

ANNALS OF THE WARS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY,

COMPILED

*From the most Authentic Histories of
the Period.*

BY THE

HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN THE BRITISH ARMY, AND COLONEL OF
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.

1813.

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1. THE RUSSIAN WAR—PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

THE morning of the New Year disclosed a noble proclamation addressed by the Czar to his army :—" Soldiers! The year is past, that glorious and ever-memorable year, in which you have hurled to the dust the pride of the insolent aggressor! It is past; but your heroic deeds will never pass, but will live in the gratitude of posterity. Desirous of distinguishing all those who have shared in these immortal exploits, I have caused medals to be struck from silver which has been blessed by our holy Church. They bear the date of the memorable year, 1812. Suspended by a blue ribbon, they will serve to decorate the warlike breasts which have been as a buckler to their country." This medal bore the inscription, in Russian, " Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name be the glory." Another address, dated 25th March, was about the same time issued to the people of Germany :—" We come not to make conquests in Poland and Germany; we come to the rescue of oppressed nationalities. Kings and their peoples, nobles and peasants, Austrians, Prussians, Saxons, Bavarians—we come to assist all in breaking the yoke from off their necks; and, this work fulfilled, we will restore to all their own; to each one shall be restored that which has been unjustly taken from him by an arrogant conqueror." In the same spirit of kindness and policy, Alexander proclaimed an amnesty to all who had been misled by the enemy into any acts hostile to Russian authority within his own territories. The Imperial Court, now established at Wilna, was soon the abode of the most illustrious members of the German Tugendbund—men of letters, politicians, generals—all out of their forced retirements, flocked to head-quarters. Kotzebue, Stein, Schronhorst, and many other eminent writers, now already dared to proclaim liberal ideas, and to flatter Germany with the expectation that it would soon become a united and mighty empire. How vain was the thought! An interval of nearly half a century yet speaks in a voice of warning, soon to be followed by that of thunder, to declare that " what God has joined together man must not keep asunder." Every one now joined in the praise of Alexander, and in exalting him to the rank of Conqueror of Napoleon and Liberator of Europe.

The scattered troops of the French grand army continued to wend their weary way through Poland, unceasingly pursued by Cossacks, who now held in durance (as it has been stated) 50 generals, 167,000 men, and 1,131 cannon. The entire line of retreat was strewn with dead horses and broken tumbrils and baggage-wagons, with immense magazines of clothing, shoes and stores, and the entire military chest, which had fallen into their hands. The King of Naples had collected, at Königsberg, a crowd of fugitives—generals, officers and soldiers—who were there in comparative safety,

where a hospital was also temporarily established, and where there was an ample depôt of everything: but while prepared to regard this fortified city as the bourn of all their sufferings, the defection of the Prussian corps of De York came upon them like a thunder-bolt, exposing at once their danger from an enemy all around them. Nor was the hatred of the inhabitants of the capital of East Prussia any longer concealed. The impossibility of adopting the line of the Niemen for the rallying-point of the dissolved army became soon apparent, and the order was therefore given to fall back upon Thorn, where Murat next established his head-quarters, and where Ney, with the divisions which had been got together under General Heudelet and Loison, joined him about the middle of January. Here, on the advice of Marshal Davoust, the Vistula was publicly declared to be the rallying point, and Dantzic, Thorn, Marienwerder, and Marienburg designated as the quarters for such stragglers of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th corps, respectively, as might come in. But General Rapp had taken the command of the former fortress, by order of the Emperor, as already stated, and now required that all the troops which could be got together should be sent to his garrison; when accordingly the two divisions of Heudelet and Loison, which comprised 25,000 able men, were sent him, with materiel in abundance, and, with this force, such a governor was sure to defend himself to the last extremity. The King of Naples, however, could only collect about 10,000 fugitives, recruits, and stragglers; and with such a medley had no chance of defending the Vistula, frozen as it already was to the consistency of a perfect bridge; and accordingly he again altered the trysting-place of the army and withdrew to Posen. Regnier was still at Warsaw, and Marshal Augereau had a corps of 18,000 men, consisting of the divisions of Grenier and La Grange, occupying Berlin, which now became the nucleus of the new army. The King of Naples, however, was tired of the honour of commanding such a thing of "shreds and patches" as the grand army had become, and longed for the climate and the repose of his Neapolitan throne, which he feared, and perhaps with reason, might slip from his grasp if, with a British fleet upon his coasts and a legitimate sovereign within a day's sail of them, he allowed it so long to remain without his occupation. He accordingly summoned a council of war, consisting of Berthier, from his sick bed (who, although ill with gout, was still the Major-general of the army); the Prince Viceroy, who had been left behind at Thorn, but now came to the summons at Posen on the 17th January; together with Daru, the able Intendant-general of the army, who was recognised as a man of most solid character and of acknowledged prudence in council. Murat, however, had no intention of asking the advice of these counsellors; he bluntly told them that the state of his health would not permit him any longer to retain the command of the army, and that Eugène must take charge of it. The Prince, habitually devoted to his step-father, and brought up with such deferential notions of the imperial authority, that he could not admit that the command of an army could be abandoned or re-

mitted without the formal authority of him, who had given it, refused to accept the delegation. Berthier and Daru reminded Murat of the dangerous anger of Napoleon, and how it would tarnish his glory to fly from the post of honour. Notwithstanding all these representations to the brother-in-law, friend, and companion in arms of the Emperor, the King of Naples, without replying to their arguments, threw up the command, and set off by post the same evening for his own dominions. Napoleon was very indignant at this desertion of the commander-in-chief, and addressed to him some sharp remonstrances on his conduct. "I suppose," said he, "you think the lion dead. You will find that you are mistaken." To the queen, his sister, he wrote, "Your husband has abandoned the army. He is a brave man on the field of battle, but is weaker than a woman or a monk when he does not see the enemy."

The Viceroy, on whom the command of the army was thus reluctantly forced, did all that fidelity and resolution could suggest at so perilous a crisis. He fixed the head-quarters at Posen. Thorn was appointed for the *dépôt* of the 1st corps, Marienburg for that of the 2nd, Elbing for the 3rd, Marienverder for the 4th, Warsaw for the 5th, and Ploczko for the 6th. The whole of these forces so grandiloquently enumerated did not exceed 10,000 men; and there were 10,000 more, of all nations and languages, at head-quarters. But Angereau was at Berlin with 28,000 organised levies, keeping watch over the King of Prussia, and keeping down the insurrectionary spirit of Germany. All the marshals had repaired to France except Marshal St. Cyr, who remained with the Viceroy, together with Generals Gérard, Regnier, De Wrede, Roquet and Girard, who took the command of the several *dépôts*.

The situation of the King of Prussia and his court at Potsdam was all this time sufficiently embarrassing, with De York's corps openly attached to the enemy and a French garrison in his capital. Upon hearing of the step taken by his lieutenant, Frederick William's first words were, "De York is enough to give one a stroke of apoplexy." He despatched M. de Hatzfeldt on a mission to Paris, to assure Napoleon of his fidelity, of his disavowal of De York's defection, and of his desire to remove to Breslau, and there to take measures for the neutrality of the Silesians under the further inroad of the Russians; for he was far from regarding the power of Napoleon as overthrown. Meanwhile, the Muscovite legions advanced with extraordinary vigour and expedition. The French army had scarcely any cavalry to check them, and their masses inspired the scattered infantry with dread. Koutusov, with the corps of Doctorov, had already entered Poland, and was at Lyk advancing on the Vistula. A sufficient number of men were assembled before Dantzic to keep its garrison in check, and on the 7th Pillau was summoned and surrendered. Thorn was already blocked by Tschitchagov, while Wittgenstein pursued his way by Custrin on Berlin, and Miloradovitch, Doctorov and Sacken, combining 40,000 men, marched straight on Warsaw, whence Regnier was obliged to retire during the first days of February, but was overtaken at Kalisch on the 13th, when a sharp

conflict ensued, which terminated in the overthrow of the corps of Saxons, who were completely separated, horse and foot, the former flying towards the south of Poland beyond the Wartha, while the latter retired across the Oder to Glogau. The Austrian army under Schwarzenberg had declined, when called upon, to assist the corps of Regnier in this operation, and the Poles, 15,000 strong, under Poniatowski, had been obliged to fall back on Cracow.

The Viceroy, under these circumstances, could no longer hope to maintain himself at Posen. With a view, therefore, of still covering Berlin, he broke up thence on the 12th, and on the 18th took post behind the Oder, whither he called up the division of La Grange from Berlin to take up the line to Frankfort. The Oder proved as little capable of being maintained as even the Vistula had been; for early in March the advance of Wittgenstein's corps, under Colonels Tettenborn and Czernichov, crossed that stream at Wrietzen, and already carried joy into the streets and lanes of garrisoned Berlin, where the Viceroy, however, had still his head-quarters on the 21st. General Grenier quitted that city, and bringing up Lauriston's division from Magdeburg showed fight, but Eugène was unwilling to bring matters to such a crisis while the reinforcements expected from France were scarcely yet across the Rhine. The Prince could not hope to maintain himself in the Prussian capital with 25,000 ill-assorted men against the accumulating forces of the Russians and a disaffected people, and therefore resolved to quit it on the 2nd of March, and withdraw behind the Elbe. Here he vigorously set about the reorganisation of the army and the restoration of discipline, which had become dangerously lax during the tedious calamity of the retreat out of Russia. Eugène had by this time drawn to his eagles as many as 40,000 troops, and, though deserted by most of the marshals and generals, Davoust and Victor were still at their commands; the former of whom, having the divisions La Grange and Regnier under him, was posted for the defence of Dresden, while the corps of Grenier with the head-quarters of the army was placed at Wittenberg, Lauriston again returning to his old quarters at Magdeburg to complete the line now adopted. Garrisons of invalids and fugitives nevertheless occupied Dantzic, Thorn, Modlin, Zamoschi and Czen-tochau in Poland; and Custrin, Stettin, Glogau, and Spandau, behind the Oder in Prussia, all of which were well victualled and armed before the French army finally withdrew behind the Elbe.

The sensation produced in Europe by the result of the Moscow campaign will hardly be credited by future generations. The incubus which sat upon the political mind of Germany was immediately removed. The patriotic enthusiasm was such that it was at once apparent that the people would ere long take the matter into their own hands if the Prussian King held back. The Baron de Stein, who was with De York at Königsberg, assumed an authority, which he had no right to do, of convoking the states of the province, who readily assembled and decreed a general armament of the entire population, to which the whole

pecuniary resources of the country were devoted. The popular cry was "Hurrah for Alexander! Hurrah for the Cossacks!"

It may now be proper to take a view of what was passing in France, where the presence of the Emperor, unimpaired in public confidence, silenced discontent, and disposed the nation, by his energy, resolution, and activity, to the further sacrifices which Napoleon's absolute will and dire necessities demanded. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that this great man, whose lust of conquest had no real public object, but with whom the desire for glory was little more than mere physical excitement, was, in his adversity, the mere creature of passion and violence, like the great despots who were his forerunners in military conquest. On the contrary, Napoleon was gifted with a calm mind, which was, perhaps, the most wonderful combination of deep thought and firm resolve that the world ever witnessed. He brought to his aid in the cabinet, when he was again in his palace, and again at leisure to think and to act, the same qualities that ever distinguished him in the field, and he had the wisdom, in this trying emergency, to take counsel of those of whose honesty and common sense he was most assured. Among this number was the Arch-Chancellor Cambacères. This man had the fidelity to state that he had for some time been apprehensive that a continual condition of war must have its reverses, and that he had dreaded the effect of them upon his Majesty's power. With a barely concealed flattery, he even ventured to hint that the Emperor's own characteristic forethought must have frequently contemplated this possibility, and he therefore gave his opinion frankly for peace. Talleyrand was not so open in his replies, and recommended negotiation; upon which Napoleon replied, "Voilà comme vous êtes toujours: vous n'avez pas changé." On applying to the Duke de Feltre for his opinion, Clarke, with Anglo-Saxon plainness, remarked, "You must not abandon a single village, nor yield an inch of your Empire." "Voilà qui est clair," said Napoleon; "mais que faut-il faire." "Il faut armer, sire," was the answer. He also conversed with Savary, and with several members of the Senate and Council of State, and the principal functionaries, civil and military. But it must be confessed that the pertinacity with which he attributed his disasters entirely to the frost and snow, had something puerile in it when repeated, *ad nauseam*, before these grave grey-haired counsellors. He conveniently kept out of sight the insanity of a campaign at the other extremity of Europe, and that the whole calamity was the almost mathematical result of an obvious blunder. There is no question that the endeavour to follow "the meteor of conquest too far" ever brings with it its inevitable punishment. It is, moreover, a constant moral law of Providence, that guilty ambition should be impelled into a boundless career of aggression, in order that it may meet with that condign punishment which will ever await human pride sooner or later, and the attempt of Napoleon against Russia proved abortive from the same causes which, in every age, have defeated the endeavours of refined nations to penetrate inhospitable wilds in defiance of

nature. The extraordinary losses of the campaign were, doubtless, immensely aggravated by the accident of winter; but this ought to have been foreseen by a general regarded as the greatest of his age; for before a flake of snow fell five-sixths of his adversity had already been sustained. Before his passage of the Beresina, the weather was not more severe than the average condition of a Russian and Polish autumn; and it was not until the 29th of December, when the retreat might be considered at an end, that the intense cold set in all over Europe, which continued with little intermission till the first week in March. In the north of Germany, where the wretched and wearied remains of the grand army had now at length found shelter and subsistence, the cold was peculiarly severe. All the canals and even the navigable rivers were frozen, and the large reserve stores of food and clothing of the French army were consequently, in many cases, rendered unavailable to them, as these were locked up in ice. The cavalry and artillery mountings were, by this imprisonment, absolutely lost to them or destroyed.

The calm patience with which the French people recognised all these appalling deficiencies, and the fortitude with which the Emperor bore up under military difficulties, which perhaps had never been equalled in the world's history, are worthy of the highest admiration. He made it his first care to restore the cavalry and artillery services. He calculated that he had 25,000 or 30,000 sabres dismounted. Even in his carriage on his journey back from Russia, he had contemplated already this his first necessity, and had issued orders *en passant* for the purchase of horses in Poland, Germany, and France; wherever they could be met with. A sufficient number of guns, with new carriages, were known to exist in the arsenals of France; and a country so eminently agricultural could supply excellent draught horses, with their complete *attelage*, in great abundance. To repair the chasms of men in the ranks, the obsequious Senate had, by a "consultum" adopted in the first days of January, placed a conscription of 350,000 men at the service of the Minister of War. The Emperor had had the very natural forethought to prescribe the levy of the conscription for 1813 before he had quitted Moscow, and this had supplied the depôts with 140,000 recruits, who had been now already three months at drill, and who were, therefore, though of an age somewhat green, quite ready for the field. But a more important resource was found at hand, which had been prepared for upwards of a year. The National Guards throughout the Empire had been organised into a hundred "Cohortes," as they were termed. It is true that by their constitution they were intended for home defence, and not to be required to cross the frontiers; but, at a moment of enthusiasm, the fashion was soon set, and one quickly followed another in soliciting the honour of serving with the grand army. These were men of ages varying between 22 and 27 years, in prime condition, of approved experience, disciplined, clothed, and at this time on permanent duty in the frontier fortresses. The Emperor had, as we have seen, marched up some 18,000 or 20,000 men of the army of Italy, and he now withdrew out of Spain the

four remaining battalions of the Imperial Guard, a legion of veteran gendarmerie, and a considerable body of Polish light horse. Many trusty and experienced officers and non-commissioned officers were also ordered up out of Spain to be mixed with the newly organised troops, and a great number of useful and well-instructed gunners were obtained from the marine service and transferred to the artillery of the army. Various expedients were resorted to in order to supply the great deficiency of cavalry. Ten thousand were raised by voluntary enlistment from the higher classes of the French people, who were equipped, dressed, and mounted at their own expense, upon an assurance that at the end of a twelvemonth's service, the men in the ranks, even, should attain to the grade of Sous-Lieutenant. The Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine were invited to contribute their household guards, if it were only a single squadron; and in this way 2,400 cuirassiers and hussars were obtained from the most obsequious of the royal batch, the King of Saxony. By these means some 6,000 or 7,000 useful horse were sent with all expedition to the Viceroy, who were soon rendered of great service in restraining the audacity of the Cossacks. These prodigious exertions, however, entailed a vast expense upon the already exhausted treasury of the Empire. The war had long ceased to pay itself, according to the jargon of the French revolution. On the most moderate calculation, 32 millions of francs were required to be raised without delay. To meet the exigencies of his situation, Napoleon was forced at this period into a species of imposts plainly illegal, but which were submitted to, and finance measures exceedingly arbitrary were adopted; for the difficulties of the crisis rendered them unavoidable.

2. THE ALLIES CONTINUE THEIR ADVANCE.

The unusually cold weather had told with nearly equal severity on both Russian and French soldiers. The army of Koutusov left 30,000 men behind, between Malo-Jaroslavitz and Krasnoi, though they were in that interval hardly once in action with the French. It has been placed on record by no less an authority than the famous French army physician, Larrey, that in this disastrous retreat the Russians and Poles sustained greater loss from the cold than the troops from the south of Europe. However, the Cossacks and their horses were exceptions; they suffered fatigue and every kind of privation with an endurance which, combined with their intelligence and enterprise, rendered them of unbounded usefulness, for they were a perpetual blister on the French on every occasion, on the march or in quarters. The army under Koutusov, when the retreat terminated, had been still further diminished by the necessity of leaving large bodies to watch the French garrisons in Poland and Prussia, and of garrisoning some places on the line of march for their own security, in case of retreat, and for the protection of their hospitals and magazines. It was reasonable that the liberation of the whole Prussian

monarchy from the iron grasp of the enemy, with the exception of the four blockaded fortresses, should have roused to action the Cabinet of Berlin. Whatever compunctions might have been felt by the King to break at once with France, the country felt none. Without waiting for a reply to the letter to Napoleon, the court had quitted Berlin on the 23rd of January, and arrived at Breslau on the 26th, and there, free from any French garrison, the middle course of neutrality, which the King is said to have first contemplated, soon became impossible. As a man of high principle, Frederick William found himself suddenly placed in an embarrassing dilemma. He was himself the ally of France, and his people its bitterest enemies. The open adhesion of Prussia to the alliance, and the advance of the Allied armies into the heart of Germany, would have the immediate effect of exciting that vast empire to universal insurrection against the enemy. Napoleon saw it from afar, and was not deceived for a moment as to the course that would be adopted by Prussia. General Krusemark brought back from Paris a very cold reply to the King's letter, on which the minister Hardenberg, immediately after the Czar had established his head-quarters at Kalisch, opened negotiations with the Russian Cabinet; and a treaty offensive and defensive was entered into, which Frederick William was at length induced, by the personal solicitation of the Czar, to ratify, providing for the prosecution of the war with the utmost vigour against the common enemy. Intelligence of this treaty had very great influence upon the Austrian counsels, and, although no overt alliance resulted at this time, the magnitude and energy of her military preparations afforded reasonable hope that it would ultimately be concluded; for it was become sufficiently manifest that she could no longer adhere to the cause of Napoleon. Negotiations with Denmark, Saxony, and even with Naples, were also set on foot in this interval, and Murat had certainly lent a willing ear to the proposition of securing his throne if he would turn against his benefactor. A Russian proclamation announced the dissolution of the Confederacy of the Rhine, and called on all the members of it to join the great league formed for the deliverance of Germany. Partly with the view of raising money, and partly to keep up the national enthusiasm, a new order, called that of the Iron Cross, with the motto "Ehre und Vaterland," was instituted at this period by Frederick William, and all classes were invited to carry their gold and silver ornaments into the public treasury, and to receive this iron decoration as a token that they might preserve in their families the remembrance of their past wealth and present patriotism. Ladies, young and old, accordingly, sent their most precious jewels; and not an ornament, except those of iron, was to be seen worn by women, or offered for sale in any of the shops. The poet Körner gave force to the enthusiastic movement in patriotic strains, which were repeated by thousands and tens of thousands of both sexes, and the men joyously marched up to the appointed places of rendezvous, fully equipped for the fight, singing his verses. A low marshy country, covered with pine trees, or overspread with vast fields of sand,

where no peasants cultivated the land, gave forth as if by magic the astonishing wealth of 200,000 men in arms for the liberation of their country. Independently of these new Allies, the Russian forces actually in the field at this period consisted of the three armies of Generals Wittgenstein, Tschitchagov, and Winzengerode, under the superior command of Koutusov. The first had crossed the Elbe, and had now advanced as far as Lübeck; the second and third were scattered opposite Thorn, Custrin, and Schandau. Reinforcements were marching up in second line from the Vistula, and new armies were forming beyond the Niemen. The Prussian force with the Allied army consisted of a corps under Blücher in Saxony, and De York's division at Berlin. A Swedish force had arrived at Stralsund, and it was hoped that the Crown Prince would take the field with 60,000 men as soon as the campaign opened.

3. SUDDEN DEATH OF MARSHAL KOUTUSOV — HIS MILITARY CHARACTER.

While Alexander had his head-quarters at Kalisch, those of the army were advanced to Buntzlau; and here the gallant veteran, Marshal Koutusov, who had, with such marvellous fortune, extricated his country in the extremity of her peril, and overthrown the mightiest armament that ever took the field, was suddenly seized with illness, and terminated his eventful career. He had already attained the age of man, and his incessant service in all climates had impaired a constitution which had been considerably undermined by a life of pleasure. He now sunk under the fatigues and anxieties of his command, which produced a disorder that turned to malignant typhus fever and cut him off on the 16th of April, with the truncheon of war in his hand. He was born in 1745, of a noble Russian ancestry, connected by marriage with the principal families of the old Muscovite capital, and entered the service at the age of 16; but he had been previously prepared for the career of arms by an education in the French military college of Strasburg. His first uniform, nevertheless, in the Russian service was that of a corporal of artillery, in 1759. In 1762, however, he had already attained to the rank of captain, in which character, in 1764, he made five campaigns under Suvarrow in the Polish war, and subsequently under Count Romanzoff in the Turkish wars of 1770-1773, where he distinguished himself on several occasions, and was severely wounded in the Crimea in the latter year. He was named colonel in 1782, and served as brigadier under Potemkin at the siege of Oczakov, where he received a dangerous wound on the head, which he was not expected to survive. On his recovery, however, he joined his old chief, Suvarrow, and took part in the terrible assault of Ismailov. In 1791 he became lieutenant-general, and on the 28th of June assisted at the battle of Matschine, which terminated the war. He was then, on the recommendation of all the three generals under whom he had served, appointed to the high military office of Governor of the Ukraine.

To great military and administrative talents, Koutusov joined much prudence, circumspection, and knowledge of affairs, with considerable experience of the world, and these qualities caused him to be sent in 1793-4 as ambassador from the Czarina to Constantinople. He was held in such esteem by the Empress Catherine that she placed him about the King of Sweden, when he came on a visit to her Majesty at St. Petersburg, for the purpose of studying his character, which it was important to understand. After the death of his mother, the Czar Paul sent him on a delicate mission to Berlin, with a view to induce the King of Prussia to enter into his policy respecting a northern alliance, and his eccentric master was so satisfied with his conduct in this negotiation that he afterwards employed him in other missions of importance. In all these weighty matters he acquitted himself so well that the Czar Alexander, on his accession to the throne, confided to him, on the disgrace of Count Pahlen, the important and confidential post of military governor of the capital.

On the breaking out of hostilities with France in 1805 he was sent to command the Russian army which had taken the field in aid of Austria, and in this capacity he assisted at the battle of Austerlitz, which, however, was fought in opposition to his advice, Koutusov asserting the necessity of falling back to effect a junction with the army of General Benningsen before accepting battle. Even after that unfortunate day his views for the subsequent employment of the Russian contingent, when the Austrians had quitted the field, were overruled, and the fatal cross-march adopted, through the influence of Prince Dolgorouky. In 1808 he was sent to command the army of Moldavia, and in 1809 was employed against the Turks, in consequence of the death of Kamenskoi. Here, in November, 1811, he was enabled to force the Grand Vizier to surrender with his whole army, and subsequently to conclude, at a most auspicious moment, the treaty of Bucharest, for which he was rewarded with the title of Prince of the Russian Empire.

When the invasion of Russia by Napoleon in 1812 required a generalissimo who might be more acceptable to the army, as a Muscovite by birth, than Barclay de Tolly, who laboured under the disadvantage of being a foreigner, the Czar Alexander yielded to his wishes and superseded a commander in whom he had great confidence by appointing this veteran to that supreme post, Barclay serving under him. The army had fallen back to within 50 leagues of Moscow when Koutusov assumed the command. Aware of the desire of the soldiers to come to an immediate engagement, he examined the ground anxiously in the progress of the retreat, with the view of selecting a field of battle for a trial of strength, but he could not find one sufficiently strong to counterbalance the decided numerical superiority of his opponents. He nevertheless continued the retreat with so much skill that neither cannon, equipage, nor prisoners fell into the hands of the invaders. It was probably on his advice (for it savoured very much of his peculiar character) that the most extraordinary difficulties were thrown in the way of the French on their march up the country. All the towns and villages

on the line were, as they were quitted, set on fire, and the smoking ruins, which the inhabitants were either forced to quit or induced to relinquish voluntarily on the approach of the enemy, deprived the invaders of all hope of shelter, while entire fields of forage were, in like manner, destroyed to deprive them of subsistence. The filling up of the wells was a very astute suggestion, and the privation of water for men and horses, arising partly from this cause, and partly from the heat and dry weather, so aggravated the intolerable thirst of the marching soldiers, that the French sustained a loss of 38,000 men and a very great number of horses in their advance. The crowning act, the fire of Moscow, was probably done with the concurrence, if not by the actual advice, of Koutusov.

In figure he was of moderate height, but corpulent, and had, as already stated, received numerous wounds, one of which had deprived him of the sight of an eye, which gave him a rather sinister appearance. His manners were, nevertheless, bland and amiable, and distinguished by much good humour; but under an apparently simple exterior he concealed a vast degree of finesse. He appeared to have received no great amount of mental culture, but had been a close observer of men, and was endowed with extraordinary cunning and dissimulation. No general had more carefully studied the principles of military organisation; and he had learned war profoundly as well in the closet as in the field, where great experience under the first commander of his age, and a long and active life in harness, had in some measure compensated for his unfitness for the saddle at the advanced age of 67. Years had plainly dulled his energies, and it is now well known that he would have been content to limit his glory to the defence of his country, and would never have counselled the progress of the Russian triumphs to the gates of Paris. It was thought that the prudence and calmness of his character, owing very much to his diplomatic habits and the infirmities of age, had greatly impaired the fire and energy for which he had been preeminently distinguished in his manhood.* His death left Alexander in a considerable strait, for he had not any well-accredited general to fall back upon. The *entourage* of German enthusiasts and the officers of a new school now pressed

* Sir Robert Wilson, in his published letters of the period, seems to infer that the Russian army had a depreciative opinion of Koutusov. This supposition appears strange of a leader who had so recently lured his enemy to his destruction, and tightened the noose around him by his most able flank march on Kalouga. Sir Robert was by his very nature a keen partisan, and possibly entered heart and soul into the dissensions and cabals of the Russian officers. There never was an army in the field which had not critics and grumblers in plenty. Some, seeking to recommend themselves to their comrades and superiors as men of pluck and dash, decrying the General as too backward and deficient in daring, while some would effect success by the spring of the lion: others, desiring to pass for men of original genius, find fault with the tameness of the chief's conceptions in strategy and tactics. The Peninsular army was full of these fault-finders; the French army, as we have lately seen, the same, especially so in the highest places, Ney and Bessières quarrelling with Massena, and all the marshals in command differing from, and disobeying, King Joseph. Such dissensions must always do mischief rather than good, and are much to be reprehended, since the most "heaven-born general" cannot offer a sound and valuable opinion, without having before him all the facts of the case, which can alone be known in their entirety at head-quarters.

upon him, and would, by their flatteries, have prompted him to assume the command himself. At length, however, his own modesty and better judgment prevailed, and, reluctantly passing over Barclay de Tolly, his choice fell on General Count Wittgenstein.

4. NAPOLEON ASSUMES THE COMMAND OF HIS ARMY ON THE SAAL.

Already, on the 30th of January, the first detachments of the new French army had reached the Rhine, and had crossed over it on the ice at Mayence. Of these, as they arrived, General Souham took the command on the 5th of February, and established his headquarters at Frankfort. The Emperor himself remained at Paris, busily occupied with a variety of negotiations with the Continental Powers, reconciling himself with the Pope (whom he now concluded a concordat with, but did not, nevertheless, restore to liberty), and attending to all the various details of military affairs. In his three months' residence at his capital, Napoleon had brought into activity not only the conscription of 1813, but had also called out that of 1814. The cohorts called *du premier ban* were formed into 150 regiments of the line; 100 battalions had been drawn from the armies of Spain, and were marching across France into Germany; the New Guard, which was deemed a popular service, was increased to the number of 16 battalions; 600 pieces of cannon and 2,000 tumbrils *attelés* were organised into 70 companies, with veteran bombardiers, intermixed with the cannoners drawn from the crews of the shipping; 22,000 cavalry had been furnished by the voluntary calls made on the departments of France and the various nations comprising the empire; postillions from the department *de la poste*, stablemen, sons of postmasters, and foresters, accustomed to the care of horses, had been also collected to mount and take the field; and 20,000 officers and under-officers of the gendarmerie now completed the equipment. Many of the marshals had been permitted to pass the winter in Paris, to enjoy some repose after all their labours, and, in now sending them back to their duties, the Emperor gave them munificent gratifications. Marshal Ney was rewarded with a present of 100,000 crowns, Marshal Oudinot with 500,000 francs. Officers of the line and of his guard, who appealed to him for remuneration for losses they had incurred, received on the spot very handsome indemnities. Although troops were now marching, with all expedition, to join the Viceroy's army, yet the soldiers required the presence of Napoleon to support their spirits, under their depressed condition, after the late reverses. The Emperor, therefore, as early as the 23rd of March, announced his speedy departure for the army, having a few days previously constituted the Empress Regent, with great solemnity. It was midnight on the 15th of April, however, before his numerous avocations permitted him to leave Paris.

He reached Mayence on the 16th, where he found it necessary to remain for eight days. The accounts from Thuringia and the banks of the Saal were daily becoming more alarming,

and the Elbe had already been passed by the enemy at many points. The indefatigable chief exerted himself to the utmost to collect and forward troops to his army, and succeeded in communicating some of the energies of his mind to the subordinates who surrounded him. Restless and distrusting them, nevertheless, Napoleon seated himself on the bridge, and anxiously counted the incessantly succeeding columns, and not the smallest bodies of men passed by unnoticed by himself. Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts which had been made to augment the cavalry, he was displeased and vexed that not more than 4,000 horses passed before him; and such was the condition of the unfortunate quadrupeds, many of them committed to the most unskilled grooms, that they looked as if they had come off a forced march, after bad provender, exposure, and bare beds, rather than as forming a fresh remount. Cavalry, artillery, infantry, staff, and wagon-train, all marched pell-mell, with no organisation of their respective arm, and often in dreadful confusion. Apparently, the whole was very unequal to the demands of the approaching campaign. So large an assemblage of troops had not been anticipated or provided for, from some cause or other; and provision soon began to fail, when pillage was freely resorted to. Napoleon, beyond all other men, seemed ever to rise with the difficulties against which he had to contend. Officers were despatched on every side to repair deficiencies as soon as noticed, and these were nowhere received with indifference. His redoubtable orders gave vigour to the most slothful, and his presence was as a beam of light to the toiling official, inspiring the novices in arms with a portion of his own ardent and unconquerable spirit. Having put some degree of order into the rear of his army, the Emperor quitted Mayence on the 24th, and established his head-quarters at Erfurt on the 25th, where he found himself once more in the midst of his Imperial Guard. The army which, by such extraordinary efforts, he had here collected, was extremely formidable in regard to numbers: 202,610 men in arms, with 350 cannon, are stated to have been "in the field in Germany at the opening of the campaign," against 224,182 Allies, including, on both sides, the garrisons blockaded in the fortresses. The French force was divided into 12 *corps-d'armée*, exclusive of the Imperial Guard, under Marshal Bessières, and the cavalry, under Latour-Mauburg and Sebastiani. The 1st corps, under Marshal Davoust, consisted of three divisions; the 2nd, under Marshal Victor, of two; the 3rd, under Marshal Ney, counted 48,000 men, in five divisions; General Bertrand commanded the 4th, in two divisions; General Lauriston the 5th, comprising the cohorts, in three divisions; and Marshal Marmont the 6th, consisting of three divisions. The 7th was entirely composed of Saxons, under General Regnier; the 8th of Poles, under Poniatowski; and the 9th of Bavarians, under Wrede. The 10th was with Rapp, at Dantzic; the 11th, under Macdonald, was not yet come into line; and the 12th was under Oudinot. There was also a small army, under Augereau, detached at Wurzburg, to observe Austria and Bavaria in their negotiations. Napoleon calculated that the garrisons on

the Vistula and Oder might comprise 60,000 men, and the army of Prince Eugène 80,000 men. The various reinforcements now in march would, he expected, complete the number of the army to the strength above stated by the beginning of May. Ney was at Weimar, Marmont at Gotha, Bertrand at Saalfeld, Oudinot at Coburg, the division of Pacthod covered the Lower Elbe, Davoust already occupied Bremen and threatened Hamburg, while Victor, having a garrison at Magdeburg, was established with his advance at Dessau. Napoleon, having personally inspected great depôts at Würzburg and Fulda, quitted Erfurt, and on the 1st of May established his head-quarters at Weissenfels. The river Saal, therefore, now divided the armies of the French and the Allies.

These were not far distant from each other. Wittgenstein, who commanded the Allied army, was with 30,000 men between Dessau and Halle. Winzingerode commanded the cavalry; De York observed Hamburg; Blücher, with 25,000 Prussians, was at Altenburg; Miloradovitch, with 150,000 Russians, at Chemnitz; and a corps of 20,000 men, under Sacken and Doctorov, kept watch upon the Austrians and Poles, near Cracow. The corps of Bulow and Woronzov covered Berlin, and a division of 8,000 or 9,000 men, under Tettenborn and Czernichoff, were at Hamburg and Lubeck. 10,000 cavalry were towards Dresden; and the reserves, which had been resting on the Oder, were now coming up to Leipzig, consisting of 30,000 men, well equipped, and fit for service. The Russians and Prussians united could not actually bring into the plains of Saxony more than 70,000 men; but these were different from their adversaries, being all hardy warriors, active horsemen, and enterprising volunteers. The Allies had calculated on being joined by a corps of 30,000 Swedes, under the Crown Prince, who had accepted a British subsidy of a million sterling to take the field; and although there was still an increasing hope entertained that Austria would pronounce in their favour, as yet these two strong arms were wanting to the cause. The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia placed their head-quarters at Dresden, which city the King of Saxony had quitted. During the short interval of repose enjoyed by the Allied army, Thorn, which had been besieged by General Langeron, capitulated on the 17th of April; and Spandau, which had been bombarded, surrendered on the 24th, after the explosion of its magazine; Czentoschau had been invested by Sacken's corps, and, having been set on fire and nearly burned, accepted terms on the 25th of March.

Napoleon quitted his carriage at Weimar, and, mounting his horse, said, "Je ferai cette campagne comme le Général Bonaparte, et non pas en Empereur." He was accompanied by Berthier, Bessières (as commanding the guard), Soult, Duroc, Caulaincourt, Daru, and his aides-de-camp Mouton, Corbineau, Durosnel, Davoust, Flahault, and Bernard. On the 29th of April, at dusk, he descended *au palais* (as the Imperial quarter was always designated, were it *château* or *chaumière*) of Eckhartsberg. Here he received a despatch from Ney, who reported his entry into Weissenfels, after

having had that day an encounter with the Russian cavalry, under Winzingerode, who was making a reconnoissance in that direction. The two opposing bodies mutually misunderstood the cause of their being in presence; and Ney pushed forward heavy columns to indicate the advance of an entire *corps-d'armée*, although he had with him but an advanced guard, consisting of the division Souham. Winzingerode opposed it with a heavy and destructive cannonade, replied to by a French battery of 12 guns, and under cover of this cannonade the Russian cavalry made several not altogether ineffective charges against the French infantry in squares. The Russian general however, in obedience to his instructions, retired towards the Flossgraben, and Ney, assuming a victory, reported: "V.M. ne doit avoir aucune inquiétude sur les nouvelles levées." At the same time Napoleon heard that the Viceroy had had a brush with 2,000 of the corps De York at Merseburg, where he had placed his head-quarters. But now the junction of the French army was complete, and Napoleon forthwith settled himself in the saddle. On the 30th, he cantered over the field of Ney's encounter near Weissenfels, and, in default of cavalry patrols to obtain information of the enemy's whereabouts, he employed his staff and used his own intelligence and *coup d'œil* to make the desired reconnoissance of the Allied outposts. He soon formed his plan, which was to march his whole army on Leipzig, and to force the passage of the Elster. Accordingly, he gave orders to the corps of Oudinot and Bertrand, on the right, to debouch on Stossen, and to the Viceroy, on the left, to take the road to Leipzig by Markranstadt. The Allied forces, however, barred the way; Wittgenstein and De York being at Zvenekau, Blücher at Pegau, and Miloradovitch on the road from Altenburg to Zeitz. The Czar and the King of Prussia were at Pegau. The object of Napoleon was a fight of some kind, a success of importance; for his empire was gasping for victory. He resolved, by a conversion from the left, to march his army so as to turn the Allies on their right, and throw them under the protection of the Bohemian hills, which might induce Austria to renounce their friendship. On the morning of the 1st of May, he put himself at the head of Ney's column, surrounded by his guard, which was now augmented to 6 battalions, by the junction of those who had rallied round Eugène after the Russian retreat. Souham and Kellermann led the advance, which, in his native eagerness, was accompanied by Marshal Bessières, who was curious to see whether the enemy would defend the defile of Rippach. The road passes a little to the side of the village of that name, and the troops marching in square, and preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, had already broken the rank to pass the obstacle, when a cannon-shot struck Marshal Bessières through his bridle-hand upon the stomach, and laid him dead in an instant. Winzingerode's rear-guard, from which this shot proceeded, was distinctly visible near Poserna, but retired before the French advance on Pegau, and the Imperial head-quarters were established for the night at Lützen. It was characteristic of Napoleon to go immediately and visit the grave of Gustavus Adolphus, killed there in 1632; and the recent blow at his side, inspiring

him with melancholy expressions, he said, "La mort s'approche de nous," and forthwith gave orders that a monument should be erected adjoining that of the King, in honour of his friend, the Duc d'Istrie. When he returned to his quarters, he gave vent to his feelings on the death of his faithful comrade, who had commanded the guard about his person in so many dangers, by inserting a tribute to his memory in the bulletin, and writing a letter of condolence to the widow.

5. BATTLE OF LÜTZEN.

No sooner were the Allies aware of the advance of the enemy in strength, than they took measures to concentrate their forces, and the Allied Sovereigns, placing themselves at the head of their respective armies, resolved to accept battle on the plains of Lützen. Political considerations guided the Czar and King, which forbade them to recede, since it was of the highest importance that the courts of Vienna and Dresden should be assured of their resolution to contend with the conqueror. Orders were therefore given to re-cross the Elster near Pegau early on the morning of the 2nd, to threaten the enemy's right, and inundate his rear with their numerous cavalry. While 5,000 men, under Kleist, were left to guard Leipzig. Wittgenstein ordered Blücher to form the right of the army, resting his flank on the brook called Flossgraben. De York formed up on his left. Winzingerode, with the Russian cavalry in a considerable body, occupied the left of the line. The country was arable land under cultivation, but perfectly open, without any marked military features; nevertheless, the undulations of the surface rose to something of an elevation in the centre. The Czar and King, accompanied by Wittgenstein and a numerous staff, came upon the ground, and could plainly see the still smoking French bivouac, of which the General-in-Chief promised to put the army in possession in an hour's time. The attack was not, in fact, expected by Napoleon, who was himself intent on pushing back his enemy to Markranstadt, and not to receive him. Ney, indeed, with this object, now occupied the villages of Gross and Klein Gorschen, in which was the division Souham. Marmont was on his right, near Starsiedel; and Bertrand, farther still in the same direction, towards Poserna. The Viceroy was, in the meantime, marching on Leipzig, from Merseburg, preceded by Lauriston, who had taken the same direction from Gunthersdorf, and had, about 9 o'clock, reached Lindenau, where he found himself already opposed by Kleist in endeavouring to pass the Elster and the Pleise. The Emperor going forward was suddenly roused by the firing of this attack behind him, and halting the guard, with which he rode, he immediately galloped back to Kaia, where he found Ney in close conflict with Blücher. This unexpected occurrence changed the dispositions of the Emperor, who suddenly found himself the attacked, instead of being the assailant. He immediately ordered up the guard to Kaia, and directed that Macdonald should advance on the right on Eissdorf to fall upon the head of approaching columns

of the enemy, while the Viceroy was to send forward the division Durutte to keep up the communication between Lauriston and Macdonald, and he halted the rest of his corps. Marmont was ordered to come into line at Starsiedel, where he was to be followed by the corps of Bertrand and Oudinot. Napoleon was soon at the front, after having made these dispositions.

