freely, and to find himself still a Sovereign; and he commanded subsidies from the Poles and a levy of 10,000 cavalry. At *Dresden* he again associated with Kings; for he stopped to have a hasty conference with the King of *Saxony*, from whom he required troops and supplies for the 300,000 men whom he promised to head in the ensuing campaign for the defence of *Germany*. He entered *Paris* on the 19th of *December*, having only followed by two days the publication of his celebrated 29th bulletin. Here he thought himself again the master of the world!

The King of *Naples* no sooner found himself in command of the fugitive army than he began to think of his own private affairs, and to tremble for his distant throne, which he might well fear would shake under him. As a soldier in the advanced guard, he could charge and fight and be happy, but the prospect of losing a crown and descending to the ranks again unmanned him. He openly reflected upon the weakness of *Napoleon* in not seeking for terms with the *Czar*; and said that he ought to have listened to the moderate proposals made to him by *England*, which would have left him as great a King as the King of *Prussia*, or even the Emperor of *Austria*. "Psha," said *Davoust* to him, in reply, "those Sovereigns are so by the grace of God, you are only King by the grace of *Napoleon* and the French glory, and you can only continue King while these

are in the ascendant." The old marshal, who was a loyal though an unbending subject of Napoleon, all but accused him publicly of treason for these expressions. Dissension, discontent, and treasonable ebullitions, however, were not confined to the highest ranks, as the army proceeded. On the 9th of December it reached Wilna, where it found supplies amassed sufficient for 100,000 men; such, however, was the infirmity of command among this broken army, that the troops had to wait many hours before they could obtain a ration of any kind. At length the Viceroy and Davoust took upon themselves to order the issue, when a cry of "Voilà les Cosaques!" summoned all to arms. Tchaplitz, in command of Koutusov's advanced guard, already thundered at the gates, and was with difficulty restrained by Loison with 3,000 men. On the side of Bikouti, Von Wrede, with his Bavarians, resisted the divisions of Orushkindskoi and Soslavin, but could no longer hold his ground, and fell back in person to report the rout of his division to Murat. On the 10th, Wittgenstein arrived to the front, and attacked the French rear-guard, which gave way before Platoff and his Cossacks, who took possession of Wilna and its rich resources. The whole French army was in an absolute uproar at the impossibility of halting for merely one 24 hours to enjoy rest and plenty. It could not be; there was no help for it; the retreat must continue. The only orders that could be given were to desire Ney to take care of the hindermost. The Prince of Moskwa kept together the remains of the division of Loison and Von Wrede, numbering about 3,000 men, and with them arrived at the defile of Ponari on the road to Kovno. Here was a position which had been regarded on the advance of the army as admirably calculated for defence; but now that which might have been an obstacle to an enemy's attack, became a dead stop to the retreating mass. It took 15 hours to get the crowd through the defile, but at length King, Viceroy, and marshals left their followers to their fate, and the same evening reached Évé. Here confusion reigned more confounded, and Ney found no longer a rear-guard to command; but, though abandoned by his troops, he did not abandon his duty; seizing a firelock, he became again a soldier, and succeeded by his example in stopping many fugitives, and even by the help of his aide-de-camp Haymès and by General Gérard, he, with some artillerymen, got three light guns to the front and opened fire, while Generals Ledru and Marchand made up a battalion as well as they could to aid it; but at the last he retreated and entered Kovno on the 13th alone! For 40 days and 40 nights this noble soldier had broken his rest and risked his life to preserve the rear-guard of the grand army, until it only existed in name. Now, at Kovno, as a last effort, he collected some 30 men, and stopped the enemy at the Wilna gate until nightfall, when he gave up all further attempts, crossed the Niemen, threw himself into the woods, and was lost to the knowledge of all his comrades for many days. He, however, was found by Murat at Gumbinnen, and these two retired together to the fortress of Königsberg.

37. THE PRUSSIAN ARMY, UNDER DE YORK AND MASSENBACH, JOIN THE RUSSIANS.

The Marshal Duke of Tarentum, forming the left wing of the grand army, which numbered nearly 30,000 men, had advanced to Riga, and had even sustained some conflict with the Russians beyond that fortress, and towards the river Aa. About two-thirds of his force were composed of Prussians and other German contingents, who had all been living in clover while their fellow-soldiers were dying of hunger in the snows of Russia. De York, who commanded the Prussians, was a member of the secret society of the Tugendbund, which had for some years existed in Germany, and, like all Germans, resented in his heart the subserviency of the "Deutches Volk" to the French power, and the obligation they were under to serve in the ranks of the French army. They had now observed, with a joy which they could ill restrain, the "fix" in which Napoleon had got himself at Moscow, but knew nothing as yet of the disasters of the retreat. On the 29th of September, De York was attacked by the Russians at Mittau, which place he defended with so little fidelity and energy, that it was taken, together with the whole park of siege artillery, after a loss that did not exceed 400 men. Macdonald, suspicious of his colleague, immediately repaired to his quarters to receive some explanations of this affair; but, though the Prussian general received the reproaches of the French marshal with apparent submission, they rankled in his heart. When the news of the retreat of the French army arrived, Bavarians, Saxons, Austrians, all fraternised with the Prussians in the joyous prospect of a deliverance; but habitual military obedience kept their feelings down, so that they acted with their French comrades in an attack made by the Duke of Tarentum on the 15th of November, near Dahlenkirchen, upon the Russian generals, Lewis and Williamov, who, with some 5,000 men, were momentarily cut off from the main army and driven back to the Duna. In their despair, however, they ventured to traverse the ice between Friderichstad and Lindau, and by this means got safe into Riga. Contradictory reports had by this time reached Macdonald of the retreat of the Emperor from Smolensko, and of the occupation of Minsk, together with the account sent by the Duke de Bassano of a great victory over the Russians at the Beresina; but on the 9th of December an order arrived from Wilna directing Macdonald to retire slowly on Tilsit. This order was transmitted by a Prussian officer of the staff. Accordingly, the *corps-d'armée* commenced a retreat through Telsza and Izavla, De York's division forming the rear-guard. The French marshal, however, thought it prudent to distrust the Prussian troops, and now dividing them sent forward Massenbach to head the retreat, which De York closed, so that the French portion of the force marched in the middle of the column. The flanking parties of Koutusov's army now came upon them, and affairs of cavalry (in which the black Prussian hussars took part with fidelity and