Wittgenstein, having Diebitsch for counsellor as chief of the staff, had intended to fall upon the flank of Napoleon in his march on Leipzig; but, instead of meeting with the right only, he had come upon the centre of the French army. Unfortunately, in armies composed of different nations, it is difficult to obtain unity of action; and accordingly, although the attack had been partially commenced in the morning, it was 11 in the day before the brigades of Kling and Ziethen could be brought up in order to obtain possession of Gross Gorschen. Ney defended himself stoutly there, and the presence of the Emperor gave confidence to the young levies, now seriously engaged for the first time. The division Souham was obliged to give way before the energetic attacks of Ziethen, and both Klein Gorschen and Rahna were soon carried by the Prussians. Napoleon received the report of these successes with a significant exclamation of the monosyllable "Ha!" by the modulation of which his attendants measured his opinion satisfactory or otherwise. There was no misunderstanding it at this time, when it was of the first importance to him that he should open the campaign with a success, and the possession of Lützen by the Allies, which was thus threatened, would have been most disastrous to him, for it would have divided his army into two parts. Prince Eugène, of Würtemberg, with the cavalry of Dolfs, was nevertheless seen advancing on the left towards Starsiedel, followed by the cavalry of Winzingerode, who deployed a numerous force of that arm on the plain. The Emperor, at sight of these horsemen, exclaimed, "We have no cavalry: no matter, it will be a battle as in Egypt. The French infantry is equal to anything, and I commit myself without alarm to the inherent valour of our young conscripts." The division Compans, heading the 6th corps, was presently seen to debouch on Starsiedel, and the Viceroy, with the 5th corps, was coming up with all expedition, but he had still four leagues of road to compass.

Napoleon rode off in person to the rencounter of Marmont, and was received by his divisions with the most enthusiastic *vivats*, when the Prussian cavalry, led by Prince William, came boldly down upon the divisions Compans and Bonnet, and succeeded in breaking one of them; but being unsupported, the other repelled the attack. Ney, in the meanwhile, with the divisions Brennier, Girard, and Marchand, had, by some brilliant charges with the bayonet, recovered possession of the villages. Blücher had still the Prussian guard in reserve, and, with his accustomed energy, immediately led it forward to a new attack; and, although he received a wound in the arm, he not only recovered again the villages of Klein Gorschen and Rahna, but actually obtained pos-

session of Kaia, which was forced ; so that the centre of the French line was thus opened. Wittgenstein, therefore, brought up the divisions of De York and Berg, which were followed by the reserve cavalry under General Oppen. Blücher, at the same time, saw it necessary to detach a division to the village of Eisdorf on his right, where the brigade Tressinet, of Macdonald's corps, began to show itself. A fearful carnage ensued ; the divisions of Girard and Brennier animated the exertions of the remainder of Souham's troops, and both leaders fell in the contest, the former exclaiming, "Soldats, il faut venger l'affront de Moscow ou mourir." It was past 4 o'clock, and the moment imminent. Napoleon was, however, resolved to hold the ground at this point, which covered Lützen, the key of his position, through which ran the road from Weissenfels to Leipzig, and, accordingly, he ordered his artillery adjutant, Drouot, to bring up 60 guns, which were assembled in haste from the corps nearest to him, while at the same moment he sent his aide-de-camp, Mouton, Count de Lobau, to put himself at the head of the Young Guards and restore the centre. These then rushed into the village of Kaia, protected by a heavy fire of grape from the guns ; and at the same moment Macdonald, from the opposite bank of the Flossgraben, brought his guns also to bear on the Allied flank. Wittgenstein sent a corps of grenadiers, under Konowitzin and the Prince of Würtemberg, across the Flossgraben, against these fresh troops, and into the villages of Eisdorf and Kitzén ; but the tide had now turned, Kaia, Gross, and Klein Gorschen, and Eisdorf were regained by the French, all four in flames, which alone gave light to the darkness which now put an end to the contest.

Two Russian and Prussian divisions, consisting of about 18,000 men, had not taken part in the combat ; nevertheless, Alexander and Frederick William, surrounded by their generals, on the height whence they had witnessed the battle, now discussed the propriety of a retreat, for the Allied position was already turned on the right hand at Eisdorf, and seriously threatened on the left at Starsiedel. But Blücher, with his arm in a sling, vehemently exclaimed against such a proceeding, declared that the day was not lost, and that so much blood should not have been spilled in vain. His persuasions delayed the order of retreat until a corps of 5,000 Prussian cavalry, part of the royal guard, could arrive on the field. It was 9 o'clock in the evening when the brave old general, putting himself at their head, dashed at this unexpected hour into the village of Starsiedel and surprised Marmont's troops, overcome with the fatigue of the day, where at the moment he actually enveloped a whole regiment and the marshal himself in the foray. The Emperor was quietly returning from his habitual ride round the scene of the battle when this irruption occurred, and was within an ace of being captured himself ; indeed, there was a report that he had really been carried off. The divisions of Bonnet and Compans, however, soon formed up in haste and re-established order, and Blücher was obliged to withdraw his squadrons with some loss,

when the combat entirely ceased. The Viceroy, on receiving the Emperor's urgent order to march to his assistance, had been in some strait; for Lauriston could not make his way through the first outskirts of Leipzig against Kleist, and had demanded reinforcements. Seeing, therefore, that he could not reach the field till nightfall, he delayed his march till 4 o'clock, until after he had seen the 5th corps in possession of the city, from which Kleist retired towards Wurzen. On the other side of the field of battle, Miloradovitch was unable to reach its extremity at Moelsen before 8 o'clock at night.

The day had been a bloody one. Ney's corps alone lost 12,000 men, and 500 officers killed and wounded. The loss on either side was 12,000 or 15,000; the casualties as nearly equal as had been the forces actually engaged. The French general Gourre, chief of Ney's staff, died of his wounds in the night; as did the Prussian General Scharnhorst, a military writer of some reputation. During the night it was discovered that the engaged Prussians had expended all their ammunition; it was in vain, therefore, to stand another battle the following day, although on the farther side of Leipzig Bulow had in fact carried the town of Halle by assault, and taken 6 guns from the French. Yet Leipzig was in the possession of the French. Orders were, therefore, now given to the Allied army to retire upon Meissen and Dresden, while the right was to fall back on the Erze Gebirge by Altenburg and Chemnitz. The retreat was made slowly in admirable order, but the left was delayed three days by the obligation of marching by a considerable bend round Leipzig. Nevertheless, on the 8th, the whole army was across the Elbe. The city of Dresden was yielded up to the French after the bridge had been destroyed; but no sacrifices of prisoners, standards, or cannon had occurred during their retreat. Miloradovitch, who commanded the Allied rear-guard, though attacked and pushed by the Viceroy, displayed great skill. The viceroy, Eugène, as soon as he reached Dresden, received orders to quit the army and return into Italy to re-organise the Italian levies.

Napoleon was on horseback at break of day on the 3rd, according to his inevitable custom, and perambulated the field, thickly covered with the dead and dying. Had he found the enemy there, it was his intention to have renewed the battle, but finding them gone he placed his head-quarters at Pegau, whence he wrote the account of his success to Paris, Munich, and Vienna. On the 4th he was at Borna, and on the 7th at Nossen, always with the advance on the march. On the 8th he reached Dresden.

6. NAPOLEON AT DRESDEN.

Napoleon, having placed his head-quarters in the Saxon capital, was unwilling to be exposed to the daily insults of the enemy in the Neustadt opposite, and therefore resolved to obtain possession of it by a passage across the Elbe. After reconnoitring the ground, he selected Priesnitz, below Dresden, for forcing the river,

and on the morning of the 9th he himself led a strong column of infantry to this point; but the Russians had observed his intention, and were already in force on the opposite bank, with the apparent resolve to dispute the crossing. The Emperor, accordingly, ordered up the guns, which he now placed in battery on the heights commanding the river. The Russians also brought up their guns, and it was under the opposing fire of at least 50 cannon on each side that the French at length accomplished the passage, and the enemy evacuated the new city. Oudinot and Bertrand were then sent up stream towards Pirna, and Lauriston sent in a report that he also had crossed the Elbe after the Prussian rear-guard at Meissen. Marshal Ney marched upon Torgau, towards Berlin. This fortress had been surrendered to the Allies by the Saxon General Thielman, but the King refused to ratify his capitulation and dismissed the general, who immediately accepted service under the Czar. Torgau was taken possession of by the French on the 13th.

The negotiations with Austria still continued, and were calculated to have so much effect upon the campaign that Napoleon was determined to halt some days to resume the thread which had been abruptly dropped on the departure of Schwarzenberg from Paris after the Emperor had quitted his capital. That wily diplomatist, Count Metternich, who now guided the councils of the Emperor Francis, had promised the Czar that his imperial master would not renew hostilities against the Allies, whatever course might be given to the negotiations; but he had already commenced that career of unfathomable and tortuous foreign policy which he subsequently pursued with such refined subtilty and address for so many years; and which, at this time, utterly perplexed both sides as to the real intentions of his Sovereign. Count Stadion had been sent to the Allied head-quarters, and M. de Bubna to meet Napoleon at Dresden on the 16th, where Caulaincourt was now directed by the Emperor to receive his proposals, in the absence of his minister, the Duke de Bassano. In the meanwhile, M. de Narbonne, on the part of France, was in direct communication with the Austrian premier at Vienna. By these several channels a proposition for an armistice had been hinted to Napoleon, which he had been indeed disposed to entertain; but the terms had not yet been sufficiently under discussion, and he thought he might arrive at a result more acceptable to himself if he again employed the sword to quicken the pen in diplomatic negotiations. Accordingly, he resolved to continue the campaign; but on the arrival of Maret with his portfolio, he despatched Caulaincourt (who had been formerly accredited as Ambassador at St. Petersburg) to the head-quarters of Alexander, to learn whether anything could be effected by a separate negotiation with that Sovereign. King Joachim had already lent his ear to representations from Austria capable of seriously compromising French interests in Italy, on hearing of which the Emperor desired the Viceroy to be on his guard against him.

Napoleon had employed his short leisure in the Saxon capital in the erection of vast hospitals and magazines, and in the construc-

tion of bridges over the Elbe to provide against reverses which the most successful should always contemplate; and he had now the satisfaction of seeing arrive to the front, on the 18th, a reinforcement of 8,000 horse under General Latour-Mauburg, so that, with the Saxon and Bavarian contingents of cavalry, and the force in that arm attached to the Imperial Guard, he was better able to carry on the war with 16,000 well-mounted and well-exercised cavalry, the arm in which he had, till now, been so grievously deficient. The grand *dépôt* of materiel, which he now established at Dresden, was placed under the command of General Durosnel, and early on the 19th Napoleon crossed the Elbe, and was soon in the midst of his guard in front of Bautzen.

7. BATTLE OF BAUTZEN.

Considerable uncertainty prevailed as to the movements of the Allies. It was said that the Prussians had separated from the Russians, and had gone under the command of their King to unite with Bulow for the protection of Berlin. As soon, therefore, as the Emperor arrived at his army, he mounted his horse and rode to the outposts to make a reconnoissance of the enemy, whom he understood to have entrenched themselves there. This locality has always been a celebrated "*point stratégique*," and here he found the Russians united with the Prussians in a position rendered the more interesting to the latter by the recollections of the seven years' war, when Frederick the Great held Marshal Daun here in check after the surprise of Hochkirch, and was enabled to rectify that disaster. He found that the Allies had availed themselves of the ten days' respite which had followed their withdrawal from the right bank of the Elbe, to strengthen this position in a very formidable manner. The ground on which the Allied army had taken post was very uneven, and intersected with many small lakes. It was composed of a series of heights, forming a spur-ridge from the great chain of the Riesen Gebirge or Giant Mountains, which with their continuation, the Erze Gebirge, constitute the northern frontier of Bohemia; the river Spree ran along its entire front, and the villages of Klix, Klein Bautzen, and Keckwitz, together with the town of Bautzen, were included within its limits. He found every monticule now bristling with guns, which commanded on all sides the low ground bordering the streamlets that ran along the bottoms. The hills were thickly covered with wood, and the low grounds, although comparatively level, were intersected by mountain gullies. The evils of the position were, that it offered but one line of retreat, in case of a reverse, that by Wurschen and Hochkirchen (where, however, a second line of entrenchments had been constructed), and that the left rested so closely on the neutral frontier of Bohemia that any success on the opposite flank would shoulder the line and embarrass the retreat of an army considerably. Miloradovitch commanded this wing and Blücher the centre. The Czar and King were es-

tablished at Wurschen, and the several Allied columns were assembling and forming their bivouacs in rear of their respective points of occupation under the direction of their staff officers.

It will be remembered that Ney had been directed to threaten the Prussian capital from Torgau; but, as soon as Napoleon found that the Allied armies still remained united, and were in his front, likely to accept a battle, he directed that marshal, on the 17th, to send Victor and Lauriston to Hoyersverda or come himself to strengthen his contemplated movement by his left on Bautzen. The Duc d'Elchingen arrived with 60,000 men at Hoyersverda on the 19th, where he met an aide-de-camp from the Emperor, who commanded him to pursue his line of march on Koenigswartha. Barclay de Tolly, forming the extreme right of the Allied army, had been directed by Wittgenstein to march from Thorn, with his own and De York's division, counting 24,000 men, to observe Ney, and was now also marching by Klix on Hoyersverda. Napoleon, therefore, sent the Italian division of Peyri, belonging to Bertrand's corps, to give the hand to Ney; but this general, marching without patrols or scouts of any kind, came unexpectedly upon Barclay's division, which fell upon them and killed and wounded 2,000 or 3,000 men, and took 3 guns. Indeed, but for the opportune arrival of Kellermann with the cavalry of Ney's corps, the Italians would have been utterly destroyed. De York, on the other hand, marching alongside Barclay's Russians, came at the same time unexpectedly into the midst of Lauriston's division at Weissing, which brought on a sharp contest, in which the Prussians were driven back with great loss. An obstinate affair had also occurred at Bischofswerda between Marshal Macdonald and Miloradovitch, in which that town was burnt to the ground. These conflicts did not, however, in the least affect the main operations, of which they formed no part, and were merely the accidents of the advance, although they may, nevertheless, have in some degree affected the Emperor's plan of attack.

Napoleon had at first determined, before receiving Ney's report, to attack the enemy's left and drive him out of Bautzen. At 8 in the morning, he made a careful reconnoissance of the ground, after which he sent his new orders: 1st, to Oudinot, to pass across the Spree above the town and penetrate into the mountains on which the Russian left wing rested; 2nd, to Macdonald and Marmont, to throw bridges over the river below the town; 3rd, to Soult, to cross it to the attack of the Allied centre; and 4th, to Ney, to follow up his successes against their right wing by crossing the Spree at Malchnitz and Klix. Bertrand was, at the same time, ordered to rally and re-form the Italian division Peyri, and to hold it in reserve. These orders being expedited, Napoleon waited a sufficient time for the construction and preparation of the various trestle-bridges, and announced the attack for mid-day. He then repaired to the height of Schmochlitz, on which a windmill marked the spot where a redoubt had been erected in the seven years' war, and from which he could see the several columns move to the attack. The ground which the Allied army occupied was covered in its entire extent by the river Spree.

Miloradovitch with his corps still occupied Bautzen and the high ground to the left of it, and had orders to render the passage of the river on that side as difficult as possible to the enemy, and then to fall back before him to the elevated ground about Klein Jenkovitz, where the high road to Görlitz crosses the hills. Here he was to rest his left on the Blosaer-Wassen, on the other side beyond which Prince Eugène of Würtemberg with 3,000 men was charged with the defence of the woody mountains which formed the extreme left of the position. The Russian guards and grenadiers, to the number of 15,000, were placed in reserve near Kabschütz. The flanks were strong in themselves, and, being thrown a little forward, protected the centre. The corps of Kleist and De York, amounting together to 11,000 men, after disputing the passage of the river, was to occupy the central position, which lay across a brook and its swampy banks near Klein Bautzen like a curtain between two bastions. General Blücher's army of 20,000, composing the right wing, formed up amidst the little monticules or conical mounds that singularly mark the position between the last-named village and Krechnitz, which Frederick the Great had occupied in 1759. His right flank rested on several small lakes or ponds as well as upon the villages of Plieskovitch and Malschertz, which latter place was strongly occupied by a brigade under Brigadier Tschaplitz. The reserve cavalry, consisting of 8,000 sabres, were in rear of the centre; but the brook there, with its rotten banks, was unfavourable for the employment of that arm. The artillery were advantageously posted on the little heights above spoken of, where they commanded the whole open country at their feet. Barclay de Tolly stood at Glein beyond the extreme right and in echelon to it, having established Langeron in front of Preititz to maintain his connection with Blücher.

The action commenced at noon with the fire of a band of skirmishers along the whole of the French line. To Marshal Macdonald was entrusted the attack on the town of Bautzen, and the forcing of the stone bridge there, which was strongly barricaded and guarded. In aid of this attack, a battery of 40 guns was established by Marmont, under the fire of which four bridges were thrown over the Spree, by which his whole corps passed across the river, in spite of the numerous artillery which endeavoured to prevent their passage, and the town was thus isolated on that side, while the division Pachtod, of Oudinot's corps, forced the river on the other side at Linswitz and Grabschutz. In the meantime, the division Compans, of Macdonald's corps, had advanced by the suburb of Weiden and carried a battery of the enemy which protected it. The Marshal, upon this success, moved forward to Strehla, and completely invested the town. The division Lorencez, of the corps of Oudinot, moved forward to the woody height, but could not, though boldly led forward, carry the mountain of Melthever, on which the Prince Eugène of Würtemberg had placed several batteries; and General Emanuel effectually stopped the French advance at Binnevit. The prince had endeavoured to push farther forward his right to check Macdonald's advance on the side of Bautzen, but in this object he was

checked by the division Gérard. Soon, however, the arrival of General Diebitzsch, with three brigades of infantry and one of cavalry, enabled the Allied left wing to maintain itself on the Falkenberg until nightfall. In the meantime, a bloody contest was carried on within the town of Bautzen. The stone bridge there had not been destroyed, but was well flanked and vigorously defended; the streets and houses were barricaded and loopholed for an obstinate resistance; but when it became an isolated advanced post, surrounded and commanded by the enemy, it was no longer tenable. Miloradovitch, accordingly, sent orders for its evacuation, and it was taken possession of by Compans about 6 in the evening. The 4th corps, under Bertrand, with the cavalry of Latour-Mauburg, found themselves opposed by Kleist, who foiled all their attempts to cross the Spree, even though the bridge at Nieder Gurka had not been destroyed until Marmont detached the division Bonnet to take Kleist in flank, who was in consequence obliged to retire at nightfall into his place in the line, when the French crossed over the river unopposed at Gotlobsberg. The village of Burg and the Burkscheberg were the scene of another bloody conflict, which lasted from mid-day till 8 in the evening; but by nightfall the Prussian divisions were there also obliged to withdraw to the plateau of Nieder Kayne, and were now formed up between Nadelvitsch and Bassankvitch in a strong position behind a quaggy water-course. Blücher sent up a reinforcement of cavalry to cover their retreat, who fell upon two battalions of Bonnet's division as they followed in pursuit, but these formed square and repelled the attack. Just at nightfall Marshal Ney came down to the river-side, and the division Kellermann commanding his advance got into engagement with General Ziethen's Silesians at Dobersechutz and Plieskovitsch, and drove them back. Napoleon made his entry into Bautzen to give confidence to the inhabitants, and then bivouacked for the night in the midst of his guard outside the town. Here he had hoped to receive some news of Caulaincourt's mission to the Russian head-quarters, which might have prevented another battle, but, in consequence of hearing nothing of his negotiations with Russia and Austria, this was now inevitable on the following day.

By the observation of the ground during the battle of the 20th, Napoleon had detected the strength of the centre of the Allied position to lie about Bassankvitch, Nieder Kayne, and Nadelvitsch, where the deep and quaggy stream called the Bloesaer Wasser bordered with trees, flowed amongst these three small villages, and behind which, in second line, but rather to the French left, stood Blücher with his whole army. He therefore determined to employ Ney, whose force was greatly superior to that of Barclay de Tolly, (his adversary in front in the proportion of 30,000 to 14,000 men), to pass round the Allies' right wing by a movement somewhat corresponding to that of the Prussians, which proved so fatal to himself at Waterloo. He therefore sent the Marshal a pencil note, directing him to be at the village of Preititz at 11 o'clock. General Jomini, Ney's chief of the staff, sagaciously comprehending the manœuvre,

immediately made it the order of the day for the corps, "que les forces se dirigeront ensuite sur les clochers de Hochkirch." The orders to Oudinot were, at the same time, to rush vigorously on the Allied left. The Allied sovereigns passed the night at the small post-house at Klein Purschwitz, upon the high road leading to Wurscher and Weissenberg. They were there discussing Napoleon's letter brought to the Czar by Caulaincourt, and had resolved already to refer him to M. de Stadion at Vienna, and to accept the battle threatened by Napoleon. At daybreak, therefore, they took the field as usual, and from the spot they assumed they could distinctly see through their glasses Napoleon dismounted and walking about amidst his staff, with his hands behind his back, as he was accustomed to do. Some one could also be perceived on horseback in yellow uniform, who was at first supposed to be Murat who had arrived to the army, but it turned out to be a Saxon postilion. It was a fine summer morning, and the air was still, but the French army was observed to be in motion on every side. Attention was at once directed towards a large body *en masse*, apparently forming one large hollow square: this was Oudinot's corps, getting under arms in this peculiar formation. Soon a formidable cannonade resounded through the entire landscape. It was about 8 in the morning when General Gérard was seen in full march in front of Melthever with the divisions of Laurency, Pacthod, and Raglovich. The Czar, however, had sent some strength to Miloradovitch at this point, and the French were accordingly driven back beyond Binnavitz, and the ground about the villages of Kosel and Kunitz was still held firmly by General Emanuel. The ardour of Oudinot's attack had, however, the full effect intended by the Emperor, for the Allied troops gave way before him, and a strong Russian detachment was therefore sent to protect the valley from Purschwitz to Hochkirch, and soon so stout became the conflict that Napoleon was obliged to order Macdonald to carry strength to Oudinot. The two corps of Marmont and Bertrand, forming the centre, remained still till midday awaiting the effect of Ney's flank march, and Napoleon, lying on the ground taking his breakfast, listened attentively for the sounds which he hoped to hear on his left indicating this important movement, and quite indifferent as to the thunder of artillery that all this time resounded on his right. At 10 o'clock he heard distinctly the advancing attack, and, confident in the result, scribbled two lines to the Empress, which he at once despatched from the field by his orderly officer to Paris, to announce a victory to Marie Louise.

He heard, in effect, that Souham had reached Preititz and Kellermann the village of Gleina below the Windmühlenberg. Barclay de Tolly had disputed this advance as efficiently as his force rendered possible, and by assuming a strong post in echelon to the right, had indeed obliged the French to deploy a large force, which displayed the importance of his attack. Baron Muffling was accordingly sent by the Czar to demand assistance from the Prussians to Barclay, and Blücher immediately detached the brigade Bøder and the cavalry of Alvensleben towards Preititz, who opened a battery,

which dealt destruction on the French line of march behind the Krauteiche. Kleist also descended from Klein Bautzen to bring up his division to reinforce the corps of Barclay de Tolly, so that, after great efforts, the village of Preititz was recovered. Souham's division was much maltreated, and fell back in a rout. Ney, in consequence, felt himself obliged to abandon his advance for a time, and accordingly awaited for a good hour the arrival of Regnier's corps, by whose delay the great object of the whole manœuvre was entirely lost. The division Delmas, indeed, proved sufficient to drive Kleist out of Preititz, which, accordingly, became again occupied by the French. Lauriston had found Brigadier Tscaplitz too strong in his front, and, notwithstanding the arrival of La Grange to his assistance, he fell back to the Schaafberge, which enabled Barclay de Tolly to march his corps through the narrow passage between the Schlossteich and Kœnigsteich (the name given to two of the ponds which abound over all that country from the Spree eastward) and take up strong ground near Batenth and Priesnitz. This check to Ney's attack proved exceedingly beneficial to the Allied army, for it induced Wittgenstein to send every disposable man and gun to the right, which assisted the determination that was now arrived at, that, as the Allied army was not in a condition to maintain its ground against such odds, it must retire immediately from that flank.

Napoleon, however, had not been all this time idle. Impatient to make Ney's manœuvre bear the fruit of victory, he had scarcely heard the Marshal's cannon open before he gave the signal at about 1 o'clock for the guard with the corps of Marmont, Macdonald, and Soult, to advance against the fortified hills, which formed the centre of the Allied position. Marmont opened his guns upon the left of Blücher near Krechwitz and Nieder Keina, clearing the way for the Würtemberg contingent to advance upon it with vigour; and Soult, with the 4th corps, debouched from Doberschütz. About 2 o'clock Napoleon ascended the Hohenberg, near Bassankvitch, attended by the Old Guard, and observed the heights about Litten Baschutz and Jenkevitz, where De York had been placed by Blücher to defend the position *à l'outrance*, still most formidably entrenched and armed. He forthwith ordered forward Bertrand to place himself under Soult's orders, while the whole of the guard in deep array were sent up from Buch to support the attack. This grand advance of 80,000 men overcame all the resistance that Blücher could offer, even from the redoubtable heights he occupied, though entrenched and bristling with cannon. Assailed on one flank by Marmont and on another by Bertrand, in front by Soult, and in rear by Ney, the Allied right was now effectually turned, and the sovereigns, having already resolved upon it, sent Muffling with an order for the retreat; but they had some difficulty in convincing the stout old general "Vorwärts" that he was almost surrounded, and that he must retire, for Ney would soon reach Wurschen. He could only comfort himself by showering a host of invectives upon fortune, and then, *en bon militaire*, he prepared to obey orders. The retreat was made in two columns, the left wing by Hochkirk on Lobau, the right

by Weissenberg on Reichenbach. All the rear-guard posts were disputed, the most perfect discipline prevailed, and the country becoming now more favourable for that arm, the superiority of the Allies in cavalry secured a safe and orderly retreat. The entrenchments were necessarily evacuated, but the guns were all withdrawn. Marmont's corps took quiet possession of the earthworks at Baschutz, and Ney succeeded in winning Wurschen from the enemy after a pretty sharp contest, but neither did Ney nor Oudinot press the Allied columns, and both armies encamped for the night. The Czar and King went back to Görlitz for their night quarters, and Napoleon's tent was pitched on the field at Purschwitz in the midst of the squares of the Old and Young Guard. Jealousies having arisen against Wittgenstein since the battle of Lützen, Alexander and Frederick William themselves directed all the movements of the battle of Bautzen, and displayed great judgment and coolness throughout the day. The conduct of the retreat was a model of skill and organisation: not a prisoner, not a single gun, fell into the enemy's hands. Every eminence, every stream, every village and enclosure, was rendered available to check the pursuit of the French; and even on the morning after the battle, the Russians and Prussians still held the Weissenberg within cannon-shot of the field. About 35,000 men on either side were killed and wounded, without any result to speak of, although the battle of Bautzen was certainly one of the most wonderful displays of military combination than even Napoleon, in his most brilliant career, had ever previously evinced. The force of the Allies that took the field on the 20th was 82,852 men, who were opposed to 199,300 of all arms, with 720 guns. These, at least, are the numbers given by Kausler, but the "Victoires et Conquêtes" place the French army actually in the field at 150,000 combatants.

On the 22nd, at break of day, while the morning mist was still on the ground, Napoleon was in his saddle and the French army in motion. The allied retreat had been carried along the offshoots of the Rien Gebirge, which offered at every step positions of which the rear-guard availed itself as well at Weissenberg as at Schaps, and lastly at Reichenbach. It was found already that the loss to Oudinot's corps in the battle had been so severe that it became necessary to leave it behind; and, as it was the dream of the Emperor that he could now push back his enemy behind the Oder and take possession of Breslau (in which city the late alliance of the Czar and King had been consummated), he ordered up from Dresden reinforcements sufficient to raise the Duke of Reggio's command to 24,000 men, which was sufficient to protect him from any attack that might be made by Bulow's army, which yet covered Berlin, while he went forward. The day was very hot, yet he followed up the retreat with all his wonted ardour, until, on arriving at Reichenbach, the hills behind it were found occupied in force by the Allies, who here stood firm. He immediately went forward to the advance to see for himself the nature of the resistance intended, and ordered Lefevre-Desnouettes, with the Polish and red lancers of the guard, to attack the Russian horse, which

formed a complete barrier in the plain. This brought on a considerable affair. Two Russian light battalions held the entrance of a defile, of which a powerful battery on high ground commanded the approach, there being behind a strong force of cavalry and infantry well posted under Miloradovitch. Napoleon sent forward a body of 12,000 cavalry under Latour-Mauburg, and at the same time made dispositions for outflanking and turning the defile. After some brilliant charges on both sides, in which the French general Bruyère was killed, the Saxon infantry, under Regnier, succeeded in gaining the heights of Reichenbach, but the Russian rear-guard, proud of the resistance it had made, withdrew from it slowly and in order. It was intended to push on as far as Görlitz, but the Allies would take their own time, very much to the vexation of the Emperor, who was riding in the front, accompanied by his staff, which included Mortier, Caulaincourt, Duroc, and Kirgener, General of Engineers. A cannon-ball, passing over Napoleon's head, struck the file which these men composed, and the cry arose, "Kirgener est mort!" The Emperor had scarcely heard of the event when another cry arose, "Duroc est mort!" "Ce n'est pas possible," replied Napoleon. It was too true. The same ball that had struck down General Kirgener had also stricken in the stomach the grand-marshal of the palace, so that his entrails were torn out and exposed. In this sad state he was taken to a cottage, where he was bound round with bandages steeped in opium, the effect of which permitted a few words to be interchanged between the attached companions of so many campaigns. "J'ai vécu en honnête homme," said the dying man to his master, "je meurs en soldat; je ne me reproche rien." Napoleon at once descended from his horse, and took him by the hand, and, with many protestations, he called him his friend, lamenting their inevitable separation; he then entered the tent prepared for him, a prey to the most sad and gloomy reflections. His attendants, respecting his feelings, left him alone seated in his grey great coat, with his hand on his forehead and his elbows on his knees; nor would he be roused by any business, however urgent, replying to every reference and request for his commands, "A demain."

8. THE DEATHS AND MILITARY CHARACTERS OF MARSHALS BESSIÈRES AND DUROC.

The rule in these "Annals" has been to consider the military characters of those only who have commanded fleets or armies in chief, but there have already been some exceptions, and the singular death of Napoleon's two most intimate friends in the battle-field, just before and just after the last of his victories, in a manner so singular, give both these marshals a peculiar common distinction which seems to justify us in stopping a moment to record their respective histories, although one of them never commanded in the field.

JEAN BAPTIST BESSIÈRES was born in Languedoc, of needy and

obscure parents, in 1768. His original calling was the humble one of a wig-maker at Preissac. In 1792, however, he entered the French army as a private in the Constitutional Guard of Louis XVI., and took part in the memorable defence of the palace of the King on the 10th of August. He remained faithful to the cause of royalty until it was overthrown, when he returned to the career of arms, and was admitted into a republican regiment of cavalry, in which he made his first campaign in the Pyrenees as adjutant and captain. In 1795 he was passed over to the army of Italy, and served under Bonaparte at Roveredo and Rivoli, in which latter field he so distinguished himself under the eyes of the general as to be promoted to the rank of Chef d'Escadron. He was afterwards made one of the deputation from the army of Italy to present the colours and trophies before the Directory. Thenceforth he attached himself constantly to the fortunes of Napoleon, accompanied him to Egypt, returned with him thence to France, and stood firmly by his side on the 18th Brumaire. At Marengo he contributed materially to the victory, and was named brigadier. In 1802 he was appointed general of division, and in 1804 he was one of the eighteen first created marshals of the Empire. He was early selected by the Emperor to be the chief of his Imperial Guard, and in this quality accompanied Napoleon to the battles of Austerlitz, Jena, and Eylau, and was present in the Emperor's suite on the raft at Tilsit. In the year 1807, Napoleon resolved on the creation of military fiefs, thus laying the foundation of a nobility by which he hoped to give splendour to his crown. He began with this institution in Italy, and Bessières became Duke of Istria, and in the subsequent year, when he annexed Hanover to the Empire, he charged the revenue of that small electorate with *majorats* to his lieutenants, varying from 140,000 to 10,000 francs a year. In this way the Marshal Duke of Istria received an annuity of about 2,000*l*. Anticipatory of his sovereign's entry into Spain, he was sent there, in March of the same year, with 6,000 of the Imperial Guard, which was afterwards rendered the nucleus of a French army of reserve 23,000 strong, which, issuing from Burgos, traversed Biscay in all directions, and meeting the patriot army of Cuesta at Medina de Rio Seco, gained a complete victory over him. He was then called back to the personal service of the Emperor in his campaign against Austria in 1809, and commanded the Imperial Guard at Landshut, Elsberg, and Wagram, at which latter battle his horse was shot under him, and he received so severe a contusion that he was reported killed. It is related that he was popular with the guard, who, on seeing their chief fall, raised a shout of grief which attracted the attention of Napoleon, who was rejoiced to see him rise unhurt, and said aloud, "Voilà un beau boulet; il a fait pleurer toute ma garde." He was sent after this campaign to supersede Bernadotte in the command of the army of the Scheldt. He was employed again in Spain, but so little to his satisfaction that he solicited another service, and was again given the command of the Imperial Guard in the Russian campaign. With the devotion which he entertained for his master, he never quitted for a moment the pro-

tection of his person, until Napoleon decamped from the army, when he made his way back into Germany alone, and rallied his men again round the Viceroy of Italy. He was already at the head of a newly-organised guard when the Emperor returned to Germany in 1813. In almost the first encounter in that campaign, even before the affair at Lützen, a cannon-ball struck him to the ground as he rode along—a very insignificant end for an old warrior who had been in the *mêlée* of so many battles. He lies in the same grave with Gustavus Adolphus at Lützen.

Marshal Bessières had received but little education, but he had singular good sense and great amenity of manners, which rendered him exceedingly popular as a comrade or an officer. The Imperial Guard worshipped him, and the Emperor regretted his loss most sincerely. He was not a very frequent commander of detached forces, but always a leader of rare discretion in the various encounters of the armies of France, and in private life was a man of great disinterestedness, so that his conduct was always marked by rectitude and honour. It was his good fortune, as the natural result of the affection he inspired, that all the Sovereigns to whom he had been known, either by service or otherwise, should have sought to honour his name. The Emperor his master intended to remove his remains to the vault of the Invalides, but this fate prevented. The Emperor of Austria conferred a pension on his widow. The King of Saxony ordered a monument to be placed on the spot where he fell, and it yet remains to record the worth of the French marshal in his own land. Louis XVIII, after his restoration, evinced his esteem by creating the son who survived him a peer of France.

MICHAEL DUROC was born at Pont à Mousson, in Auvergne, in 1772, of a gentleman's family, poor, but who had been for generations soldiers of France. He was educated in one of the schools of the artillery, and subsequently entered the military school of Chalons. He soon became lieutenant, but being a royalist, he emigrated in 1792. Afterwards he got appointed to the staff of General Lespinasse, with whom he made his first campaign. Through the intervention of his friend Marmont, he was placed on the personal staff of General Bonaparte in 1796, with whom he served in Italy and Egypt, and at whose side he was wounded by the bursting of a howitzer at the siege of St. Jean d'Acrc. He was one of the coterie who returned with his general to France out of Egypt, and, after he became First Consul, was employed by him in some delicate diplomatic missions to Berlin, Stockholm, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. On his return from this service he became the bosom friend of his great master, and, after his elevation to the Empire, Duroc was entrusted with the care and security of the Imperial person. He was, from this intimacy and body service, the depository of all his intrigues, ambitious hopes and fears, and even, it has been said, the complaisant minister of his pleasures. The confidence of his master was not misplaced; he always served him faithfully, and was in return loaded with honours. He never had the command of an army, nor served in any purely military capacity, though he was

ever on the field of battle by the side of his great chief and friend, and he at length received his mortal wound by his side, and under his very eyes.

He was of a cold, inaccessible disposition, very reserved in intercourse, and ever sad by nature; discreet and sensible, he was not ambitious; yet, though true, had ever his misgivings of the unstable prosperity of the Empire. He was, from these qualities, well suited for the trust reposed in him; and while he always informed the Emperor of all he ought to know, he never rendered an ill service to any one by disparaging him before his master, except for that master's interest. He was neither assailable by the temptation of gain, nor open to propositions injurious to Napoleon; so that for 15 years he executed faithfully and assiduously, and with the utmost exactness, all the duties required of him. It was said that the same dry and impassible character that kept him free from any participation in crime, rendered him unfit to detect it in those by whom the Emperor was continually surrounded, because he was not of a habit to obtain by conversation in social intercourse any inkling of the views, objects, and intentions of other men. He was content to be useful in his own place and station, and did not trouble himself with the wants or wishes of any one, male or female. He left an only daughter, for whom, as the first favour he had ever asked for himself in his whole career, when dying, he solicited the Emperor's protection; the Duchy of Friuli was accordingly conferred upon her, and she continued to the last moment of the Empire to receive the Imperial favour. Napoleon ordered a monument to be placed on the spot where Duroc received his wound, with this inscription:—"Here the General Duroc, Duke of Friuli, Grand Marshal of the Palace of the Emperor Napoleon, gloriously fell struck by a cannon-ball, and died in the arms of the Emperor his friend!" To insure its elevation, he desired that a sum of 200 Napoleons might be placed in the hands of the owner of the adjoining house, jointly with the parish priest, but for some reason or other it was never erected. His remains were sent to Paris, and a common public funeral ordered both for Bessières and Duroc. The remains of the latter repose in the church of the Invalides.

9. CAVALRY AFFAIR AT HAYNAU IN SILESIA—ARMISTICE OF POISCHWITZ.

On leaving Görlitz, the Allied army continued its retreat in two diverging columns—Blücher, on the great road to Breslau, was followed by Ney; Barclay de Tolly marched by Lowenberg upon Schweidnitz. No attempt was made by the Allies to defend the passage of the rivers. On the 23rd they crossed the Neiss, on the 24th the Queiss, and on the 25th the Bober. The villages of Silesia, after they had been passed, were given to the flames. Ney followed up the pursuit with his accustomed activity, when his old adversary Blücher laid a trap for him at Haynau, into which

the gallant marshal fell headlong. The marshal had been twitted by the Emperor for having made no prisoners from the Allied rear-guard. The road by which the advance had proceeded towards Lignitz crosses the Katzbach by a bridge, and at this point traverses an uninclosed country after passing the defile of the village. The Prince of Moskwa, accompanied by the division Maison, pushed past the houses and trotted briskly over the plain after the three Prussian regiments forming the rear-guard, who halted and showed front. The French troops followed, marching carelessly without examining the heights on either side of the road, when suddenly they saw on the right hand a windmill on fire. This turned out to be a concerted signal, for immediately three strong Prussian regiments of cavalry came down upon the French infantry before they had scarcely time to form square. The few dragoons that were with Maison fled, and all the efforts of Ney to restore order or to stop the rout were powerless. A thousand men were sabred or dispersed, and 1,500 men and 18 guns were captured, although only 12 of these last could be brought off. This brilliant affair cost the Prussians about 100, amongst whom were Colonel Dolfs, who commanded the attack.* The next morning, early, Napoleon came upon the field, evidently vexed at this disaster. He saw that, notwithstanding his successes in the operations *au grand*, he had suffered very great losses, and that his troops were always getting victimised *en petit*. His want of cavalry was a constant grief to him; for the Cossacks were continually about his flanks, and at Rippach, Lützen, Königswartha, Bautzen, and Reichenbach, he had lost more men and distinguished officers, together with trophies of war, than the Allies had done though they had been worsted in the whole campaign.

The retreat continued with few more incidents until the Allies reached Haynau, when, after crossing the Katzbach, Blücher quitted the road leading to Breslau, and took that which led by Goldberg on to Schweidnitz. This new direction occasioned Napoleon, on his arrival at Lignitz on the 27th, some disquietude. It appeared to him to be so great a blunder in his adversary to leave the high road to Poland open to his advance, and that the Allies should concentrate their forces and ensconce themselves in the passes of the Bohemian mountains, that he was convinced some political motives influenced the movement. The most obvious one was the accession of Austria to the Alliance, which he knew was possible. Ney, however, was desired to enter Breslau, which he did without opposition. The Allied army took post at Buntzelvitz, and threw up entrenchments, placing all their materiel in the rear at Rosen, and the Czar's head-quarters at Gröditz. But the works at Schweidnitz, which had been destroyed by the French in 1807, had not been

* The British General, Sir Robert Wilson, took part in this affair with such distinguished bravery that the Czar honoured him, in presence of his guards, with the third class of the Russian order of St. George for his conduct. An affair is related to have happened about this time at Sorottau, on the road to Glogau, where the French accounts claim for General Sebastiani the capture of 22 guns, 80 tumbrils, and 600 men; but there were no troops of the Allies on that road, and the circumstance is not named in any German accounts I have seen.

sufficiently repaired since to justify its ability to delay the enemy.

On the day after the battle of Bautzen a reply had been received from Count Nesselrode to the propositions made by Caulaincourt, that Russia should enter into a separate treaty with France, which was to the effect that Austria had accepted the task of mediatrix, and that, therefore, the Czar could not treat at all except through that power. A conference had, accordingly, been held at Vienna between Nesselrode and Metternich; the consequence of which was that on the 29th, General Count Schouwoloff on the part of the Czar, and General Kleist on that of the King of Prussia, presented themselves at the French outposts near Wahlstaff, where they were received by Berthier and brought to Napoleon, who carried himself with a high hand, and spoke of being on the Niemen again in six months. Nevertheless, there were many circumstances that swayed him to listen to some proposals of accommodation, the first of which was that the Allies had not been put into very high spirits by the results of the short campaign. When, therefore, a cessation of hostilities for 36 hours was proposed by the Allies, it was accepted by Napoleon.

In the meanwhile, the city of Hamburg had become an object of considerable interest. After its desertion by the French at the end of the last year, it had been taken military possession of by Colonel Tettenborne and Count Walmoden with the corps of Dornberg, while Czhernichov had been posted at Domitz on the Elbe to maintain the communication with Berlin. The withdrawal of the Allies beyond the Elbe after Lutzen exercised an immediate and fatal influence on their maintaining possession of Hamburg. On the 19th of May, Vandamme, acting under the orders of Davoust, had appeared before that city and commenced to bombard it. The Danish governor of Altona waited upon the French commander and expostulated with him, declaring that the Danes would assist in repelling any such aggression on that city, and some Danish gun-boats forthwith anchored in the passage of the Elbe leading to it. The British Baltic squadron had, at this period, made some demonstrations before Copenhagen, and the Danish King had been summoned to yield up Norway to Sweden, according to the treaty of the letter with Great Britain, which had induced him to despatch an envoy to Napoleon, who readily accepted his friendship with a new treaty, and accordingly on the 12th the Danes withdrew out of the Elbe, but 1,200 Swedes entered Hamburg and assisted in its defence in an attack made upon it by the French on the 22nd. The Allied generals were, however, unable to withstand Davoust, who had now collected a force of 10,000 men, and, accordingly, reluctantly apprised the city authorities that they had no alternative but to withdraw. On the 30th, terms of capitulation were agreed upon, and General Bruyère, with 1,500 French troops, made their entry into Hamburg unopposed. The loss of the city was felt as a severe blow by the Allies both in a military and commercial point of view, and it will be found to

have had some weight in the negotiations at this time going forward. It has been doubted whether Bernadotte did all that he might have done with the force of his adopted country to prevent the French occupation of Hamburg.

The operations of single corps in different parts of Germany gave Napoleon cause, on the other hand, for serious apprehensions regarding the safety of his communications with France. The recent experience of the Moscow campaign had not been obliterated from his recollection. On the 27th, 8 squadrons of Russian cavalry attacked and defeated 12 squadrons of French cuirassiers, near Gottenberg, and a partisan corps had captured a considerable parc of artillery somewhere on the road from France. Woronzow also fell in with a large body of the enemy's cavalry, near Dessau on the Elbe, and put them to the rout. General Zastroff, commanding the Prussian landwehr, carried on a desultory warfare against the French beyond the Elbe. On the 29th, General Czernichov, with Russians and Cossacks, surprised the Westphalian general Ochs, at Halberstedt, and took 1,200 men and 14 guns. Marshal Oudinot, who was despatched after the battle of Bautzen to the neighbourhood of Magdeburg, encountered, on the 4th of June, the Prussian general Bulow at Luckau, with 12,000 men. Oudinot attacked Bulow, and was repulsed with the loss of 2,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 3 guns. On the 6th and 7th, Czernichov and Woronzow surprised General Arrighi at Dolitch, in the neighbourhood of Leipzig; and Captain Colon, a Prussian partisan, incessantly annoyed the enemy in the remoter parts of Saxony and Franconia.

While the Imperial head-quarters remained at Lignitz, M. de Bubna arrived there on the part of the Emperor of Austria on the 30th, and the Duke de Bassano was directed by Napoleon to renew his proposals for an accommodation with the Allied Sovereigns on terms that might lead to a general pacification. This larger question he adjourned until his return to Dresden, and in the meanwhile continued the negotiations for a longer armistice upon the terms of a convention. It seemed to him that he could not, in principle, refuse a suspension of arms without appearing to entire Europe to be the incarnate demon of perpetual war, opposed to every term of peace, and he therefore commissioned Caulaincourt to discuss its propositions in preference. The parties were principally divided on the possession of Breslau and Hamburg, and the duration of the truce; but on the 4th of June the terms were settled, and the convention was signed at Plesnitz or Purschwitz for the truce to endure till the 20th of July, and Napoleon accordingly returned to Dresden on the 10th. The line of demarcation for the two armies was recognised to be the Bohemian frontier, as far as the Oder, and thence to the Elbe, having a neutral territory between them, which should not be occupied by either, and in this space Breslau was comprised, but Hamburg having come into possession of Davoust before the 8th, was left with the French. Both armies went into cantonments on the ground they respectively stood upon. The Czar established

his head-quarters at Peterswaldau, and the King of Prussia removed his to a small town called Reichenbach, on the high road to Neisse.

10. PENINSULAR WAR.

Lord Wellington had taken up the best cantonments he could arrange, after his retreat into Portugal at the end of last year, to restore the health and discipline of his soldiery during the winter; and, with the energy of his character, had given his attention to the organisation of an effective army for the ensuing campaign. As he was now placed at the head of the Spanish army as well as that of Portugal, he considered that the military establishment of Spain might now be regenerated, although he candidly informed the minister of war, "that had he been aware of the real state of the Spanish army, he should have hesitated before he charged himself with such a Herculean task as its organisation and command." He knew himself to be the object of the secret ill-will of most of the Spanish generals, and Ballasteros had already made so open an opposition to his authority as captain-general, that he had required the Cortes to dismiss him from his command, and the general was consequently exiled, and his army given over to General Virnes. It is indeed affirmed that many of the generals were at this time rather disposed to treat with the French than serve under the British. They were altogether a sad lot, and would have been as bad a bargain to their enemies as they were to their friends. A very lucid letter from Lord Wellington upon the subject of the evils and remedies of the actual state of their military officers, addressed to Don J. de Carasal, and dated December 4, 1812, was followed by an agreement of the Cortes to the propositions of the British commander-in-chief, and, upon this concession, he deemed it respectful to the government *de facto* of the kingdom, as all was now quiet in front of his cantonments, to wait upon them at Cadiz, and arrange, in person, for bringing efficiently into line a force of 50,000 Spaniards. The Cortes received him in full assembly with every mark of honour which it could bestow, and during his brief visit the city presented the appearance of a carnival; fête succeeded fête, and all classes vied with each other in exhibitions of attachment and respect to the hero who had done so much for their liberation. From Cadiz Lord Wellington repaired to Lisbon, which capital was illuminated for two nights in honour of his arrival. Having accomplished the objects which brought him to the Portuguese capital, and conferred with Sir Charles Stuart, the British minister accredited to the Regency, who entered fully into his views, and to whose assistance he was greatly indebted for the resolute bearing by which he forced the administration to carry out the measures required for the emergency, Lord Wellington quitted Lisbon on the 20th, and again reached his head-quarters at Frenada on the 25th of January.

In spite of the many hindrances to which they were exposed by the contrariety of De Forjaz and the Portuguese authorities, Marshal Beresford and the English officers succeeded in filling up

the ranks of the royal army, so that, before the opening of the campaign, 27,000 excellent and efficient Portuguese troops were organised and in line. So also the representations of the General to the home authorities, though not always responded to as they ought to have been, brought forth during the winter large and important supplies of every description. Very effective reinforcements, particularly in cavalry, joined the British army at this period from England; and the British fleet now swarmed along the shores of Biscay and Navarre to lend their efficient aid to the military operations in the north of the Peninsula. The experience of the past campaigns had also suggested many valuable alterations in the internal economy of the army in the field. For the first time since the commencement of the war, tents were issued out to the troops, and, as nothing is so important to a soldier as readiness and expedition in all their little comforts, special care was taken to add to and insure these. It had been found that the old antiquated iron camp kettle was both heavy and slow to heat, and, not being carried by the soldier, was often far behind in the rear, so that a brigade was frequently obliged to march on without a meal, because there were no kettles at hand for cooking it. A hint was therefore taken from the enemy, who employed a light tin saucepan, borne at the back of the pack, and this was now substituted for the old iron cooking-pot of the Wars of the Roses. The hospitals and ambulances were also improved after the plan adopted by Marshal Marmont in the French army under his command; and an improved pontoon train and some light carts to be attached to the several divisions of the army took the place of the slow native creaking bullock-car, which had nearly finished many an unfortunate sick and wounded soldier, who could no longer march in the ranks, and which had proved utterly unavailable even to carry the men's packs during any operation requiring rapid or long marching.

The Partidas, in every part of the kingdom, continued to perform their most valuable services: Longa in the north, Mina in Aragon and Navarre, and El Frayle (Nebot) in the east of the kingdom. These not only from time to time fell upon detachments of the enemy, and even captured entire garrisons, but kept them in perpetual alarm, while obtaining by their address and activity the most exact information of the enemy's marches and changes of quarters; at the same time, they intercepted all correspondence, and thus furnished to the generalissimo a knowledge of all the discords and divisions which continually embroiled King Joseph with the commanders of the French armies. Napoleon's failure in Russia was seen very soon to influence the contest in the Peninsula. Heavy draughts of veteran soldiers were called back across the Pyrenees, and Marshal Soult, justly regarded as the most able of the French leaders, was at this time summoned away to Germany, and that in such haste that he could only remain a single night on his passage through Valladolid, and travelled along as rapidly as the escort, necessary to protect him from the Partidas, would allow. Napoleon was now as urgent for the prompt eva-

cuation of Madrid by the intrusive court as he had before been to hold it, and directed the King to establish it at Valladolid; but Joseph was for a long time unwilling to comply with this requisition, and did not quit the capital till the 18th of March, when this vanishing phantom of royalty, attended by his ministers O'Farrill, Urquijo, and Azanzat, and escorted by his guards, departed from his capital privately, and reached Valladolid on the 23rd.

Meanwhile, the French army of Portugal, under General Reille, had retired from Salamanca to Burgos, and the army of Andalusia, commanded by General Gazan, abandoning the valley of the Tagus, had posted itself upon the Tormes. Laval's division alone remained at Madrid. Marshal Suchet was still master of the greater portion of the east coast with his *corps-d'armée*, and Arragon and Biscay were occupied by independent divisions under Generals Clausel and Foy. These several armies had collectively numbered 86,000 men of all arms at the commencement of the year, but were already in April reduced to 76,000 by the departure of 10,000 men called into Saxony by the Emperor's orders. The Allied army in the meanwhile had been distributed in winter quarters along a very extensive line. Hill's corps occupied Coria and Placentia; two divisions had cantonments in Upper Beira; the Light Division and Anson's horse-brigade were on the Agueda; and the rest of the cavalry rested in and about the valley of the Mondego. The Portuguese army occupied quarters in the valley of the Douro as far back as Lamego. Morillo, with one Spanish army, was in Extremadura; the Duque del Parque commanded another in La Mancha; and General Elio was stationed on the frontier of Murcia. The army of Castanos occupied the frontier of Galicia, and an army of reserve, consisting of more recent levies, was placed under the command of O'Donnell in Andalusia.

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

A powerful diversion had been expected to arise from the presence of an Anglo-Sicilian force, counting 16,000 men, for the scene of whose operations the eastern provinces of Spain had been selected. Lieutenant-General Sir John Murray had arrived and assumed the command in the end of February, after several commanders had successively come and gone in the most extraordinary manner. On the 6th of March this army had been put in motion and advanced from Alicante to Biar and Castalla. Its composition was singularly bad. There were two British divisions counting 8,000 men, under Whittingham and Roche, with about 1,500 cavalry; the remainder was a vagabond force of German, Maltese and Italian deserters. On their advance, General Elio's army went forward and joined them at Yecla and Villena. On learning this combined movement, Marshal Suchet assumed the offensive. On the 11th of April, General Harispe surprised the Spanish division at Yecla and took 1,500 prisoners; and on the 12th attacked Elio's forces at Villena, who, like all the Spanish armies at this period, only showed front

to be in an instant dissipated. Suchet seconded these movements of Harispe, and advanced to the pass of Biar, where he encountered the advanced guard of Murray under Colonel Adam. After a contest of some hours, this body, in obedience to orders, fell back upon Castalla with the loss of two mountain guns. The Marshal proceeded in pursuit with three divisions of infantry and two cavalry brigades, and on the 12th came up to the British army strongly posted with its left resting on the broken heights immediately before Castalla, and the right covered by a deep unassailable ravine. In the centre was an old castle, in front of which the infantry were posted under General Mackenzie, and the cavalry was formed in a plain interspersed with olive-trees in front and rear of the town of Castalla. No stronger position could be found, but, from an infirmity of purpose, Murray, who had selected the ground with judgment, had already given orders to abandon it; and abandoned it would have been, had not Suchet's attack prevented it. The left of the English position was most vulnerable, and the French Marshal accordingly resolved to attack that; at the same time cannonading the entire line, and threatening the right with his cavalry. A projecting mountain spur hid two-thirds of the Allies from view, and Suchet, therefore, proceeded cautiously, by sending a column of infantry to turn this intercepting spur so as to discover the conditions of the position in its rear. He then formed two powerful bodies to fall upon the British division under Adam, and the Spaniards under Whittingham, who were posted on each side of this spur. The ascent leading to the latter was so steep and so entrenched that the fight there resolved itself into little more than a skirmish; but against Adam the French grenadiers mounted the hill resolutely, when they were encountered by the 27th regiment in a terrible crash of battle. Here a singular and unprecedented event happened. As the French were deploying their columns, a French grenadier officer, advancing to the front alone, challenged any English officer to single combat; for, from the nature of the ground, the troops stood close to one another. Captain Waldron of the 27th, an agile Irishman of boiling courage, instantly leaped forward to accept the duel, and the hostile lines looked on without firing a shot, while the swords of the two champions clashed and glittered in the sun; but Waldron cleft his adversary's head in twain in the very first encounter, and the 27th regiment springing up from the ground with a deafening shout, led by their Colonel, Reeves, now charged and sent the enemy, maugre their numbers and courage, down the mountain side in great confusion. Suchet, seeing his principal column repulsed and broken, made two secondary attacks with his reserve, in order to cover and rally it; but, failing in both, his whole force was driven headlong into the only line of retreat he had, where his infantry, cavalry, and tumbrils were attacked by Mackenzie. A rear-guard of three battalions and eight guns covered the retreat, which Mackenzie was prepared to attack, but was compelled, by order of the Quartermaster General, and despite the remonstrances and indignant cries of the troops, to stand still, and Suchet immediately took up a position across the

defile, resting his flanks on the ridges above. Thus relieved, at a most critical moment, from imminent peril, the Marshal was glad to retire in the night to Fuente de la Higuera. Sir John, it is thought, should have completed the victory by ordering at this time a vigorous sally from Castalla instead of checking Mackenzie, but at any rate he maintained the field, and pushed forward next day on San Felipe, hoping to reach the Xucar before his antagonist, but Suchet regained his fortified camp in safety, and his escape under the above circumstances induced the affair to be considered little creditable to Murray's generalship.

12. WELLINGTON'S ARMY ADVANCES, CROSSING THE DOURO AND THE ESLA.

Wellington's preparations were at length completed for the commencement of the campaign, and the plan of the Allied general was a splendid military operation. Several considerations induced him to determine to direct his attack against the northern provinces, and nothing could be more perfect than the skill with which he masked his intentions by the disposition of his army in their winter quarters, and by the false information he caused to be conveyed to the enemy, which quite misled the French generals. Knowing that he would be expected by them to come up by way of the Tormes to the Douro, as he had done on former occasions, and aware that the defences of this road had been strengthened, he resolved to avoid the danger and delay which this contingency was likely to create, and therefore made his arrangements in secret for attacking and turning the right of the French armies by marching a great force round through the distant province of Traz-os-Montes. In this way he was enabled to assemble five divisions, with a large force of cavalry amounting to 40,000 men, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, which effectively turned the enemy without suspicion. At the same time, he held 30,000 men under his own command, to threaten the position of the Tormes. His plan was to pass the Douro with his left corps within the Portuguese frontier, then, by turning that stream, to form a junction with the Galician army under Castanos in the valley of the Esla. As soon as this first portion of the operation should be effected, he proposed to advance his own corps to Salamanca, and to cross the entire army to the north of the Douro, by taking that river in reverse, and he looked to driving back the scattered French troops (who were too loosely cantoned on either bank to admit of their speedy concentration) like sheep before the sheep-dog, upon Burgos and the French frontier.

On the 11th of May Graham marched, on the 15th threw his pontoon equipage across the Douro, and reached Bragança on the 22nd. Lord Wellington, on hearing that this part of the operation was successful, set his own corps in motion. Sir Rowland Hill, commanding the right, marched by the pass of Bejar on Alba de Tormes, and Wellington, with the centre, moved direct on Salamanca, by

Matillon ; and on the 26th, these two columns simultaneously reached the Tormes. They here encountered a small force, under General Villate, who made a show of resistance at the ford of Sta Martha, in front of Salamanca, but he was soon forced, and was overtaken by the British cavalry, under General Fane, at Aldea Lengua, while another cavalry column, under Victor Alten, and a troop of horse artillery, joined in the pursuit, and the French division retired before the cavalry on Babilafuente, in order to unite with the garrison of Alba. However, infantry alone, whatever may be their courage and discipline, cannot stand against cavalry and artillery combined, and when the guns opened, the masses fell before the round shot in sections. The heat, too, was excessive, so that many on both sides died in the ranks from its intensity. The whole French force, however, effected their retreat in good order, although with the loss of a great many men and 7 guns. The British army pushed forward on the 27th-28th, but finding the enemy still at Zamora, Wellington became anxious for the concentration of his columns, and, leaving the command of the south bank with Hill, he himself crossed to the north bank of the Douro at Miranda, it was said, by a rope and basket, slung from rocks 400 or 500 feet high, where the stream is ordinarily about 100 yards wide, but was now too much swollen for fording. At Carvajales, on the 30th, the Commander-in-chief had the gratification to join Graham's column, who had met with many difficulties in his march through Traz-os-Montes, for it was no slight operation to transport 40,000 men through 250 miles of the roughest country, leaving few sick or tired behind him. The French troops would have been surprised, separated, and overtaken in detail, if this move could have been made more rapidly ; for they were at this very time still in ignorance of the double operation on the two banks of the Douro. Their attention had been solely directed to the front of their position, and the possibility of the Allied army effecting the passage of the river within the Portuguese frontier had never been contemplated. Now Graham had turned the flank of the Douro, and Hill that of the Esla. On the 31st, the British outposts forded this deep and considerable river at Almen-dra, and the pontoon bridge was immediately laid across that stream. A French picket of hussars was captured at Villa Predices, and the advanced guard entered Zamora on the 1st of June, while the rear was still crossing the Esla. The French fell back on Toro, but their rear-guard was overtaken at Morales by the brigade consisting of the 10th and 15th Hussars, and a brilliant cavalry affair ensued, in which the French 16th Dragoons were totally overthrown and driven back on the infantry, with a loss of 200 men. The same day the advance of Graham's column patrolled into Toro, and the passage of the Douro was effected on all sides. Wellington rested his entire army on the 3rd, to close up his columns ; and on the same evening the Galicians came down to join his left, so that he found himself at the head of 90,000 men, with 100 pieces of artillery and 12,000 cavalry. The enemy could not hope to resist such a force, for their flanks in the advance were covered by clouds

of irregular troops: for Sanchez, with 1,000 horse, hovered on the right, and Portier, Barcena, Salazon, and Manzo, on the left. The way to victory was clearly open, and on the 4th the British army "marched forward with a conquering violence."*

At the time that Wellington had thus accomplished the concentration of his mighty force with so much skill, the initial movement was scarcely known to the intrusive King, who could scarcely oppose to this torrent more than 35,000 infantry, 9,000 cavalry, and 100 guns. It was only, therefore, on the 25th that instructions were sent to Laval to quit Madrid; and that the division Maucune was sent forward with all haste to unite with General Reille, who had regained the road to Burgos, while another division was echeloned at Segovia, and Clausel was also ordered to come down with the army of Portugal, and Gazan with the army of Andalusia, to occupy Tordesillas, when the junction of the French army was effected. On the 2nd of June, about 52,000 men were collected around King Joseph at Valladolid, with 100 guns; but he there received the report from Jourdain that the castle of Burgos was untenable, and he had, consequently, no alternative but to fall back upon Vittoria. The retreat was forthwith commenced, and his military capital of Valladolid was abandoned as had been the royal one of Madrid. On the 6th, the French army reached Palencia, and it was thought they might here dispute the passage of the Carrion; but Wellington, in his accustomed strategy, continually pushed forward his flank, and the British left was advanced to the Carrion on the 7th. On the 8th, the enemy had taken up a position near Torquemeda, between the Pisuerga and the Arlanzon: their right flank, however, was again threatened at Castro Xeres, and they again retreated. On the 11th, the head-quarters of Wellington were placed in that town, the French retiring across the Homraza. On the 12th, at length, the armies were engaged, and the French driven rapidly over the Rio Urbel, the 14th Dragoons capturing the first gun of the French army parc on the side of that river;† after which the British army was bivouacked in sight of the city of Burgos. A range of heights, extending to Estepar, appeared to afford King Joseph the opportunity he much desired of taking up a position to terminate the retreat of his troops, who were cheered, as they took up their ground, by the news of Napoleon's victory at Bautzen. Lord Wellington, in order to ascertain the intrusive King's intention in respect to holding Burgos, hearing that they were removing the stores, sent forward a strong reconnoissance towards the city, under Sir Rowland Hill, which eventually effected the dislodgement of General Reille from the above position. At 5 in the morning of the 13th, the British army was awakened from its sleep by a tremendous explosion, the force of which actually laid several streets of the city in ruins, and caused the hills to rock.

* Napier.

† The author, serving in this regiment, assisted on this occasion in the capture of this *first* gun of the royal army parc, as he did afterwards in the charge which secured the *last* howitzer near Pampeluna after the battle of Vittoria.

On retiring from the town the French had blown up the castle, and for this purpose had placed above 1,000 shells and other combustibles in the mine; but the explosion was premature, and, in consequence, a shower of iron, timber, and stone fragments fell, and destroyed in their fall 300 men who were working it. The noise is said to have been heard at the distance of 50 miles. The castle was totally destroyed; gates, beams, entire walls of compact masonry, guns, carriages, and arms lay in one heap of ruins. "Dubreton's thundering castle," which had foiled Wellington in the pride of victory, had now disappeared. The flank demonstration, skilfully planned and ably executed, had forced the French to abandon precipitately a fortress which had in the last campaign stopped a conquering army for 35 days, and the intrusive King, who appeared to be gone back to the mightier ridges of Pancorbo, prepared to make his stand on the Orea mountains, across which the high road led. While hopes and fears were balanced as to the cause and consequences of the explosion, the commander-in-chief, with his generals, came upon the ground, and, by the aid of their glasses, they clearly satisfied themselves that the redoubtable castle was utterly destroyed. The French retreat, therefore, was not checked. The stand which Joseph had designed to make at Burgos he hoped now to effect by placing the defile and fort of Pancorbo between him and the British. Here, therefore, he definitively assumed a position to await the long-expected succour, under Clausel and Foy, who reached the ground on the 15th, and Reille crossed the Ebro at Miranda on the 16th, to keep open the road, and protect an immense convoy of all their valuables, which they hoped to carry away with them into France.

13. WELLINGTON PASSES THE EBRO.

But Wellington, keeping firm to his tactics of moving always by his left to threaten the right flank of the enemy, no sooner convinced himself of the intentions of King Joseph, than he ordered his whole army to march by one flank march to the left, and on the 15th the head of the column passed the Ebro by the Puente de Arenas, and immediately moved down upon Frias. This great movement, by which he suddenly carried his whole army by an unfrequented route regarded as impracticable, was an extremely bold and successful operation. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the scenery on this line of march, but the obstacles to the movement of the troops through the pass were at least as great as the army had met with in marching through the Traz-os-Montes. The first and immediate result was to cut off the communications of the French from the coast line, and to open a new base for the operations of the British commander-in-chief. The English fleet forthwith entered Santander, and a commissariat communication was at once opened with the northern coast. Great was the consternation and animated the discussion between the intrusive King and his generals at Miranda on the 17th, when it

became known that the English were already in rear of their right, threatening the communications by Vittoria into the Pyrenees. Their great convoy was hastened on to Vittoria, Clausel was very urgently desired to remain for the assistance of Joseph at the same place, while General Reille was despatched on the road to Orduna and Bilbao to prevent the flank marches of Wellington from endangering the road into France. On arriving at Osma, on the 18th, Reille found himself in the presence of the 1st, 3rd, and 5th British divisions, under Sir Thomas Graham, which happened to be debouching from the mountain passes, and had already possession of the road to Orduna. The French general had only 8,000 men and 14 guns; nevertheless he resisted, with a sharp skirmish and cannonade, until half-past 2 in the day, when Maucune, whom he had called up from Frias, not having arrived, he withdrew, and found himself involved in the valley of Boreda, where he was a good deal ill-treated near Espijo by the Light Division, which formed part of Graham's corps. A scrambling fight ensued; and for a time there was a sharp contest, but after a loss of some 400 men Reille retreated behind Salinas de Anama, abandoning to the victors a considerable quantity of baggage on the backs of his sumpter animals. The intrusive King was sadly troubled by this incursion of Wellington upon the right wing of his army, and the question was mooted with his generals whether they should continue to follow the great road to Bayonne, or should make a transverse movement by Logrono into Navarre. This last proposal was that of Reille and Count d'Erlon, having for its object to unite with Suchet; but the retreat by Vittoria was supported by Marshal Jourdain as in obedience to the Emperor's instructions, which fell in with the views of Joseph and his camarilla from more interested motives.

Thinking that the French armies were about to quit the Peninsula altogether, as they now carried such accumulated plunder with them, encumbering the road with an endless pile of carriages, chariots, and wagons, all bearing rich stores of spoil, a crowd of partisans joined them, rendering the march altogether that of a caravan. All those termed "Afrancescados," which meant civil functionaries in the service of the French officers of state, their wives and families, mistresses and damsels, were at this moment all clogged in a sort of encampment in the plain of Vittoria. Among these were many nuns, following the fortunes of the sons of Mars into France, who were to be seen *en calèche*, or riding astride on horseback, as the custom is in Spain. All the archives, regimental chanceries, and records were also here removing away into France; and last, not least, the plunder of the Royal Palace at Madrid, from which the intrusive King had stolen many pictures of value.* With astonishing forbearance, Wellington had allowed this extensive convoy to pass unheeded through the defiles of Pancorbo

* Chefs-d'œuvre of Raphael, Titian, and Correggio, which the legitimate King afterwards presented as a gift to the conquering general, and which now adorn Apsley House in London.

and Miranda, and, although the Partidas had carried off some pickets and straggling soldiers, they had not been permitted to get their itching fingers into this mine of treasure. It will be seen that not only did it embarrass the march of the French army, but it affected its operations. So long as General Clausel's corps remained on the side of Logrono, and that Marshal Suchet held Aragon, King Joseph had yet a crown to fight for; but the presence of the convoy made it above all things essential to his wishes to keep the road to France clear. General Foy was accordingly sent forward to Tolosa with this especial view, and on the 19th the first division of the convoy was sent off from Vittoria, which was followed by a second on the 20th; while the third still rested in the plain; the division Maucune was also sent away to protect the road from the incursions of guerillas. This duty appears to have quite engrossed the attention of the intrusive King; for Marshal Jourdain was sick of a fever, and it does not appear that he had made or ordered any reconnoissance of the position which he now assumed for military purposes until the very morning of the 21st, although it must have been manifest to his common sense that the English general would not remain idle or irresolute, or permit their retreat to be continued into the fastnesses of the Pyrenees, while the French were evincing the greatest weakness and incapacity, so far, at least, as to allow themselves to be hampered with such a mass of non-combatants. Wellington had, in truth, projected at this moment three distinct and separate battles. He intended that Sir Thomas Graham, having the Galician army of Gizon under him, making 20,000, should force his way against Reille by the Bilbao road; that Hill, with an equal amount of force, composed of one British division, Morillo's Spaniards, and Sylveira's Portuguese, should force Maranzin across the Zadora through the Puebla ravine; while he himself, with 30,000 men, principally British, now resting behind the Boyas river, should pour across the plain and attack Vittoria in front. These three separate combats formed in effect the great battle that he now fought.

14. THE BATTLE OF VITTORIA.

The city of Vittoria is seated within a basin of hills in a plain fertile in corn and grapes. The Zadora, near which it is situated, taking its rise in the Pyrenees, meanders in its course across this basin until it forces its way to join the Ebro, through the Sierra de Andia, near the village of Puebla. The great Camina Reale, leading from Madrid to Bayonne, after passing through a gap in the mountain ridge at Puebla, has to cross two ranges of hills or spurs, which run from the Sierra down to the Zadora, the first being near the village of Arinitz, and the second at the village of Gomecha; this last is called the hill of Zuazo. The course of the stream severs the plain or valley into two unequal parts, but it is crossed by many bridges, all of which remained at this time unbroken. The plain abounds with villages, and on the north-

ern side the eye is gratified with rich culture, fine woods, and neat houses; but the southern acclivity rises into the celebrated heights of Puebla, poorly cultivated, wild, and steep. The experienced eye of Jourdain immediately detected this side as the position to be defended by the French army, and orders were forthwith expedited to General Gazan to occupy the ground with the army of Andalusia, and to bristle every commanding eminence with guns; while Count D'Erlon was directed to form upon Gazan's right towards the Zadora. Reille, who was gone towards France, was ordered back to defend the bridge of Gamarra and the road leading from Bilbao to Vittoria. When, however, the French staff officers departed to carry these orders to the respective commanders, it was already too late, for Wellington, who had halted on the 20th to rest and collect his army, had himself also been occupied in closely reconnoitring the ground, and had determined the movements, and had indeed already commenced his operations which he thought best calculated to effect, in his own way, the much-desired battle.

It would be difficult to imagine a worse position than the King had assumed to receive Wellington's blow, which was indeed a heavy three-hander. Graham, who had been advanced to Marguia on the evening of the 20th, commanded the left; the centre was placed under Beresford; and the troops under the orders of Hill formed the right of the army. It was about 9 o'clock when the latter began the fight, and Morillo's Spaniards moved to carry the heights of Puebla, and this was precisely the sort of ground on which the Spaniards could best distinguish themselves. The possession of these heights was very important, for they completely commanded the position selected by Marshal Jourdain, and brigade after brigade was sent up by Gazan to drive back the Spaniards, who, nevertheless, maintained the battle with great obstinacy, for Hill supported them with the 71st Regiment and the light infantry under Colonel Cadogan. Though Morillo was wounded, he remained on the field, but Cadogan, an officer of great promise, leading his men to his support, was killed. The enemy first endeavoured to hold the village of Subijana de Alava, but it was carried by Hill's division; and, under cover of these first successes, the 4th Division under Cole crossed the bridge of Nanelares, and the Light Division, under Charles Alten, that of Tres Puentes, while the seventh, under Lord Dalhousie, got forward to Mendoza. On the northern bank of the stream, Picton, with the 3rd Division, had already got into the fight by crossing a bridge in front of the village, and had forced back D'Erlon towards Vittoria. It was 1 o'clock when the intrusive King and the marshal, being present together on the ground, sent to urge Gazan to act with more vigour, and in consequence the division Villatte responded to the call and succeeded in regaining possession of Subijana; but at this moment Picton's attack in the centre rendered it already clear that further resistance on the most forward position selected was useless, and the troops were withdrawn

to Arinitz, General Tirlet, in command of the French artillery, with a view to favour the movement, climbing the hills and pouring down upon the Spaniards a telling fire from 45 pieces of cannon. Hill was, however, in possession again of Subijana, (if, indeed, he had ever lost it,) and seeing how D'Erlon was now pushed by Picton, he took advantage of the moment to crush entirely the French left. But as yet no firing had been heard on the side occupied by General Reille, Gazan therefore continued to defend the height of Zuazo with great resolution, although he was now left entirely to himself (for Joseph and Jourdain had gone off in haste to the right wing), and he saw Hill almost at the gates of Vittoria, towards which town at length he was obliged to draw off his corps, for Hill was too hard upon him. In the movement, however, another British force fell upon him and put him into irretrievable confusion. The action here degenerated now into a running fight and cannonade, many guns were taken by the British, and soon the combatants came upon thousands of carriages, and men, women, and children, huddled together in all the madness of terror.

General Reille, nevertheless, still maintained himself in the Upper Zadora, but Sir Thomas Graham now disturbed his slumbers, and a heavy fire of cannon broke the silence which had hitherto reigned on the north side of Vittoria, where strong *têtes-de-pont* had been thrown up to defend the bridges across the stream at Gamarra and Abechuco. The 1st and 5th Divisions, preceded by the brigades of Packe and Bradford, and followed by Anson's cavalry, broke in upon Reille by the high road from Bilbao, and Longa's Spanish division even crossed the stream and got possession of Gamarra Menor, commanding the high road leading by Tolosa to Bayonne. Reille resisted stoutly, and endeavoured, but in vain, to regain possession of Gamarra Mayor, which Major Robinson's brigade had stormed and carried. Halkett's brigade was equally successful at Abechuco; but in the struggle Colonel Fane was struck down at the head of the 59th. He was an officer of great promise and universally regretted. Wellington, seeing this condition of things, instantly placed himself at the head of the 3rd Division, and led them at a rapid pace diagonally across the front of both armies, and caught Gazan's division in the midst of his dispositions for a retreat, as stated above. Sarrut, however, with one brigade, still held the bridge at Aviaza, and La Martinière that of Gamarra; for it was impossible for Graham to get his corps across the Zamorra till the centre and left of the army had finished driving the enemy out of Vittoria. In the struggle that ensued for this object, Sarrut was killed. Colonel Grant, with the 15th Hussars, had now got up to the city, and thence galloped back by the high road upon Sarrut's rear, while the Light Brigade, scrambling along the Sierra, which the Spaniards had won in the morning, hastened to get to intercept the other high road leading from Vittoria towards Pampeluna. From the summit of Zuazo they could see the enemy already swarming like bees across the plain, and retiring in the greatest disorder; for the movement of the troops under Graham had completely cut off the retreat of

the enemy by the high road to France, so that Reille, collecting what cavalry he could to protect him against the assault of the British dragoons, and keeping his division pretty well together, fell back before Graham and reached the village of Arbulo with difficulty; thenceforward there was no order or concentration in the French army, for every line of retreat was intercepted. Eighty pieces of cannon, however, were still pealing with a horrid uproar, and "the hills laboured, and shook, and streamed with fire and smoke." The 3rd Division had now made its way, *non sine pulvere*, through the brunt of the storm. The 87th, under Gough, had carried Hermandad, and the 88th, 74th, and 45th regiments had got possession of Ali and Armentia, through which the flying divisions of the French fought hard. The movements of the troops under Graham had, however, effectually carried the day, and the Marshal, seeing both flanks of the army turned, counselled the intrusive King to order a retreat by way of Salvatierra, with the hope of lighting upon Clausel's advance. Confusion, disorder, and mischief now reigned supreme. Dust, smoke, and tumult filled the whole basin, in which the city stood. Behind it thousands of non-combatants stood by their rifled baggage. The guns were everywhere abandoned, for the artillerymen fled away on the horses. They left behind them 151 pieces of cannon, with all their tumbrils, and 415 caissons of ammunition, with upwards of 14,000 rounds of gun and two millions of musket cartridges, provisions, cattle, treasure, and a considerable number of prisoners. Never before, in modern times, had such a prodigious accumulation of military stores and private wealth fallen to the lot of a victorious army. The King's private carriage and royal sword of state, Marshal Jourdain's bâton de maréchal, all the equipages, stores, and regimental papers, a quantity of jewels and money, together with the military chest, the eagle of the 100th regiment, and a perfect herd of women, including General Gazan's wife and a number of the wives, mistresses, actresses, and nuns belonging to officers and men of the French army. The loss in killed and wounded was 4,914, and 266 missing, on the side of the British; that of the French has not been published, but M. Thiers rates it at 5,000 killed and wounded. Their army, however, was an utter wreck, and but one gun and one howitzer accompanied the fugitives to Salvatierra, the first of which was captured there next day by a squadron of the British cavalry and the defeated French army abandoned its one remaining howitzer before it reached Pampeluna. King Joseph arrived at Bayonne in a condition as wretched as Napoleon's when he reached the Beresina. It must be said, in justice to the intrusive King and Marshal Jourdain, that the letters they had despatched to hasten up the divisions Clausel and Foy had never reached their destination, having been intercepted by the partidas and peasants, so that they were forced to receive Wellington's attack with only 27,000 men in line. On the other hand, Wellington's 6th Division was absent, having been left behind at Medina de Pomar, under Major-General Hon. Edward

Pakenham, to cover the march of the magazines. This division did not, therefore, reach Vittoria till the 22nd, and there halted. Clausel and Foy were at this period isolated on both flanks and in very great danger. In the evening of the above day the former corps reached the city of the struggle, but found it occupied by the British; and learning the result of the battle, Clausel speedily withdrew to Logrono, where he rested till he heard that Lord Wellington was on his track, when he again hastily retired to Tudela and Zaragoza, and finally reached France by the pass of Paca. Foy dashed into the mountains, and got up to the protection of the remaining portion of convoys, of which Giron and Longa had been sent in pursuit; but these had already reached the Camina Reale, and had arrived in France in safety. Foy and Maucune then united their forces and fled before Graham, whom Wellington sent into Guipuscoa to overtake the French rear, and on the 24th he came up with Foy at Villafranca. The French general was so strongly posted in the mountains that the British leader was obliged to have recourse to flank operations to dislodge him, on which the former retired to Tolosa, whence he was speedily driven out with the loss of 400 men. By this retreat, however, which was conducted with great address, Foy had protected considerable property and the whole of the intrusive King's court and camarilla, and now, throwing a garrison into San Sebastian, he crossed the Bidasoa.

Wellington at first intended to lay siege to Pampeluna, and accordingly, on the 6th of July, he carefully reconnoitred the place with Sir Richard Fletcher. The works were found perfect. Pampeluna, the ancient Pompeiopolis, was founded by the great Pompey, and is situated in a perfectly level plain. On one side it is shielded by the river Arga, on which it stands; on the other it is covered by the works of a strong citadel, built at the southern extremity, and having the parapets of its walls so low above the plain as to be scarcely perceptible and therefore impossible to be breached. Two hundred pieces of artillery were supposed to garnish the walls, and it was occupied by a garrison exceeding 4,000 men, whose supplies had been, however, very much reduced by the vast consumption of the retiring army. The Allied commander, therefore, determined to leave its reduction to a strong blockading force, and Lord Dalhousie, with the 6th and 7th Divisions, immediately invested the town. Strong field-works were thrown up to command the several approaches from the country, and nine redoubts were constructed within 1,200 yards of the enceinte of the fortress, calculated to hold 200 or 300 men each. These were erected with a strong field profile with closed embrasures, palisaded, armed with some of the captured French guns from Vittoria. Every expedient, therefore, that art could suggest, was devised by the engineer, Major Goldfinch, to render the blockade effectual.

It was not till Napoleon's return to Dresden on the 15th of July that he received the news of Wellington's victory at Vittoria, and learned that his brother had been hurled from his throne and forced out of Spain. He measured at once the extent of the danger thus

brought upon his fortunes. Indignant at Joseph's weakness, he wrote:—"J'ai longtems compromis mes affaires pour des imbeciles." He at once commissioned Marshal Soult, who was at Dresden, to depart and assume the supreme command on the Spanish frontier, as lieutenant of the Emperor. He ordered Joseph to retire to his country-house at Monfontaine, and not to think of attempting any return to Spain, and directed Prince Cambacères to forbid the authorities to pay him any of the attentions bestowed on monarchs. He saw clearly that the battle of Vittoria would grievously influence the negotiations with Austria. The Conference was in truth animated with the news, and put in the highest spirits. Indeed, it is recorded that the only joke that the Emperor Francis ever perpetrated in his life was when he heard of the victory: turning to his suite, he remarked, "Ah! il parait que le chaud est aussi contraire à mon gendre que le froid." Napoleon, however, carried his views far beyond the Conference of Prague, for he perceived at once that the destruction of his Spanish army opened a new source of alarm to him, from the probability it afforded of an invasion of France from the side of the Pyrenees.

The Prince Regent of Great Britain, on the occasion of the victory at Vittoria, distributed rewards to the army very bountifully. He created Lieutenant-Generals the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir William Stewart, Sir George Murray, and Sir Edward Pakenham, Knights of the Bath; and sent the following autograph letter to Lord Wellington, who had been created Duke of Vittoria by the Spanish Cortes, with the grant of the estate De Aima, in the kingdom of Granada:—

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

"Your very sincere and faithful friend,

"G. P. R.

"Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K.G."

15. THE BRITISH FAIL BEFORE TARRAGONA.

Lord Wellington deemed it an object of importance to his further operations that Marshal Suchet's army in the east of Spain should be kept employed, in order to prevent his bringing or sending

assistance to the armies in his front. No consequences had followed the victory at Castalla: the Marshal Duke de Albufera had regained his fortified camp, and both armies remained inactive opposite each other. He therefore directed, that while the Spanish Generals, Elio and Del Parque, should occupy the attention of Suchet's army on the Xucar, the Anglo-Sicilian army should embark on board the British fleet at Alicante, and attempt a descent near Tarragona, in the hope either of regaining that fortress, or of withdrawing the French army from the occupation of the fertile province of Valencia. Accordingly, the army, 14,000 in number, thoroughly equipped, and supplied with a powerful battering train of 50 guns, together with ample siege materiel and the means of constructing gabions and fascines in their sea-passage, were put on board the ships of the fleet. Suchet saw the expedition pass Valencia, and guessed its object, but he was unable to put his army in position till the 7th of June. The expedition, having sailed with a fair wind on the 31st of May, arrived off Tarragona on the 3rd of June, when the soldiers were landed near the Puente de Salon, and marched on the same evening to invest the fortress. A strong hill fort at Balaguer, called San Felipe, 60 feet square, and garrisoned with about 100 men, but perched on a steep isolated rock in the gorge of a pass, domineering the only road from Tortosa by which guns could be brought to assist in the siege of Tarragona without being carried round by Lerida, was deemed the first object of attack. A brigade, consisting of 2 battalions of infantry and 4 guns, under Colonel Prevost, and 5 ships of war, under the command of Captain Charles Adam, of the "Invincible," were sent forward for this purpose. Prevost was joined by a Spanish cavalry brigade, under General Compans, and 2 battalions of their infantry. The field guns, as they approached the fort, opened a warm fire of shrapnel-shells, while, by the aid of the sailors, under Captain Carroll, of the "Volcano" bomb, and the other seamen and marines of the ships of war, five 24-pounders were dragged up to a height 700 yards distant from the fortress, and placed within a breaching distance. The troops who had to construct the battery found some difficulty in the operation, for the earth for the parapets had to be brought up from below with considerable labour, as the rock on which it was placed was perfectly bare. Favourable terms were offered to the garrison, but were refused; and on the 7th, the battery opened, and two additional mortars, brought up by Captain Peyton, of the "Thomas," were added to the fire. These had soon the good fortune to explode a small magazine within the *enceinte*, whereupon the garrison surrendered, and the British occupied San Felipe.