bravery) occurred at Kelm and at Pikelupenen on the Niemen. It was necessary for Macdonald to drive the Russians under Tettenborn out of Tilsit, which he effected, and entered that town on the 29th. In some of these last affairs near the town of Regnitz, the French general Bachelu remarked that the Prussian officers were loud in their complaints of fatigue, and of the severity of the weather, and began to speak of the responsibility which they were under to their King for the condition of their regiments; many detachments, moreover, permitted themselves without resistance to be taken prisoners in the several conflicts with the enemy. On the 30th, Macdonald received a despatch in Tilsit from Berthier, announcing the entire destruction of the grand army, and the necessity for the left wing, while it continued entire, to fall back as soon as possible across the Pregel; but the Emperor's commands were to cover Königsberg, Ebling, and Marienburg. Macdonald therefore awaited but in vain the appearance of his rear-guard; but Bachelu arrived alone, and brought word that the Prussian officers had altogether refused his orders at Regnitz, and he had left them behind. Massenbach, indeed, with a Prussian force, entered Tilsit at 2 in the morning of the 31st, but his detachment refused to dismount from their horses, and, in spite of every obstacle, marched boldly away from the French marshal at 5 in the morning, without his having the power to prevent them. Subsequently, it appeared that De York had been treating for a convention with the Russian General Diebitsh, which was concluded the day following at Tourogen, and the junction of the Prussians with the Russian army was openly effected. The Duke of Tarentum, finding his corps reduced by the Prussian defection to 9,000 men, marched away with all haste to Königsberg, and behind the Vistula, sorely pressed by General Wittgenstein's *corps-d'armée*.

38. THE AUSTRIAN ARMY ACCEPT AN ARMISTICE.

The right wing of the grand army, composed of the Austrians under Prince Schwartzberg, did not follow the example of the Prussians, by any overt defection, but already evinced evident symptoms of estrangement and disinclination to yield their aid to the falling French cause. On the 10th of December, while yet at Sloneim, the Prince learned the departure of Napoleon from the army, and sent an officer to his government to make observations on the way, and to ask for orders. On the 14th of December, he received Murat's permission to retire on Bialystock; and on the 21st he announced to the King that he had concluded an armistice with the Russian general for the Austrian contingent. He now separated from the corps of Regnier, and, marching off, took post at Nur, resting his right wing upon the Bug, where he asserted his intention to remain neuter.

39. THE CZAR REWARDS HIS GENERALS AT WILNA.

On the evening of the 22d of December, the Czar established his Imperial head-quarters at Wilna, and the next day, in presence of all the generals and superior officers of the army, formally invested General Prince Koutusov with the Order of St. George, of the first class. There were in that splendid assembly many who doubted whether the generalissimo had altogether fulfilled the statutes of that noble order, which require that the knight should have conquered the enemy in a pitched battle, and Koutusov had certainly as yet done nothing of the kind. He had hardly come up with the French rear-guard in person, and both his lieutenants, Wittgenstein and Tschichagov, had been worsted in their engagements with the retreating enemy. An officer already past the age of man, and paying, in his shattered constitution, for the indiscretions of an irregular youth, was not the man to lead armies on to victory; and, if we are to believe the evidence of Sir Robert Wilson, he was not thought to have done so: "The army was highly indignant with the marshal for the conduct of the operations; his feebleness was such an outrage upon their aspirations that it was scarcely safe for his person to remain with his army." It may be safely asserted that if that same General Bonaparte, who captured Wurmser, and all his army in Mantua, and Mack in Ulm, could have caught the Emperor Napoleon in the condition in which he quitted Smolensko and crossed the Beresina, not a single man of the grand army would have ever crossed the Niemen. Doubtless in this war, as in all others, there was a succession of faults on both sides, and it was wonderful good fortune that permitted the great Conqueror to regain his capital. The man might speak of his "star," but those who looked deeper into causes and consequences saw the avenging hand of Almighty Power stretched forth to crush the presumptuous worm who could dare to assume that it was his own strength and the mightiness of his own arm that had so often "gotten him the victory;" and others, besides men of war, may learn from this example, that, in every variety of fortune, they should ascribe success to the Source from which alone it flows, and humbly strive to work out the will of God in every action and condition of life; since man is, in truth, never so highly favoured by his Maker as when He condescends to employ him in carrying out His own mysterious designs.