Meanwhile, Murray had commenced operations before Tarragona. The siege of that place had occupied the French army in 1811 from the 13th of May to the 29th of June; but it was reported that the garrison did not now exceed 1,200 men, and that it was composed of a mixed force of different nations, altogether unequal to the defence of the great extent of the works; and that it was commanded by Bertolletti, an Italian. There was, at first, reason to suppose that this officer

was disaffected, but he proved himself a loyal and energetic officer, and well performed his duty. The insufficient strength of the garrison enabled Murray to take possession of Fort Olivo and Fort Loreto on the first day, whence the town was bombarded in the night of the 5th, in which act the besiegers were assisted by the shipping from the sea. The fire was, however, so warmly responded to by the besieged, that the flotilla suffered considerably. Two fresh batteries were opened against the forts called De San Carlos and Fort Royal on the 6th and 8th, and a practicable breach was effected in the latter on the 9th; but Major Thackray, the commanding engineer, oddly enough requested that it might not be assaulted, as its occupation would not advance the possession of the place. Accordingly, the besieged took advantage of the pause to repair the breach and augment the defences. The siege was then continued against the castle, on which, upon the 11th, two heavy batteries opened from an elevation 450 yards distant.

As soon as Suchet ascertained the destination of Murray's expedition, he put himself in march, with 10,000 men and 14 guns, to relieve Tarragona. At the same time, General Maurice Mathieu, at Barcelona, without waiting, as it would appear, for any orders from his superior, set out for Villa Franca, with 8,000 combatants. Murray heard of the Marshal's advance with apparent coolness, and expressed his determination to obtain the fortress before the arrival of the French. The principal fault of the British general, under the circumstances of the first moment was, that he took no determined proceedings as to the siege, nor seemed to have considered whether he could, with the force under his command, at the same time carry on the siege and encounter the enemy on the field; or whether he had not better re-embark his guns and stores, raise the siege, and advance against Suchet in the open field: but he soon showed that he ought never to have been intrusted with high military command. He had been recognised as an officer of some ability, and as personally brave, but had that infirmity of purpose which rendered both qualities valueless. He would have sufficiently obeyed his instructions from Wellington if he had put his siege materiel on board ship, and sailed away; for the despatches state that circumstances might have justified that proceeding. Admiral Hallowell, however, and the superior officers of both services, raised their voices against this apparent cowardice, and he ordered an assault of the place for that evening. While this was preparing, he rode out to select a position for the battle he also professed to contemplate. It has been already explained that there were but two practicable roads of approach from Tortosa, and that one of them, that by San Felipe de Balaguer, was already in the possession of the British; and that the other was only available for the passage of very light artillery. Between these two roads, the mountains were too rugged for wheels. Eastward the causeway was exposed to the fire of the naval squadron. After he had made his reconnoissance he returned to the siege, where the storming party was formed up, awaiting his orders to advance, when suddenly he countermanded the assault. He had, it would appear,

become impressed with the conviction that the force under his command was unequal to the double operation; and he now, accordingly, repaired on board the flag-ship, and proposed to raise the siege at once. Hallowell was indignant, and, for an answer, immediately gave orders to renew the bombardment. There was, unhappily, no cordiality or confidence between the general and his second in command, Clinton, nor between this latter and the quartermaster-general, Donkin, nor between Donkin and the admiral; and none of them had a very clear comprehension of the object for which Lord Wellington had sent them, but had their own crude notions that the expedition was meant to fight. Of course, where there is discord in the leaders, there is no great chance of cordiality among the subordinates in the two services. From whatever motive, upon Murray's return to land, he again changed his mind, and ordered the assault about 8 in the evening, while he at the same time sent the cavalry and field-artillery, under the command of Lord Frederick Bentinck, to Altafalle, to patrol for Suchet's army; but at 10 the general again countermanded the order, and directed that the batteries should be dismantled, and the siege raised that very night, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of the officers on every side. The heavy guns were accordingly removed to the beach from all the lower batteries, and all the artillery stores brought down for embarkation, on the morning of the 12th; but while the seamen were thus actively and energetically employed, orders arrived to them to abandon that business, and collect boats for the reception of troops. The murmurs from both army and navy now became loud and indignant, and it is said that personal insult was even offered to the general. The admiral, who did not object to raising the siege, but to the manner of it, would not suffer the seamen to discontinue the work, offering to be himself responsible that everything should be on board before night. Murray again wavered. Not a French soldier had yet been seen, and he regained courage and gave orders that the guns were not to be removed from the batteries until a concerted signal, when they should be all spiked. An express next came in from Balaguer, informing him that a large body of the enemy had passed the fort towards Tarragona. The signal was immediately given, and the whole of the battering train destroyed!

During this time, the two French corps, unable to surmount the obstacles of a junction, and unable even to communicate with the place, were despairing of the safety of the fortress. Suchet had not reached Tortosa till the 10th; and Mathieu, on arriving at Villa Franca, hearing that Admiral Sir Edward Pellew had effected a landing of Marines at Rosas, in his rear, fell back, on the night of the 12th, to the Llobregat, knowing nothing of Suchet's whereabouts. The Duke of Albufera had *tatoned* as far as Perillo, and General Paunetier had there came upon some of Lord Frederick Bentinck's patrols, and sent in an immediate report to his chief that Murray was at hand. Under this supposition, large fires were kindled to advise Tarragona, but it does not appear, however, that even these had

been observed by the distant division. Suchet indeed reached San Felipe on the 14th, but the inhabitants of the district kept so much aloof from the French force that no correct intelligence could be conveyed or procured, and the troops had found themselves very incommoded in their movements by the want of water. At length, finding the shipping opening fire upon the head of the column from the shore, the Marshal ordered Pannetier to retire, and withdrew his whole force back to Perillo and Amposta on the 17th. Thus, while Murray was preparing for a hasty flight, the succouring armies for Tarragona were flying on all sides of him. Upon receiving information of these proceedings, Murray ordered his army to disembark again on the 15th, and Mackenzie's division was directed to go forward to support Bentinck, and General Clinton, with a small force, was sent down to the Gaya river. The whole British army was accordingly concentrated in the pass of Cambrills, to which place Maurice Mathieu had come back, and was now in considerable danger, if Murray had been a sufficiently energetic leader to take full advantage of an enemy's isolation. "The best of the story was, that all parties ran away. Maurice Mathieu ran away, Sir John Murray ran away, and so did Suchet. He was afraid to strike at Murray, knew nothing of Maurice Mathieu, and had not even been able to communicate with Tarragona."* Happily, on the 17th, the arrival of General Lord William Bentinck in the offing was telegraphed to the army on shore, who answered with more promptitude than decorum, "We are all delighted," and the command was at once transferred to Bentinck; but the moment for glory had passed. The British had had the mortifying spectacle of seeing all their battery train brought in triumphantly to the fortress, and they had missed giving as complete a chastisement of the enemy as had ever been offered to their hopes. Charges were preferred against Murray by Wellington, and he was tried by a court martial, which convicted him "of having unnecessarily abandoned a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, which he might have embarked in safety," and attributed his conduct to "errors of judgment." He was not cashiered, as in all equity to the service he should have been.

On the side of the Xucar, the Spanish army, under Elio and Del Parque, attacked the 9,000 French, who were left for its defence, under General Harispe, but the Spaniards were defeated, with the

* The Wellington Despatches, from which this extract has been made, contains an allusion to a custom which may be noticed, in passing, as having hitherto prevailed in England, of an officer or other person surrendering an order of knighthood which might be considered as inferior in honour upon the receipt of one deemed superior. Wellington, who had been for some years a K.B., and in that quality had admitted many brother generals to the order of the Bath, had, for his victory at Salamanca, been nominated K.G., and had, according to this old practice, delivered up his red riband. He was, however, earnestly requested by the army to retain it; for doubtless it did add to the much-coveted distinction among his comrades that he, of all men, should continue to be of the fraternity. It has since, however, become a practice, both for military and civilians to retain more British orders than one at the same time, and it is therefore suggested to our governors that the old custom should be resumed; for when a stringent regulation prevents the acceptance of foreign orders, it is culpably selfish in any man, be he ever so distinguished, to preclude the extension of this "cheap defence of nations" to others as good, or perhaps better, than himself.

loss of some hundred men. The triumphs of the French, however, had now come to an end. The Marshal Duke of Albufera turned his face towards France, for he had received orders from Napoleon to maintain himself in Catalonia but to evacuate Valencia, which Lord William Bentinck occupied on the 5th of July.

16. FIRST SIEGE OF SAN SEBASTIAN.

Although the enemy had, for the greater part, continued their march into France, yet they showed great tenacity in clinging to the Pyrenean frontier, where they still maintained themselves, especially in the valley of Bastan, of which, on account of its richness and the strong positions it afforded, they appeared resolved to retain possession. As soon, therefore, as Sir Rowland Hill had provided for the safe blockade of Pampeluna, he was directed to move through the pass of Lanz in the first days of July, and, by a series of brilliant manœuvres by that general, the French troops were completely driven out of that valley and from every post in the mountains, and obliged to retire out of Spain.

To hold the Pyrenees, however, it was necessary to reduce San Sebastian, in which had been left a considerable garrison. The battering train was accordingly ordered round by sea to the port of Passages, a small haven, occupied by a Spanish force, which had been selected for the requirements of the British army, and was conveniently situated for the purposes of the siege, as well as for the provisioning of the troops. As long as the war in Spain had been carried on by the enemy in the interior, little or no attention had been paid by the French to the occupation of San Sebastian. At the time of the battle of Vittoria it was nearly dismantled; for many of its guns had been removed to form battering trains, or to arm small fortified havens on the coast. There were no bomb-proof casemates nor palisades in the *enceinte*. The fortress is, however, only distant a league and a half from the *Camina reale* into France, and the importance of its position for the defence of the frontier had been recognised by Marshal Berwick in the wars of the last century. The situation of San Sebastian is remarkable. It is built on a low sandy isthmus at the foot of Monte Orgullo, where the river Urumea falls into the sea. This mountain is an isolated mass, 400 feet high, and is crowned with an old castle of no great size, called La Mota. On the west or opposite side of the castle from the river's mouth is a bay of sufficient capacity to contain several frigates, and at its entrance is a small island, called Sta. Clara, which commands it. The land front between the bay and the river is 350 yards wide, flanked on each hand at high tide with deep water, so as only to be approachable by the isthmus, which is defended by a bastioned *rêvétée* front of good relief, with a horn-work; but this is again commanded by heights, distant about 800 or 900 yards, on which was placed the convent of San Bartolomeo. The eastern front of the fortress, which faced the Urumea, consisted

of a lofty old wall, 8 feet thick. It looked upon a district termed La Zuriola, on which were certain sandy hills, called Las Chofres, over which the road led to Passages, by the convent of San Francisco. Beyond this there arose the lofty range of hills, known as Monte Ollio, which commanded the town, but at a distance deemed beyond fire. This side was doubtless the weakest portion of the defences, for there was no flanking fire, except from the half bastion upon the isthmus, called San Elmo. This was the side from which Marshal Berwick had made his advances in 1719, when he broke down the old east wall, while he advanced against the horn-work, to prevent its left branch flanking the approach to the beach.

General Emanuel Rey was sent by King Joseph to take charge of San Sebastian, as Governor, and, on his arrival there on the 22nd, found the place such as described, and filled to overflowing with a motley group of fugitives, French and Spaniards, who would soon have created a famine or a riot in any beleaguered town. The idea of a siege, however, soon thinned this vagabond population, and on the 27th General Foy arrived to examine into the condition of its defences, in which he left a good garrison of 2,300 men, which was increased by the transfer of the men who had occupied a post at Guetaria to about 3,000 effective. The Governor soon showed himself a man of energy, activity, and judgment. He as yet retained command of the sea approach, and thus had an open communication with the French coast, so that he was enabled to receive into the place all kinds of stores, military and otherwise. He also caused some out-works to be thrown up about the convent of San Bartolomeo, of which all the intervening buildings were destroyed, and he detached a small garrison to the island of Sta. Clara, to work the batteries there, while he established a *tête de pont* to guard the bridge across the Urumea. Blindages, palisades, gabions and fascines, chevaux de frise, &c., were collected, with carpenters and blacksmiths, so that the engineers soon set to work to remedy every defect in the *tracée*, and all contingencies that could be anticipated were provided against.

On the 27th, a Spanish force appeared before San Bartolomeo, and engaged in a fight of small arms with portions of the garrison; but it was not till the 3rd of July that the British navy blockaded the fortress, and the 9th when Sir Thomas Graham invested the town. The place was reconnoitred by Lord Wellington on the 12th, with Major Charles Smith, in the absence of Sir Robert Fletcher, and they determined that the first attack should be made on the fortified post of San Bartolomeo, and that the main attack should be directed from the Zuriola against the old eastern sea-wall, which fronted towards the Urumea. In the meantime, the besieged threw up a redoubt, called the Rondeau (a circular work, formed of casks upon the causeway), to maintain the communication of the convent with the body of the place. A warm fire of red-hot shot was at once opened on the town and outlying convents and works, and the breaching batteries were commenced on the night of the 10th, on which day twenty 24-pounders, six 18-pounders, and ten or twelve mortars and howitzers, with ample

supplies of powder, shot, and shell, arrived at the engineers' parc. The ground was immediately broken, and on the night of the 13th, the batteries, which had been established on the Chofre sands, opened fire. The governor, seeing the object of the besiegers, barricaded all the streets abutting on the Zuriola with traverses 8 or 9 feet high, formed of barrels and stones, and cut ditches 12 feet wide and 6 feet deep across all the approaches to the town. The same precautions were adopted at the convents, where the weak walls soon evidenced a yielding to the breaching batteries. The besiegers took the opportunity of a breach being deemed practicable to open batteries from the San Francisco convent lying opposite beyond the bridge, which commanded the gorge of the outwork on the isthmus, and on the 15th Graham ordered an assault upon it at noon-day, with the Portuguese troops of the 5th division; but these were repulsed with loss, and Colonel Thomas, who commanded the convent San Bartolomeo, sallied after them so resolutely that the firing did not cease till night-fall, although without much result. The next day the fire from the besiegers completely ruined the defences of the convent, and Rey prepared to receive the assault, and made a diversion against the Chofres and from the Rondeau; but both were driven back, after a resistance of four hours, during which 60 guns from one side or the other played upon the neutral ground.

Afterwards, in the morning of the 17th, two columns, the one under General Hay, and the other under General Bradford, both consisting of a combined British and Portuguese force, assailed the convent. Colonel Cameron, commanding the 9th British Regiment, marching quicker than the Portuguese, fell upon the enemy single-handed, and by a rapid advance under the protection of the field guns, braved with impunity a heavy fire from the horn-work, and established his column in a place of security within fifty yards of the convent. This bold movement, which threatened to cut off the garrison from the suburb, caused the French to abandon the work, and Cameron, at the head of his grenadiers, entered the convent, as well as the suburb of St. Martin. The casualties in this operation were heavy, for the battery from the San Francisco convent, commanding the gap of the Rondeau, was, owing to some mistake, not opened, and the fire from the latter alone occasioned the loss of 7 officers and 60 men, killed or wounded, in one single regiment. A lodgement was, however, made in the Rondeau on the night of the 19th and 20th, and the following morning 30 guns opened from the side of the Zuriola: the old wall did not, however, resist very long such an accumulated fire, and a breach was effected. The Governor was now summoned, and on his refusal the guns renewed their fire with greater violence. It is stated in the French account of the siege, that such was the unexampled rapidity of the fire on this occasion that for fifteen hours the British fired 350 shot per gun! Batteries established upon the lofty Monte Olio were now enabled to open a plunging fire into the horn-work, and, though distant, with such effect, that the besieged, being without casemates, were forced to make holes, into which they burrowed for protection. The French troops could also be dis-

tinctly seen from this point working at the interior defences against the expected assault upon the breach. It was soon found, however, that the distance of the breaching batteries was so great as to render the fire of the guns inefficient, so that, although there was an external breach, there was also an internal wall that yet stood firm, having a height of 12 or 16 feet above the ground. It was recommended, therefore, that the fire should be directed lower in order to break through this wall, which being thin and the stroke heavy and quick, was soon effected. The red-hot shot also began now to tell; for it had set fire to the houses nearest to the breach, and, indeed, menaced the whole town with destruction. Some of the interior traverses, formed of combustible stuff, were already burned by this fire. The assault becoming now inevitable and imminent, the vigilant Governor mounted guns at all the most commanding points; and the *fausse-braye* of the isthmus front, between which and the river the assailing party must necessarily advance, was armed with live shells to roll down upon their heads as they advanced; the burning houses were loopholed and occupied by sharpshooters; mines also were constructed upon the re-entering angles where the besiegers were most likely to form and rally, to concentrate their force for an assault. Every means of annoyance was, therefore, prepared against the British advance: two field-pieces were placed on the cavalier, 15 feet above the other defences; a 24-pounder looked from the tower of Las Mesquitas, two 4-pounders were placed in the old tower of Hornos, and several heavy guns were placed so as to play upon the breaches from within the fortifications of the old castle on Monte Orgullo. The besieged, however, continued to be much annoyed by the British fire of Shrapnel's hollow shells, which being filled each with 400 musket-balls, and bursting over head or in the faces of the French, from which they could have no protection, did fearful execution.

At night, on the 24th, Graham ordered the assault. From the trenches to the points of attack was 300 yards along and by way of the rocks of the sea-shore, which were in the way of the march, and slippery from the quantity of sea-weed growing upon them. A detachment, under Colin Campbell, of the 9th (now Lord Clyde), accompanied by the engineer officer, Mchet, with a ladder-party, led the way. The 1st Royals under Major Frazer, and the 38th, under Colonel Greville, followed in support. It was quite dark when, at 5 in the morning, a globe of compression exploded to their astonishment in the midst of the defenders of the horn-work, and made a road for the stormers along the covered way. Frazer and the engineer officer, Harry Jones, first reached the breach, and these brave soldiers rushed up it, expecting that the troops would follow; but in the dark the men got scattered, and only attained the foot of the breach in small parties and breathless. They soon mounted, but the steep descent from the top of this breach, which had not been broken, awed the stoutest of them. In fact, it was impossible to get down. In the meantime, some shell from Monte Orgullo fell rapidly into the midst of them, and the enemy from the houses

and the adjoining walls, recovering their confidence, smote with their fire the head of the column. The flanking batteries which had been prepared for that purpose now also opened grape upon the crowded and stationary assailants, and their ranks were torn in a dreadful manner. Frazer was killed amid the flaming building, the engineer Machet also killed, and Jones struck down wounded. In vain did Greville, Cameron, Archimbrau and other regimental officers, strive to rally the men and re-fill the breach. Campbell again and again ascended it, but while all who were with him died, he, reserved for greater deeds, was only seriously wounded. Four officers of engineers, including Sir Richard Fletcher, the chief, 44 officers of the line, and 500 men were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners in this dreadful assault. The troops were so clogged and massed that at last they could not move, and it was determined to raise a flag of truce to save the gallant fellows from being devoured by the advancing tide which already threatened them, and they were surrendered to the enemy.

As soon as Wellington received intelligence of this bloody repulse he repaired in person from Lesaca to San Sebastian, which he reached at 2 in the morning of the 26th; but intelligence had at the same time come to him of the revived activity of the French army in his front under their new commander, Marshal Soult, so that he was obliged to convert the siege hastily into a blockade, in order that he might avail himself of a part of the besieging force to check and force back the threatened irruption upon the combined operation of the siege and blockade of the two fortresses.

17. BATTLE OF THE PYRENEES.

The Duke of Dalmatia had been ordered, as has been related, to proceed at once from Dresden to take the command of the army in the Pyrenees, and not to rest 24 hours *en passant* Paris; accordingly, he arrived at Bayonne on the 13th of July. Soult was one of the few Marshals whose energy rendered them worthy to be deemed Lieutenants of the great Emperor, whom he had served all along with singular zeal and ability. He now found the French army in a scattered mountain position, extending from St. Jean Pied de Port to the sea, and numbering from 80 to 90,000 men, of whom about 7,000 were cavalry, with a train of 86 pieces of cannon; but the administrative staff was greatly disorganised, and the discipline of the troops sadly relaxed. The appointment of such a Lieutenant in the place of the intrusive King was the best measure that could have been adopted to restore confidence and re-establish the *morale* of the army, for Soult, as a military leader, was not only at this time the highest in reputation of all the marshals for his intelligence and activity, but he commanded the confidence of the soldiers in a pre-eminent degree. The orders of Napoleon were absolute that he should act immediately on the offensive; but it was unnecessary to give any spur to a man of Soult's resolute and determined character, although he might have wished for a few weeks' respite to establish order, make good

his materiel, and secure an efficient base of operations, when he saw and found that everything around him was still "reeking and rocking in terror" from the blow given by the battle of Vittoria.

On the very morning after his arrival he examined with attention the line of the military positions of the two armies on both sides in the mountains. "The theatre of Wellington's operations was quadrilateral, with sides varying from forty to sixty miles each, having a fortress at every angle, Bayonne, St. Jean Pied de Port, San Sebastian, and Pampeluna, all in the possession of the French. The interior space was broken and tormented by peaked mountains, narrow craggy passes, deep watercourses, dreadful precipices, and rough high ground covered with woods—such a wilderness altogether as no military combinations could embrace. The great spinal ridge of the Pyrenees intersected this quadrilateral diagonally. The Allied forces covering Pampeluna were echeloned upon this great spine. The valleys, in parallel lines behind them, descended in as many passes, furnishing good positions for the covering army, but having difficult lateral communications."* Soult resolved to operate by his left, first and foremost for the relief of Pampeluna; and, this accomplished, his intention was to cross over by the road from Irurzun to Tolosa, in order to fall *en masse* upon the centre of the British army. The blockade of Pampeluna had been intrusted by Wellington to the Spanish armies of the Conde de la Bisbal and Carlos d'España, whose united force amounted to 11,000 men. Mina and the other Partida chiefs carried on the communications with the Allied armies on the side of Aragon, and kept watch over any movement that the Marshal Duke of Albufera might make from the eastward to aid the Duke of Dalmatia. The British and Portuguese troops appointed to cover at once the blockade of Pampeluna and the siege of San Sebastian, occupied an extent of nearly twenty leagues. The right wing covering the direct approaches to Pampeluna from St. Jean Pied de Port, consisted of Byng's brigade and Morillo's corps of Spaniards, who occupied the pass of Roncesvalles, having the 4th Division (Cole's) in support at Biscaret, and the 3rd (Picton's) at Olaque. The 2nd Division, under Sir Rowland Hill, held the valleys of Bastan and Estevan, and the passes leading into them; Pringle's Light Brigade watched the Puerto de Maya; the Light Division (Charles Alten's), and the 7th Division (Lord Dalhousie's) occupied Vera, and guarded the Puerto del Echelar; and, lastly, the 6th Division (Pakenham's) was in reserve at San Esteban. The entire available force here enumerated counted 57,566 Anglo-Portuguese, with 25,000 Spanish regulars; but the left wing, consisting of the 1st and 5th Divisions, was left to carry on the investment of San Sebastian: and these numbered 21,000, while Lord Aylmer, with some British and the Spanish brigade of Freyre, were posted in front to guard the Bidasoa. The communications on the French side of the Pyrenees were, however, so much shorter and straighter, that Soult could gather on Wellington's right quicker

* Napier.

than the latter could assemble troops to oppose him; for it required three days for the British general to concentrate a sufficient force to resist the attempt to force the blockade of Pampe-luna.

On the 23rd, all being ready for the advance, the Duke of Dal-matia issued an order of the day which was spirited, but to English ears turgid, and, even to French habits of thought, not at all Napoleonic. Writing was not the Marshal's *forte*. The British Com-mander, with his accustomed solid sense, was silent, but estimating the character of his opponent justly, made effective preparations for vigorous hostilities. He did not, however, know of any forward movement having been made by the French Marshal until the evening of his arrival at San Sebastian, after the unsuccessful storm of that fortress on the 24th. To mislead Wellington, by vexing his right simultaneously with the constructing of bridges for a movement against his left, General Paris was directed to march from Jaca; but the British General was not blinded by anything of that kind, and soon detected this movement as a feint. As early as the 20th, the French right wing, under Reille, had marched away unobserved from the heights of Sarre and Vera upon St. Jean Pied de Port, where two divisions of cavalry and the parc of artillery had been concentrated. Some unknown causes, however, delayed operations, for it was the 24th before 60,000 fighting men, with 66 pieces of artillery, were assembled to force the passes of Roncesvalles and Maya. On the following morning, however, the entire French army was in movement. It was late at night on the 25th before Wellington was apprised of it, when he immediately issued his orders to disarm the batteries before San Sebastian, and to remove the siege materiel to Passages, and, after having given other necessary directions to Graham, repaired in person to his right wing.

To understand the battle which ensued, a short description of the ground on which the fighting took place is necessary. Two descending shoots from the summit of the great chain of the Pyrenees form the valleys of Carlos and Orbaiceta, having on their farther sides the valleys of Alduides and Baygorry. The Great Spine, turning a little backward, shoots forth its spurs into France, giving rise to the rivers Bidasoa and Nive; roads pass up the valleys formed by the tributaries of this latter river, and cross the ridge by which the great road from St. Jean Pied de Port to Pampeluna leads down through the famous pass of Roncesvalles. General Clausel, with three French divisions, commenced his attack by threatening this celebrated passage, where General Byng commanded a British outpost. Byng, who had been warned the evening before of the approach of danger, had sent the 57th Regiment up to the rocks of Altobispar; and having despatched immediate information to his superior officer, Cole, now set himself resolutely to oppose Clausel's advance, but numbers increasing in his front threatened to pass his right flank. At mid-day, however, Cole came happily up in person; his troops, indeed, were yet distant, and Reille, outflanking the left of Murillo, forced him back to Ibaneta. Here Ross's brigade came to the

front, and the 20th Regiment, encountering the 6th French infantry, drove it back with the bayonet; but Cole seeing Byng still pressed on both flanks, ordered the whole division back to Zubiri. Fortune at this point sent a thick fog to the assistance of the British, which prevented Reille's further advance till nightfall. Another column, destined for the attack of the pass of Maya, was commanded by D'Erlon. This ground immediately adjoined the pass of Roncesvalles and led down upon Elisondo, the chief town of the valley of Bastan, where the British picquets that guarded this passage, with their light infantry supports, sustained for a time the onset of the enemy. The brunt of the action then fell upon Major-General Pringle's and Walker's brigades, who came to the front under the command of Sir William Stewart. The 34th and 50th Regiments, when pushed by the French advance, charged with the bayonet, and succeeded in driving back the assailants, but were nearly themselves surrounded by increasing numbers, until the 92nd came up to their assistance. The contest was then revived with great obstinacy, but it was still unequal, for fresh French regiments moved forward to the aid of their advance, so that, being overmatched in numbers, Sir W. Stewart at length retired slowly until the brigade of Major-General Barnes, of the 7th Division, enabled the ground to be again partially recovered. The fighting continued in this way in both valleys till 9 in the evening, and the loss of the Allies in this conflict was 1,600 men and four guns. Hill, in consequence, as soon as he heard of Stewart and Cole's retreat, thought it prudent in the night to withdraw his corps back to Irurita, and abandoned the pass of Maya to the enemy.

Both armies were on the alert at daybreak on the 26th, but the morning fog hung heavy on these mountain passes. Cole fell back fighting to Linzoain, where Picton came up to his support. The junction of these divisions being thus secured, Soult appears to have thought himself foiled of a surprise, and hesitated, and in the end, determined to postpone attacking them till next morning; and, on the other flank also, the enemy remained inactive all day in Maya. When Wellington reached Hili's quarters at San Esteban early in the morning of the 27th, he heard of Stewart's fight and retreat to Irurita, but as yet had no information of Picton's exact position. He, therefore, without further directions, indicated the valley of Lanz as the line of general retreat, and then pursued his ride to the great Roncesvalles road, where he found Picton in command of the column retiring to a position in front of Huerta, extending to the hills beyond Olaz. The Commander-in-Chief was satisfied with the separate action of his Lieutenant in this quarter, and said, loudly, "You have taken up a position, Sir Thomas, that any man might be proud of." The French had, however, now formed their army opposite the British position, on a mountain which was crossed by the high road from the pass. In a short time after the French had taken up this ground, they attacked a salient hill projecting from the line on the right of the 4th Division, which had been occupied by the 4th Portuguese and the Spanish regiment of Pravia, who

now bravely defended the ground, and drove back the assailants with the bayonet. Seeing the importance of this height, however, Lord Wellington ordered the 40th Regiment in support of the Spaniards, and the main road to Pampeluna was thus effectually protected. D'Erlon advanced no farther than Elisondo on the 27th, though the road was open to him by Hill's retreat; but upon Soult's urgent orders he followed the British through the pass of Villatte. Meanwhile, the garrison of Pampeluna made a sortie, and attacked O'Donnel, who, in great alarm, spiked his guns, and would have destroyed his magazines, but for the remonstrance of his colleague, Don Carlos d'España.

Soult, with the promptness of a great and experienced commander, saw that, as he had not succeeded according to his first plan, it was now impossible to force the great road, and, instantly changing his plan, sent Clausel to move his right across the hills, who, descending rapidly into the valley of Lanz, seized the village of Sorauren, close under the left of Picton's position. Wellington happened to be on the bridge of Sorauren, accompanied by Lord Fitzroy Somerset, at the very moment that Clausel advanced along the brow of the hill from Zabaldeca, whence, seating himself on a stone under the immediate range of their hottest fire, he coolly pencilled an order to the 6th Division to come up with all haste and occupy the left of the Lanz valley.* This essential move was effected the same night, so that on the morning of the 26th that post was occupied, and the line was secure. The British position was now on a mountain ridge between the valleys of the Lanz and the Guy, which was occupied by the 4th Division and Campbell's Portuguese brigade; while Byng's brigade was on a second ridge in reserve, where Picton had formed up the previous day; and the 6th Division stood immediately adjoining. This last was scarcely formed when it was attacked by Clausel from the side of Sorauren. Madden's Portuguese brigade received the onset and drove the enemy back with a rattling fire upon the right and rear of the column, until the main body of the division came up by Oricain, and the entire line was established on the heights. Two brigades of Cole's division soon after came into the fight, and the enemy was assailed in turn and driven back with immense loss from a telling fire in front, flanks, and rear. Clausel's 2nd Division had, in the meanwhile, attacked a chapel on the left of Cole's division, on the other side of Sorauren, where stood the 7th Caçadores, and, although Ross's brigade came up to their aid, the French drove them back, and for the moment gained possession of the chapel. Wellington accordingly brought up Byng's brigade from the second ridge, and ordered the 27th and 48th Regiments to charge, who rolled back the enemy in disorder and threw them headlong down the mountain side. Three

* The writer happened to be here as orderly officer, having been with a message from his general to the Commander-in-Chief, and was present at this incident, in which he can bear testimony to the wonderful calmness of Wellington at a rather trying moment, when a heavy fire of great and small arms was falling around him, and his enemy had almost effected a breach in his line.

separate times did the French return to the charge, but these heroic efforts availed nothing against the unconquerable obstinacy of the Allied troops, for well did their general describe this fearful conflict as "bludgeon-work." Every regiment of the 4th Division, the 40th, 7th, 20th, and 23rd, charged four different times, and Major-General Ross had two horses shot under him.

On the left of the French, Reille was, at the same time, attacking the Spanish hill (as the little eminence above spoken of was now called), and had actually set his feet on its broad summit, but scarcely had the glittering arms of the enemy appeared above the brow, when a charging British cry was heard, and the French mass was driven down the mountain amidst a tempest of bullets. A smart cavalry affair also took place at this time beyond the Guy rivulet, in which the 10th and 18th Hussars were successful.

During the whole of the 29th, both armies remained inactive, without firing a shot, but Wellington's position was now improved by the occupation of Marcalain by the 7th Division, so that he had 30,000 men in line, and ceased to have much anxiety for the result. Soult, accordingly, now gave up all idea of penetrating the line at the point at which he had aimed for the relief of Pampeluna, and hearing that General Villatte had crossed the Bidasoa and driven back Graham, he thought that by a flank march he might still be in time to relieve San Sebastian; but Wellington was not a man to suffer his adversary to make a flank march within cannon-shot across his front with impunity, and, as soon as he observed the French troops in motion for this object on the evening of the 29th, he resolved to fall upon them in their march. He therefore ordered Lord Dalhousie to cross the heights on which the enemy's left had stood, and, by sweeping over the hills, to threaten Clausel's communication with Roncesvalles. The 7th Division accordingly directed its march on Olaque, pushing Brigadier Inglis with 500 men as far as Lanz. Picton, quickly catching his chief's intention, co-operated in the movement by gaining the Val de Zubiri; Cole, at the same time, attacked Foy at Zabaldeca, where Byng drove Maucune before him by hard fighting. The 6th Division, led by Pakenham, at the same time assaulted the village of Sorauren. General Clausel, however, had ere this effected a junction with La Martinière, but apparently he thought himself likely to be cut off in the mountain valley, for, without caring for Foy, he fell back hastily on Las Alcudes, sending advice to Soult of his proceedings. All these operations obliged the Marshal to withdraw altogether from a mountain position which was one of the most difficult of access that was ever occupied by troops, and to abandon his object.

Sir Rowland Hill, all this time, occupied the post of La Zarza, where D'Erlon, deeming the left of the British general's position insecure, determined to attack it on the 30th. D'Armagnac accordingly making a false attack on his right, while General Abbé endeavoured to gain the summit of the ridge near Buena, in which he succeeded, and this secured to Soult a communication with Villatte

by the defile of Donna Maria, and at the same time gained him the use of the Camina Reale by Tolosa. Wellington, however, ordered Hill to attack and regain the pass of Donna Maria, in which he succeeded after some hard fighting, in which Sir William Stewart was wounded.

The Allied army lost 7,096 men in these different actions, but the enemy must have lost a far greater number, especially in prisoners; for nearly 3,000 were taken from Foy, and Carroux's and Maucune's divisions were so completely disorganised that their aggregate loss has been put at 13,000 men. A great quantity of baggage fell into the hands of the Allies, and the enemy's artillery was only saved by being sent away to San Jean Pied de Port as early as the evening of the 28th. The armies had been in each other's presence, more or less, for nine days. On the 2nd of August the French troops, however, at length evacuated the Spanish territory at all points, and both armies resumed the same position that they had held before Soult's irruption. Clausel was the last to cross the Spanish frontier, having maintained the Puerto d'Echalar with a rear-guard; but Wellington ordered him to be dislodged on the 2nd, and having the 4th, 7th, and Light Divisions in hand, it was not difficult to effect it. Barnes's brigade of the 7th Division having a shorter distance to march was first on the ground, and, although he had but 1,500 men to attack 6,000, such was the spirit with which the generals of the British army were now animated, that this handful of heroes was so well led that it drove the enemy altogether from the rugged heights. Meanwhile, the Light Division ascended the heights of Ste. Barbara, where a French regiment was strongly ensconced near the rock of Ivanlitz, and Colonel Andrew Barnard, at the head of the 43rd and 95th, forced them also out of that fastness. Thus terminated these great conflicts, at the very same point at which the first shot had been fired nine days before. Wellington, however, very narrowly escaped being taken prisoner this day by a French detachment, which surprised him as he was examining a map; and Soult, when riding in a careless way, was also very near being captured by three British marauders, who were plundering on their own account in the valley. Such are the daily hazards on which wars depend.

18. SECOND SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF SAN SEBASTIAN.

General Rey, the Governor of San Sebastian, employed the breathing-time allowed him by these operations with the energy of a capable officer. After having assured himself by a sortie that the breaching batteries were untenanted, and the besiegers diminished by the withdrawal of the greater portion of Graham's force from before him, he set to work with the greatest activity to repair all that was ruined, and to perfect his defences. The houses nearest to the breaches having been almost destroyed, he now took them altogether down, and with the materials constructed a thick wall 15

feet high behind and parallel to the *enceinte*, which was loopholed for musketry, and was made to extend even to the parapets of the curtain of the isthmus front. The horn-work was also repaired where it had been injured, and the counterscarp along the entire ditch repaired. Upon the rampart of the curtain a series of traverses were constructed to prevent any rush being made by a body of assailants from the side of La Zuriola, which might intercept the isthmus defenders in the event of a storm, and which was intended to afford them the means of being securely called in. Attention was also paid to the improvement of the defences of the castle on Mont Orgullo.

As soon as the enemy had all absolutely withdrawn from the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, Wellington recalled his artillery from Passages, and renewed the siege on the 5th of August. The duties of the British navy on this coast had been hitherto so inefficiently performed, that the garrison still received boats daily from San Juan de Luz, bringing provisions, reinforcements, and everything of which the garrison might be in need. All that the land forces, therefore, could do to prevent this was to seize and occupy the island of Sta. Clara, which commanded the entrances to the harbour: but this was scarcely possible without the aid of the squadron; and, as the complaints made by the Commander-in-Chief remained unheeded by the British Admiralty, Wellington, in a despatch at this period, remarks:—"We have thus lost 16 days in the month of August since I should have renewed the attack upon San Sebastian. Since Great Britain has been a naval Power, a British army has never before been left in such a situation at a most important moment." This delay gave increased confidence to the besieged, who showed it in a triumphant manner on the 15th of August, the Emperor's birthday, when the words "Vive L'Empereur," in letters six feet long, were displayed to English observation upon the walls of the castle. Salutes were fired in honour of the day, at morning, noon, and night. This was the last occasion on which Saint Napoléon received public honours. Before the recurrence of his festival the Imperial *régime* had ended. A large increase of battering artillery was daily expected, and at length arrived on the 19th, which raised the number of siege pieces to 117. At the same time, a reinforcement of sappers and miners and additional siege materiel enabled the works to be renewed with vigour.

On the 26th, 63 breaching guns and mortars opened upon the devoted place. The towers of Los Hornos and Las Mezquitas were soon destroyed, and their guns silenced. The right face of the demi-bastion on the left of the horn-work was laid open along half its extent, and the curtain connected with it in great part destroyed. The mass of ruins occasioned by the fire extended 255 yards, which the garrison vainly endeavoured to retrench. The artillery of the place was nevertheless in a great measure so damaged as to be useless, and the town was again in flames in several places. It was clear that the defence could not be long continued against such formidable odds. On the isthmus the sap had been pushed to the horn-work and to

the sea wall under it, supporting the high road leading into the town, which last obstacle had very much cramped the columns in the first assault. It was now known that the enemy had constructed many mines, which were now the most serious obstacles left to be overcome, and a false attack was made on the 30th by volunteers from the trenches to induce them to spring them; but Lieutenant Macadam and 17 men of the Royals who went on this service, exposed so large a mark when they jumped out of the trenches for the attempt, that they were soon laid low by the enemy's heavy fire of musketry from the works.

The garrison still continued to make sorties, though with little effect; but Captain Alexander Macdonald, of the artillery, discovered, by boldly wading it one night, that the Urumea was fordable, so that the enemy would be able, in a few minutes, to reach the Chofre batteries and disable them. Instant precautions, therefore, were adopted to avert such an evil, and render the siege advances everywhere secure. The period for another assault had, however, now arrived, and in the night of the 30th-31st three mines were exploded by the British to facilitate the approach of the storming parties and their descent into the ditch. The gaps thus made were immediately connected, and a traverse, six feet high, was run across the mouth of the main trench to screen the opening of it from the further fire of the castle. The Governor foresaw the contingency, and made himself perfectly well prepared to receive the attack. In front of the loopholed wall he placed a mine charged with 12cwt. of powder, and two other mines, charged each with 8cwt., were ingeniously prepared at the re-entering angles of the curtain road of approach to overwhelm the advancing columns. A storming party of 50 volunteers was demanded from the 15 regiments comprising the 1st, 4th, and Light Divisions, "men who could show other troops how to mount a breach." These men were to form a lodgement in the long-extended breach; and the 5th Division was ordered to attack from the side of the isthmus. A heavy fire was opened upon the town from all the batteries at 8 in the morning, and was kept up till an hour before noon, when the order for the assault was given. Instantly 12 men under a sergeant ran forward and leaped on to the covered way to endeavour to cut the *saucisson* of the mine, which induced the garrison to explode it prematurely, when, alas! the whole of these brave men were destroyed, together with a portion of the high sea wall, which fell with a dreadful crash upon the head of the advancing column and crushed some 40 men more. The "forlorn hope," under Lieutenant Macguire, of the 4th Regiment, had already passed by the spot unscathed, but they all fell in mounting the great breach. There was a re-entering angle at the junction of the bastion of St. John with the hornwork, and here was a momentary shelter from fire. In this corner the scattered parties were (as had been foreseen by the besieged) collected to form the assault of the breach in the sea wall, and here the second mine being exploded killed some hundred. And now began a frightful slaughter. The French, seeing

the tide of assailants pass the hornwork, poured their musketry into the centre of the second column as it came up, and the batteries of Monte Ogullo showered shot and shell upon them, while the guns in the cavalier of the bastion hurled grape-shot upon their rear. Nevertheless, the stormers pushed on with indomitable perseverance and reached the great breach, which they at once mounted. Here the muskets from the loopholed wall dealt death and destruction around, and further advance again seemed impossible. Crowd after crowd was seen to mount, to totter, and to fall, and at length the whole mass sunk down to the bottom of the breach, but remained stubborn and immovable on this lower part. General Graham, from the nearest of the Chofre batteries, beheld this frightful destruction, and with a wise resolution, but a bold one, ordered all the breaching batteries to direct a fire over the assailants' heads upon the inner wall. A fearful torrent of missiles rushed over the heads of the troops who were gathered at the foot of the breach, and a cry arose from the timid and inexperienced amongst them "to retire, because the batteries were firing on the stormers;" but the veteran soldiers sternly ordered silence, while awaiting the effect of this telling fire. The 13th and 24th Portuguese Regiments, led by Snodgrass and Macbean, forded the river near its very mouth at the shore of the sea, with the view of assaulting the further breach near the tower of Los Hornos and convent of San Vincente; but this well-intended enterprise failed with severe loss, and many fell, but the survivors bravely went forward and joined the assailants at the great breach. The struggle there had now lasted three hours, and it was evident that the assault must fail, unless some fortunate accident intervened. It has been already stated that traverses had been constructed upon the long curtain of the isthmus front, to prevent the stormers from proceeding along it, and these were now lined with musketeers. But behind this, and below the ramparts, a number of powder barrels, live shells, and combustible materiel had been accumulated. The intention was to ignite the train as soon as the besiegers appeared to drive the men out of this defence. It happened, however, that a shell from the besiegers' batteries lighted the fuse of one of the combustibles, which immediately extended along the whole line, and in a moment there arose a succession of explosions, and a bright consuming flame ascended to the sky. Amidst its suffocating eddies the British soldiers immediately detected their opportunity. They broke in upon the first traverse, found the defenders there, killed or miserably mauled, and so bewildered by this terrible disaster that they surrendered in a moment, and the besiegers pushed along the curtain with unresisted force. The colours on the cavalier were hauled down, and at sight of this the loopholed wall and all the breaches were at once abandoned by the besieged. A stream of hostile and merciless men now went pouring into the streets of the town, where the undaunted Governor in vain disputed the victory at his barricades, although many of the assailants lost their lives, especially at the church of Sta. Maria, near to the Mont Orgullo,

where the fortified convent of Sta. Teresa was still held by the garrison.

It was thought that the castle might at this time have been secured by a vigorous pursuit of the garrison; but the accident which gave the town to the British prevented any preparation for a contingency of this kind, and a fearful mortality had already fallen upon Graham's force. The chief engineer, Sir Richard Fletcher, had been killed, as already stated; the second engineer, Burgoyne, wounded; Generals Leith, Oswald, and Robinson, had also been wounded, with many superior and other officers, and nearly half of the volunteers. The loss sustained by the besieging force on this bloody day was 2,573 killed and wounded. A thunderstorm happened to break over the place just after it was won, and perhaps this might have been taken advantage of, but the opportunity of seizing Monte Orgullo was again lost.

The castle, therefore, still remained to be attacked. It was small, however, and mounted but 10 serviceable cannon; and there was no cover for the men upon the bare rock of Monte Orgullo: water was wholly wanting, and there did not even exist there the means for the men to cook their victuals. Yet the brave Rey still resisted, and refused every offer of surrender. Under these circumstances, Lord Wellington arrived at San Sebastian on the 1st, and ordered a destructive vertical fire to be opened on the mountain, when such a dreadful tempest of shells and rockets burst upon them that it was impossible for the besieged to store their ammunition in safety. On the 5th, the convent of Sta. Teresa was taken, and the conflagration of the town again raged, and this time with such fury that the troops had to be marched out of it. The cunning Frenchmen ran up a black flag upon a deserted outhouse, ostensibly to induce the besiegers to spare the sick and wounded; but the old hands were not to be taken in, for they well knew that the surrender of a useless hold was an easier and a better way. However, the Governor, when summoned, again refused, and new batteries were raised, which opened fire with 59 pieces on the night of the 7th-8th of September. The old castle soon fell a heap of ruins, and in two hours the Miradon and other external defences were completely broken. The French fire was silenced, magazines exploded, and there was scarcely a hole *pratiquéé* upon the steep, big enough to hold a rabbit, that was any longer tenable. The white flag was therefore hung out just as Graham was prepared to deliver a fresh assault. Colonel Songeon then presented himself to the general, on the part of the Governor: "Monsieur le colonel," said Graham, presenting him with a pen, "lorsqu'on sait défendre ainsi que vos troupes l'ont fait, on n'est pas vaincu, et l'on a le droit de dicter les conditions — écrivez les." The only conditions requested were the honours of war. Hostilities ceased at once, and the garrison marched out on the 9th, and deposited their arms on the ground.

The two sieges, which formed scarcely more than one operation, lasted 73 days, during which nine assaults had been attempted, six of them upon the body of the place. The garrison was reduced to

two-thirds, the greater part of its bombardiers had been struck down at their guns, and all the engineers but two had been killed: the entire number who surrendered prisoners of war amounted to 1,800 effective men, and 500 wounded and sick. Half of the population of the town had also perished, so that the loss of the besiegers, between the 21st of June and the 1st of September, was 5,069 men killed and wounded.

The siege of San Sebastian is more remarkable for the defence than for the attack. As this was the last siege undertaken in the war by the British against the French, we shall here pause to notice the extraordinary qualities of the latter in the defence of fortified places. In the attack they were not, on the whole, more successful than their antagonists; but there is something exceedingly instructive to military students in the contemplation of the manifold expedients of Frenchmen for circumventing their assailants in the defence of a siege. Perhaps, in regard to inventive genius for war, the soldier of France, under King or Emperor, is pre-eminent over other nations; for it must be admitted that, in this particular, British generals have not, since the days of Marlborough, exhibited it in any remarkable degree. In the qualities requisite for an attack and storm, the British is, in turn, superior to all, and scarcely any soldiery in the world could win a breach from them, though they have rarely been tried in the defence of a fortress since the days of Elliot at Gibraltar. The British are, however, as a fighting people, not sufficiently tolerant of the small means of annoyance that should be exercised by the besieged against a besieger. To defend a breach, as Philippon did that of Badajoz, with smooth boards and tenter-hooks; to form, upon the spur of the moment, chevaux-de-frise of sword-blades; to traverse the curtain, and garnish it with live shells and combustibles, as was done by Rey at San Sebastian; to devise interior defences, which should be even stronger than the external work, when it has been breached; to make judicious sorties, especially at the commencement of a siege; to study well the "jutties and coignes of vantage" on which teasing little batteries can be placed, to dishearten the working parties of the besieger, as was done at Ciudad Rodrigo; to contrive the wonderful devices of the pyrotechnist, to make night as bright as day, as was done at the assault of Badajoz; to construct the terrible engineery of the mines, which can be rendered fearfully available to deter from an assault, as shown in the siege just related;—in short, to meet endless exigencies with ever-varying expedients, which cannot be prepared and must be improvised, the British soldier has shown himself strangely unapt. No conceivable amount of mere courage and daring can overcome the enormous obstacles which a skilful enemy can oppose from the manifold resources of an inventive military genius.

19. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE CHIEF ENGINEER,
SIR R. FLETCHER.

Although the rule in these "Annals" has been to limit the line of "military characters" to those officers who have commanded fleets or armies in time of war, yet the case of a chief engineer, who had directed all the siege attacks and fortified defences of a long and mighty struggle, in which these operations abounded, appears to constitute an exception.

RICHARD FLETCHER was born in the city of Rochester, about the year 1774. He was the fourth son of the Rev. Richard Fletcher, rector of a parish in Kent, of which he was also patron, and who was probably descended from the dramatic poet, who was a native of the same city. He was educated at the grammar-school there, till he attained the age of 14, when he was removed to a military academy at Woolwich. He entered the corps of Royal Engineers in August 1790, and in 1792 proceeded to the West Indies, where he saw his first military service, and in 1796 received a wound at the capture of the colony of Ste. Lucie, in consequence of which he returned to England. Here he remained until 1798, when he was sent out again on service to Turkey, and in 1801 repaired to Egypt, where he was taken prisoner by the Beys, while examining the shore, in company with Major Mackernas, who was shot dead at his side. He was, however, released on the arrival of Sir Ralph Abercrombie's expedition. In 1802 he returned to England, and remained at home until August 1808, when he was ordered to join Sir Arthur Wellesley's army in Portugal, where he soon attracted the notice and received the confidence of that distinguished leader.

The operations of the British army in the Peninsula did not, however, require the active co-operation of an engineer till Lord Wellington had withdrawn into Portugal, after his victory at Talavera, when the subject of erecting lines of works, to cover Lisbon, as a base of military strategy, which might at the same time protect the embarkation of an army, if it should be driven back to the sea-coast, like that of Sir John Moore, was discussed. How far Fletcher incited Wellington's mind to the accomplishment of a scheme for this object, or how far it emanated from the mighty mind of the great master himself, does not appear to be known; but a letter, dated in 1809, in which the principles for such an object are clearly and comprehensibly laid down, and the most eligible manner of effecting it sketched out, is extant, under Wellington's own hand. It is addressed to Fletcher, with whom he had made a most minute reconnoissance of the ground, and who was further directed to carry the design into effect, with such details as his genius and knowledge of his art might devise.

Lord Wellington came down in person in February 1810, to inspect the progress that Fletcher had made in the "Lines," and, after a close and careful examination of them, expressed his complete satisfaction with the *tracée* and execution of the several re-

doubts, and with the professional knowledge and indefatigable zeal with which the entire design had been carried into execution. In the autumn of the same year the celebrated Lines of Lisbon, or of Torres Vedras, were put to the rude proof of practice by the arrival before them of a considerable French army, led by one of its most distinguished marshals, who had had the experience of some 20 years of war and sieges, and who, after having reconnoitred "the Lines" on every side, pronounced them impregnable.

Fletcher was afterwards employed by Lord Wellington to direct the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and San Sebastian, all of which were attended with the most successful results, except that at the last Sir Richard (for he had been created a baronet for his services) was on the 31st of August struck down in the breach of the latter fortress, very deeply and justly lamented.

There has been no military engineer of ancient or modern times who could exclaim, with the subject of this memoir, "I stayed, with my skill, a great army, commanded by a celebrated leader, who, for his uniform success, had been styled 'the spoiled child of victory;' and it was I who rolled back the tide of conquest from the westernmost shores of Europe to the Pyrenean boundary of the conqueror's own dominions." Yet such might have been (except that there was no arrogance in his nature) the proud assertion of him who fell at the moment of the fulfilment of the arduous duties of the Peninsular sieges, and whose remains lie sepulchred in the bloody walls whereon he fell, in his proper place as directing engineer, and in the execution of his most anxious duties. Yet he lies at San Sebastian "alone in his glory," unsung by the poet and unchronicled by the historian; and the memory of an officer of whom the British nation should be proud has been flung to the winds, without either a grateful country or an attached profession having raised a monument to his fame! No "Biographical Dictionary," even, records the name of the great architect of the famous "Lines." If one man constructs an elegant column, or erects a noble edifice on the ashes of the abode of ancient kings; if another man crests the mighty surge with a lighthouse-tower, or bridges Neptune with an iron fetter; his name, like those of Wren and Barry, of Smeaton and Stevenson, is retained as a household word in every school-room and academy of the kingdom; but Richard Fletcher, who, to the science of the greatest engineer, added the skill of the greatest artilleryman, whose powerful spade exalted valleys and laid low the tops of hills and mountains, not for the great of the earth to pass over, but that the mighty and strong might be stayed, and whose success reversed the fortunes of Europe, — Richard Fletcher leaves a name which is scarcely remembered by the companions of his pilgrimage, "and in the next generation will be clean put out."*

* It will astonish the military of foreign nations to learn that neither the engineer-in-chief, Fletcher, nor the bridge engineer, Sturgeon, had any higher army rank than colonel; and that neither of them had received any decoration to distinguish his great merit and transcendent abilities.

It was at this period that the Bourbons, thinking an opening was made for a restoration of their family to the throne, first bestirred themselves, and the Duc de Berri addressed a direct overture to the British Commander-in-Chief to offer to raise 20,000 partisans, on whose fidelity he could rely, to co-operate with the Allies in an invasion of France. Wellington's opinion of the proposition is such a testimony of his good sense that it deserves attention:—"It is a very common error, among those unacquainted with military affairs, to believe that there are no limits to military success. After having driven the French from the frontiers of Portugal to the frontiers of France, it is generally expected that we are to invade France. No one appears to take a correct view of our situation here on the frontier. The enemy still possesses strongholds even within Spain itself, of which, if we do not get possession, we shall have no communication even with the Peninsula. To invade France, a country where everybody is a soldier, where the whole population is armed and organised, requires an army very different from one which has made such marches and fought such battles as we have done."

20. COMBAT OF ORDAL.

The Duke of Dalmatia was not indifferent to the justifiable expectation of General Rey, that he would not be left to his own gallant resources to defend San Sebastian, but that Soult would strike another blow for his relief. That Marshal had, indeed, failed to drive Wellington from his positions with the means which, in the first necessity, and in haste to obey the Emperor's command, he had been able to collect, yet, still anxious to strike a blow by other combinations, he now proposed to the Duke of Albufera to march from the east to his assistance with the army of Aragon. Suchet, however, maintained that such a movement would peril the loss of his entire army, which was too feeble to venture on such an enterprise. It must be admitted that, if the diversion of the Anglo-Sicilian army had been as formidable as it was intended to be, the French marshal would have found it dangerous to quit the eastern seaboard of the Peninsula; but he had driven back the Anglo-Spanish army into the defiles of Hospitalet, and had therefore no reasonable ground of apprehension, "that were he to attempt a movement by Zarageza he would inevitably suffer the fate of Baylen." Soult, in consequence of this refusal, proposed another arrangement, which consisted in joining his own troops to those of Aragon and Catalonia at Tarbes and Pau, on the French side of the Pyrenees, in order to penetrate together into Aragon by Oleron and Jacca, and thus heading Wellington, to march upon Navarre.* It must, however, now be noticed, that, on assuming the command, Lord William Bentinck had united his forces with those of the Spanish General Del Parque, and had advanced upon the French, who retired before

* Brialmont.

him, leaving garrisons in the fortresses. The British general then crossing the Ebro on the 30th of July at Amposta, prepared to besiege Tarragona again. On the 11th of August the siege artillery was landed and the place invested; but Suchet, anxious to save the garrison, advanced again from Valencia, and Lord William, distrusting the efficiency of the army he commanded, retreated back to Cambrills. Suchet, nevertheless, after having dismantled the works, withdrew the garrison of Tarragona altogether and retired back to the Llobregat, establishing a *tête de pont* at Molinos del Rey, so that the town and port of Tarragona were occupied by the Allied naval and military forces.

On the 16th of September, Suchet, on his part, made a proposal to Soult, which consisted in his marching with all his artillery westward, if the Duke of Dalmatia, disembarassed of his guns, could come down through the passes of the Pyrenees to join him in the march; but this was now too late. A few days previously, Suchet had surprised Bentinck's outposts at Ordal, where the Spanish troops were worsted, after having fought well and been assisted by a British support under Adams, who was wounded in the action and obliged to quit the field. Encouraged by this success, the French Marshal pressed the Anglo-Spanish rear-guard back to the Venta de Monjos. Here Lord Frederick Bentinck with the British cavalry made a successful charge, and, by the aid of two guns of the horse artillery and one English foot regiment, covered the retreat to Arbos, where Suchet gave up the pursuit. After this Lord William Bentinck withdrew to Tarragona, when he resigned the command of the army to General Sir William Clinton, and returned to Sicily. Fortunately or unfortunately, as the case might be, the affairs which had occurred had impressed Suchet with a most respectable opinion of the value of a British force in the field, and retained him in Catalonia.

21. THE COMBAT OF SAN MARCIAL. THE BRITISH DRIVE THE FRENCH OUT OF THE PENINSULA.

Marshal Soult, therefore, without much hope of success, made another attempt single-handed to raise the siege. His first design was to attack at daybreak on the 30th, but his preparations being incomplete, he deferred it until the 31st, the very day on which San Sebastian was stormed and taken. The *Camina Reale* into France passes through Oyarzun to Yrun, near which it crosses the Bidasoa. It has on its right Mount Inizquibel, and on its left Pena de la Haya. The small fortresses of Figueras and Fuenterrabia on the coast were now guarded by seamen from the British squadron, and a brigade composed of three regiments, including one of guards, having just arrived from England, occupied the village and height of San Marcial upon the river, while 6,000 Spaniards, under the orders of General Freyre, occupied the mountains in the rear. Behind Yrun, the first Division, under General Howard, had been placed, and the fourth Division posted near the foundry of San

Antonio, which commanded the road leading from Vera to Lezaca. Longa's Spanish and one Portuguese brigade made the whole Allied force in position at San Marcial to number 18,000 fighting men. At daylight on the 31st General Reille's Division forded the Bidasoa at Biriatu, and two bridges were thrown across the stream, by which Villatte crossed his reserve. While one brigade attacked the Spaniards on the mountain to the left, another attacked it on the right; but the mountain was very steep and covered with brushwood, and the Spaniards charged and drove the assailants headlong down the declivity. Villatte's brigade, however, now coming up, shook the Spanish line, but Lord Aylmer sent to their aid the 85th Regiment, and the Spaniards, cheered on by Wellington himself, returned against their adversaries with such violence as to drive many of them actually into the river, where some of the French pontoons gave way under the fugitives. Foy was now sent up by Soult to restore the battle, while Clausel was making good his way up the Penà de Haya. He had here driven before him the Portuguese and Inglis's brigade, but on arriving near San Antonio he encountered Kemp's brigade of the Light Division, which was supported by the entire 7th Division under Lord Dalhousie, so that he saw it expedient to suspend his attack, and informed Soult of the reason of his doing so. It was past 2 o'clock when Wellington resolved to assume the offensive. He directed the Light Division to cross the Bidasoa by the bridge of Lezaca, and, with a view to embarrass the Duke of Dalmatia, sent orders to Hill to show the heads of his columns in the direction of St. Jean Pied de Port. This stratagem completely succeeded; for Count D'Erlon, whose post was at Maya, sent Soult word that he could not move up to his support in consequence of the demonstration, and this report arrived soon after the news of the fall of San Sebastian. The Marshal, therefore, was induced to abandon the entire project, for which now there was no motive, and ordered his troops to withdraw to cantonments within the French frontier. The battle had been arrested by the same tempest which had thundered over the stormers of the fortress, and which raged all along the mountains with wonderful violence. The streams were in consequence soon swollen into torrents, and it was amidst this turmoil of the elements that Clausel re-crossed the Bidasoa in some haste, leaving General Vandermaesen to follow with the remainder of the troops as well as he could. He even neglected to seize the bridge of Vera, so that many of the French soldiers were drowned in passing the fords, while Vandermaesen himself was killed in endeavouring to seize it when too late. In this straggling battle the loss of the Allies was 1,000 Anglo-Portuguese and 1,600 Spaniards. On the side of the French 3,600 were lost, including many who were drowned, and one general. The Duke of Dalmatia now resolved to act henceforth upon the defensive, for which his vast knowledge of war, his foresight, his methodical talent, and his knowledge of the ground upon the French territory, peculiarly fitted him. He had delivered twelve combats in seven weeks to regain the offensive, and now he demanded fresh orders from the Emperor. "I have given you my confidence, and

can neither add to your means nor to your instructions," was the tenor of Napoleon's answer.

The combat of San Marcial was the last that took place on Spanish ground, and although Wellington did not at this period, from political or other causes, cross the Bidasoa and invade France, yet the safety of the Peninsula was no longer his care nor a bone of contention between Great Britain and Napoleon, notwithstanding that Marshal Suchet still occupied with detached and insufficient garrisons a portion of Catalonia opposite an Allied force.

The "Spanish Juggle" had borne fruit, the unrighteous seizure of the Peninsula had aroused European sympathy, and the great drama drew to its close. As Marshal Junot had been the first to tread the theatre, and had, as it were, first disclosed to the audience-world the plot of the awful comedy, "The Rape of the Bourbons," in which the great conqueror himself had condescended to play the principal part of Romulus the Kidnapper, it is fitting that the same actor who commenced the play should now make his bow to the audience, but we trust with no view of demanding its repetition.

22. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL JUNOT, DUKE OF ABRANTES.

ANDOCHÉ JUNOT was born of humble parents at Bussi-le-Grand, near Sémur, in 1771. At the age of 20 he entered the French army as a volunteer, having previously received such education as his native village afforded him. He had arrived at the rank of corporal of artillery, when in the spring of 1793 he found himself at the siege of Toulon. Bonaparte, who, it will be remembered, commanded that arm in the trenches, had occasion one day to send a report to the general, and called on some person who could write, that he might dictate the despatch. The Duchess d'Abrantes, in her memoirs, tells this anecdote of her husband:—A young soldier stepped from the ranks, and resting the paper on the breastwork, had nearly finished the job, when a shot from the enemy's batteries struck the ground close to him and covered him with earth. "Remercîments," said the young soldier, "we shall have no occasion for sand." The firmness and intrepidity of the young man struck Bonaparte, who asked him what he could do for him, and subsequently recommended him for promotion; and he never afterwards lost sight of the officer whose fortunes became subsequently bound up with his own. As soon as it became known to his father that he had thus attached himself to some chief, he demanded an explanation from his son, when Junot replied, "He is one of those men of whom Nature is sparing, and whom she does not throw upon the earth but with centuries between them."

He now rapidly obtained promotion, and served under his friend in the army of Italy. At Lonato we already read of him as assisting in the defeat of the Austrians by an opportune charge at the head of a regiment of dragoons: and in command of the same arm he was with the same leader at the affair of Senio. Junot was also

employed in more confidential services, and as aide-de-camp was sent by Bonaparte to the Senate of Venice, whom he frightened into submission. He afterwards accompanied his master in the Egyptian expedition. His conduct at the battle of Mount Thabor, where he heroically resisted the Ottoman horse in square, drew forth an unusual testimonial in the French army, for the 300 men who were under his orders requested to have their names exposed on a splendid shield which should be presented to their commander. On his return to France in 1800, he was made Governor of Paris. It was in his capacity that he was commanded to execute the decree of the First Consul in 1803, for the arrest of all the English in France between the ages of 18 and 60. With considerable boldness he implored his chief to reflect before carrying out such an ordinance, and, although he well knew the absolute power and obstinacy of the Consul, he replied to some unworthy and unmerited threats from his superior: "You know that I am giving you proof of my utmost devotion by this remonstrance. Demand my blood, demand my life, but do not require me to do that which must cover you with shame." His name is not included among the 18 Marshals of the Empire at the first creation, but he was one of the first peers on the establishment of the Imperial peerage, and received a dotation of 35,000 francs annually. He continued to serve as Governor of Paris with no other access of military rank than Colonel-General of Hussars, until 1807, when he was appointed to the command of an army which assembled at Bayonne under the denomination of "Army of the Gironde," consisting of 25,000 infantry and 3,000 horse. On the 19th of October this army crossed the Bidasoa, and in the equivocal character of an ambassador at the head of an army, Junot marched "without leave or license" directly across Spain to take military possession of Portugal, of which he was appointed governor by an Imperial decree. The Prince Regent fled from his capital on the approach of this army, and Junot installed himself with regal state in the deserted palace, hoisted the French flag on the forts, and levied heavy contributions on the kingdom. After a few months, however, the Portuguese revolted against the French general's authority, and on the 30th of July, 1808, a British expedition, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, landed on the shores of the kingdom. The French troops were defeated in the first encounter, and, notwithstanding the utmost gallantry of Junot, he was completely overcome in the battle of Vimiero, and obliged to enter into a convention at Cintra for the evacuation of Portugal.

Although he had occasion for all his address and known attachment to weather the indignation of Napoleon, who had just at this time given him almost the only title that the Empire afforded him, that of Marshal of France, he was appointed to command the 8th corps of the army, with which the Emperor took the field in Spain, in November of this year. He afterwards commanded the army of reserve in the campaign of Aspern in 1809, and was again sent into Spain in the end of the same year, to serve under Marshal Mincey at the second siege of Zaragoza, where he shared very largely in

the plunder of the rich convent and shrine of N. S. de Pilar. Junot was afterwards left in command of the army of Aragon, but, in consequence of ill health, he resigned this post to Suchet, and returned to France. In 1810 he commanded a corps of the army of Portugal under Marshal Massena, and was wounded in a slight affair in the spring of 1811. He next served in the great Russian campaign, when he commanded a corps under the independent orders of Marshal Davoust, from which, however, he was detached before the battle of Smolensko, where he did not arrive till the close. He was thought to have lost his head at Valentina by his indecision. His last military duty was a participation in the battle of Borodino, at which he commanded a *corps-d'armée*, and upon his return to France after the disastrous retreat of Napoleon out of Russia, he was sent by him to be captain-general and governor of the Illyrian provinces.

In this honourable retirement his health, after a life of unremitting activity, broke, and in the commencement of 1813 his mind was already so excited by the events that were clouding the great career of his master and friend, that a letter is recorded of him which he addressed to the Emperor at this period, and which evinces commencing insanity combined with the expression of the warmest feelings of attachment which he entertained to the last for his earliest companion in arms. "I, who loved you with the adoration of the savage for the sun — I who live only in you — even I implore you to terminate this eternal war. Let us have peace! I would wish to repose my worn-out head, my pain-racked limbs in my house, in the midst of my family, of my children, of my friends. I desire to enjoy that which I have purchased with what is more precious than all the treasures of the Indies — with my blood, the blood of an honourable man, of a good Frenchman. I ask tranquillity, purchased by 22 years of active service and 17 wounds, by which my blood has flowed as well for my country as for your glory." Napoleon received this letter about the period of the battle of Bautzen, and immediately ordered Fouché to set off instantly and relieve Junot of his government, "for that he was decidedly mad." Upon the arrival of the Duke d'Otranto at Ragusa, the poor maniac was sent back to France, where he died on the 29th of July, in the very house in which he was born, from a window of which, in a paroxysm of his malady, he threw himself down into the street.

Napoleon was deeply affected by the death of Junot. When he heard it, he exclaimed, "Voilà encore un de mes braves demains! Junot! O mon Dieu!" He had proved himself through his long military career a valiant, obedient, and faithful soldier, rather than an eminent or capable commander. Brave in combat, and ever ready to serve wheresoever or under whomsoever he was ordered, he never evinced the slightest ability either in strategy or tactics. His life had been so much passed in the field that he was little acquainted with literature; nevertheless, he became a great collector of books and amassed a valuable library, partly probably acquired by plunder in Spain or elsewhere, for it contained many rare and curious manuscripts, of which a catalogue has been published.

23. RUSSIAN WAR—RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES.

Little progress was made in the work of negotiation during the first three weeks of the armistice of Purschvitz; at the close of which period Metternich arrived at Dresden, ostensibly to meet the Duke of Bassano respecting them, but in reality to converse with the Emperor himself. The consequence of many interviews was that Napoleon was persuaded to extend the armistice to a convention for a general peace, and accordingly the astute diplomatist returned to his Imperial master with an agreement that accredited envoys should meet in conference at Prague, and that the military convention should be prolonged to the 10th of August. This had scarcely been settled when news arrived of Wellington's victory at Vittoria. In a moment, the sagacity of Napoleon detected that he had been outwitted in staving his generalship for the mazy hopes of diplomacy; he saw that any prospect of a European pacification was by this success of his enemies destroyed, and that henceforth the negotiations at Prague would be insincere, and merely a cover for preparations for war. Marshal St. Cyr was therefore despatched, four days after the receipt of this intelligence, to reconnoitre the frontiers of Bohemia and the ground on which hostilities would probably be resumed; and it is creditable to a valuable military quality in this Marshal, that he not unfrequently made a single circuit of observation 17 or 18 leagues in extent in one afternoon. Dresden was the subject of the greatest solicitude, and had been determined upon for the base and nucleus of future operations; and accordingly the Emperor drew to the Saxon capital 15,000 peasants, whom he caused to be employed day and night on works supplementary to, and improvable upon, an old enceinte. *Têtes de pont* were established at every passage of the Elbe; Königstein and Lillienstein were strengthened and connected with bridges to cover an entrenched camp; and the castle of Sonnenstein was put into a state of defence. He incessantly occupied himself in reviewing the troops, and in communication with his marshals. For almost the first time in the history of this redoubted conqueror's *délassements*, we read that, during the period of his stay at Dresden, he assembled the garrison in the gardens of the palace for the public celebration of the mass every Sunday. At length the impatience of his nature and the continued anxieties of his position were thought to require a new *relâche*, and he quitted Dresden on the 24th of July to meet the Empress at Mayence. But wherever he turned he could not now escape from some unexpected personal annoyances; he learned, while trying to amuse himself with the review of the *corps de reserve* at Mayence, that Marshal Ney's chef d'état-major, the afterwards well-known General Jomini, had abandoned his service, and accepted office under the Czar.* He also learned that

* HENRI JOMINI was born in 1779, at Payerne, in the Canton de Vaud, and is believed to be still in possession of his extraordinary faculties. He has made himself the greatest master of theoretical military knowledge of all who ever wrote

his old comrade, Moreau, who had been living in exile in the United States, had been invited to take service with the Allied armies, and had actually arrived at the capital of Bernadotte's kingdom; and it was, moreover, said that the Crown Prince had repaired to Trachenburg with him, to meet Alexander and Frederick-William. The ambition of Bernadotte had doubtless led him to expect that he would be named generalissimo of the Allied armies, in the event of a general alliance against Napoleon. Great discussions had indeed ensued in these councils on this subject, but if he ever made the offer, he was refused in the vilest manner imaginable; nor was Moreau, in this respect, more acceptable. All were sufficiently agreed in their hearts that this was not the moment to trust the fortunes of Europe in the hands of a French renegade, and indeed the engagement with Moreau was a weakness, and a great political blunder.

If Napoleon made good use of his time in reinforcing and strengthening his military position, and in preparing and, as it were, "girding up his loins" for a renewal of the contest, the Allies, on their part, were not idle. A general plan of operations for the conduct of the ensuing campaign was anxiously discussed at the great military interview at Trachenburg, and it was in the end resolved, that part of the Allied forces, 50,000 strong, should be left in Silesia in reserve, with instructions not to hazard a battle on any account; and that 100,000 Russians and Prussians should be assembled on the Bohemian frontier, so as to be on the spot, to unite as rapidly as possible with the Austrian contingent, as soon as that empire should pronounce, which would augment the entire force in actual line against the enemy to 200,000 men. The Prince Royal of Sweden undertook to observe Hamburg with 20,000, and to bring up 70,000 more troops to the neighbourhood of Leipsic before the

upon the art of war; and his works have succeeded each other rapidly since 1803, when he published "*Traité des grands Opérations Militaires*." In practice, however, he has never distinguished himself, except in so far as that he had been Chef d'état-major to the Marshal Duke d'Elchingen from 1806; but as Ney never passed for anything more distinguished as an officer than *le brave des braves*, it is not easy to measure Jomini's merit as a general in the field. He could never obtain from Napoleon a higher rank in the French army than brigadier; for the Emperor refused all Ney's importunities to have him nominated general of Division, though he gave him the civil rank of baron, and re-established the office of Historiographer of France in his favour, which had ceased since the time of Marmontel. He was, for the moment, Governor of Wilna, in the Russian campaign, but was sent back to France in punishment of some negligence.

It would be well if we could blot out of the page of history that a Swiss, renowned as the soldiers of that nation are for their fidelity, had openly deserted to the enemy in the full tide of war. No more glaring case of desertion was ever heard of. He actually became a Russian general, and aide-de-camp to the Czar, in the midst of the operations against Napoleon, whose confidence he is supposed to have possessed, and certainly did so in some degree.

The benefit to be derived from an acquaintance with the theory of war has been very much insisted on in General Jomini's writings; but it is thought to be considerably overrated, and that mere theory is of little account, except in aid of good practical military qualities. In this art, as in all others, certain fundamental principles are admissible, but to suppose that a sexagenarian, who has lost his nerve, mental energies, and personal activity, can be rendered a successful leader in the field by the study of books in the closet, is a fallacy, which must always terminate in failure and disgrace. No reading or experience can ever supply the want of energy and activity.

expiration of the armistice. He was to be here joined by 30,000 from the Silesian army, which would increase Bernadotte's separate command to 120,000 combatants. The actual military resources at the disposal of the Allied commanders at this important crisis will scarcely be believed. Prussia, virtually representing the public mind and patriotism of Germany, was bringing into the field 240,000 men, of which 32,000 were cavalry. Russia had 100,000 men in line, without reckoning the corps of Sacken and Langeron, and independently of armies in reserve; and Austria was understood to have solemnly undertaken to place 200,000 men under arms. Thus the entire Allied force might soon number 650,000 combatants, with 1,800 pieces of artillery; this was, of course, altogether exclusive of the force assembled under British leaders in the Peninsulas of Spain and Italy. Great Britain, however, freely and generously poured into the lap of the Allied cause immense subsidies of money, and despatched 400,000 muskets, and 100,000 sabres to arm the landwehr of Germany.

Napoleon took leave of the Empress, and quitted Mayence on the 1st of August, and passing by Würzburg, Bamberg, and Bayreuth, where he reviewed in succession the troops marching up from the Rhine to the front, arrived at Dresden on the evening of the 4th. There now remained but five clear days before the expiration of the armistice, and he accordingly commanded Caulaincourt to seek a direct personal interview with Metternich, and to carry himself so boldly to this minister's face as to endeavour, by a sort of intimidation, to avert the decision of Austria in favour of the Allies. The result of this was just the reverse, and brought matters to an immediate issue the other way; for a memorandum, signed by the Emperor Francis himself, was published, declaring that he was resolved to join his forces to those of Russia and Prussia, in order to conquer a peace compatible with the interests of all nations. The Congress at Prague, therefore, declared itself dissolved on the 11th, and war against France was formally declared by Austria.

Napoleon had profited by the armistice to bring 400,000 men-at-arms into line, with 1,200 field-guns. He had 25,000 Bavarians on his right, at Munich, observing the Austrians on that frontier, near Linz; Davoust, with 40,000 French and Danes at Hamburg, on his left; Augereau with 20,000 in reserve at Würzburg. "The grand army," under his personal command, consisted of 230,000 fighting men, divided into 11 *corps-d'armée*, or 43 divisions of infantry and 18 divisions of cavalry, all cantoned between Dresden and Liegnitz; Königstein, Dresden, Torgau, Wittemberg, and Magdeburg, on the Elbe; Stettin, Glogau, and Custrin, on the Oder; with Dantzic on the sea, were all strengthened in their fortifications and well garrisoned. Everything, therefore, was now ready for the campaign, when, just as the Emperor was on the point of mounting his charger, Murat, king of Naples, arrived at head-quarters. It was well known to his imperial brother-in-law that King Joachim had been intriguing and negotiating with Austria, but the deposition of his relative King Joseph, and his banishment into private life, had

made him hesitate as to whether he was quite safe in endeavouring to secure his throne from the enemy, and throwing down the ladder by which he had risen to it. While thus pondering, a thundering summons from Napoleon, requiring him to join the army forthwith, or perhaps the influence of his wife, and certainly the success of the Emperor at Lützen and Bautzen, decided him to obey in the nick of time to save the imperial favour; and with such success that on the very next night (15th and 16th) they both started together, *en voiture*, for the army, and on the following morning, which was the day preceding the termination of the armistice, and while the Imperial head-quarters rested at Bautzen, the hero of "the snow-white plume" was again at the outposts, in command of 429 squadrons of cavalry!

Prince Schwarzenberg, in command of the Austrian contingent of 120,000 men, had been for some time posted on the French right flank, and could now advance out of Bohemia by the two issues through the mountains bearing upon Petersvalde and Zittau. Against the former, Napoleon had a considerable force posted between Königstein and Lillienstein, together with the fortified camp at Pirna, under the supreme command of the Marshal St. Cyr. To guard the other pass out of Bohemia, Poniatowski was posted at Zittau, and Marshal Victor in support of him; while Vandamme, with three divisions, was at Stolpen in the valley of the Elbe, at hand for the support of either *corps-d'armée*. Napoleon was in complete ignorance of the movements of the Austrian army, placed as they were out of sight behind the great wall of the Erzgebirge; but he satisfied himself by personal inspection that his own troops were on the alert, and in the places assigned to them. At length, however, becoming impatient at the various reports brought in to head-quarters, he repaired to Zittau, and resolved, *en jeune homme*, to go straight into the mountains, and see for himself what threatened him from that pass. Mounting his horse on the 19th, and surrounded by his guard, he pushed resolutely beyond the confines of the kingdom of Bohemia, and, summoning the local clergy and the municipal authorities into his presence, endeavoured to ascertain from them the intentions of the enemy. On his return to Görlitz, on the 20th, he learned that the Allies had already taken the initiative, and that the Silesian army under Blücher had attacked his advance under Ney, on the Bober. He resolved, therefore, since the old Prussian made him know at least where *he* was, to march first against him, and throw him over the ropes. Accordingly, he made the requisite dispositions to order some fresh troops to the front in support, and repaired with his guard on the 21st to join Ney on the Bober, which river he crossed with 130,000 men, under Macdonald, Lauriston, Ney, and Marmont, at Löwenberg and Bunzlow, the division Maison leading. On the 22nd he proceeded onward in high spirits, and the troops also were animated with the greatest ardour under his command and in his presence. In pursuance of the tactics resolved upon by the Allied leaders, Blücher fell back without fighting, and withdrew behind the Jauer on the 23rd. The same evening a courier arrived

to Napoleon from Marshal St. Cyr, to report that he had been attacked by a superior force, and that it was evident that a large Austrian army was debouching by Peterswalde upon Dresden.

The judicious counsel of Bernadotte, Moreau, and Jomini had so laid down the plan of the campaign, that, in the event of Napoleon's advance against the Prussians into Silesia, the whole Austrian disposable force was to descend direct from the Erzgebirge. Accordingly, on the 21st, Wittgenstein and Kleist marched upon Peterswalde, and attacked and drove the French out of the camp at Pirna. The Austrians at the same time crossed the mountains at Marienberg and Annaberg, so that, on the 23rd, the Allied headquarters were already established at Dippoldswalde, almost in sight of the church-towers of Dresden. St. Cyr, unable to make head against such overwhelming numbers, had withdrawn into the redoubts and entrenched camp about the city, and sent further word to Napoleon that the enemy's army was of great force, with a prodigious train of artillery, and appeared determined to hazard an attack. No doubt this was the step that ought to have been taken, for Moreau and the Czar strongly counselled it: but the office of Generalissimo had been, after much discussion, at length conferred on Prince Schwarzenberg; and an Austrian army, to the end of time, will never cease to be procrastinating. Accordingly the attack upon this base and stronghold of Napoleon was deferred (happily for him) till the 26th.

24. BATTLE OF DRESDEN.

The Emperor quitted the army at Löwenberg in great haste on the 23rd, to return to Dresden, giving up the command of 80,000 men to Marshal Macdonald, with very detailed instructions as to the course he should pursue in all the various contingencies that might arise. The remaining 60,000 men were ordered to march back into Lusatia, while Murat hastened off to Dresden before the Emperor, to encourage St. Cyr's army by announcing his return. Napoleon himself, accompanied by his guard, marched the same day to Görlitz. On the 24th, the Imperial head-quarters were again at Bautzen, and, on the 25th, they were at Stolpen. As he marched, he received message upon message as to the state of things at Dresden, and it was about midnight when Colonel Gorgaud, his *officier d'ordonnance*, returned thence with a report sufficient to shake any nerves less tried and well-tempered than those of Napoleon. The hills round about the Saxon capital were said to bristle with the bayonets of all nations, and the hardy and unscrupulous Cossack had already made his dreaded appearance among the pleasant villages and country-houses of the plain. The aide-de-camp was directed to return and reassure the chiefs and soldiers with the intelligence that he would be at Dresden on the morrow with 40,000 men. At daybreak, therefore, the following morning, Napoleon was in the saddle, and the troops were in motion, and defiling upon Dresden. Before he set out, he explained to General Haxo, the cele-

brated engineer, the grand diversion he contemplated, and the orders he had already given for the march of General Vandamme into the gorges of Lilienstein and Peterswalde, there to await the issue of events at Dresden. The Imperial head-quarters had marched forty leagues in four days, but the troops now pressed forward as eagerly as Napoleon himself to the encounter of the Allied forces at Dresden. The Guard led the array; next came Latour-Mauburg's cuirassiers; then Victor, with the infantry, while Kellermann closed up the rear with his light cavalry. There never had been a more fatiguing march; for the anxiety became extreme when firing was heard from the direction of Pirna, and it was not clear that some of the enemy might not be already on the same side of the Elbe as themselves. Arriving at a place called Mordgrund, whence there was an extensive view over the whole plain adjoining the Saxon capital, Napoleon dismounted from his horse, and anxiously searched the ground with his glass on every side. The Prussian uniform was clearly seen in full possession of the Grosse-Garten; the Russian was visible in the act of constructing batteries to enfilade the roads of approach upon Dresden, which was surrounded by enemies on every side; and, from the vicinity of Blasewitz and Striessen, both banks of the river could be reached by the enemy's guns. There was not a moment to spare; for the high road from Bautzen ran along the river side: Napoleon, therefore, forthwith mounted, and, putting spurs to his horse, dashed at full gallop through a hot fire from the batteries beyond the river, and reached in safety the Marcellini palace, in the city, two hours before noon. His arrival at once surprised his troops and reinvigorated his cause; for St. Cyr and the Saxon King are said to have been almost disposed to submit to the terms of the enemy. The column which followed him reached the Neustadt about 2 o'clock. But, before that hour, Napoleon had already made a careful reconnoissance beyond the suburbs, from the barrier of Pillnitz to that of Freyberg, accompanied by one attendant only, that his presence might not be detected. Preparations for a formidable attack were everywhere apparent. On his return to the palace he expedited couriers with orders to all the coming troops to take up their ground as they successively arrived; and as he made no change whatever in the dispositions already arranged by St. Cyr, they all in due course occupied their posts for the defence of the city. Schwarzenberg had nevertheless issued orders for the attack at 1 in the day, so that at 4 o'clock 120,000 men were seen to rush upon the devoted place.

The attack of the Allies was, indeed, admirably organised. At the signal of three guns, fired from the head-quarters on the hill of Räcknitz, six deep and massy columns, accompanied each by 50 guns, descended into the plain and moved across it direct to the walls of Dresden. Wittgenstein, with the Russians, advanced to the right attack, which was to lead between the Elbe and the Grosse-Garten; Kleist, with the Prussians, having a reserve under Prince Augustus, marched in the centre upon the *maison rouge*; and Colloredo and Prince Lichtenstein, with the Austrians, on the left, having

Chasteler and Giulay in support, moved across the plain between Plauen and Räcknitz. The various columns advanced with a rare intrepidity, so that before 6 o'clock all the gates of the town were in the hands of the Allied troops, the redoubts were successively evacuated by the French, and the fighting had actually attained to the streets, in which bombs and cannon-balls were falling in a tempest; flames had even caught the houses. Napoleon, however, was unmoved, for he had formed his plan to fall at one and the same time on both flanks of the attack, and with this view had ordered up his Young Guard; and he was at this moment awaiting their arrival in great anxiety. At half-past 6 they came up, led by Ney, who debouched out of the Plauen gate, and at once fell upon the enemy on one flank, while Marshal Mortier, with the divisions Dumontier and Barrois, made a sortie from the Pirna gate on the other. The assailants, deeming the day already won, were utterly unprepared for this unexpected and determined onset, which, led by Napoleon in person, was so vigorous and so well sustained and supported, that the Austrians fell back on Löbda, the Prussians on Strehlen, and the Russians on Striessen, when night put an end to the contest.