40. INTESTINE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA.

The provinces of Spanish America still formed the theatre of a sanguinary civil war. There were now two parties—one seeking separation and independence of the mother country; the other the continuance of national relationship, whether as colonists or as adjuncts to the Spanish Crown. Reason, however, soon escapes at *sight* of the naked sword, whether in the hands of brothers or strangers. The pride and passion, presumption and vanity, of man marred all the theoretic brightness of the causes of the

conflict, and blood soon began to flow like water on the field and on the scaffold, or by less worthy roads to eternity. At Buenos Ayres a regular action occurred in the streets between the several regiments of their army; and, a little way off, Montevideo commenced a naval war with her sister in the river Plata, where embargoes were laid alternately on both ports. The Portuguese were called in to the aid of Montevideo, but the authorities of Buenos Ayres entered into treaty with the Prince Regent of Portugal, and they were withdrawn. Venezuela, in the full pride of a declared independence of the mother country, was visited on the 26th of March by a terrible earthquake, which destroyed a great portion of the city of Caraccas. The ecclesiastics, of course, immediately inculcated the notion that the earthquake was a punishment from Heaven for the renunciation of their allegiance to Ferdinand VII.; but the religious, like the reasoning faculties, had already lost their force. In the confusion which ensued, General Monteverde, at the head of the royal army, entered the city of Valencia, in Caraccas, in April, without opposition, and drove away General Miranda and the Congress. In this emergency, the States of the Confederation elected Miranda Dictator, who, in the month of June, solemnly declared he would not sheathe the sword till he had established the liberty of Venezuela; but nevertheless success still attended the royalists, and on the 30th of July the port of La Guayra surrendered to Monteverde, and Miranda was soon afterwards given up a prisoner, and sent to Spain for trial in the beginning of October. The province of Sta Martha proclaimed war against Carthagena, and several battles ensued between the provincials on the two sides of the river Magdalena. In the great viceroyalty of Mexico, two parties were in a state of open conflict, and the royalist General Lakeja, and the insurgents, led by Morellos, either fought, or talked a great deal of their intention to do so. Peru was in like manner divided against itself; and the royalist General Goyoneche endeavoured to keep down, although ineffectually, the independent spirit of Lima and Cochabamba.

These conflicts, which have since continued with varied fortune for half a century, have had neither the interests of a generous freedom, nor the dignity of individual heroism, to make them worthy of a place in "The Annals of War," and therefore will not again be noticed. Liberty had, indeed, awakened out of the slumber of ages, but the goddess was so loaded with the fetters of bigotry and despotism, that her first exertions were those of a maniac.* The whole South American continent, Spanish in language, severely Romanist in religion, and with all the habits and amusements of the mother country, has been ever since this period entirely and hopelessly dissociated from the Spanish crown, and "the Indies" no longer form part of the grandiloquent style and title of the "Most Catholic" Sovereign. This internecine contest will probably not be terminated until some Spanish prince can be found capable of reuniting into a separate empire these fine regions, teeming with every kind of wealth, and well deserving an independent existence.

* Brenton.

41. NAVAL WAR—SINGLE SHIPS.

Before concluding the "Annals of the Wars" of this year, it will be necessary to cast an eye over the actions of single ships and boats of war, where the same daring and gallantry which invariably distinguish the British sea service will be found as worthy of record as formerly. We commence with those which occurred in the British Channel. The "Laurel," 38, Captain S. C. Rowley, a beautiful frigate, which had been built at Flushing, and brought away from there in 1809, was coming through the Peigneuse passage with the "Rota" and "Rhin" frigates, in February, when she struck on the Gonivas, and, though she got off that rock, she was run on shore on a reef called Las Peres. The battery on the shore immediately opened a heavy fire upon her from great guns and mortars, every shot from which struck her, while she was beating to pieces on the rocks. A flag of truce was hoisted, and the colours hauled down, but still the fire of the enemy continued. The boats of her consorts accordingly, braving the battery, boldly approached the wreck, and continued their exertions till every man was taken off, and carried to the ships in the offing. The "Laurel" was shattered to pieces; and the 96 men, who had been sent in the boats to crave a suspension, were not allowed to return, but detained as prisoners. On the 27th of March, a flotilla, consisting of 12 brigs and 1 lugger, under the command of Capitaine de Vaisseau Saizieu, being the 14th division of the great Boulogne flotilla, was sighted, in shore near the town of Dieppe, by the British brig-sloops "Rosario," 10, Captain Bootey Harvey, and "Griffon," 16, Captain George Trollope, who, in the most gallant and skilful manner, drove one ashore and carried and brought away three in the face of a heavy fire from the batteries, with no other loss than a midshipman and 4 men wounded. The French commodore, with the remaining 8 brigs, got safe into Dieppe.

This may be the place to record a very sad event which occurred later in the year aboard this very sloop of war, "Griffon." The first lieutenant, by name Gamage, while carrying on the duty of the ship in the Downs, in the absence of the captain, received a complaint against the Sergeant of Marines for improper conduct. The man, being called up, was ordered by Lieutenant Gamage to walk the quarter-deck with a musket on his shoulder, when, in a spirit of defiance, he threw it down, and refused to obey. On this, young Gamage was so inflamed with anger, that he went down to his cabin for his sword, and ran the unfortunate man through the body, who almost instantly expired. The lieutenant was brought to a court-martial, found guilty of murder, and sentenced to be hanged at the yard-arm. The young officer's previous character was unimpeachable, and he was most strongly recommended to mercy by the court which tried him; and there was every inclination to attend to this recommendation in the royal bosom; but it was feared that it might be misconstrued into a breach of strict and impartial justice, if so serious an offence was pardoned, and might

mislead those who laboured under the mistaken notion that officers had a right to take away the life of a fellow-creature, at their own pleasure, for a presumed act of disobedience. The unhappy fate of Lieutenant Gamage excited general sympathy. The commander-in-chief on the station, Admiral Foley, sent a circular address to every ship in his fleet on the night before the execution, in which he very properly expressed his hopes "that this afflicting lesson may not be offered in vain, but that, seriously contemplating the awful example, every officer and man will learn from it never to suffer himself to be driven by ill-governed passion to treat with cruelty and violence those over whom he is placed in command, nor by disobedience or disrespect to rouse the passions of those whom it is his duty to obey and hold in honour." He was run up to the yard-arm of the sloop-of-war "Griffon," on the 23rd of November, in the sight of a large multitude; and bore his fate with piety, resignation, and fortitude, amidst repeated exclamations from all the seamen of the fleet, that "God would bless and receive his soul."