With the evening light, as was his invariable custom, Napoleon went to every scene of conflict where his wounded lay, to see that they were properly attended to before he retired to his own quarters. He had, however, before complete darkness came on, mounted a clock tower for the purpose of examining thence the position of the Allies, and while thus scrutinising the ground an inspiration of high character came across his mind. He knew that the little river Weissnitz intersected the position of the Allies, flowing through a deep and narrow strait, and entered the Elbe between the suburb called Frederickstadt and the city, and he also knew that this narrow gorge is difficult of passage. He could perceive that the largest portion of the Austrian army had withdrawn into the peninsula between the river and the rivulet, the defile of which intercepted them both from their own head-quarters and from the ground occupied by the Prussians and Russians. He determined to avail himself of his knowledge of the ground, and endeavour to crush this isolated *corps-d'armée* by occupying in force the road to Freyberg, which leads through the villages of Wolfnitz and Görlitz. The plain at this side being most favourable for the movements of cavalry, he determined to employ the King of Naples in this manœuvre; and, calculating on its success, which would precipitate the entire left flank of the Allies into the Plauentsche gorge, he forthwith prepared Ney with the guard to assail the hills on their right, from which the Russians had descended, so as to force them to fall back by the way to Peterswalde, where Vandamme and Haxo were now ordered to take them in flank from that side as they defiled under the walls of Königstein.

The morning of the 27th was ushered in by such a heavy rain and fierce wind, that the worst English December day could scarcely have been more cheerless to the sight or more soaking to the body.

Napoleon was on horseback and at the outposts by 6 in the morning, accompanied by Berthier and his accustomed staff. He stood with the Old and New Guard near the Falken-thor, and although the fog continued impenetrable, the guns played from the town from 7 o'clock, and were sharply responded to, as if preparatory to a repetition of the last afternoon's attack; so that the uproar was already violent at that early hour from 1,200 guns in battery. In the meantime, the strong right column, under the command of the King of Naples, comprising the entire corps of Victor and the cavalry of Latour-Mauburg, was put in motion about 8 o'clock upon Schusterhausen, lying between the Elbe and Löbda. Marmont and St. Cyr were in front of Napoleon resting on their arms, and Ney on the extreme flank stood ready to advance by the gate of Pirna. The French army had been joined in the night by some troops which had been in march out of Silesia, so that at this moment it numbered 110,000 men, independent of Vandamme's division. The Allies, however, were in greater force, and they were thought to count at least 180,000 of all arms; for they also had been reinforced by the arrival of one division of Klenau's corps, and another division was even coming up from the direction of Freyberg. The thick mist and rain prevented the Allied generals from noticing the advance of the French on their flank, where Ney was already in movement towards Priesnitz; and, in order to cover this more important movement, Marmont advanced towards Löbda, into which village General Teste with the tirailleurs drove back the Austrian skirmishers. At the same time, a division of cuirassiers armed with the lance fell with such extraordinary effect upon some Austrian infantry near the village, whose muskets, owing to the wet, would not go off, that in a few minutes they pressed and broke them, making the commanding General Metsko and many men prisoners, while the rest fled along the high road to Tharand.

Victor, who had commenced his march before the day broke, and Murat with the cavalry, had met with no interruption in their route along the heights bounding the road to Freyberg; so that about half-past 10 in the day 60 squadrons deployed, to the astonishment of the Austrians, from the side of Görlitz, while several columns of infantry threatened Rosthal and Toltschen, whence turning to their left up the deep ravine called the Schonergound they fell unexpectedly upon the Austrians' left flank. No sooner was Napoleon made aware by the advancing cannonade on his right that the attack there was gaining ground, than he ordered four divisions of the Young Guard to advance against the Grosse-Garten, who drove the troops before them as far as Gruna; but the village of Seidait and Gross Dobritz were stubbornly defended by General de Roth; but 36,000 French infantry were not easily stopped, and they marched on. It seemed that, with the intention of attacking the French, the Russians had been in a great measure withdrawn from the low ground about the Elbe, and were now concentrated at Reich and Leubnitz. Wittgenstein, as soon as he could collect the right wing, sent Kleist, Milarodovitch, and the reserve of the

Russian army, together with Colloredo and the reserve of the Austrian army, to overwhelm Ney ; and Barclay de Tolly was requested by signal to bring up troops to occupy the centre about head-quarters, denuded by this operation. The Russian Commander-in-Chief, however, either did not see the signal or, at all events, did not move. It was now probably about half-past 11 o'clock. The Austrian left wing, commanded by Aloys Lichtenstein, was, at this same moment, men and guns, driven into the ravine of Weissnitz, in the deepest part of the Plauenschegrund, near Potschappel. The Austrians in vain resisted in square the assault of Murat, against whom 3,000 of their best horse were brought up, but these Latour-Mauburg with Douromère's division of French cavalry completely tumbled over ; when the infantry, drenched with the rain and unable to use their firelocks, could not any longer defend themselves, and laid down their arms to the number of 10,000. It was only 2 o'clock, at which hour it might be said, without much exaggeration, that the Allied left no longer existed, and that the road to Freyberg was in the hands of the French.

It was about this period of the day, while the Czar was in earnest conversation on the hill of Räcknitz with General Moreau discussing the battle, that a cannon-shot from one of the redoubts struck the general and carried off both his legs, passing through the body of the horse. As soon as any one could reach the ground to aid the general, he had lifted himself up a little, and, looking at his legs, said, "C'est passé avec moi, mon affaire est faite." The Czar immediately caused Moreau to be placed on a litter and carried by the Cossacks of the guard to the rear, where this brave warrior was exposed to the needless misery of having both the limbs amputated. The loss of such a captain as Moreau at such a moment was fatal to their success.* Schwarzenberg had become sensible that he had been outwitted by Napoleon on his left flank, and was at this moment altogether in a fix as to what he could do to restore the battle. The fall of Moreau, therefore, induced him to call a council of war, which was held by the Sovereigns on horseback upon the field, when, in the midst of their discussions, an officer arrived from Pirna with the report that General Vandamme had actually carried the post of Königstein in spite of Prince Eugène of Würtemberg, and was already in the Allied rear. It was 5 in the afternoon, and the Austrian artillery declared that their ammunition was exhausted. The King of Prussia resisted for a time all proposals for a retreat, in which he was supported by Alexander ; but Barclay de Tolly showed the inexpediency and fruitlessness of further resistance, and the Czar, with great reluctance, at length consented that the order should be given for the army to retire back to Bohemia. This had, however, already become no easy operation for so large an army, since the Pirna

* The presence of Moreau in the Allied army was made known to Napoleon by a singular accident. As he was sitting at supper with the King of Saxony after the battle, a dog was brought in with a collar on which was inscribed, "J'appartiens au Général Moreau."

road was closed by Vandamme and the Freyberg road by Murat. Accordingly, the whole force was under the necessity of withdrawing by the only remaining route through Dippoldiswalde, which they did in three columns, the first under Barclay de Tolly, the second under Colloredo, and the third led by Klenau. Wittgenstein took charge of the rear-guard. The Allies left behind them 26,000 or 27,000 killed and wounded, including the Austrian Generals Andrassy, Meczot, Sceezen, and the Russian Melesino. The French lost 20,000, with General Gros killed; but they claimed upwards of 10,000 prisoners, 40 stand of colours, and 40 guns, as the fruits of the victory, which was complete in every respect.

25. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL MOREAU.

JOHN VICTOR MOREAU was the son of a respectable advocate, and born at Morlaix, in Brittany, in 1763. He was destined originally for the law, and at the period when the Parliament of Bretagne was in opposition to the Court, he figured in public already as *prévôt de droit*, when only a law student, in his 18th year. As a leader of the youth of Rennes, where he had been sent to study jurisprudence, he acquired an early reputation by solid natural talent, great acquirements, and courteous manners; but Moreau showed such courage and even skill in this species of civil war, that the boldness of his carriage obtained for him the local *soubriquet* of "Le Général du Parlement." This may have contributed to give him some passion for the military profession, or his temperament may have been by nature warlike, so that when the Revolution broke out in 1789, he organised a company of artillery volunteers, and soon became commander of a battalion of Rennes patriots, with whom he joined the army of the North. His personal bravery and military talents made him early conspicuous among his comrades, so that in 1793 he became brigadier, but was not fortunate in his first service, for he was defeated at Permasin by the Duke of Brunswick with the loss of 4,000 men and 22 cannon. In the following year, nevertheless, he became general of division under Pichegru, when he was appointed to the command of the maritime district of Flanders, and in conjunction with Souham defeated Clairfait near Tournay, and took from him 30 guns and 1,200 prisoners. It was while rendering these important services to France that the Jacobins sent his father to the scaffold, which doubtless may have had a considerable influence upon the political opinions, which affected the whole of his subsequent career. He commanded the right wing of the Republican army under Jourdain at the battle of Fleurus in 1794, and subsequently assisted Pichegru in the conquest of Holland. In 1795 he was appointed in the stead of the latter to the command of the army of the Rhine and Moselle; but such was the destitution and disorganisation of the Republican soldiers at this time, that he could do nothing against the enemy this year. He opened the

campaign of 1796 with a fine army of 70,000 infantry and 6,000 horse, and defeated the Austrian General Wurmser in the open field, after which he advanced to Strasburg, where he made his celebrated passage of the Rhine and marched through the Black Forest. Pursuing the Archduke Charles to Rastadt, he forced that distinguished military leader to abandon the valley of the Neckar; and after hastening along the valley of the Danube gained a victory over him at Friedberg, near Augsburg. The admirable strategy of the Archduke Charles after these operations obliged Moreau to make a precipitate retreat, and here commenced one of the finest achievements in military history. The Archduke Charles endeavoured by the most skilful manœuvres to dispute with him the passage through the Black Forest; but Moreau, in spite of the greatest obstacles, succeeded in debouching from it at Brisgau, and in safely repassing his army across the Rhine at Brissau and Hunningen. As soon as he had effected his escape, he, with a generosity which too rarely exists among generals commanding separate armies, immediately detached a portion of his troops into Italy to the assistance of Bonaparte, who had been, during these operations of Moreau, hard pressed by the Austrians under Alvinzi. This conduct occasioned a fine burst of eloquence in his favour from Carnot, the then Minister of War: "O Moreau, O my dear Fabius! how great you were in that circumstance! How superior to the wretched rivalries of generals, which so often cause the best-laid enterprises to miscarry!" In 1797 Moreau again effected a brilliant passage of the Rhine in front of Latour's Austrian army, which he defeated at Diersheim. In the campaign of Italy, in 1798, he repaired as a volunteer to the army of Scherer, when he witnessed the incompetency and defeat of that general at Verona, who, knowing neither how to fight nor how to retire, transferred to Moreau the care of saving his army; a service which the latter general performed by a series of the most skilful manœuvres in the presence of forces greatly superior to his own. He was afterwards at the battle of Novi, where Joubert had arrived to assume the command, but on the death of that young general the army again looked to Moreau for safety, and such was his activity that he had three horses killed under him during his endeavours to obtain the victory. In the fight he received a wound in the shoulder; nevertheless, he managed the retreat of the army with so much skill as almost to nullify the fruits of the victory to the Russians. Moreau offered his sword to Bonaparte on his return from Egypt, and, when he might have been a rival, rendered him most useful aid in effecting the revolution of the 18th Brumaire; and, almost immediately after his elevation, received from him the command of the armies of the Danube and Rhine. It would appear as if Moreau did not comprehend the strategy of the First Consul, or that he was dilatory in advancing it, for some misunderstanding now occurred between the two. At the battle of Moeskirch, however, he exposed his person like a grenadier, received a

contusion in his breast, and had four horses killed under him. At the close of 1800 he won from the Austrians the sanguinary and decisive battle of Hohenlinden; after which he received an ovation at Paris, when the First Consul placed in his hands a pair of magnificent pistols, saying, "that he had wished to have had engraven on them all his victories, but there could not be found room for them." Moreau now retired into private life, married Mdle. Hullot, and purchased the estate of Grosbris, which had belonged to the director Barras. He and the First Consul, however, were not friends. They had been running the same race of ambition, and the jealousy which afterwards aggravated the rivalry of Bonaparte with Davoust at Auerstadt may have thus early troubled the Consular rest with regard to Moreau, or the latter may have been at this period too nearly on a level with the First Consul to make him tolerate such civil superiority. Be that as it may, Moreau as early as 1802 discovered that he was watched in his retirement by spies. In the beginning of 1804 he was arrested on a charge which pretended to implicate him in the royalist conspiracy of Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal, and he was even taken before judges, who were thought to have been suborned to effect his destruction; yet such was his popularity that, as he was led through the streets to take his trial, a crowd of military, with their hands on the sabres, pressed to his side, and whispered, "Comrade, fear nothing; we have sworn on our swords to defend thy life." He was condemned, without a shadow of evidence, to an imprisonment of two years; but this sentence was commuted, at his own request, to banishment, and he took up his abode in the United States, upon lands which he purchased there. Here he was residing in happiness and in retirement, when, in 1813, probably through the advice of his old friend Bernadotte, he was sought out, and invited by the Allied Sovereigns to lend them the assistance of his military skill and experience for the overthrow of Napoleon. He immediately repaired to Sweden, and thence to Prague, where the Allies were assembled in conference, and where he arrived at the very period that the Allied army began its march on Dresden. He was immediately intrusted with the highest confidence of the Czar, with whom he was standing when he received his death-wound. The shot that struck him necessitated an operation, which he endured with patience. He accompanied the march from the field, borne on a litter of lances by 30 soldiers, during the first five days of their retreat, and expired on the 1st of September at Schlan, in Bohemia.

Moreau was rather short of stature, and without any external characteristic of superior talent; in private life he was the most amiable, the most intelligent, and withal the most moderate of men. As a general, he was "if not first, in the very first line." He was born with the chief essentials of a great commander, and was thought to have a more correct and prompt *coup-d'œil* than most of the distinguished galaxy of generals his contemporaries. He was extremely circumspect and judicious in the field, and trusted nothing to accident, but laid his plans with consummate ability, and succeeded, by a

correct calculation of chances, in accomplishing some of the most remarkable operations of war. He was gifted with a rare bravery and the most imperturbable coolness in the presence of danger, so that in the face of death he himself ordered the amputation of both his limbs, and dictated letters to his wife and to the Czar while his life's-blood was passing from him. His taking up arms against his country was, however, an unhappy resolution, and appears to have troubled his closing moments. "Pourtant je ne suis pas coupable; je ne voulais que le bien de ma patrie! Je voulais l'arracher à un joug humiliant!" Several times before he expired he exclaimed, "Ce Bonaparte est toujours heureux." He was thought to have been a sincere republican, and as such disposed to be hostile to the reestablishment of the crown in France, yet upon the execution of his father by the Jacobins he had shown no such democratic principles, for he avowed a desire to emigrate and offer his sword to Austria, which did not evince very steady political opinions in the general's mind. It is probable that it was a sense of his personal injuries, rather than the love of liberty, which induced him to listen to the flattering proposition of the Allied sovereigns so fatal to the purity of his glory, as it proved to his existence. The Czar commanded that his body should be embalmed at Prague, and ordered it to be interred in the Catholic church at St. Petersburg with the same funeral honours as had been paid to Marshal Koutosov. His widow was pensioned by Alexander, and received subsequently the title of *Maréchale* from Louis XVIII. On the spot above Dresden where the cannon-shot struck Moreau has been erected a sort of freestone monument, surmounted by a large Greek helmet of bronze, and bearing this inscription:

HIER FIEL
DER HELD MOREAU
AN DER SEITE ALEXANDERS.
AUG. XXVII. A.D. MDCCXIII.

The trees planted around this memorial have already become a considerable grove, which forms one of the most interesting objects in the vicinity of the Saxon capital.*

* In the same action, on the part of the Allies, the celebrated poet Theodore Körner was struck down by a musket-ball, badly wounded. He was afterwards slain in a skirmish against the French near Gadebusch in Mecklenburg, where he lies buried with the young Hardenberg by his side. On the very morning of the day on which he received his death-wound Körner had composed his well-known song to his sword.

Thou sword upon my thigh,
Those beaming glances, why
Dost look so pleased on me?
I've all my joy in thee.

Yes! trusty sword, I'm free,
And fondly cherish thee;
Dear as a bride thou art,
The treasure of my heart.

Haste, give her lips the pledge,
A kiss to the iron edge!
Tide good or evil tide,
Curst he who fails his bride!

Now bid the charmer sing,
While sparkling sword-blades ring.
'T is our marriage matins' peal,
Hurrah! thou bride of steel! Hurrah!

26. BATTLE OF KULM.

It was not more than 3 o'clock in the day when the council of war had determined upon the retreat. The line of march given out was through the Erzgebirge and behind the Gyer; but great confusion ensued from the Babel of languages which prevailed in the Allied army. The Austrians received orders to retire in two columns; the one by Dippoldswalde upon Töplitz, and the other by Marienberg upon Kommotan. Barclay, with the Russian army, took the route by Dohna on Peterswalde; but, mistaking the order on the road, he marched on Altenberg, where he came into the midst of the column of Prince Eugène of Würtemberg, moving on Nollendorf. Prince Schwarzenberg, who had heard that Vandamme's corps had crossed the Elbe at Königstein and was *aux prises* with Prince Eugène of Würtemberg, ordered General Ostermann Tolstoi, with 8,000 or 9,000 of the Russian guards, to fall back in his support, and Vandamme, with 27,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 80 pieces of cannon, was now in pursuit of these two divisions. The united force of the Allies was only 17,000. The Czar and the King of Prussia, issuing from the mountains by the Dippoldswalde road, found Tolstoi with the two divisions in actual fight with Vandamme, and seeing the disparity of force engaged sent orders to the division of the Russian grenadiers and the cavalry of reserve to hasten down the defile of Eichwald to their support. The aid thus obtained restored confidence, and the Russo-Austrian force not only repelled the French, but forced them to the road down the mountains leading to Kulm. On the 28th Prince Eugène determined to take up a position in which to await the arrival of the retreating columns, and Count Ostermann sent back to advise his chief of the resolution that had been taken.

Napoleon, who had mounted his horse as usual at break of day on the 28th, had observed strong columns of the enemy retiring by way of the road through Altenberg, and, having given the orders he thought requisite under the circumstances for the pursuit of them by the *corps-d'armée* of Marmont and St. Cyr, had taken a light repast at Pirna, when, finding himself suddenly indisposed, he returned to Dresden. Thence on the same afternoon he despatched information to Vandamme of his victory of the 27th, and specially directed him to occupy the whole plain of Töplitz, Aussig, and the valley of the Elbe, so as to seize "*les ambulances, les bagages, et enfin tout ce qui marche derrière une armée.*" Receiving this order in the night, Vandamme, having with him the artillery-general Haxo, considered one of the best men of the French army, prepared on the morning of the 29th to fall with all his force upon what he deemed the Russian rear-guard. They found Ostermann established behind Priesten, which village was occupied by the brigade of Helfreich; his left flank resting on some woody heights occupied by infantry. Three regiments of Russian guards were *à cheval* upon the high road, and all his cavalry were ranged up in a mass to form the right wing. The artillery, consisting of nearly 100 pieces, were judiciously placed

so as to enfilade the road and all approach against his left wing. In the course of the night a great part of the Allied force came up through the mountains. Vandamme directed the brigade of the Prince of Reuss to attack the Russian left, and the entire division of Mouton-Duvernet to support the attack, while he deployed his cavalry under Corbineau to oppose the Allied cavalry on the right. The Russian advance was driven out of Kulm and retreated on Straden. The French attack on the left, supported by the fire of 26 guns, obliged Ostermann to bring up a portion of the guard to strengthen his left, when a shot struck the Russian general and carried off his right arm. About the same time, the Prince of Reuss, leading the French attack, was killed by a cannon-shot. The arrival of the division Mouton-Duvernet upon the ground restored the combat for a moment, when, unexpectedly, the entire mass of the Russian cavalry came thundering down into the midst of them from the side of the village of Karwitz. Corbineau, with the French horse, were no match for them, and tried in vain to resist them, though aided by the infantry; but about 2 in the day the brigade Pouchelon arrived to Mouton-Duvernet's support, and was shortly followed by the brigade Fezensac. All this while grape-shot showered upon both the contending forces *avec un feu criblé*. Towards evening General Diebitch arrived upon the field with the cavalry of the Russian guard, and immediately led them against the enemy, so that, after a 14 hours' contest, Vandamme found he could not effect his object of reaching Töplitz, and withdrew his divisions under the high hills between Scharda and Straden, holding the town of Kulm in front. He had lost 6,000 men, and was not without great anxiety, from the increasing numbers that he saw coming up against him, as to how he should get out of the difficulty. A letter, however, reached him from Berthier, dated "a league in advance of Pirna, at half-past 4 on the 28th," stating that Napoleon was coming up to his assistance at the head of the conquering army. Vandamme hastened to reply to the Emperor that he would hold his ground awaiting his arrival, but, although duly despatched, it is believed that the letter never reached Napoleon, or, at all events, not in time for action. The divisions of St. Cyr, Marmont, and Victor, with Murat, were all far distant on the other side of the Erzgebirge, on the traces of the Allied army, harassing them continually and taking many thousand prisoners, but Napoleon was himself still at Dresden.

Vandamme had in the night (29-30th) drawn together his entire force in two columns. He held Kulm with two battalions, having six in front of that town across the high road. The cavalry still occupied the left of the chaussée, facing the village of Karwitz. In the course of the night a crowd of Allied troops moved, unperceived, down the ravine which leads to the village of Graupen. The Czar and King had passed the night on the field, and, ascertaining the dispositions adopted by Vandamme, were desirous that he should be attacked immediately, although Kleist with a Prussian corps was still on the farther side of the Erzgebirge: but the King sent one of his aides-

de-camp, Colonel Scheler, to apprise Kleist of Vandamme's position at Kulm, and to order him to hasten his march by the most direct line he could take across the mountains. Barclay de Tolly, in consequence of Ostermann's wound, had assumed the command of the Russians; and the Austrian division of Colloredo, which came first upon the plain, was now directed to march as quickly as possible round by Karwitz, and make an onset on the French left. The following was the general disposition of the Allies. Sixteen battalions, under Puschanitzi, were moved along the foot of the mountain towards the French right. The Russian grenadiers under Raefsnoi, *en bataillon* and *en tirailleur*, occupied the woody heights on the left in reserve. The Austrian division under Prince Philip of Hesse-Homburg was on the right, supported by the division of Bianchi in second line. The Russian guard marched on Priesten, followed by the cuirassiers under Prince Gallitzin. The total Allied force thus assembled against Vandamme numbered 60,000 men and 10,000 horse, with 100 guns; and his situation was the more desperate, since Napoleon not being aware of his situation, or engrossed with other thoughts, had stopped the further march of the columns advancing to his aid from Pirna.

At 8 in the morning of the 30th Colloredo sent forward the brigade of Knorring, supported by that of Abele. The Russian cavalry *en masse*, advanced vigorously to the attack of Vandamme's left in the plain opposite Karwitz, where they were encountered by the cavalry of Corbineau, who stoutly resisted until overpowered, when, having lost some guns, they were driven back into Kulm. At the same time the Prince of Homburg came down the Geisberg and assailed the French right. Vandamme, thus attacked on both flanks, sent forward the brigades Guyot and Dunesme in support of Mouton-Duvernet, who was ordered to attack the Russian centre at Priesten; but the French infantry were crushed by the grape of the Russian batteries, and charged by the Russian cavalry, so that it was only by the greatest exertions of General Fezensac that the assailants could be rallied and withdrawn. Corbineau was wounded and forced to quit the field, but Heinrodt and Gobrecht nobly led the French chasseurs. Vandamme still defended Kulm resolutely, and thence poured havoc with his artillery upon the Austrian attack. It was 10 o'clock, and matters were in this critical state, when a hot fire was heard to arise out of the mountains in the French rear, where the road from Nollendorf reaches Tellnitz. The French naturally concluded that it was the Young Guard arriving from Pirna, and Vandamme at once despatched an officer to communicate with Marshal Mortier, when, to his consternation, word was brought him back that the force was Prussian. It was, in truth, the corps of Kleist, who, as soon as he received the King's despatch, read a part of it to the men and officers, who, although they knew they had the troops under St. Cyr and Marmont on every side of them, in a moment of enthusiasm became daring, and threw themselves into the goat-paths of the Fürstenwalde and the Streckenwalde, which had brought them thus early upon the rear of the

French. There was now nothing for Vandamme but to endeavour to cut his way through the Prussians and try to join the army, which he supposed to be somewhere on the road to Peterswalde, and the brigades Doucet and Dunesme were ordered to retard the Russians in their front by their fire as long as possible, and even to sacrifice all the artillery, if necessary, while he directed a column to march on Schanda and Arbesseau. The brigade Philippon led the way, followed by the division Mouton-Duvernet. "In the middle of the gorge of the mountains the opposing columns met. A scene of indescribable horror ensued. Close pent in a steep and narrow pass between overhanging scaurs and rocks, nearly 30,000 brave and desperate men, animated with equal and vehement passion (for both the Prussians and French thought themselves surrounded by the enemy), contended elbow against elbow, knee against knee, breast against breast, mutually endeavouring to force their way through each other's throng."* The French account of the same "échauffourée" is equally eloquent:—"Il en résulte un conflict impossible de décrire, dans lequel les hommes se prennent corps à corps, s'étouffent, s'égorgent à coup de sabres et de baïonnettes."† Immediately the French were seen to retreat, the Prussian line raised a wild and almost unearthly cry of joy, and, regardless of the grape and shell, dashed past the guns in hot pursuit. The French defended themselves as brave and desperate men would do. Generals Baltus and another succeeded in marching away with their brigades and *leurs attelages*. The cannoniers, dragoons, and foot-soldiers of divisions Mouton-Duvernet and Philippon, all huddled together, surrendered with their guns. Doucet and Dunesme, overpowered and surrounded, resisted to the last, but at length yielded. Generals Vandamme and Haxo, both wounded, gave up their swords. The French soldiers were scattered over the plain and upon the woody heights, and in this manner some few made their escape independently; but 7,000 men and officers, with their eagles and all their guns, were captured. It is believed that 5,000 of the enemy fell in the fight. The Allies lost 3 generals and 3,316 men killed and wounded. Kleist had had the prudence, before entering the defile, to detach Ziethen from Nollendorf back to Peterswalde, to check the French cavalry, where he encountered them, and defending himself judiciously, made many prisoners and drove them back. General Corbineau, on a fleet horse, was among the few Frenchmen who escaped, and, though wounded and covered with blood, he boldly presented himself before the Emperor on the morning following the battle, to convey to him the exact account and extent of this dire reverse. Napoleon received the news as he was poring over the map anticipating fresh conquests, and then repeated to himself:

"J'ai servi, commandé, vaincu quarante années,
Du monde entre mes mains, j'ai vu les destinées,
Et j'ai toujours connu qu'en chaque événement
Le destin des états dépend d'un moment."‡

* Alison.

† Thiers.

‡ Voltaire.

27. BATTLE OF GROSS-BEEREN.

“Misfortunes never come single.” Post upon post now brought the account of fresh disasters. It had been the ardent wish of Napoleon’s heart to make the King of Prussia feel the whole weight of his indignation, and it is thought that in the first transports of his victory, his thoughts had turned to the humiliation of Frederick William and the Crown-Prince of Sweden, both of whom were at this moment, after enjoying many proofs of his forbearance and clemency, concentrated against him at Berlin. Bernadotte here held an army of Swedes, Russians, and Prussians, having Generals Walmoden, Bülow, and Tauenzien, with not much less than 20,000 men under his personal command, and his head-quarters at the palace of Charlottenburg. It is reported that the Emperor, talking over the future with Berthier at Dresden, remarked: “I calculate that after the disasters experienced by the Allies it will take three weeks for the army of Schwarzenberg to reorganise itself and again take the field. I shall not require so much time to execute my projected movement on Berlin.” He had already an army cantoned between that capital and Spandau. The Marshal Duc de Reggio, with his head-quarters at Bareuth, commanded his own corps with the 12th (Regnier’s corps), the 7th, and the 4th (Bertrand’s corps), numbering altogether 64,000 men, French, Italians, and Germans; some good, some but indifferent, and some not at all to be trusted. Napoleon termed them *un ramassis*, in allusion to the waste-basket of a secretariat or chancellerie. Oudinot nevertheless concentrated his army on the 18th, awaiting the Emperor’s further orders. He now, however, carried the whole by a flank march to his left from Bareuth to Lückenwalde, where he established himself between the two great roads leading on the Prussian capital, pushing his advance as near it as Zossen and Trebbin: but he was by no means comfortable in the command intrusted to him; for while Napoleon insisted on calling his force 100,000 men, Davoust’s 40,000 at Hamburg, and Girard’s corps of 10,000 at Magdeburg, were included in the Imperial calculation. In his front, he who had never before exercised so high a command saw Bernadotte at the head of an excellent Swedish army, including a Russian corps under Woronzow and two Prussian under Bülow and Tauenzien; but, of these, Walmoden was detached with 20,000 into Mecklenburg, and others were blockading the French garrisons still holding *places fortes* upon the Oder and the Vistula. The entire Allied army was however supposed to consist of 150,000 men! The Crown-Prince, on the approach of Oudinot, advanced his head-quarters to Potsdam; the centre of his army, under Bülow, holding the high road to Berlin near Heinserdorf; Tauenzien resting on the left near Blankenfelde, and the Russians and Swedes forming his right wing near Guitergetz. Both the armies as they approached near each other began to concentrate, and on the 21st came to blows near Trebbin. On the 22nd the French passed the rivulet which had been the sub-

ject of dispute on the previous day, and ultimately the Allied force retreated before them to a more advantageous position within 10 English miles of Berlin. On the 23rd the French again advanced on Gross-Beeren in three columns, and Bertrand on the right was ordered to attack Jühnsdorf and Blankenfelde; Regnier marched with his centre against the Allies posted on the high road at Gross-Beeren; while Oudinot himself, with the principal force, moved on Arensdorf. The divergence of these columns was excessive, as if the Duc de Reggio was resolved to envelope the Crown-Prince with his two outstretched arms.

It was still early morning when Regnier with the Saxons debouched on the village of Gross-Beeren, which he occupied with little molestation, driving out General Borstell, while Bertrand and Tauenzieng engaged each other near Blankenfelde, at first with a violent cannonade only. The day was pouring wet, and everywhere the contest continued a mere passage of great arms until about 6 in the afternoon, when, without waiting for the Crown-Prince's permission, and somewhat distrusting his sincerity, Bülow resolved to assume the offensive, and moved forward against the villages of Gross-Beeren and Klein-Beeren with 35,000 men and a numerous artillery, in four columns; the right commanded by the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, the next under Colonel Vorkraft, and the left under General Boustell, a fourth following in reserve under General Von Thümen. The French were busy establishing their bivouacs when this host advanced upon them. Regnier immediately withdrew his corps behind the village, expecting that he might there receive reinforcements; and thither the division Durotte at length arrived to support the Saxons, and resisted the Prussians nobly, but was obliged to give way before the vigour of the Swedish horse, preceded by 60 pieces of artillery. At the noise of the cannon, Generals Guilleminot and Fournier hastened from Arensdorf, but could only arrive in time to cover Regnier's retreat, and to behold the Saxons flying in complete disorder, having lost 14 or 15 of their guns and 1,500 prisoners. On the right the Swedes and Russians, under Woronzow, had advanced on Ruhledorf and driven back Oudinot's left wing, while the Cossacks dashed so resolutely forward that they got possession of the French military chest with 50,000 ducats.

Oudinot, finding his centre already crushed and dispersed, ordered a hasty retreat by the road on Wittenberg. The Saxons and Bavarians, however, quitted the ranks with a *saute qui peut*, and nothing but the singular lethargy of the Crown-Prince, who would take no lead and give no orders, saved the French army from complete annihilation. With a numerous and eager force of cavalry, burning for encounter, the French retreat was unmolested. Gerard, according to the orders he had received, sallied out of Magdeburg, but when, instead of his expected success, he heard of Oudinot's *contretems*, and was met by Hirschfeld's Prussian division, and the Cossacks under Czernicheff, he was glad to get safely back again within stone walls. Marshal Davoust had also been ordered, under the

conviction that Bernadotte would have been overcome and obliged to yield up Berlin, to advance as far as Schwerin, so as to cut the enemy off from the shores of the Baltic, and with this object he occupied that city, in spite of the Anglo-German army of Walmoden and Gimborn, on the 23rd. Hearing nothing, but seeing daily fresh crowds of Cossacks around him, the old soldier, however, quietly decamped from Schwerin on the night of the 2-3rd of September, and resumed his position behind the Steckenitz.

28. BATTLE OF THE KATSBACH.

The instructions given by Napoleon to Marshal Macdonald, when he was suddenly called away from the army on the Katsbach to the defence of Dresden, were to avail himself of the moral effect obtained by his defeat of Blücher, by waiting patiently for any offensive movement from the Prussian army. He was, of course, to keep it back from threatening to advance on Dresden, and on no account to allow it to pass the Bober. Ney had carried away from this army the 3rd division when he received orders to accompany Napoleon and hasten back to Dresden, and these troops had reached Bunzlau before it was discovered that the Emperor's order was only for the Prince de la Moskowa, and not for his *corps-d'armée*, which Souham was accordingly commanded to take back in all haste to Macdonald, whom he reached, breathless and exhausted, on the Katsbach, on the evening of the 25th of August. The Marshal Duke of Tarentum, finding himself now at the head of 3 *corps-d'armée*, numbering 9,000 men, and thinking that if it was desirable to keep Blücher back from passing the Bober, it would be still more advantageous to force him across the Katsbach, resolved to advance against him so as to crush the whole Allied force in the nook in which it lay between that river and the brook of the Wüthende Neisse. Sebastiani vainly endeavoured to deter the Marshal from engaging the army in this *coupe-gorge* of Crain, as it was called; but Macdonald, strong in the independency of his command, ordered Lauriston's corps to advance against Hirschberg, by the right and left banks of the Bober, while he himself led the centre on Weinberg and Jauer; and Souham, the moment he arrived, received orders to cross the Katsbach, in order to threaten the Prussian right at Liegnitz. The distance between the flanks of the French army in the proposed operation was 24 miles, and it was thought to lessen the hazard by directing the corps of Sebastiani to march by the road from Bunzlau leading to Jauer, through Ercheholz, intermediately between the centre and left.

By a singular coincidence, Blücher having heard of the departure of the Emperor from the army, and of the march of the 3rd corps towards Dresden, was desirous of feeling if the enemy was still in his front in force, and on the very same morning of the 26th of August had ordered his 1st division to march on Brechtelsbirken, pushing forward General Sacken as far as Eichholz. A heavy rain, which had lasted all that night, accompanied by a thick mist in the

morning, contributed to conceal the movements of either army from the other. The Prussian cavalry therefore advancing to reconnoitre the valley of the Wüthende Neisse, came suddenly upon the rear of a French column struggling through the same defile, in that loose order in which troops are wont to march under an uncomfortable and beating rain. Macdonald immediately ordered the divisions of Sebastiani and Gerard to form up upon the plateau of Janovitz, between Weinberg and Klein Tinz; and Blücher, on receiving the information of an enemy from his scouts, ordered the Prussian divisions of De York and Sacken to deploy on the same ground. It was 3 o'clock before these hostile bodies got themselves and their guns respectively into position. The rain still fell in torrents, and much impeded the march of the separate columns, but Blücher, seeing that the French troops were coming up, in a great measure unsupported, gave orders for an immediate attack. Sacken's guns, placed on a height called the Taubenberg, covered with their fire the advance of the Prussian column, which fell upon the head of three French battalions, just coming up out of the ravine of Weinberg, and drove them back, capturing 4 guns. Some French horse came up to their support, but nevertheless were unable to retake the guns. Blücher accordingly sent Wassilchikoff with some cavalry, to charge the French horse, which order was executed with the happiest effect; for, although three hostile battalions were forming upon the Kuhberge at the top of the ravine, who took the Prussian cavalry in flank, yet these drove the French horse back in disorder. A considerable cavalry contest ensued, during which Blücher ordered his whole line of infantry to advance. Sebastiani resisted with all the ardour that he was accustomed to throw into any conflict, but he was borne down by the physical strength of the attack of Prince Charles of Mecklenburg, and could not get the support of Souham up in time, so that he was forced to give way, and the whole 11th *corps-d'armée* fled in disorder to Nieder Crain. It was indeed 6 o'clock before Souham marched up from Schmogwitz, and then Sacken, relieved from the other division, went forward to meet him, and, without much difficulty, obliged him to recross the Katsbach at 9 o'clock at night.

During this time Lauriston had advanced on the left, and had driven back the Russians, under Count Langeron, across the little stream called the Plinse as far as Hennersdorf, and almost to the village of Jauer. The events of the battle now permitted that a brigade of Prussians under Colonel Steinmetz should be sent down to Langeron's assistance, when Lauriston, hearing that the day was lost to the centre and left, would not wait, but hastened to make the best of his way to Goldberg, at which place he recrossed the Katsbach, but in no good plight, for he was sharply pursued by the Russians. The French, indeed, could only pass the river Bober by the bridge of Bunglau, and in making this *détour* they were obliged to sacrifice their artillery, so that 80 guns fell into the hands of the Allies. Nor was this the full amount of Macdonald's misfortune. The division of Pacthod had been sent by Lauriston to occupy

Hirschberg. Here he was left without any information of what had happened to the rest of the army, and, in striving to get across the Bober late in the day, he fell in with the Russian advance under Generals Korf and Czerbaloff; and although the general took his ground on the hill of Plagnitz with great resolution, and prepared to resist the force opposed to him, yet he was assailed on the 29th by such a superior force of guns and troops, that his men broke their ranks and fled, some to the river and some in wild confusion in every direction. Pachtod, with 100 officers, 3,000 men, 2 eagles, and 12 guns, surrendered themselves to the Russians, while 2,000 were drowned, and some few fugitives swam across or otherwise escaped. Macdonald at length succeeded in collecting behind the Queiss 50,000 men, where he took post, while Poniatowski still occupied Zittau with his Polish army.

The victories of Lützen, Bautzen, and especially Dresden, were so truly Napoleonic, that the world began to think that the conqueror was on his legs again; but when they were as immediately followed by three such reverses as Kulm, Gross-Beeren, and especially by this defeat on the Katsbach, it was evident that the great image had no longer any sure base to stand upon. The decree was gone forth: "Ichabod, the glory is departed:"

"That spell upon the minds of men
Breaks never to unite again,
That led them to adore
Those Pagod things of sabre-sway
With front of brass and feet of clay." *

Certainly, from this time forward, no affair took place between the Allied and French armies without Saxons, Bavarians, and Wirtembergers abandoning the eagles. The Italians were more faithful; partly because nothing had been done by the conqueror to disturb their nationalities, and partly that Napoleon himself, Murat, and Eugène had, as it were, some part or parcel in their nation.

Three such disasters would have been not only enough to counterbalance the recent victories, but to cast down to the dust the Imperial prestige already shaken by the Russian campaign. Macdonald accompanied the report of his own reverse by the most urgent solicitations to the Emperor to come in person to his assistance. His officers were discouraged and disobedient, his troops were *en débandade*; the Marshal himself was "*tout à fait décontenancé*,"† and he had in his front the redoubted Blücher, who was well known to be a man never given to sleep upon an advantage, and sure to push forward upon him as soon as the state of the rivers in his front allowed him to cross. Napoleon had hoped that with 50,000 men still with their eagles, and 10,000 Poles under Poniatowski, who had not been engaged in the late sad affair, the Marshal might have been able to pull up at Görlitz on the Neisse; but on the 3rd of September, he heard that Macdonald's army had already reached Bautzen in the greatest disorder. Orders were therefore immediately issued for the infantry of Marmont and the cavalry of Latour-Mauburg to march to the

* Byron.

† Thiers.

front; and 70 fourgons, carrying arms, ammunition, shoes, and all that a disordered army were most likely to require, were expedited to their aid the same day. At night the Emperor himself quitted Dresden, and, without stopping anywhere on the way, came up to the outposts at Hochkirch on the morning of the 4th. He received the Marshal without a word of reproach, but it was a trial to him to hear at the same moment of a new misfortune. A considerable convoy of ammunition had been captured by the Cossacks of Bernadotte's army near Bischofswerda. He instantly stopped the retreat of Macdonald's forces, and, assuming the offensive, by noon he had already pushed back the Russians to Görlitz. Blücher had received information from Dresden of the departure of a reinforcement under Napoleon to assist the defeated Marshal; for the whole German population was now very generally adverse to the French, and every movement of theirs was well watched and speedily reported. As soon, therefore, as the clouds of dust on the horizon betokened their arrival, the judicious veteran again adopted the policy which had been laid down for the plan of the campaign. Orders were at once issued to give up slowly and cautiously all the strong ground on the hills called Stromberg and Vohralsberg. In vain the King of Naples dashed forward with his accustomed *élan* upon the Prussian advance at Weissenberg; for without hesitation, with the loss of a few men, Blücher withdrew his troops to Reichenbach. The following day the veteran ordered his whole army to repossess the Neisse and the Queiss. On the 5th, Napoleon, with his guard, followed in pursuit, but the Prussians continued to retire before him and to destroy the bridges after they had crossed the rivers. The Imperial eye soon detected that Blücher was acting on a systematic plan of avoiding all fighting, and retiring so as to lead his enemies farther from their centre and base, and from their supplies, into a country very intricate from its woods and waters, and totally exhausted of forage and provisions. Arriving, therefore, at an abandoned farmhouse the Emperor dismounted, and was seen to ponder deep in thought upon the prospect before him. There was no excitement of contest to rouse the fire of the old war-horse; not a shot was to be heard, not an enemy was to be seen. He was visibly deeply depressed and absorbed as he meditated on the strategy of his enemies. He saw the illusion of French glory passing away, and although he himself was still able to struggle against misfortune, and in some degree to overcome it, for his mere presence had revived the courage and reorganised the ranks of his broken army, yet he now saw that not one of his lieutenants could go into the field against a hostile force without being overcome and destroyed. Here he mounted his horse and rode forward at a slow pace to Görlitz, where he took up his quarters for the night; but the same evening a courier reached him bearing reports of new complications.

No sooner was Prince Schwarzenberg aware of the departure of Napoleon from Dresden to act against Blücher than he put his army in motion across the Erzgebirge, and on the 5th of September had

already pushed up his advanced guard as far as Nollendorf, and again threatened the Saxon capital. Marshal St. Cyr therefore wrote, by his aide-de-camp Gourgaud, to urge the return of Napoleon, who, hoping that he had restored the fortunes of Macdonald, set off the very night of his arrival at Görlitz on his way back to Bautzen. He still, however, clung to his design of attacking Berlin, and accordingly directed Marmont with his corps to march to Hoyerswerda, where he would be *à la portée* of the Prussian capital: but he ordered the Young and Old Guard to accompany himself, and on the 6th he alighted at Dresden. After a few hours' rest in the palace here, he was again on horseback for Pirna, where he found St. Cyr already flying before Kleist and Pahlen, and his cavalry under De Pajol striving to hold back at Dobna the immense force of horsemen which preceded the advance of the enemy's columns. Napoleon, however, observed that there were no Austrian troops in the column opposed to him, which induced him to suspect that Schwarzenberg had perhaps some other movement in contemplation. It was most necessary for his plans not to risk the possession of Dresden, and he resolved, accordingly, to replace the imperial head-quarters there, in order to collect in that capital the guard and all the reserves which were everywhere in motion, and to act thence according to circumstances. But, before he had time to lie down on his couch, news of a fresh disaster reached his ears.

29. BATTLE OF DENNEWITZ.

Before quitting Dresden for Silesia, to assist Macdonald, the Emperor superseded the Duke de Reggio by Marshal the Prince de la Moskowa, who set off immediately, and on the 3rd of September reached Wittemberg, where Oudinot's army was posted. The instructions he received from Napoleon himself prescribed an advance to Bayreuth, within three days' march of Berlin, where he was desired to establish himself on the 6th. Ney found Victor and Regnier in command of their several divisions, both dissatisfied at his arrival to supersede them, and both far from feeling implicit confidence in one who, with all his martial prowess, had rarely been intrusted with supreme command in the field. The Emperor had promised that a division should be sent up to Luckau to maintain the communication of the armies; and, as we have seen, Marshal Marmont was already in march thither by Hoyerswerda. Ney, on the morning of the 4th, reviewed his forces in sight of the enemy, and at the close of this display moved forward his centre against Tauenzien's Prussian division at Zahna. Here was a small rivulet in front of the Allied position, but after much hard fighting the French forced them to cross it and fall back to Seydas on the 5th. Confident in his own courage and in the wisdom of the orders of his chief, Ney went forward on the 6th, regardless of the enemy's numerous cavalry which hovered on his flank, and watched all his movements. His line of march was directed on Interbach, Bertrand on his right, Regnier in the centre, and Oudinot on the left. Ney,

being himself accustomed always to take the lead, trotted with the advance to Dennewitz. No sooner did the Crown-Prince ascertain that the enemy were marching against him, headed by his old comrade, the Prince de la Moskowa, than he took measures for concentrating his forces. He ordered Bülow, on arriving at Kurz-Lipsdorf, to deploy his troops and take post, having Eckmendorf on the right and Maltenhausen on the left; and Tauenzien, leading the advance, was directed to march straightforward on Dennewitz.

The field of battle is crossed by a rivulet called the Agerbach, not of any great depth, but having rotten marshy banks everywhere, except for the short space between Dennewitz and Rohrbach, where the ground on each side of it is steep; but the road traverses a vast expanse of sand before it crosses the stream at either of these places. The Italian brigade of Fontanelli, in Bertrand's division, forming the advanced guard of the French, entered Dennewitz at 10 o'clock, and at once encountered Tauenzien's division, which they found formed up in order of battle beyond the village, when they were immediately opened upon by a powerful battery with grapeshot. Bertrand, on being apprised of this, brought up in support two divisions of infantry, and established two batteries of 12-pounders which soon succeeded in silencing the Prussian guns. Regnier had been ordered to outflank the enemy by crossing the brook at Rohrbach, and Oudinot, from the farther side, had already reached Ohna, where he waited till the former division had passed the defile. General Morand, with a Würtemberg division, had been also posted near the mill of Dennewitz. Bülow no sooner heard the firing than he pressed forward his Prussians, and, as soon as he arrived on the field, deployed 20,000 men between Wolmsdorf and Nieder Görsdorf, maintaining a reserve under the Prince of Hesse-Homburg. These were immediately advanced, *en échelon*, against the division Morand, when, Regnier coming up at the moment with the Saxons, a combat of the most obstinate description ensued, but in the end, the villages of Golsdorf and Nieder Görsdorf were occupied by the French. After four hours' fighting, however, these two villages were regained by the Prussians, and the division Morand was obliged to form squares against the assaults of the Allied cavalry. Ney therefore sent pressing orders to Oudinot to come up, and Guilleminot leading his column, supported by the division Pachtod, retook Golsdorf, and held in check the hostile cavalry. Ney ought to have known that, as the fight was proceeding, he was exposing his left flank to the side on which Bernadotte was situated, that is to say, from the great road leading on Berlin through Potsdam; for the Crown-Prince's cannon was already heard towards Rabenstein, whence he was now coming up, with 70 battalions, and 80 squadrons of Russo-Swedish soldiers. The battle had already lasted three hours, and Bülow had not exhausted his reserves. When, therefore, Borstel's Prussians appeared on the field, they, acting in concert with their countrymen under Thumen (who had been fighting ever since the morning about Dennewitz), attacked and carried that village, driving out Bertrand's corps, who were

quite exhausted with their hot day's work. Ney, accordingly, now directed Oudinot to march against Borstel, instead of remaining to support Bertrand at Rohrbach, and the victory was still in the balance, for the Crown-Prince with his Swedes had scarcely reached Eckmansdorf, at some distance behind Bülow. Ney, however, seeing he could make no head against his foe, either at Dennewitz or Golsdorf, and having no reserve to bring into action, commanded a retreat on Rohrbach. Immediately the orders were given, the Saxon division of Mellenten, which had hitherto fought well, threw away their arms either from timidity or uncertain fidelity, and disbanded, notwithstanding all the exertions of Rognier to retain them, thus exposing the left of the French army entirely without defenders, and on this flank the Swedes now appeared, marching on Kaltenborg. Ney endeavoured to hold the ground behind the Agerbach, on the side of Rohrbach; but soon the Bavarian division also quitted their standards as the Saxons had done. A general consternation in consequence seized the whole of the French army, and, at sight of the Swedish and Russian horse, they broke their ranks and inundated the plain. Ney could not rally even the 4th and 12th corps, which were composed of French; for they also caught the contagion, and all fled. Ney and Bertrand, with some cavalry, reached Dahna; and Oudinot retreated to Schweidnitz. It was only on the 8th that the Marshal Prince de la Moskowa could succeed in reuniting his scattered and divided columns under cover of the cannon of Torgau.

The loss of the French in the battle of Dennewitz, and in the retreat to Torgau, amounted to 13,000 men, killed, wounded, and missing, with 43 guns and 3 eagles. The Allies lost 6,000, of whom nearly 5,000 were Prussians. Indeed, the honour of the day at Dennewitz, as at Gross-Beeren, rested wholly with the Prussian division of Bülow. The Crown-Prince had no share in the fight, except in inditing a pompous bulletin of its success.

30. NAPOLEON AT DRESDEN.—CONCENTRATION OF THE ALLIES TO CRUSH HIM.

These continual reverses diminished the strength of the French armies seriously, and it was easy to foresee that the balance must soon turn in favour of their enemies; for there were no more reinforcements coming up from France, while, on the other hand, General Benningsen, who had for some time been organising a new Russian army, was approaching the scene of operations with rapid strides from the Vistula and Oder. Napoleon saw plainly that the time was come when he must change his tactics, since he could not change his lieutenants, every one of whom had compromised his strategy, while his enemy acted consistently upon a simple, clear, and intelligible system. He resolved, at any rate, that he would maintain the offensive, and not wait to be crushed by the combined attacks of his foes. He had just returned to Dresden, when St. Cyr, who now occupied the entrenched camp,

reported that the Russians were again advancing in strength against his position at Pirna; and he at the same time also received intelligence that the Austrians were directing their march from Marienburg on Chemnitz, in order to threaten Leipzig. The Emperor was on horseback early on the 9th, and soon at the outposts. He immediately ordered St. Cyr with the 14th corps to attack, and the Count de Lobau with the 1st, which had been recently reorganised by that distinguished leader, to support. Wittgenstein and Kleist gave way before the unmistakable vigour of the Napoleonic attack; "ils reconnurent sa présence à la seule allure des troupes." The Allied generals, faithful to their orders, retired as usual before the Emperor's advance; but having advantageous ground, perfect knowledge in the management of their supports, and the certainty of a secure retreat upon the defile of Eichwald, they fell back slowly and circumspectly before the French light infantry, who followed them as far as Groupen. Napoleon was at dinner with Berthier, when he received the report of Ney's discomfiture. It is a singular characteristic of the man, that, instead of being carried away by a burst of anger against his subordinate, he quietly began to discuss the art of war in the abstract. "C'est un métier bien difficile que le nôtre," he exclaimed several times; and, grieving that his marshals were not in general well-informed in the science, he added that he would some day write a book to instruct them.

However, he had now something more urgent on his hands, and on the 9th he pushed forward 40,000 men as far as Liebstadt. On the following day he ordered St. Cyr still to advance, who marched to Ebersdorf, while he himself galloped forward with his staff to the Geyserberg, whence the eye can range over all the valley of Töplitz, and almost to Prague. The Russian and Prussian forces were to be seen, some deploying, some marching in column, some resting themselves. Napoleon, however, discovered from this reconnoissance that his movement upon the Erzgebirge had brought back the Austrian army of Schwarzenberg to Töplitz. His mind was, nevertheless, occupied anxiously for the future, and was indisposed, even at this time, to postpone its consideration because of any mere trifling advantage of the present, for he indited a letter to the Duke de Feltre, the Minister of War at Paris, to desire that the strong frontier fortresses of the Rhine should be forthwith placed in a good state of defence and well victualled for the supply of his troops, in case he should find it desirable to withdraw across the Rhine.

The Emperor having reconnoitred the road leading into the plain, and satisfied himself that he had obliged the Allied army to concentrate, had no desire to come to blows in the rough passes of the Erzgebirge; and, having directed that the army should still hold Geyersberg and Nollendorf, he took Marshal St. Cyr aside, and confided to him that he did not intend to proceed farther across the mountains, but that the engineers must be set actively to work upon the road, in order to make the enemy believe that such was his

intention ; and, now putting the best face upon affairs, he himself returned to Pirna, having ordered St. Cyr and the Count de Lobau to remain where they were for two days and then to withdraw to that camp. Napoleon returned to Dresden on the 12th, leaving the 1st corps at Nollendorf, the 2nd at Allenberg, the 14th near Borna, and the Young Guard at Pirna. Napoleon had enough to demand the gravest reflections as he sat down in his cabinet at head-quarters. He had lost four battles by the blunders of his lieutenants, and he could not persuade any separate corps of his adversaries to measure swords with himself. Blücher had availed himself of his absence towards the mountains to return upon Macdonald, who was now again within musket-shot of Dresden at Bischofswerda, with Poniatowski at Neustadt, the 8th corps at Stolpen, and the 3rd, 5th, and 11th corps close to the Elbe. 60,000 men were, therefore, quite unable to keep back the redoubted Prussian veteran. Napoleon also considered that ever since the month of May he had been subsisting his army in Saxony, and that, in addition to Macdonald's army and his own, there was close on the right Oudinot's or Ney's army of 30,000 or 40,000 men, all doing nothing against the enemy, and "eating their heads off." The policy dating from Trachenburg was wearing away all his strength ; for no sooner did Wittgenstein and Kleist learn that the Emperor had quitted the army in their front than they again crossed the mountains, driving St. Cyr and Lobau before them to Pirna and Gieshübel. On the 15th Napoleon again leaped into his saddle, and, putting himself at the head of his guard, drove back the intruders to Bergieshübel and Peterswalde. On the 16th he made arrangements for the concentration of the 1st, 2nd, and 14th corps with his guards at Nollendorf, and pushed the 6th corps back again to Altenburg, the scarlet lancers of the guard driving the Allied cavalry out of Hollendorf, in which engagement Colonel Blücher, the son of the general, was taken prisoner. On the 17th, Napoleon's head-quarters were again established at Pirna, and Prince Schwarzenberg withdrew all the advanced posts from the hills back to Kulm and Töplitz. He also occupied Aussig upon the Elbe by a strong division under General Meerfeldt ; for Napoleon had secretly thrown a bridge over the Elbe at Pirna to enable him to move his forces either into Bohemia or Silesia with the greater freedom. He sent down a division to attack Ziethen near Kulm, and Colloredo at Arbessau ; but such was the resistance at both these villages that his Young Guard was driven out of them with the loss of 7 guns and 2,000 prisoners, amongst whom was their general Kreutzen. Napoleon therefore recalled all his forces back to Pirna, and bade his last adieu to Bohemia. On the 21st he was again at Dresden, having made another fruitless campaign, and this same day Benningsen arrived at Töplitz with the Russian army of reserve. With wonderful resolution and perseverance, the Emperor again quitted his head-quarters the following morning to give a blow to Blücher, but the veteran again declined the combat, and retired. Napoleon followed him beyond the forests near Bischofswerda, and returned, foiled again, to Dresden on the 24th.

The policy of evading a conflict with the Emperor and only engaging the forces of his lieutenants had, however, been played out, and, now that the Allied army had become so strong and the French army had been so much weakened, a new project was in contemplation, which was to unite the forces of the Allies on one or the other flank, and fall upon and crush Napoleon in some central point. Orders were therefore issued to concentrate 80,000 Russians and Prussians and 70,000 Austrians at Töplitz on the 1st of October, who might descend the mountains to act between the Elbe and the Saale, while 150,000 Prussians and Swedes, under the Prince-Royal of Sweden and General Blücher, were to cooperate in a general and decisive attack of the French army in the Saxon plains. The generalissimo's plan of campaign had for its basis at once to outflank Napoleon on both flanks and to threaten his main communication with France.

Since the beginning of September a considerable partisan warfare had sprung up within the communications of the French army. The Saxon general Thielmann had, on the 11th, attacked and destroyed a large convoy of ammunition near Weissenfels. General Lefebvre-Desnouettes was sent to stop Thielmann, and came up and defeated him near Merseberg on the 24th. On the other hand, the Hetman Platoff brought up his Cossacks to Chemnitz and defeated Lefebvre-Desnouettes; and at Altenburg, on the 28th, he united with Thielmann and drove the French general back to Zeitz, with the loss of 5 guns and 1,500 prisoners. The Austrian Colonel Mensdorf, with a body of cavalry, hovered upon all the French communications between Dresden, Leipzig, and Torgau. Czernicheff, with 3,000 horse, pushed on, without any one to oppose him, as far as Cassel, the capital of the kingdom of Westphalia; when King Jerome, collecting what troops he could, abandoned his capital, and the occasion was immediately seized to proclaim the dissolution of the puppet kingdom amidst the vociferous applause of the people. The Cossacks remained there for a short time, and then carried off the royal horses and carriages as their trophies; and immense stores of more valuable commodities also fell to them as booty.

Marshal Davoust had continued to hold himself in readiness to receive the orders of the Emperor to march on Berlin; but, after the defeat of Gross-Beeren, he saw that this projected movement was rendered impossible, and accordingly he withdrew across the Elbe. This movement separated the Danes and French, the former of whom now left the Marshal's command and retired to their own country by way of Lübeck. The strength of Davoust's corps, after this defection, was reduced to 35,000 men, with whom he had to contend against General Walmoden, who with an equal force had taken post at Schwerin, with the Swedish General Vegesack, at Grevismuhlen, in his front. The scouts having got hold of a letter from the Marshal addressed to the governor of Magdeburg, it was learned that he intended to reinforce that garrison by the division Pecheux, and the Hanoverian general determined to endeavour to intercept that detachment in their march. Leaving, therefore, Vegesack to observe the

Prince of Eckmühl, he crossed the Elbe with 16,000 men at Dornitz, and on the 16th of September his advanced guard under Tettenborn encountered General Pecheux at Görda, near Danneberg. The French general had 5 battalions and 1 squadron with 6 pieces of cannon, and, seeing the superior strength of his adversary, he took up the strongest position the ground afforded. Walmoden attacked at once the centre and both wings, and so enveloped the enemy that 1,200 were killed and all the guns and materiel captured, together with General Miaczinki and 1,800 men. Having accomplished his object, he returned to Schwerin on the 18th.

These affairs disturbed Napoleon, and feeling the importance of securing his rear, he ordered General Rogniat, who, since the capture of Haxo, had the chief direction of the engineers, to place the defences of Merseberg upon the Saale in proper repair, and to make a close observation of the condition of all the bridges across that river. Many circumstances, at this juncture, concurred to oblige the Emperor to consider the expediency of retiring his army from the left bank of the Elbe. Rich as Saxony is in agricultural produce, the enormous multitude which had so long been quartered there had entirely consumed it. Not a handful of forage was to be obtained for the horses; the herbage in the fields had been trodden down by hostile legions, the earth had been turned ten times over in search of roots, and nothing edible remained. The town of Dresden had been thoroughly spoiled; not only had it been rendered a barrack for troops for more than a year, but it was now full of the hospitals of the sick and wounded, amongst whom a malignant fever at this time raged. The soldiers, having no regular supplies, were continually guilty of outrages upon the inhabitants, which the Emperor, by a severe administration, had tried in vain to check. To all the exertions of their superiors to stop excesses, the ready answer was: "Cause the commissary to be shot, and you shall then be obeyed." Pirna had been reduced to despair by the exactions practised in its frequent occupation, and all the towns and villages for miles around Dresden were fatigued and exhausted by the triple scourge of quartering, pillage, and contributions. The diminution in the effective force had also now become very considerable. The French army, at the termination of the armistice on the 14th of August, amounted to nearly 360,000 men present with the eagles, and now at the end of September it was reduced to less than 200,000. The Emperor saw distinctly that he could not expect to maintain his ground upon the Elbe much longer, and therefore now gave orders for the removal of the sick and wounded by degrees from Dresden to Leipzig, from Leipzig to Erfurt, and from Erfurt upon Mayence. Marshal Marmont was detached to cover these movements as convoy, and Latour-Mauburg's cavalry kept watch over the movements and reconnoissances of the Allies, while Poniatowski with his Poles was sent to restrain the action of detached divisions upon his communications.

The blockade of Wittenberg had been intrusted to General Thumen by the Marshal Prince of Moskowa, who, although he was not strong

enough to act against the united forces of the Crown-Prince and Blücher, was able to well observe their movements, and now communicated to Napoleon, that, after he had returned to Dresden on the 24th, a French corps had been vigorously attacked at Meissen, on the 25th, by Blücher's advance under Sacken; and that on the three following days that veteran had adroitly broken up his camp and marched away for Wittenberg to unite his forces with the army of the Crown-Prince, whose head-quarters had been advanced to Roslau, at the confluence of the Elbe and the Mulda. Blücher, continuing his march, was on the 4th of October at Dübén on the latter river, on which day Bülow and Tauenzien also crossed to the left bank of the Elbe. There still remained in sight of Dresden the rest of the army of Silesia under Generals Sherbatow and Bubna, amounting to about 18,000 men. Napoleon, upon these reports, resolved upon the manœuvre by means of which he hoped to thwart the combination of the Allies. He determined to quit Dresden, and to leave St. Cyr there with 27,000 men. He had already ordered Augereau to march up out of Bavaria and join him at Leipzig, where he was to place himself under the orders of the King of Naples who was at Freyberg; and they would thus be able to interpose 60,000 men against the advance of Schwarzenberg out of Bohemia, while Napoleon, calling around him Ney, Marmont, Poniatowski, and every outlying detachment, might carry 125,000 men against Bernadotte and Blücher, whom he supposed to be united somewhere upon the banks of the Mulda.

On the 6th of October, all the Imperial Guard quitted the Saxon capital and marched to Meissen, and stringent measures were adopted to make the King of Saxony follow the fortunes of Napoleon, who feared that, if they separated, he should have no longer hold on the Saxon army. A messenger was sent to the King of Naples to give the Emperor a meeting at Meissen, and at 6 in the morning of the 7th Napoleon quitted Dresden and the same day had a conference with Murat. The King of Saxony and his family quitted his capital in a long train of carriages amidst the tears of his people, and rested for the night at Meissen. The Imperial head-quarters were established the same night at Seerhausen, on the road to Wurzen, whither they proceeded on the morning of the 8th. Napoleon placed himself at the head of the light cavalry of his guard, and set off in the night of the 10th for Eilenburg, where he arrived at 4 in the morning, and heard that the Crown-Prince and Blücher had got wind of his movements and had recrossed the Mulda at Bitterfeld and Jesnitz; but it subsequently transpired that Blücher had not recrossed the Mulda at all, but had proceeded to Halle upon the Saale, whence he was coming down on Leipzig. He, however, heard still worse news, that Ney and Marmont, instead of acting together according to his instructions, had marched different ways; and that the latter was already at Toncha in his rear marching on Leipzig, while Ney was marching towards the Elbe away to Torgau. His object had been, by uniting with these divisions, to drive the confederate armies across the Elbe, while Murat held his ground against

Schwarzenberg; but when the King of Naples had on the 10th reached Frohburg, where he covered the roads by Chemnitz, he found that he had not guarded that from Carlobad or Zwickau and Altenburg, and that Wittgenstein with Schwarzenberg's advance, finding the way clear of any enemy, had pushed along it and was already at Borna. Here Poniatowski stopped him with his 2nd division, until he was joined from Penig by a division of the 8th corps; while Murat, as soon as he found the Allies endeavouring to get between him and Leipzig, pushed forward with his cavalry, and forced Wittgenstein to go back with the loss of 3,000 or 4,000 men, and the King of Naples was thus *à cheval* on both the great roads out of Bohemia. Napoleon received this information on the 12th, and immediately resolved to concentrate the entire of his army on Leipzig. The guard, the corps of Marmont, Bertrand, Macdonald, and Latour-Maubourg's cavalry, were marched straight on Leipzig; Regnier, Dombrowski, and Sebastiani were directed to destroy all the bridges over the Elbe; and Ney was ordered to impose on Bernadotte as much as possible, and to hurry back after the grand army by the same road on which he was marching. The result of this operation was, that Bernadotte, professing to be alarmed for his rear, separated himself from Blücher's army, and withdrew with all his force to the north, placing his headquarters on the 13th at Cöthen. On this night Napoleon rested at Wurzen, where, at daybreak the following morning, he heard the firing between Murat and Wittgenstein beyond Leipzig, and hastened to place his head-quarters at Reudnitz, about two miles from the city, into which the King of Saxony had entered the same morning. News reached the Emperor on his arrival at Leipzig that the King of Bavaria had renounced his alliance and had arranged his forces on the side of the Allies. The defection of Bavaria was sure to be followed by that of Würtemberg and Baden, thus uncovering the frontier of France from Hünningen to Mayence, and interposing the armies of De Wrede and Prince Reus, who could march up from the Inn to the Necker and the Rhine, between him and France. Orders had been already transmitted to Davoust and St. Cyr to bring up their respective forces as quickly as possible to unite with the grand army, and Napoleon was now resolved to place the issue of the campaign on the battle which had become inevitable in the vicinity of Leipzig. He now collected for this purpose five *corps-d'armée* and a numerous cavalry, but all these corps either did not receive their orders, or could not effect their junction in time. The fault of their not receiving earlier orders may have been with the Emperor himself; for it is admitted on all hands that he had clung with great tenacity to the line of the Elbe, and was unwilling for a considerable time, longer perhaps than he strictly ought to have been, to abandon his ground at Hamburg and Dresden: his fixed plan having been, to the last, to attack his numerous foes in succession wherever divided, and to wreak his vengeance on Berlin.

On the 14th, the Prince Generalissimo ordered a grand recon-

noissance to be made by the two corps of Klenau and Wittgenstein, preceded by the cavalry under Count Pahlen, after the French army. The King of Naples had taken up a good position to cover the road into Leipzig, with his right on the Elster, his centre at the village of Wackau, and his left at Lieber-Wolkwitz. He had with him 6 regiments of good cavalry, which had belonged to the army of Spain, and had just come up to the grand army with the corps of Marshal Augereau. These troops were burning for an opportunity of signalling themselves, and Murat, who had been forced back in a manner that he thought might perhaps have a little compromised the Emperor, resolved to take this opportunity of giving them their desire. He therefore placed himself at their head, and charged down upon Pahlen's cavalry. King Joachim was recognised as the leader by his accustomed display of uniform; and the English General Wilson (a fire-eater *par excellence*), who was attached to the Russian head-quarters, was especially ambitious of coming into personal conflict with one of the same kidney as himself. An equally ambitious Russian officer, however, outrode Sir Robert, and, coming up with his Majesty, cried out, "Arrête, arrête, Roi!" The King's *officier d'ordonnance*, Lieutenant de Lappe, who was with Murat, immediately turned round and at once passed his sword through the body of the presumptuous young Russian, who fell to the ground, leaving his horse a prize to the Neapolitan officer, who might have risen, in consequence, to the highest honours of the kingdom, if his master's crown had not been already in the balance. The brilliant affair of cavalry which ensued, and in which several charges were made by about 1,000 horse, was terminated by the arrival of Klenau's Prussian cavalry, who came up in time to take part in it: but both sides at the last maintained the ground they had held in the morning, though it cost the lives of 1,200 men; the conflict resolving itself into an affair of artillery, which lasted till night.

Napoleon's head-quarters were established at the house of a merchant just outside Leipzig, where Berthier, Murat, Marmont, and Augereau, with the customary officers, assembled the same evening round a German stove in earnest conversation, mixed with much familiar gossip. The Emperor was in unusual spirits, and rallied his comrade marshals, not forgetting Murat, who, he said, must have already made himself acquainted with Austrian tactics, seeing that he had been lately in such intimate communication with their diplomatists with a view to secure his throne. King Joachim repelled the imputation as unjust, but the Emperor replied with great kindness of manner, without bitterness or blame, and in a tone more sad than severe: "Oui, oui, vous avez été prêt à le faire, mais je vous pardonne. Vous êtes bon, vous avez un fond d'amitié pour moi, et vous êtes un vaillant homme. Seulement j'ai eu tort de vous faire roi: comme roi vous songez à votre couronne plus qu'à la mienne." At this time the Imperial head-quarters, in the midst of the preparations for the coming conflict, were enlivened by a ceremony, singular

enough under the circumstances, but always imposing, and calculated to work upon the attachment and enthusiasm of the army—the distribution of eagles, by the Emperor, with accustomed pomp, to three regiments which had not hitherto received them.*

31. BATTLE OF LEIPZIG.

Leipzig is seated on the Elster, over which there is a stone bridge, and is surrounded by a plain, watered by a great many streams. It is bounded on every side by the marshes of the Elster, Partha, and Pleisse, which flow in such lazy currents as to enclose swampy meadows, nearly two miles broad, and quite impassable by wheels of any kind. These rivers, though of no great breadth, are both deep and muddy, and for the most part unfordable either by cavalry or infantry. The whole country has the appearance of a rich and beautiful plain in the highest state of cultivation, while the gentle slopes above it, about Wachau and above Möckern, are adorned with villages and villas. The city has an ancient castle, and is surrounded by an irregular rampart, with gates, strengthened by palisades; but the masonry of the walls is dilapidated, and the ditch, without any revêtement, is nearly obliterated, and was already planted with trees and shrubs for a walk for the citizens. On the morning of the 15th, Napoleon, accompanied by Murat, rode around the town to Lieber-Wolkwitz. He recognised with his approval and adoption the importance of the position which the King of Naples had here assumed and maintained on the previous day; and he still thought that he might, in the coming action, make head against Schwarzenberg from the south, and Blücher from the north, by fighting both armies in detail. He resolved to begin against the former, and ordered Poniatowski, Victor, and Lauriston to be posted on this ground, resting their right on the two rivers Pleisse and Elster, just above their confluence, where the ground would not admit of the march of troops to turn the flank. Behind the French left, and a little in rear, Augereau was placed, with the cavalry of Kellermann, in reserve. The guard was *à cheval* on the road near the Emperor's quarters, and the Duke of Padua in Leipzig with 7,000 or 8,000 men; Marmont, with the cavalry of Arrighi, was directed to face the enemy on the north of Leipzig, near Möckern. Ney, Regnier, Macdonald, and Oudinot had not yet arrived to take up their ground; so that there is no doubt that, if the Emperor had had his choice, he would have deferred the impending battle another day for their arrival. Bertrand had also to pass through the city, and to station himself at Lindenau, to observe and hold the Erfurt road, as soon as Ney and Regnier should fall in from Eilenburg. Here the village of Dolitz, with its gardens and walls, offered strong defensible ground. Wackau was a village in a hollow, with an orchard at one extremity, but being commanded on both sides by rising ground, it was a difficult post for any troops to hold. Lieber-Wolkwitz was a much more

* Thiers. Alison.

considerable village, on the top of a hill, which formed a regular glacis to it. A ridge ran all the way from the shoulder of the eminence of Lieber-Wolkwitz to the river Pleisse, passing in rear of Wackau, and commanding it. The road from Altenburg crossed this ridge at the distance of about five English miles from the gates of Leipzig, and the extent of the position from right to left was about three miles and a half. 6 corps of infantry and 4 of horse, mustering 110,000 men, of whom 18,000 were cavalry, occupied this ground, under Murat, and the immediate eye of Napoleon.

The Prince-Generalissimo had resolved to take the initiative against Napoleon, and made the following disposition for the attack. He determined to advance the Allied army in such a manner as might cut off all retreat by way of Erfurth, and accordingly interposed a strong force, under Meerfeld, at Connewitz, in the marshes about the Elster and the Pleisse, and between the French army and Leipzig itself. For the same reason Count Giulay, flanked by the light troops of Maurice Lichtenstein and Thielmann, was ordered to advance from the side of Erfurth upon Lindenau, where it was expected they might be able to communicate across the Elster with Blücher's army. Schwarzenberg in person, with the Russians under Wittgenstein, the Prussians under Kleist, and a division of the Austrians under Klenau, with Pahlen's cavalry, were to attack the French position in front. In case of a reverse in this somewhat complicated order of battle, the rallying-point was given between Zeitz, Pegau, Altenburg, and Penig. This prudential direction seemed desirable, because the great defect of the Prince-Marshal's plan of attack consisted in its attempting too much, and in its dividing the Allied army into two parts by the intervention of the marshy banks of the separated Elster and Pleisse, before their confluence. The Allied force consisted of no less than 143,000 combatants, of which 25,000 were cavalry, with 620 guns. The infatuation of the Austrian Generalissimo in making the singular disposition of troops above-named would in all probability have led to inevitable defeat but for the firmness of the Czar, who, on the part of the King and himself, refused to allow any Russian or Prussian troops to cross to the left bank of the above rivers, so that only 35,000 men were carried across, and these Austrian troops remained there in a complete *cul de sac*. At midnight, the attention of both armies was attracted to two rockets, sent up from the Austrian headquarters, which were seen to be answered, in due course, by three coloured ones from the Prussians, on the further side of Leipzig. The Prince-Marshal, in the old French style, issued a proclamation to his army the same night:—"Bereitet euch zum Streite! Russen! Preussen! Oesterreicher! Ihr kämpft für eine Sache! Alle für einen! Jeder für alle!" Napoleon no longer wrote those thrilling appeals which he had been wont to do; but he had taught them to his enemies, whose enthusiasm für das Vaterland scarcely required any excitement.

Having settled the position and the order of battle against the Prince-Marshal, Napoleon returned to Leipzig, and then repaired

to see under what circumstances Marmont could defend himself against an attack from the Prince-Royal of Sweden. He found the Marshal placed across the Halle road at Lindelthal, having his left on the Elster near Möckern, and his right on Breitenfeld. He approved of the disposition, and directed him, if pressed, to fall back through Enteritzsch, and behind the rivulet of the Partha. Orders were also expedited to the troops who were expected to arrive from Eilenberg so to form up as might be necessary to reinforce the position. Macdonald and Sebastiani having come into line, were posted *en potence* beyond Lieber-Wolkwitz, to face Klenau, who had arrived at Grimma, with a Prussian force, by the Dresden road. The prospect of Napoleon was not brilliant, for he had but 115,000 to oppose to the Prince-Marshal in the south, and 20,000 to withstand Blücher's 60,000 in the north, and he had about 20,000 in Leipzig itself. Ney and Regnier could scarcely arrive till the 17th. As was his custom, he was on the battle-field at daybreak on the 16th, and, taking post at a country-house upon a hill called Schaf-Meyssdorf, he anxiously surveyed the positions assumed by himself and his enemy. Had it been possible, now that he saw the Allies prepared to attack, he would have been glad to adopt the initiative: but, before this could be effected, 3 guns gave signal, at 9 o'clock, for the advance of the Allied columns; when Kleinau against Lieber-Wolkwitz, Wittgenstein against Wackau, and Kleist against Mark-kleeberg, were instantly in motion along the banks of the Pleisse. The last entered first into action, and 2 Prussian battalions established themselves in the village in spite of Poniatowski's most energetic opposition. Expecting Macdonald's arrival every moment, Napoleon ordered up Augereau from the reserve to support Poniatowski; while the Young Guard, under Mortier, was advanced to Lieber-Wolkwitz; and the Old Guard, under Oudinot, was to be ready for the reinforcement of Victor, if it should become necessary. A strong battery of artillery was also formed to take Kleist's column in flank, and prevent his ascending the side of the hill while the contest for Mark-kleeberg was renewed between the French and Prussians, with the latter of whom it at length finally remained. In the centre, the possession of Wackau was the object of dispute. Wittgenstein pushed forward Prince Eugène of Würtemberg under the fire of 24 heavy guns, but Oudinot and Victor completely silenced these batteries with their artillery, and succeeded in maintaining themselves within the village. Klenau, sending forward the column of Gortschakoff, under cover of the wood called Universitätswald, advanced himself with another column from Störmthal, but the two attacks had not a good *ensemble*, and Lauriston was enabled to repel them successively, until Macdonald arrived in line to his support.

Napoleon, from the height he occupied, was exposed to a fearful concentrated fire, but remained, as usual, unmoved, giving his directions with his accustomed *sang-froid*, and revolving, in his ever-active and fertile genius, the great final operation he contemplated. Seeing Poniatowski pressed, he ordered Pajol, with the Polish

cavalry, to charge Kleist's infantry, but the cuirassiers of Levachow took the French dragoons in flank, and drove them back until they, in their turn, were crushed by the fire of the battery. The village of Wackau was taken and retaken five times in the course of two hours. It was about noon, when 18,000 men were already supposed to have fallen in the two armies, without any direct advantage having been obtained on either side. The Prince-Generalissimo meanwhile, intent on his favourite project, led forward, in person, the Austrian corps of Meerveldt down to the banks of the Elster, to force their way out of the *cul de sac* they occupied to Connowitz, but they were encountered on the road by the divisions Lefol and Semelé of Augereau's corps; and about 1 o'clock he was obliged to send up his corps of reserve at Zobigher to the rear of the Pleisse, for the reinforcement of Kleist and Wittgenstein, who were so seriously threatened at the farms of Auerheim and Grossan opposite Wackau as to render it indispensable; so that he reluctantly halted.

The sound of cannon now came rolling in from the north, apprising the Emperor that his line was attacked on all sides, and presently staff officers arrived with the intelligence that Margaron was pressed by Giulay at Lindenau on one side of the Elster, and Marmont by Blücher on the other. The Duke of Ragusa urgently demanded assistance, when at the opportune moment Ney appeared in sight, and, by the order of Napoleon, despatched the divisions of Dombrowski and Souham to the support of Marmont, and directed Bertrand to march through Leipzig to the assistance of Margaron.

Napoleon, inspired by the arrival of the Prince of Moskowa, thought the state of the battle had now become sufficiently advantageous to him to enable him to undertake the offensive *pour frapper un grand coup*. He sent orders, therefore, for the advance of Victor, supported by Oudinot, upon Wackau; and of Mortier, supported by Macdonald, on Lieber-Wolkwitz. The Young Guard was at the same moment brought up to support the advance of Lauriston against Gortschakoff at Gossa, while the reserve artillery of the guard under Drouot, counting 80 pieces, were made ready to open their iron throats upon the enemy, to cover the advance of these several divisions; and Latour-Mauburg, with all the cavalry, to assist the movement. The Old Guard, under Curial, Friant, and Nansouty, was brought up to Napoleon's tent at Probstheyda, to occupy the place of the Young Guard. Kellermann, with the 4th and 5th corps, remained in reserve near Dolitz, to watch the threatened movement of the Austrians by the marshes on the right wing, and to render aid where required. It has been said that Napoleon was so sanguine as to the effect of this well-considered and well-combined manœuvre, that he sent word to the King of Saxony, in Leipzig, that he had gained the day, and enjoined him to order the bells of the city to be rung to announce his victory. The signal was given. The Prince of Würtemberg was completely borne down by the inroad made upon him, and compelled to retire to the farmhouse or sheepcote of Auerhagen, and thence into the midst of the pools and bogs around the village of Gossa. Gortschakoff, on his immediate right, was driven

back into the Universitätswald, and Klenau as far as Gros Possna and Seijfaishtaya. The Czar sent officer after officer to the Generalissimo to entreat him to come up out of the marsh, or send up some of the Austrian troops with him there, and at length the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, with a reinforcement of 20,000 men, appeared on the field at Dolitz. It was 3 o'clock when this reserve arrived to the assistance of the Allied troops, who had in the interval contested the ground valiantly. The division of Bianchi led the advance, but the distance at which the Austrians stood rendered it impossible for them to render efficient assistance. However, the Austrian cavalry of General Nostitz got across the Pleisse at Gorlewitz, and brought prompt aid to the Prince of Würtemberg. The Russian cuirassiers were launched against the French infantry, while 10,000 grenadiers, under Rajeffsky, covered the ground about Arenberg, Gossa, and the Universitätswald. Napoleon accordingly sent Kellermann to fall upon the Austrian cuirassiers, under Nostitz, who drove them before him to Doesen. Pajol was killed in this encounter by a shell that struck him in the body. Drouot, with his guns from the hill above Wackau, showered all this while grape and shell over the plain before him. The village of Lieber-Wolkwitz, however, still remained with the Allies. The King of Naples therefore led forward General Bourdesolle's cavalry, consisting of 10 regiments of cuirassiers, between that village and Wackau, fell on the corps of Gortschakoff, routed them, and took 26 guns; but, on descending the hill, Murat was stopped short near the village of Gossa by the ponds and accidents of the plain, formed by enclosures, woods, and waters, from behind which a single battalion of chasseurs made cruel havoc among the horsemen. The Czar, who was looking on, seeing this advantage, ordered all the Russian cavalry that could be got together to fall on Murat, when Latour-Mauburg, with a formidable array of 50 squadrons, came round the shoulder of the hill in glorious style, while Drouot outdid his former handling of his guns, and swept the ground with a complete cover of grape. Unfortunately, the gallant French chief had his leg carried off by a ball as he came up, and the charge lost some of the consequences that might have been apprehended from his gallant bearing.* Count Orloff Dennissof, with the red Cossacks of the guard, in number about 2,000, who, while Latour-Mauburg charged, had got around him from the side of Gossa, now took the French cavalry column in flank, when a complete panic seized them, and the horsemen never drew their bridles till they had got behind their infantry, Murat being nearly captured. Many guns and many prisoners were of course taken. The reserve cavalry of Barclay de Tolly soon arrived to support the Allied right, and the Russian guards, under General Yermolof, now made a powerful attack on Gossa, and got possession of it. Ræffskoi also got posses-

* Amputation was immediately and successfully performed on the ground, and "he lived to fight another day;" but his servant, who had accompanied him through so many dangers, was quite overcome at the occurrence. "Tiens-toi, camarade," said the General; "pour ton soulagement tu n'auras jamais plus qu'une botte à frotter."

sion of the sheepcote. It was already 5 o'clock, and getting dark; accordingly the battle in this quarter came to an end. Poniatowski, however, was unable to drive back Kleist from Mark-kleeberg, although a portion of the Old Guard sent out of Dolitz against Meerweldt forced the Austrian division back, and took their general prisoner, with upwards of 1,000 men.

As soon as Blücher heard the guns fire to the south of Leipzig, he sent off notice of the battle to the Crown-Prince, to press him to come up to take part in it. It was, however, 11 o'clock in the day before the Prussian advance, under De York and Sacken, numbering about 30,000 men, moved up against Möckern. This village, on which rested the French left, was stoutly defended by the divisions Lagrange, Compans, and Friedrichs, under the fire of 80 cannon, and the town was taken and retaken, when the Marshal Duke of Ragusa advanced in person, and a hand-to-hand fight ensued, under which a charge of Würtemberg cavalry exhibited that want of cordiality which already reigned between the French and Germans. In their too hasty retreat they exposed a battalion of marines to utter destruction. All accounts say that Marmont fought like a grenadier; he received a wound in his hand, a contusion on the shoulder, and his cloak was perfectly full of bullets. In the heat of this fire a shell fell amidst his batteries, and exploded 3 tumbrils full of ammunition. The effect of all these mischances was that Marmont judged it prudent to order a retreat, and took up a position between the villages of Gohlis and Euteritsch. It has been said that the Prince of Moskowa, marching up early in the morning from Duhlen, before Marmont and Blücher had exchanged a shot, heard the heavy firing about Wackau, and sent 2 divisions in haste to assist the Emperor, but still retained with him the division Dombrowski, which, at Marmont's instance, he brought up to his assistance, but in crossing the deep ravine of Rietsche, through which the Partha flows, Ney doubted the discretion of having such dangerous ground in the rear, and counselled his brother Marshal to fall back. Dombrowski and Souham coming up during the fight in the road from Duhlen, were encountered by Langeron and Olsufren at Klein-Widderisch, and a terrible and murderous conflict ensued. The division Compans was driven back; while a French column, under Belmar, had great difficulty in escaping capture. The loss to Marmont in the day's encounter amounted to 60 guns, 4,000 *hors de combat*, and 2,000 prisoners; but Ney had now arrived on the field to his aid with his entire corps, and took post behind the Partha, which rendered this position for the present unassailable.