The British brig-sloop "Apelles," 14, Captain Hoffman, had run on shore to the westward of Boulogne, as well as the "Skylark," 16, Capt. Boxer. Information of this reached the fleet on the 3rd of May, and immediately the brig-sloops "Bermuda," 10, Captain Cunningham, and "Rinaldo," 10, Captain Sir William Parker, got under way and hastened to their assistance. They found that the "Apelles" had been just got afloat by the French, and saw her steering along shore under jury masts; but, as the tide was falling, the attack was deferred, and, in the meantime, Sir William Parker was joined by the brig-sloops "Castilian," 18, Capt. Braimer, and "Phipps," 14, Captain Wells. On the 4th, all the sloops stood in close under a battery, and by their broadsides cleared the "Apelles" of the troops that had been put on board of her. The boats of the squadron were now sent to man the "Apelles," and, notwithstanding a galling fire of shot and shell, she was re-captured and brought out. The "Skylark," which could not be floated, was set on fire by her own crew, who all escaped; and not a man on the side of the British was hurt in the conflict!

In the month of July, the British brig-sloop "Raven," 16, Capt. Lennock, observed 14 brigs of the French flotilla at exercise out of the Scheldt. She took advantage of the wind blowing strong on shore to run into the midst of them. Three sail, to avoid capture, ran aground, and 4 others were compelled to anchor in the midst of the breakers. In the morning, they were seen lying on the beach, with the sea beating over them. This dashing little exploit of a single brig destroying 7 gun-brigs, each armed with 3 or 4 long 24-pounders, was performed in sight of the Flushing fleet. Only one shot struck the "Raven," and did not hurt anyone. On the 21st, the schooner "Sealark," 10, Lieutenant Warrant, discovered a large lugger chasing and firing at 2 merchant-ships off the Start. Lieut. Warrant immediately ran the schooner on board, and, after a close and furious engagement, carried her. She proved to be a French privateer called the "Ville de Caen," 16, from St. Malo,

commanded by M. Cochet, who, together with 14 men, was killed in the action. Captain Patterson Stewart, in command of the "Dictator," 64, accompanied by brig-sloops "Calypso," 18, Capt. Weir, "Podargus," 14, Captain Robilliard, and "Flamer," Lieut. England, was off Mardoc, on the Norway coast, on the 6th of July, when the mast-heads of a Danish squadron were clearly distinguished above the rocks. The "Dictator" ran into the channel under a press of sail, through a passage so narrow as in some places scarcely to admit the studding sails being run out, under the lead of a man on board the "Podargus," who knew the place; nevertheless, the "Calypso" following took the ground. Soon a sharp engagement began between them and the Danish frigate "Noyaden," 48, and gun-brigs "Laaland," "Samsoe," and "Kiel," inside the rocks, supported by a division of gun-boats; but the fire of a two-decked ship was too heavy even for so large a frigate, and she was "literally battered to atoms." In half an hour's time she was a wreck and on fire. Capt. Stewart had, in fact, run his ship with her bow upon the shore, and with her broadside bearing on the frigate and the brigs, all of which were anchored close together in the small creek of Lyngoe. Many of them were sunk, and three hauled down their colours. Fortunately, Captain Weir extricated the "Calypso," and she prevented the heavy gun-boats from raking the "Dictator," which would have done great damage to that ship; and by her presence and fire soon put an end to their operations. The "Podargus" and "Flamer" were, in the meanwhile, engaged with the shore batteries, and, though they kept afloat, they were very much cut up by the fire. As the "Dictator" and "Calypso" returned down channel, they were once more attacked by gun-boats from behind the rocks, where they were so placed that not a gun could be brought to bear upon them from either vessel. The two prize brigs which were in tow grounded, and were left to their fate, but the British squadron got safe out of the harbour, having lost in this bold and well-conducted exploit 9 killed and 26 wounded. All the officers commanding were promoted for their gallant conduct in this enterprise.

On the 4th of July, the British gun-brig "Attack," Lieutenant Simmonds, observed a transport-galliot in tow of a French privateer coming out of Calais harbour. She immediately detached her gig, with 6 men, under the command of Mr. Couney, the master, who, undaunted by the inequality of force, and regardless of a galling fire of musketry from the soldiers, boarded the galliot on the reverse side from the privateer, into which the Frenchmen jumped and sheered off, leaving the 7 British seamen in possession of the prize. The same gun-brig was in the Baltic on the 16th of August, and when nearly becalmed, about midnight, was attacked by a division of Danish gun-boats, 10 or 12 in number. The brig immediately cleared for action, and a fight was maintained till the 19th, when a light breeze springing up, the "Attack" set all sail and took to her sweeps to join the "Wrangler," Lieutenant Crawford, another gun-brig, whom another division of gun-boats had

been attacking in the offing; but owing to the navigation, Lieutenant Simmonds could not effect his junction, and soon lost sight of the "Wrangler." The "Attack" had been cruelly mauled, had a number of shot holes in her between wind and water, and her sails and rigging cut to pieces. In this desperate condition she was, nevertheless, the same afternoon attacked by 14 Danish gun-boats, each armed with two long 24's and two howitzers. The "Attack" returned the fire and defended herself for above an hour, until, being a complete wreck, and in a sinking state, she hauled down her colours. Lieutenant Simmonds was highly complimented by his adversaries the Danes for his gallant defence of the gun-brig, and was most honourably acquitted by the court-martial subsequently held upon him for her loss and capture.

On the 10th of August, the British ship "Minstrel," 20, Captain Peyton, and brig-sloop "Philomel," 18, Captain Shaw, observed 3 French privateers near Alicant, where they were under the protection of a castle mounting 24 guns. Under these circumstances, all that Captain Peyton could do was to blockade the privateers, which was done more effectually by sending a boat every night to row guard near the shore. On the 12th of August, this duty was performed by a midshipman of the name of Michael Dwyer, and 7 seamen. With a remarkable spirit of enterprise and daring, this young officer considered that if he could get possession of the battery he should obtain possession of all three privateers also; and the Spanish shoremen who came off from the town, led him to believe that there were but 20 men garrisoned in the castle. He learned, moreover, that there was also a battery mounting 6 guns, formed by the united crews of the privateers. Relying on the tried courage and steadiness of his 7 men, he resolved to attempt carrying this battery by surprise, but had scarcely landed when he was challenged by a sentinel. Promptly, and with much presence of mind, answering in Spanish, he and his party were suffered to advance, when they seized the man, and without hesitation attacked the battery, which, after a smart struggle, they took. They were, however, but a few minutes in possession, when 200 French soldiers advanced against them. Mr. Dwyer resolutely defended the captured battery, until he himself was wounded in 17 places, and his party reduced to 5, when, his ammunition being all expended, the enemy recovered possession; but the admiration of Captain Foubert and his troops at the invincible courage of this little band was such that they reported it to General Goudin, commanding in the town, who sent an invitation to Captain Peyton to visit him on shore, and dine with him, which he accepted. The proceeding was not, perhaps, strictly correct, but the result was that the French general delivered up the whole of the valiant little band, who were his prisoners. This is a noble example of the generous sympathy which the brave show to the brave of all nations who gallantly do their duty, and it deserves a place in the "Annals of War" to the honour of the French General Goudin, and as an evidence that chivalry is not extinct in the world. In proof that it

does not interfere with duty. Captain Peyton had a subsequent brush with the enemy on the 29th of September, when, finding 6 vessels laden with shell at Valencia, he resolved to bring them out; and, although they were moored head and stern to the beach between two batteries, his first lieutenant, George Thomas, executed the service by carrying out 4 of them, at the cost of only 1 man wounded.

On the 3rd of September, the "Menelaus," Captain Sir Peter Parker, perceived a large letter of marque, pierced for 14 guns, at anchor off the mouth of the Mignone, near Civit  Vecchia. He accordingly sent in and brought her off. She was called the "St. Juan;" and, notwithstanding the heavy metal of the privateer herself, and the fire of two strong batteries by which she was protected, not a man was killed or wounded on the side of the British. On the following day, Sir Peter drove 3 sloops-of-war into Port Hercule; and on the 5th, at the mouth of Lake Orbitello, he cut out, in very gallant and masterly style, a large French ship, with the loss of but 1 seaman killed and himself wounded by a splinter in the breast. Lieutenant Rowland Mainwaring, first of the same ship, captured the French brig-of-war "St. Joseph," 16, moored within pistol-shot of a couple of batteries, and with the shore lined with musketry.

Two gallant assaults of the towns of Alassio and Languellia by the British Marines must here be noticed. On the 9th of May, 18 deeply-laden vessels, under a French convoy, took shelter under these batteries. Accordingly, the Marines of the British 74-gun-ships "America" and "Leviathan," 250 in number, were landed under the command of Captains Rea and Owen, assisted by Lieutenants Nearn, Cocks, Carden, and Hill. A chance shot, unfortunately, struck the yawl of the "America" in this service, and 11 men were drowned, owing, it was thought, to their side-arms and cartouch-boxes, which hampered them in swimming. Captain Owen was detached to carry one battery of 5 guns to the eastward, which he did in a spirited and judicious manner, the officer in command of the enemy falling in the attack. The main body, under Captain Rea, carried the other battery of 4 heavy guns, although protected by a strong body of the enemy posted in the woods and in the outskirts of the village of Languellia. The "Eclair," 18, Captain Bellamy, which had chased the convoy in, then proceeded to bring out the vessels, and the Marines were re-embarked in the most perfect order under cover of her fire. The Marines had 4 killed, 11 drowned, and about 20 wounded. A few weeks afterwards, another French convoy ran under the protection of the towns of Alassio and Languellia, when Captain Owen, with a detachment of Marines, landed between the two towns. They no sooner touched the shore than they were attacked by treble their number; but Captain Owen dashed at the enemy with the bayonet and drove them back, killing 22, with 3 officers, and taking 14 prisoners.

On the 2nd of February, a singular conflict and capture occurred

in the West Indies, off San Domingo. The British commander of the frigate "Southampton," 32, Capt. Sir James Yeo, was bound by his instructions to respect the flags of Pétion and Christophe, the rulers of the two states in that island, but he learned that a large frigate, a corvette, and a brig of war were lying in the harbour of Port-au-Prince bearing a flag belonging to neither, but to a third party formed out of revolvers from the other two. Sir James had received no orders to respect such a flag, and felt convinced that her commander, M. Gaspard, well known as an experienced privateer, would feel it his interest to turn pirate and prey upon such British commerce as he might be enabled to intercept. Accordingly, he determined, if possible, to destroy them. There was no doubt, however, that he was about to expose himself to a very considerable superiority of force, for the information obtained showed the larger ship to be the late French frigate "Félicité," captured by the "Latona" in 1809, and now called "L'Améthyste," mounting 44 guns, and manned by upwards of 600 men. Sir James Yeo, however, so far from being deterred by the inequality of a contest, was stimulated the more to execute a service which, however hazardous, he deemed a necessary act of duty; and he accordingly weighed and proceeded in quest of this formidable frigate and her two consorts, and on the 3rd fell in with them off the south side of the island of Guanoboa. Sir James hailed the enemy, and requested the commander to wait upon him on board with his papers. This Captain Gaspard declined to do, when Sir James insisted that it was his duty to conduct the squadron to Jamaica, that the British admiral on the station might determine the case. The negotiation ended, however, in an action, which commenced at half-past 6 in the morning. After several broadsides from the "Southampton," the "Améthyste," aware of the great advantage of her numbers, made several efforts to board; but so well had Sir James disciplined his crew, and such was his own nautical skill, that he frustrated every attempt at this manœuvre, and so plied his guns, that, before half-an-hour had elapsed, the main and mizen masts of the enemy's frigate fell, and her hull was riddled from stem to stern. After the contest had lasted little more than an hour, the foremast and bowsprit of the "Améthyste" also went by the board, and she had lost 105 men killed and 120 wounded, including her captain. In this state she submitted, and was conducted under jury-masts to the British admiral at Jamaica. The two consorts escaped during the action, and made sail to get under the batteries of Maraguana. The "Southampton" had in this desperate but masterly encounter only 1 seaman killed and a midshipman and 9 men wounded.

42. BOAT ACTIONS.

The British merchant-ship "Urania" had got into the possession of French troops, and been carried into Pillau roads in the Baltic, when, on the 19th of June, the "Briseis," 10, Capt. John Ross, resolved to attempt her recapture. The pinnace was accordingly

detached with this object, under the command of Lieutenant Jones, with 18 men. The French troops had six carriage guns and four swivels mounted, with which they fired at the boat, but gallantly overcoming every obstacle, the lieutenant and his small party got up the side, when, bounding over every obstacle, they drove the French troops off the deck. The "Urania" was then brought off with only the loss of 3 killed and wounded. On the 16th of July, the gun-brigs "Osprey," 18, Capt. Clinck, "Britomart," 10, Capt. Buckley Hunt, and "Leveret," 10, Capt. Wicken Willes, detached a boat from each vessel, under the commands of Lieutenants Dixon, Malone, and Romney, in chase of a French lugger-privateer off the island of Heiligoland. After some difficulty they made good their boarding and hauled down the colours of the "Eole," 14, off Dunkirk, after a loss of 2 killed and 12 wounded. On the 1st of August, the frigate "Horatio," 38, Capt. Lord George Stuart, despatched the barge and three cutters under Lieutenants Hawkins and Syder, of the Marines, into a creek, where an armed cutter lay. On the 2nd, she was discovered at anchor, together with a royal Danish schooner, commanded by Lieutenant Buderhorf. On the approach of the British boats, the two vessels, mounting 6 and 4 guns, showed their broadsides, having springs on their cables, and being moored for safety amidst high rocks but in smooth water, and with a perfect knowledge of the locality. The contest that ensued was very desperate, but Lieutenant Hawkins laid the enemy on board and captured them, as well as an American ship of 400 tons, which they had under their protection. Lieutenant Syder, of the Marines, was killed at the head of the boarders, and Hawkins wounded; and there were 20 killed and 40 wounded in this dread encounter. On the 4th of June, the "Medusa," 32, Capt. Duncombe Bouverie, sent her boats, under Lieutenant Thompson, to cut out the French store-ship "Dorade," 14, lying in the harbour of Arcasson. In spite of the rapidity of the current and intricacy of the navigation, the boats succeeded in getting alongside the ship, which was fully prepared to receive them. Nothing, however, could resist the impetuosity of Lieutenant Thompson's attack, who rushed on board with his men and carried the vessel after a desperate struggle. The French commander was severely wounded, and jumped for safety overboard, followed by all those of the crew who were able to do so. The "Dorade" was a valuable prize; but, unfortunately, she grounded on a sandbank on her way out, and had to be set on fire. The boats of the "Sultan," 74, Capt. West, under the command of Lieutenants Anderson and Woodcock, boarded and captured off Bastia two French vessels, the one of 8 and the other of 6 guns. The brig-sloop "Pilot," Capt. John Toup Nicholas, observing 9 coasting-vessels hauled up on the beach near Policastro, detached her boats under Lieutenant Alexander Campbell, while the brig opened fire to drive away any armed force that might be collected for their protection upon shore; and through the gallantry of the landing party, who kept 80 men of the enemy in check, they brought off the whole 9 vessels in the space of four hours without a casu-

alty. The boats of the "Undaunted" and "Volontaire," under the command of Lieutenant John Eager, attacked a convoy of 26 vessels at anchor near the mouth of the Rhone, and burned 12 and brought out 7 of them. The "Blossom," 18, Capt. Stewart, ably covered and protected the party, which experienced no casualty. Captain Hoste, of the "Bacchante," despatched his boats, five in number, under Lieutenant Henchy O'Brien, with 62 officers and men, to cut out several vessels laden with ship timber at Porto Lemo; and such were the skill and gallantry of the leader, that he carried all before him, and captured, without the loss of a man, 7 timber vessels, a xebec, and 2 gun-boats. On the 18th of September, the same Captain Hoste despatched the boats of the "Bacchante," six in number, under the command of the same first lieutenant, after an enemy's convoy, which had been seen between the islands of Tremitti and Vasto. On the approach of the boats, the whole of the 18 vessels composing it grounded, leaving 8 armed ships to stand before them for their defence, beside the crews of the merchant ships, who were sent to line a thick wood commanding the landing. In this position they awaited an attack, in which they were not disappointed. The British officers and men, notwithstanding these long odds, pushing through a heavy fire of grape and musketry, rushed like lions to the attack, and boarded and carried the vessels, while the Marines, under Lieutenant Haig, landed and forced the skirmishers out of the wood, thus securing the possession of the whole convoy. The casualties to Lieutenant O'Brien's entire party were 2 seamen wounded! About the same time, the "Eagle," 74, Captain Charles Rowley, despatched three barges, under Lieutenant Cannon, to intercept a convoy of 23 sail, protected by two gun-boats, near Ancona. As the barges approached, the convoy drew up in line of battle under cover of the shore battery of 4 guns, and the beach was lined with armed people flanking the fire of the two gun-boats. The British, in the most gallant manner, and amidst the difficulties of an unknown navigation, attacked and carried the larger gun-boat, and then turned all her force against the other, which she soon captured, as well as the entire convoy except two, which effected their escape. Lieutenant Cannon and 1 man were killed in this gallant encounter, and 3 others slightly wounded.

43. BRITISH AND AMERICAN CONFLICTS.

Captain Whinyates, of the brig-sloop "Frolic," 18, on his way home from the Bay of Honduras with a convoy, was, on the 12th of October, informed by a merchant-ship of the war with the United States. A violent gale on the 16th separated the "Frolic" from the convoy, and did much injury to her spars and rigging. Thus circumstanced, she, on the 18th, fell in with the U. S. ship "Wasp," Captain Jacob Jones, avowedly an 18-gun sloop, but really carrying twenty 32-pounders and 138 men. Captain Whinyates, having made signal to the convoy to disperse or provide

for their own safety, came to the wind at once and engaged his enemy. In less than five minutes the action became close and spirited. The sea was so rough that the muzzles of the guns of both vessels were frequently under water; nevertheless, the cannonade continued without interruption, the Americans firing as the engaged side of their ship went down, and the British after their engaged side had risen. Accordingly, every shot fired by the "Wasp" took effect on her opponent's hull, while those of the "Frolic" passed into the masts and rigging, so that all three of the "Wasp's" top-masts came down; but the "Frolic" having had, at this period, her gaff head-braces shot away, wanted after-sail to keep her to the wind, which permitted the "Wasp" to take up a raking position, and so sweep her decks by broadside after broadside that there were scarcely 20 men unhurt, when the crew of the "Wasp" boarded her and hauled down the British colours. In a few minutes after her surrender both the "Frolic's" masts fell over her side. The "Wasp" had 15 killed and 43, including her commander, wounded. Captain Jones was not, however, allowed to carry his trophy into port, for in the course of a few hours after the action the "Poitiers," 74, Captain John Beresford, hove in sight, and in a little time captured the one vessel and recaptured the other.

On the 12th of October, the British frigate "Macedonian," 48, Captain Carden, fell in with the U. S. frigate "United States," 56, Commodore Decatur. Both ships, on sighting, steered a course to close. The British frigate, keeping the weather-gauge, received the first fire, which did not produce the slightest effect. In the second and third broadsides, both ships lost their mizen-topmasts. Captain Carden now attempted to lay his enemy on board, but was prevented doing a most rash thing by the loss of his lee-forebrace, which brought his ship to the wind; for it was the height of presumption to suppose that a complement of 262 men and 55 boys in the British frigate could have overcome 478 in the American. Commodore Decatur soon brought to bear upon his antagonist a diagonal fire, which dismounted every carronade upon her quarter-deck and fore-castle, and reduced the "Macedonian's" fire to her main deck only. Her hull was already much shattered; when, after about two hours' action, her mizen-mast was shot away by the board, her fore and main topmasts shot away by the caps, and her rigging of every sort destroyed. Under these circumstances, the "United States" stationed herself in a raking position across the stern of her now defenceless opponent, who had no other resource left but to strike her colours. The British frigate had 36 killed and 68 wounded; the American owned to no further loss than 5 killed and 5 wounded. The court-martial on Captain Carden, which followed this transaction, and which lasted four days, not only acquitted him, but paid him a very handsome tribute for "the firmest and most determined courage, resolution, and coolness which he and his ship's company had displayed."

On the 29th of December, when off San Salvador, the British frigate "Java," 38, Captain Lambert, having in tow the American merchant-ship "William," which she had recently captured, fell in with the U. S. frigate "Constitution," Commodore Bainbridge. Casting off her prize, with directions to her to run into San Salvador, the "Java" bore up in chase of the United States frigate, and gained upon her in about six hours, when the "Constitution" hoisted her colours and opened fire upon the "Java" with her larboard broadside. This was not immediately returned by Captain Lambert, who stood on till he was within pistol-shot of his antagonist, when, after receiving a second broadside, the "Java" returned fire, every shot of which took effect. A desperate action ensued. The American avoiding close fighting, and firing high to disable his antagonist's rigging, soon succeeded in cutting away the head of her bowsprit and most of her running rigging. Commodore Bainbridge now obtained the weather-gauge, and the "Java" being impeded in wearing from the want of head sail, was caught in stays and raked with a heavy and destructive fire. Captain Lambert, however, ordered his ship to be laid on board the enemy, but at the moment of this manœuvre his foremast fell, and soon after his maintopmast. The only hope left to the British ship now was in boarding, but this the American was too wary to allow, for having all his masts standing, and his ship perfectly at command, he kept his own distance. At about half-past 3, Captain Lambert received a mortal wound, and the command of the "Java" devolved on Lieutenant Chads, who was also himself painfully wounded, although he still remained on deck, with nothing standing but the mainmast. The ship rolling heavily, this soon also fell, and nearly covered with its wreck the whole of the starboard guns. What more could be done by the bravest? When the "Constitution" approached within hail to rake them, the officers of the "Java" agreed with Mr. Chads that it would be proper to surrender, and the colours were struck after a resolute fight of 36 hours. The "Java" had 22 killed and 102 wounded; and such was her disabled condition, that, as soon as the wounded men were taken from the ship, the commodore, seeing she could not float, ordered her to be set on fire in the forenoon, and at 3 o'clock she exploded and went down.

The balance of success in the war between Great Britain and the United States had continued up to this time to preponderate on the side of the Americans. The strength of the navy of the latter power consisted of a few frigates of a rate corresponding to the largest line-of-battle ships in size, weight of metal, and men. This difference does not seem to have been known by the British Government, nor much attended to by the British navy, the officers of which, in their habitual readiness to meet an enemy, never declined an encounter with anything approaching an equality, especially in name. Their superiority over other enemies had, perhaps, made them too confident. It was afterwards discovered that the American navy was manned by crews many of whom had been trained in the British

service; and, although no honour was lost in the several defeats at this time sustained by the British, yet considerable mortification was experienced in England at these successive captures. More active measures by sea were consequently regarded as worthy of serious attention, and were immediately adopted. The war having now become a fact, the Regent, in the last days of the year, declared, by proclamation, the ports and harbours of the Chesapeake and Delaware rivers to be in a state of blockade.

44. WAR IN THE EAST.

The events of the East Indies in this year were of no great importance. In February, the strong fortress of Kallinjur, in Bundelcund, was attacked by a British force, under Colonel Martindell, which was repulsed with considerable loss, but the courage displayed by the assailants made such an impression on the Killedar as induced him soon after to capitulate.

The fall of Batavia was followed by an awful tragedy in Sumatra, where the Sultan of Palembang carried out the atrocious resolution of destroying the Dutch resident and factory, as a signal revenge against that people; and all of them were wantonly butchered. The Indian government thought it to be their interest to punish the faithlessness and cruelty of a native power to a European establishment, and for this purpose despatched a force of 1,000 men under Colonel Gillespie, which landed at the Palembang river on the 15th of April, and took possession of the works at Borang. Gillespie now determined to push for the capital, from which he had heard that the Sultan had removed his treasures and his women. The colonel stepped on shore from his boat, accompanied by only seven grenadiers, and proceeded with characteristic courage into the city. A treacherous Malay chieftain was walking by his side, when a sudden flash of lightning disclosed a large double-edged knife, which he was in the act of drawing from his long loose sleeve to strike into Gillespie's breast; but the murderous design was frustrated by one of the grenadiers, and the man disarmed. The city and palace were set on fire by the natives, who fell upon the gallant little band; but the soldiers were joined about midnight by such an accession of force that the city, fort, and batteries, defended by 242 guns, at once surrendered. Colonel Gillespie was, after this success, employed to proceed to and complete the conquest of Java, which he accomplished by taking the Sultan of Djojolarte prisoner and deposing him. After the British sovereignty was thus secured in the entire Indian archipelago, treaties were agreed upon between Lord Minto and the King of Persia, and Caubul, and with the Ameers of Scinde, for the protection of the British Indian Empire.

Although, by the good offices of Great Britain, the arms of Turkey were withheld from any actual hostilities against Russia during the arduous preparations which the Czar was making to repel the invasion of his empire by the French, yet the truce between the armies on the Danube was allowed to expire on the 10th of February, when the

Grand-Vizier on one side, and General Langeron on the other, resumed a hostile attitude at Rondshuck and Giurgevo. Their warlike preparations, however, had no consequences, for a treaty was shortly afterwards concluded between these powers, on the 14th of August. There was still, however, a religious contest going on between the Turks and the formidable class of sectaries called Wahabees, and an engagement ensued this year between them near Medina, in which the former army, under Jussum Pacha, was defeated with the loss of 1,000 men, and driven back in disorder to the banks of the Red Sea. A petty war all this time continued on the Georgian frontier between the Russians and Persians. The latter, to the number of 14,000 men, were surprised, on the 30th of October, by 3,000 Russians, who took possession of the Persian camp while the prince in command was absent hunting in the enemy's country, having taken his whole corps of horse artillery to beat for game. The guns were under a British officer, Captain Lindsay, who returned in time to save them by his energy, and recover a good part of his ammunition. The Persians, however, lost in this affair 2,000 killed, 500 wounded, and 1,500 prisoners, with 11 pieces of cannon. The Russian Commander-in-chief took by assault, on the 31st of December, the Persian fortress of Sincoree, on the Caspian Sea, which was garrisoned by 4,300 of their best troops.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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