The foresight of Napoleon had placed Bertrand's corps at Lindenau, beyond the bridge over the Elster on the road to Merseburg, but he was here attacked by the Austrians, under Giulay. The position assumed by the French was strong, resting its right upon the marshy banks at Leutzsel, and its left on those near Plagwitzsch. Giulay obtained possession of both villages, but General Margeron, with 4 battalions and a strong artillery, continued to maintain the plateau, which commanded, as down a glacis, the road

from Lützen, and he at length drove the Austrians at the point of the bayonet out of the villages. The conflict was, however, severe, and cost the lives of some thousands of men.

The day's conflict had not had a very decisive termination either way, but Napoleon had no sooner entered his quarters for the night than he desired that his prisoner, the Austrian General Meerfeldt, who was at Dolitz, should be brought to him. He was an old acquaintance of his, for by a singular coincidence it was Meerfeldt who had been sent by the Emperor as a suppliant to General Bonaparte to solicit the armistice of Leoben in 1797; and it was from his hand, after the victory of Austerlitz in 1805, that Napoleon had received the pencil-note which opened the conferences that led to the peace of Presburg; with ready tact he now thought that he might make adroit use of such an old acquaintance to reopen negotiations with the sovereigns. He therefore, after a short parley, gave him his liberty, and sent him back with a proposition from himself to evacuate all the fortresses in rear of the Allied armies, and to retire with the French forces behind the Saal. In parting from the general, Napoleon exhibited some of that childish part of his genius which was so characteristic of him. He tried the *ruse* of exciting, through this subordinate, some jealousy and rivalry amongst the great Powers; but so old a negotiator could not miss seeing that the lion only proved himself to be in the toils, and that this was but a weak appeal for assistance out of the net. The whole of the day passed, however, without the arrival of any answer to the proposal, beyond the formal acknowledgement of its receipt, and the assurance that the Prince-Generalissimo would communicate it to the sovereigns.

The apparent supineness of the Crown-Prince of Sweden was the talk of the whole Allied army. General Lord Londonderry was British Commissioner with the Prussian army, and had the disposition in his hands of the Swedish subsidy, although Bernadotte had especially deprecated having any British officer attached to his army. The sovereigns therefore induced Count Pozzo di Borgo, on the part of the Czar, to repair with the British general to the headquarters of the Swedish army on the 14th to remonstrate. They endeavoured to persuade him to advance on military grounds, which the Prince disputed; and on the 15th they again renewed their solicitations to him to move his army, when His Royal Highness lost his temper. Charles Stewart, as firm and resolute a soldier as the Franco-Swedish Marshal, wrote to the Crown-Prince on the 16th a reproachful letter, which, though it deeply wounded him and gave great offence, brought him up at length to the aid of Blücher:—"The English nation has its eye upon you: it is my duty to address you with frankness. They will never believe you are not indifferent, should the enemy be beaten without your assistance; but the Prussians are on march behind the Russians, and the Swedes should be on march behind the Prussians. I speak now as a soldier, and, if you do not commence your march, you will repent it as long as you live." Bernadotte moved next morning; but, when they met, the Prince said: "Comment Général Stewart! quel droit avez-vous de m'é-

crire? Ne rappelez-vous que je suis Prince et un des plus grand généraux de l'âge?" The Allies, happily, settled the business without him; he did however reach Breitanau about noon on the 17th, but his farthest advance only attained Taucha.

The 17th of October was a day of comparative repose to both armies; but it was a weary day in the French bivouac. After a short and restless night, the Emperor was on horseback at early morning, and rode all over the field; the King of Naples joined him: but both were pensive and sad, for the ground was more covered with dead and dying than even these two old warriors had ever witnessed. Murat endeavoured to cheer his Imperial brother, showing him that the bodies of Austrians, Prussians, and Russians were as numerous as their own, and that all had fallen in their ranks "with their faces to the foe." Napoleon, however, after a short ride, returned and shut himself up in his tent for the remainder of the day. Now it happened that the day thus unwillingly made a day of rest was Sunday.* The Te Deum was certainly not sung in either camp; for, although both armies stood on the ground on which they had fought the previous day, and although all the sovereigns and generals retained the same head-quarters which they had occupied before the battle, yet there had been no victory: the one side rested to gather up its strength, and the other side because it well knew its prostrate weakness. The word "retreat," bitter as it had become to the French soldier from his long career of success, had already been whispered all through their host, from the Imperial tent to that of the humblest camp-follower. To add to the French despair, the rain fell in torrents all night: but the soldier slept, though the Emperor scarcely closed his eyes. He desired he might be called at moon-rise; when, hearing no news of an answer from the Allied Sovereigns, he ordered his carriage at 2 in the morning, and explored in person the roads leading out of the city. He gave directions for the destruction of all needless wheel-carriages and baggage, and was then driven to Ney's quarters at Rendwitz; but the Marshal, who lay dreaming of glory, death, and defiance, had to be awakened, for he could always sleep soundly. The Emperor now charged Ney to provide for the safety of the staff of head-quarters, which had been left behind at Eulenburg with the chancellerie of the army and the military chest. He wished them to be ordered to seek refuge in Torgau, where they

* It is quite impossible for any soldier to be thin-skinned "as to the new moons and sabbaths," in a campaign, and it is to be hoped that he will receive forgiveness because of the circumstances under which these must necessarily be neglected when men are arrayed in mortal combat; but it may be doubted whether, from amongst the half-million of Christians who looked that day on the church steeples of Leipzig, a single aspiration arose "to the God who giveth the victory through Jesus Christ," save the sheepish prayer of some craven, trembling as he stood within reach of the fire of the enemy. It may have been on such a night and under such circumstances, when the outposts touched on the eve of battle, that these well-known specimens of military prayer were uttered. Prayer of the French *factionnaire*: "O Dieu! s'il y a vraiment un Dieu, sauve-toi mon âme, si j'ai vraiment une âme à sauver!" The German *schildwache* is said to have made his prayer thus: "Wenn ich im Schlacht-Uhr sollte Dich vergessen, oh! vergiss Du doch deiner Diener nicht, oh Gott!"

might at any rate be saved under the terms which the garrison might be able to obtain for themselves. After Napoleon had stopped with Ney an hour or so, he got on his horse and rode to Bertrand's quarters at Lindenau, where he examined the state of the road to Lützen, and the bridge across the Elster. As day broke there was a general stir among the troops, and the guard was already in march. The Emperor, however, was found in his place at the bivouac, and took breakfast on a form, in sight of the soldiers, as was his custom. Soon the sound of artillery boomed incessantly from the side of Wackau, where the battle of the 16th had been fought, and where Murat had again assumed the command. Napoleon therefore turned his horse in that direction, and took his post again at the windmill on a hillock near Probstheyda. Regnier's corps of Saxons came up into line in the course of the 17th, but nothing had yet been heard from Davoust or St. Cyr.

The dignified pride which belongs to a hero still clung to Napoleon. He knew full well that there was not the shadow of a hope remaining to him as to the issue of the battle; but he would not "fly by night" from the enemies whom he had so often conquered, and whom, at all events, he had thwarted in their struggle for victory on the 16th. Therefore the morning of the 18th found him preparing for his retreat, leisurely, and in the full light of day, resolved to withdraw out of Germany and across the Rhine, but only at the pace he might choose for himself, and not hurrying off as with a defeated host. To such an extent did he carry his culpable forbearance, that he made no preparations for throwing more bridges across the Elster, over which there existed but the single one of stone between Leipzig and Lindenau for the passage of the entire army. He appears to have thought that to throw bridges would dispirit his troops, and encourage the enemy to imagine the game already won; and he remembered that at Wagram he had only required a single night to throw as many as 6 bridges over the impetuous and mighty Danube, while now he had only the sluggish Elster to pass.

The Allies had turned a deaf ear to Napoleon's proposition, and evinced no relaxation of their firm resolve to fight with their redoubtable enemy till he could stand his ground no longer. They received at length, from the Crown-Prince, the assurance that he could come up in line by the 18th. Coloredo, with his Austrian force, joined the Allied army about 4 in the afternoon, and took post at Gröburn; and Benningsen, with the army of reserve, arrived in position at Naunarf in the night. Winzingerode's cavalry, in advance of the Crown-Prince, reported themselves as already at Tauchna; and the Generalissimo had sent directions to Bubna, who commanded the separate Austrian corps on the farther side of the Elbe, to bring up his forces into position, if possible; thus, instead of sending back a reply to Napoleon's propositions, the reinforcements of 60,000 men under Bernadotte, and 50,000 under Benningsen, with the Austrians and the army in position, enabled the Allies to signify their reply to the proposals of peace by their

conquering sword, without any aid from their pen. The force of the Allies in the battle of Leipzig was greater than had ever been assembled in one field during modern times; for they mustered 280,000 combatants with 1,384 guns, and thus, in intrinsic strength and military equipment, far exceeded any army since the beginning of the world. The Romans had once a power equal to it in the field, but far, very far, inferior to it in organisation and discipline.*

Napoleon, at daybreak of the 18th, ordered the brigade Guilleminot to march out of Leipzig on the road to Lützen, and by noon this general got possession of the bridge of Weissenfels. Bertrand, with the Young Guard under Mortier, was commanded to hold Lindenau and defend the exit from the city; while the Rosenthal Garten to the north of it, in front of the gate of Halle, was strongly occupied by Dombrowski with the same object. The Emperor was determined to concentrate his army in a narrower circle around the city than he had previously occupied on the 16th, and at 8 in the morning he formed his troops in two lines in front of Connewitz on the Pleisse, from Loesnig by Probstheyda, Stötteritz, and Stecnz, to Schönfeld on the Partha. Ney and Marmont were ordered to stand fast behind the ravine of the Pfaffendorf, where they were brought into immediate contact with Macdonald and Victor at Schönfeld.

The Prince-Generalissimo formed his attack in three great columns. The left, under the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, consisting of 25,000 men commanded by Bianchi, Weissenwolf, and Prince Aloys Lichtenstein, with the cavalry under Nostitz and Colloredo in support, advanced on both sides of the Pleisse against Connewitz. The 2nd, under Barclay de Tolly, counting 45,000 effective men commanded by Wittgenstein and Kleist, with the cavalry of Pahlen, together with the Russian reserves of both infantry and cavalry under the Archduke Constantine, moved to the attack of Probstheyda, and menaced to force the centre of the enemy. The 3rd, under Benningsen, numbered about 35,000 men. He had with him Bubna, Klenartz, and Ziethen, with the Cossacks of Platow, and advanced against Stöttenitz. The partisan light troops, under Giulay and Thielmann, remained beyond the Elster, and watched Lindenau. The Crown-Prince and Blücher at length met at early morning at Breitenfeld, and arranged their separate attack on the side of the Partha: the former sent Langeron's corps across that stream to attack Marmont; and the latter, with the corps of Sacken and De York, moved against Ney, who at once retired before him, and took post at Schönfeld and Sellershausen. In concentrating his divisions, Napoleon had left strong rear-guards of each on the old position, which might delay the advance of the Allies; and these held firmly to their ground for a considerable time; so that the villages of Wackau, Lieber-Wolkwitz, and the farm of Auerhagen, had to be attacked, and were again the graves of many gallant hearts on both sides. The several commanders, however, did not show the same determined resistance;

* Alison.

for Macdonald yielded up Holzhausen before Ney, who stood immediately on his right, had given way, so that Regnier's Saxons were left uncovered in front of Molhau and Engelsdorf, and these, now quitting their general, went over in a body to the Allies. On arriving at the new position the fight acquired increased intensity on all sides. Hesse-Homburg found Prince-Marshal Poniatowski (for he had been created Marshal of France by Napoleon after the battle of the 16th) and Augereau determined to hold possession of the village of Dolitz, so that it was taken and retaken more than once; until the German Prince, being severely wounded, gave up the command to the Austrian General Bianchi. Napoleon, with his guard, was at a windmill near this conflict, where also Oudinot, with 3 divisions of the guard, defended Doessen; but the Austrians became victorious, and, driving Poles and French before them, entered Connewitz. Many dashing affairs of cavalry occurred here; but the French squadrons were at last driven away, leaving Loesnig in possession of the Austrian infantry. The column of Barclay de Tolly, having assembled near Gossa, advanced on Wackau, which they found unoccupied, nor indeed did they meet with any opposition till they came in front of Probstheyda. Here they came to a halt, for Benningsen could not get forward as quickly as he desired after Macdonald, because of Ney's resistance; but, as soon as the Crown-Prince's advance gave that Marshal sufficient occupation, he directed all his force on Stötteritz. It was about noon when the cannon on the side of the north announced that Bernadotte had come into action, and at the same time that of Giulay's detachment, beyond the Elster, was heard to be in hot conflict with Bertrand. Napoleon well knew the importance of Stötteritz and Probstheyda, the distance between which was less than an English mile, and that they were so occupied as mutually to flank each other. He knew this to be the only security for any position short of the suburbs of Leipzig, and therefore he directed all his energies to the defence of these villages. Stötteritz was occupied by Victor, and Probstheyda by Macdonald, while the Emperor stood on the windmill-hill just above this last to direct the defence, for it was the more salient, and therefore the more vulnerable, of the two. The Prince-Generalissimo also considered the salient position of Probstheyda to be the decisive point of attack, and gave order to Wittgenstein and Kleist to unite their forces to gain possession of it. The order was obeyed with such alacrity and spirit, that Probstheyda was assailed and entered at the first assault. It was about 2 o'clock, when Victor and Lauriston, with Drouot's artillery, resisted the attack with stubborn resolution, until Napoleon, as soon as he beheld the key of his position thus in jeopardy, rode down from his hill, and sent forward two divisions of his Old Guard under Friant and Cariol, who, encouraged by his presence, recovered the village; and, when the Russians and Prussians again advanced they were crushed by the grape of the guns, and forced back by the bayonets of the infantry. During this severe fight for Probstheyda, Ziethen and Klenau

advanced against Stötteritz; but this village, being less salient, was securely kept by Macdonald, and all the Allied forces could do was to set it on fire, and to harass the troops that occupied it till long after dark. The village of Probstheyda had long been in flames, but the formidable defence of it by Victor and Macdonald, with the continued and concentrated fire of Drouot's artillery, rendered the contest indecisive, as it was almost interminable.

Ney, who had commanded in chief the defence of the left wing of the French army, was not quite so successful as the Emperor and Murat had been with the right wing. The Emperor however now hastened to the side of the field where Marmont was in conflict with Langeron defending the village of Schönfeld, and with the advance of the Swedes at Sellershausen. Napoleon ordered up Nansouty with the cavalry of the guard to the aid of the former. At 3 o'clock Ney was enabled to push Bülow back beyond Paunsdorf, but Bubna and Strogonoff, reinforcing the Prussian general, recovered their ground by 4 o'clock, and captured Sellershausen from Prince de la Moskowa, after a stubborn resistance from Durutte and Delmas. Fresh defections, however, occurred during this contest, for the remainder of the Saxon infantry, consisting of 2 brigades, and the Würtemberg cavalry, under General Normann, passed over to the Allies with all their artillery, which they immediately turned upon the division Durutte, as it retreated. As soon as Napoleon heard of the desertion of his German allies, he remembered the exposed position of Regnier, and, riding up to Macdonald, directed him to spare a division to make a forward movement on Molkau for his relief. Marmont had been, notwithstanding Nansouty's assistance, obliged to fall back close to the city, and take position at Rednitz; for although the division Pachtod and Nansouty's cavalry again drove Langeron back on Pfaffendorf, yet the Swedish guns, with a British battery of congreve rockets under Captain Bogue on the one side of the Partha, and the Prussian artillery on the other, caught his troops in flank, and obliged them to fall back again, with the loss of General Delmas, who was killed by a rocket. This was the first occasion on which this new and formidable instrument of war was employed in action, and such was the fearful effect of the missile, that a whole brigade surrendered after enduring its fire for a very few minutes; but the commander of the brigade, Captain Bogue, was unfortunately killed at this juncture. Meanwhile Blücher thundered against Dombrowski, who, nevertheless, still held the Halle gate of the city, and a sharp fire of musketry told that the Rosen Garten was not yet given up to the Prussians.

Before the battle had quite terminated, Napoleon rode back to the side where his army still held their ground near Probstheyda, and from the height of the Thonberg, where the windmill stood, regarded the field. The villages were burning all round, and 13 were counted on fire. 20,000 French corpses strewed the plain, yet he scarcely held an inch of ground but the hill on which he stood, and he saw that the suburbs of Leipzig were already on two sides in possession of the enemy. He therefore rode back to the city, and

gave orders for a general retreat. He directed the army to retire from the positions which they still maintained in successive divisions, and to march through the city with all their materiel, and with as many of the wounded as they could move. Bertrand was ordered to draw up the two divisions which had already crossed the bridge at Lindenau, with the guard, which was already in march, to cover the passage of the remainder of the army. Regnier and Dombrowski were ordered to collect what troops they could, and to defend the city by barricading the streets, and by employing every obstacle they could devise to delay the advance of the enemy. Colonel Montfort, commanding the engineers, who had in vain requested permission to throw other bridges across the Elster, was now directed to mine the stone one near Leipzig, and to explode it as soon as the last division had passed over. Emissaries were then despatched to Torgau, Wittenberg, and Dresden, with orders to those garrisons respectively, that they should hold out. Napoleon retained his calmness to the last — cool, reflective, and considerate for everything; an observer could never have judged that he was on the verge of a hazardous and disastrous operation. He did not rest for a moment, but continued giving orders all through the night. Overtaxed nature at length obliged him to take repose, and for a quarter of an hour he slept on the camp-stool he occupied. He awoke suddenly, and looking around him, said: "Veilleje? ou est-ce un songe?" He then transacted some necessary business with the Duke de Bassano and Berthier, and ordered his horse to be got ready. He did not, however, quit the city till 9 in the evening of the 19th, when he went to the residence of the King of Saxony, where he dismounted and took leave of his last royal friend with all accustomed kingly ceremonies. He then threaded his way as he might through lanes and by-streets to get clear of the crowd which thronged all the principal avenues, and thus gained the road by Lindenau towards Weissenfels, and here he dismounted. It was 11 o'clock when he entered the residence of the miller at Lindenau.

As soon as Blücher received information that the enemy was in retreat, he sent off De York's division, at 7 in the evening, to take the road to Merseberg, in order to stop and to harass their march. The Prince-Generalissimo ordered the troops to bivouac on the ground they occupied, and prescribed, by orders which he caused to be drawn up before he lay down to rest, the fullest regulations to be observed by the respective corps for a general advance at daylight in the morning. The Allied columns therefore pressed into the city on every side as soon as day broke, but the resistance of the French was still beyond expectation vigorous. Sacken was twice repulsed from the Halle gate, Bülow only succeeded in forcing the Hinten-thor after a furious conflict, Woronzow stormed the barrier of Grimma with great loss, and Benningsen only carried the Windmühlen-thor by the most energetic efforts, against Marshals Poniatowski, Lauriston, and Macdonald; but no order could be maintained by the defenders when, about 1 o'clock, a deafening crash

resounding amidst cries of dismay, created confusion and despair amongst the entire French army, and terminated the calamities of the day.

Colonel Montfort, as above stated, was charged with the responsibility of blowing up the bridge at Lindenau, and had with him a company of sappers, under the command of a corporal, who held a lighted match in his hand. The colonel, in some embarrassment, as it would seem, when the enemy appeared pressing close upon the bridge, desired to seek for fresh instructions from the Emperor, and quitted the mouth of the mine with this view, but he could neither get to the end of the bridge through the struggling troops, nor make his way back against them. In his absence, some Prussian dragoons actually reached the bridge, in open conflict with the 7th corps, when some fear-stricken individuals exclaimed earnestly, "Mettez le feu! mettez le feu!" A loud explosion, carrying half the bridge aloft into the air, and the rest down into the river, soon informed the rear-guard left within the city that their further retreat was hopelessly cut off. Upwards of 20,000 men, with Regnier, Macdonald, Poniatowski, and Lauriston at their head, rushed out of the city and to the river, into which many cast themselves, some to swim across, some to perish miserably in the waters. Some rushed on the enemy, and some on one another. The generals, unwilling to give up their bâtons of command as trophies to the enemy, sought to save themselves from capture. Macdonald threw himself into the stream, and succeeded in getting his horse across it. Regnier and Lauriston, hemmed in by the crowd, could not escape, and were secured and carried prisoners to the Allied Sovereigns: but Prince Poniatowski, Napoleon's last-created Marshal, the Polish hero who had struggled through many a hard-fought field, and who had borne so heavily the brunt of the fight from the 16th to the last hour, fled, already wounded in several places; forced his horse into the turbid waters, and, either faint from loss of blood, or embarrassed by the struggling multitude, fell from his horse, sank in the Elster, and was drowned. 250 guns, many eagles, 900 chariots, and an immense quantity of baggage, formed the booty of the victors. The King of Saxony, 2 marshals, 7 generals of division, 12 brigadiers, and 30,000 prisoners, were the trophies of the day; and 38,000 men are recorded by the French as the number of their own killed and wounded. The loss of the Allies in the three battles was 1,790 officers and 40,800 killed and wounded.

32. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL PRINCE PONIATOWSKI.

Prince Joseph Poniatowski was nephew to Stanislas Augustus, the last king of Poland, and was born in 1763. He entered the Austrian service at an early age, and became colonel of dragoons and aide-de-camp to the Emperor Joseph, in which capacity he made his first campaign, in 1787, against the Turks. He returned to his native country in 1789, and showed himself at that period a

strenuous supporter of the independence of Poland. He was appointed general of the forces raised by Stanisłás to resist the troops sent by Russia to occupy the kingdom in 1792, and in 1794 he remained at the head of the patriot army until, after the defeat of Kosciusko, he was obliged to quit his own country and retire to Vienna. In 1798 he returned to Warsaw, then under the dominion of Prussia, and remained there until after the battle of Jena in 1806, when Napoleon reinstated him in a starosty of which he had been deprived, and also appointed him military commander of that city. He afterwards took office under the government of Murat upon the institution of the Grand-Duchy. In 1809, he was given the command of the Polish army of 22,000 men in the service of Napoleon against Austria, and took post at Raszyn for the defence of the Polish capital, where he was defeated with the loss of 1,500 killed and wounded and 4 guns; but he afterwards recovered his superiority, attacked and routed the army of the Archduke Ferdinand at Ostrowck, and penetrated into Galicia. He was placed at the head of the 5th corps, composed entirely of 40,000 Poles, in the great Russian expedition of 1812, and fought bravely in the several battles of that disastrous campaign, both before and after the occupation of Moscow. He adhered steadily to the fortunes of the French Emperor, and received an independent command, in 1813, at Zittau, on the Bohemian frontier, where he, for a long time, prevented the inroad of the Austrians into Silesia, and preserved the left flank of the grand army until Macdonald was defeated by Blücher. At Leipzig he held the right flank of Napoleon's army during the three bloody conflicts near that city. When, at the last, he was covering the retreat, he was encountered by the Emperor. "Prince," said Napoleon, "you will defend the suburbs." "Sire," he replied, "I have few followers left, but we are all ready to die for your majesty." While at the head of a small and gallant band he was severely wounded, and plunging into the deep stream of the Elster upon the destruction of the bridge, he was drowned.* His body was found

* A monument was erected on the spot where the body was found, which happened to be the garden of the banker Reichenbach, and it bears this inscription:—

HIC

IN UNDIS ELYSTRI

JOSEPHUS PONIATOWSKI

PRINCEPS

SUMMUS EXERCITUS POLONORUM PRÆFECTUS

IMPERII GALLICI MARECHALLUS

TRIBUS VULNERIBUS LETIFERIS ACCEPTIS, ULTIMUS EX ACIE DISCEDENS

DUM RECEPTUM MAGNI GALLORUM EXERCITUS TUETUR

VITA GLORIÆ ET PATRIÆ SACRATA

FINITUS EST.

POPULARIS POPULARI DUCI MILES

HOC MONUMENTUM LACHRYMIS SUIS IRRIGATUM

POSUIT

ALEXANDER ROZNIECKI.

some days afterwards, and, by order of the Allied sovereigns, it was embalmed and sent to Warsaw. The victors and the vanquished alike lamented the hero, who exhibited throughout his career a glorious example of unconquerable firmness in the love of his country, and of undeviating fidelity to the various sovereigns whom it was his lot to serve. His funeral was celebrated with extraordinary pomp; the Czar, the King of Prussia, and the leading officers of each nation, attending in person and striving to show the utmost honour to a warrior, whose military career had been unsullied; while the Poles added their tears for the last of their royal line, and crowded around the bier of him who had led them as a separate nation to their last field. The corps which had been commanded by Poniatowski disappeared during the catastrophe of Leipzig, and was never heard of again in the French army.

Poniatowski was endowed with the highest chivalrous qualities, and possessed a noble mind, very refined manners, and a daring courage. On Napoleon being asked at St. Helena whom he would have nominated King of Poland, he replied, "Poniatowski was the proper king, for he united just pretensions with all the requisite abilities." Although he died in flight, he was recognised by his contemporaries as a man of great personal bravery; but he has obtained the wider reputation as "The Polish Bayard"—the chivalrous disinterested hero, spurning personal reward, but always ready to unsheath his sword on that side which promised best for the reintegration of his country. He was blameless as brave; and when he led 80,000 of his countrymen in the ranks of Napoleon against Russia, he did so in the belief that he should thus avenge the scandalous partition of his native land, and by means of the prowess of Napoleon, and from his promises, obtain its reconstitution. It was this conviction which brought his countrymen to his standard; and when, at the conclusion of the war, the 300 Poles who had survived the grand army were sent back to their own country and passed through Leipzig, they went in a body to pour out their sorrows at the monumental stone of their much-loved leader, and on it rudely carved all their names, a touching tribute which remains to this day. His honoured relics were subsequently removed to the cathedral of Cracow, where they repose by the side of the famed Polish hero Sobieski.

33. BATTLES OF HANAU—THE FRENCH ARMY WITHDRAWS OUT OF GERMANY.

The prisoners actually captured after the three battles about Leipzig amounted to the enormous number of 52,000 men; but it has been estimated that the Emperor, notwithstanding his losses, collected around him on the night of the 19th of October a force that still counted 80,000 men, besides the corps of Bertrand, who already occupied Weissenfels with 10,000 or 15,000 more. Napoleon rested at the inn at Marktrannstadt till 3 in the morning of the 20th, when he pursued his way to Lützen in a calèche. On his arrival at this

town at daybreak the way was so thronged with soldiers *à la débâdée*, that he was obliged to induce Murat, who accompanied him in the carriage, to get out and use his personal exertions and authority to enable him to proceed. In the meanwhile, the crestfallen chief sat contemplating the well-known heights of Starsiedel and Kain, which had, only six months before, added one of the latest wreaths to his fame. He then went forward to Weissenfels, that he might himself there strive to get his broken army into some order. But the Prussian division, which had been so expeditiously sent off by Blücher towards the end of the battle to Merseberg, had already got to Naumburg, and it became necessary, in order to pass the Unstruth, that the French should attain, by a cross march, the road to Freiburg. By daylight, on the 21st, two columns had been concentrated, who passed across the Saale at Weissenfels, the one by the regular bridge, and the other by a temporary one of rafts which had been constructed by Bertrand. Blücher himself arrived opposite Weissenfels while the French were passing, and came to the river side just as Napoleon was ascending the opposite bank to Burg-Scheidungen, where Murat, in his fantastic costume, was recognised and immediately saluted by the enemy's fire. The Emperor forthwith reconnoitred the ground, and, with a ready eye, at once gave directions for its occupation, so as to defend and cover the passage of the bridges. He did not quit this position till Oudinot and the troops with him had passed the river; but Bertrand was still engaged at Kösen with the Austrians under Giulay. This line of retreat was difficult to march along, for the roads were bad and the open ground hilly and much intersected by vineyards, and Weissenfels was situated at an angle formed by the confluence of the river Unstruth with the Saale. Along the roadside Napoleon had the littleness of mind to order some 4,000 Austrians, who had been taken with Meerfeld, to be formed, and exhibited to his army under a flourish of drums and trumpets, to give some colour to his claim to be still a conqueror; but De York, after a sharp skirmish, fell upon the French march and liberated these unfortunate captives, while some prisoners, many waggons, and 40 guns rewarded the dashing enterprise of the Prussian general. On the 23rd, the Emperor reassembled his army at Erfurth, at which place he had established his head-quarters for the night, and rested here the whole of the 23rd and 24th, for they found in this town an unexhausted magazine of clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions of every description. The fugitives were here reorganised, new regiments collected, and new divisions formed. The army numbered still 90,000 men, and these were divided into six *corps-d'armée*, under Marshals Victor, Ney, Bertrand, Marmont, Augereau, and Macdonald. Murat here quitted the French army, and now he did so for the last time. It was impossible but that such a hero should have been greatly regretted by his comrades, since in the last campaign he had even exceeded all his former prowess, and had rendered essential service to his comrades in a thousand fights. He alleged, as his reason for leaving, that he would bring up the Neapolitan

army to act with the Viceroy for the protection of Italy, but Napoleon understood well the real object of his departure; nevertheless, he embraced him without a word of remonstrance and with some real affection. They never met again. Napoleon indited at Erfurth the bulletin which was to announce to France at once his reverses and his new requirements. He demanded fresh levies, but not of the mere boys of the conscription; for he said, "Je ne puis pas défendre la France avec des enfants." He also required money, proposing to obtain 500 millions by an increased property tax on all the inhabitants of his yet remaining empire.

We have seen that Blücher had outstripped the army he commanded, which found a considerable obstacle to its march in the Merseberger Aue, a swamp which occupies the entire space between the rivers Elster and Luppe opposite Stakendnitz, to the north of Leipzig. The delay occasioned by this obstacle had been very favourable to the French retreat. The main Allied army, under Prince Schwarzenberg, accompanied by the Czar and King, marched to cross the Elster at Zeitz, and thence by Jena upon Weimar. The army of the north, under Bernadotte and Benningsen, marched through Leipzig and by the great chaussée on Weissenfels and Erfurth. The whole Allied army was concentrated near this latter place on the evening of the 24th, when they were ready, if required, to fight another battle. Napoleon, however, had no such intention, and accordingly, leaving a garrison in the citadel of St. Petersberg, which commands Erfurth, he withdrew his rear-guard on the morning of the 25th, and resumed his retreat by Gotha and Eisenach. He found it difficult, however, to evade Blücher, who was on his right flank at Langensalza on the evening of the 25th, and his column was roughly handled by the Prussian divisions of De York and Rudzewicz. Upon hearing that the Bavarian General Wrede, who had so long served under his orders, was now with new-fledged zeal marching from Würzburg with 60,000 men to cut him off, Napoleon again pursued his way through the Thuringian forest, which he crossed on the 25th, 26th, and 27th, on which last day the imperial head-quarters reached Schluchtern on the Kinzig. The pursuit had slackened after driving the French into the Thuringian forest, and the Allies had now divided themselves into two columns, the Prussians under Blücher marching to the right on Wetzlar, threatening the passage of the Rhine at Coblenz, and the Austrians, commanded by Bubna, following close on the heels of Mortier, Oudinot, and Bertrand, moved on the Werra towards Smalkalden and Meiningen. The Crown-Prince, on reaching Salzungen with the army of the north, gave up the pursuit, and marched by Cassel and Hanover, with a view of watching Davoust on the lower Elbe. The Cossacks, however, still hovered on the flanks and rear of Napoleon's line of retreat, inflicting serious evil and filling the retreating columns with the direst apprehensions. On the 29th Napoleon rested at Langen-Sebold, where he heard that the head of his march was stopped by the Austro-Bavarians. Wrede had already reached Würzburg on the 24th, where the French General

Tarieu commanded with 1,100 men, and the latter, not deeming himself strong enough to stop the march of the Allies, had withdrawn into the citadel. Leaving, therefore, three battalions to blockade them there, Wrede had marched forward to Aschaffenburg on the 27th, and now pushed on an advance of light cavalry to ascertain the presence of the French in Hanau. Here he found the French column already beginning to arrive on the 26th, and 4,000 or 5,000 men, who had assembled there by the 28th, repelled the Bavarian advance, until another Allied division arrived, who drove the French back upon the Gelnhausen road north of Hanau. The following day Wrede brought his entire force into the town, and sent an advance under Denoy to force back the French into the forest of Lamboi. These were encountered at Langensebold by a division until the Emperor came up to the front, when they were again driven back to Ruckingen. The same day Wrede sent forward the division of Rechberg to get possession of Frankfort on the Main.

Hanau is a large town, with old dismantled fortifications, now converted into gardens, situated at the confluence of the Kinzig with the Main, at the edge of a wood of ancient oaks above two leagues in breadth. It is distant about ten miles from Frankfort and eighteen from Darmstadt. It has a magnificent castle, and is somewhat interesting in English history from its connection with the battle of Dettingen. Napoleon, aware that his way was stopped by Wrede, made his arrangements to force his antagonist by marching to turn the town by the old road through the woody country to the north of it, for, as he was not pressed by his pursuers, he felt that this operation was neither difficult nor hazardous. At 7 in the morning of the 30th of October, Macdonald marched against the Austro-Bavarian rear-guard of six battalions at Ruckingen, and, coming briskly upon them, they were beaten and routed, and falling back on the road to Hanau, were pursued by the cavalry of Sebastiani. Upon the French troops clearing the forest of Lamboi the whole of Wrede's army was seen drawn up in two lines: Lamotte, with the whole of the Allied cavalry, across the high road leading to Gelnhausen, which it swept with a battery of 30 guns, and the remainder, under Beker, across the Kinzig at the bridge of Lamboi. Napoleon now therefore filled the forest with tirailleurs, who advanced through it in a cloud, while he pushed forward the centre and right and drove back the united force beyond the protection of the wood. He then assembled 12,000 horse, under Nansouty and Sebastiani, upon the high road, and, preceding the column with a battery of 50 guns under Drouot, he fell at 3 o'clock in the afternoon upon the Austro-Bavarian cavalry, which comprised Wrede's left wing, and utterly routed them, so that the Bavarian general was obliged to leave the road open to the enemy. The Allied artillery, after their long forced march, already failed of ammunition, so that Wrede hastened to withdraw his right wing across the Kinzig, and place that stream between him and his mighty opponent. Napoleon, on witnessing this speedy discomfiture, could not resist remarking in some irony, "Pauvre de Wrede! j'ai pu le faire Comte, mais je n'ai pu le faire Général." An attempt was

made to drive back the French left at the farm of Neukof, which was, however, repelled by Friant, and the whole right bank of the Kinzig was yielded up by the Allied troops. However patriotism may be deemed to justify tergiversation, there was, it must be admitted, an outrageous example of the latter when the Bavarian army, which had only pronounced in favour of the Allies just before the battle of Leipzig, now marched down from Würzburg upon the communications of the French army with their own country. Moreover, their King had owed his crown to Napoleon, and his army had gained all its modern glory in participation with his eagles. They therefore deserved, in common equity, to meet with the rebuff which their wanton attack on Hanau here brought upon them.

The retreat of the French was recommenced immediately, before Wrede could bring his infantry into action, but the town was still occupied by an Austrian division. A portion of the French army therefore fled away during the night by Dornheim and Hochstadt upon Frankfort. The Emperor took up his bivouac in the forest, and at early morning of the 31st he commanded his artillery to bombard Hanau, which was forthwith evacuated in the forenoon by the Bavarians, and again occupied by the French under Bertrand. Marmont at the same time attacked the bridge of Lamboi and threatened the road to Aschaffenburg, which threw back De Wrede's army altogether to the right bank of the river Main. On the 1st of November, however, the Bavarian general resumed the offensive and attacked the town, when, having forced one of the gates which admitted him inside, he very nearly got possession of the bridge over the Kinzig, but the division Morand, from the position it had assumed on the upper course of that stream, was able to pour such a fire of projectiles upon the Allied column that they again yielded up possession of Hanau to the Italians and retired from the bridge. In the conflict De Wrede received so severe a wound in the stomach that he was supposed to be killed, and these events induced General Tresnel, who succeeded to the command, to relinquish offering any further impediments to the French retreat. The object of Napoleon in his second day's fighting was to gain time for some artillery and baggage coming up by the Gelnhausen road under Oudinot, but as soon as they arrived he was content to fall back on Frankfort. The loss to the French in the battles of Hanau has been put at 7,000, one half of whom were left behind wounded, from the lack of carriages to convey them away; but the Allies are reported to have lost 10,000, of whom 4,000 were carried away prisoners by the enemy. The Bavarian General Rechberg, who occupied Frankfort, did not dare to attempt to stop the French by force, but yielded quiet possession, retiring across the Main and destroying the bridge. On the 2nd of November Napoleon arrived at Mayence, and, leaving Bertrand to dispute the pass at Hochheim, entered his own imperial territory. The different *corps-d'armée* followed him in succession, and crossed the Rhine on the 4th, when, having given his orders for their most efficient posting, the Emperor on the 7th quitted the frontier for the capital, where he arrived on the 9th. When news of the battles of

Hanau reached the Allied sovereigns' head-quarters at Meiningen, it roused them to renewal of pursuit. The Czar and King set off by the route of Schweinfurt to Aschaffenburg, where they established their head-quarters on the 4th, on which day Schwarzenberg entered Frankfort. The following day the Czar and King, accompanied by 10,000 Russian cavalry, entered the imperial city amidst the universal transports of the inhabitants, and placed their head-quarters there, while the Generalissimo advanced within two leagues of Mayence, where finding a French post established, which was only partially protected by field-works, he ordered Giulay, Aloys Lichtenstein, and Bubna to carry it by assault, which they did with little loss, and Bertrand withdrew from the post before them within the *tête-du-pont* at Cassel. Blücher now advanced the Prussian army to the Rhine, and placed his head-quarters at Giessen. The Emperor of Austria at this time came up to the Allied army, and joined his brother sovereigns at Frankfort on the 6th.

34. DRESDEN CAPITULATES WITH THE FORTRESSES ON THE ELBE, VISTULA, AND ODER.

There still remained upon the German soil an immense army of French garrisons: 3,000 at Modlin, 3,900 at Zamoski, near the south confine of Poland, 28,000 at Dantzic, 8,000 at Glogau, 4,000 at Custring, 12,000 at Stettin, 30,000 at Dresden, 26,000 at Torgau, 3,000 at Wittenberg, 25,000 at Magdeburg, 40,000 at Hamburg, 6,000 at Erfurth, 2,000 at Würzburg; making a total of 190,000 veterans unemployed, while France was left to defend herself by boys of the last conscriptions. With all Napoleon's transcendent military qualities, he violated, by the dispersion and seclusion of so immense a force, his own fundamental principle, that a general should never scatter his strength, but unite it against the weakest point of his adversary's line. It is true that the Emperor was in a position to be a politician as well as a military leader, but, at the same time, it must be admitted that he never appears to have proved himself anything beyond the mere soldier. It was not the characteristic of a superior mind to indulge in vain dreams of future triumph, when there was nothing in view but a stern reality which afforded no reasonable hope of such a contingency. He might fight and conquer; but his adversaries had learned something from their long and woeful experience, and it was not upon the cards at this time that he should march again across the world with all the fresh vigour of his early career. It must have been clear to his intelligent mind, that, in all the negotiations which followed the armistice, there had never ceased to be a continual drifting into a war with Austria, which was now utterly lost to him. The remark of M. Thiers is very just and apposite:—“*En ce qui concerne Napoléon, voilà un trait particulier et significatif; c'est d'avoir achevé de tout perdre, en voulant régagner d'un seul coup tout ce qu'il avait perdu.*” It will be necessary now to recount the fate which successively befell the garrisons.

When the Allies hastened after Napoleon to Leipzig, they did not think it necessary to leave opposite Dresden more than a corps, principally composed of new Russian levies, under the Count Osterman Tolstoy. It has been said that the Emperor had sent orders to St. Cyr to break through this slight investment or blockade, and either to come to his assistance at Leipzig, or, quitting the Saxon capital altogether, to descend the Elbe to Torgau, and, collecting the garrison of the place (26,000), which would raise his own *corps-d'armée* to 56,000, to carry the whole to Magdeburg, unite with it the 25,000 men there, and then march to Hamburg, and place the entire force under the command of Marshal Davoust, who would thus have been enabled to take the field with an independent army of 125,000 combatants. On the 7th of October, seeing that some redoubts were erecting on the heights of Räcknitz, St. Cyr made a sortie and destroyed them, driving Tolstoy a considerable way off to Bergieshubel, and taking from him prisoners, guns, and a complete pontoon equipage. Here, however, the Austrian general Chasteler came up out of Bohemia to Tolstoy's assistance, and St. Cyr withdrew back into Dresden. Immediately after the battle of Leipzig, the Prince-Marshal sent down General Count Klenau with a reinforcement of 25,000 men to straiten the blockade of the Saxon capital, and he arrived before it on the 26th. The place was ill-provisioned, for when Napoleon quitted it, he only left enough for a week in the place, and the vicinity had been so exhausted by the maintenance of the grand army for half a year, that it was impossible for St. Cyr, by any means at hand, to replenish his magazines. On the 5th of November, therefore, the Marshal attempted to force the blockade by the right bank of the Elbe. He formed his troops in two columns, and marched out, but was met on the following day by Klenau and Tolstoy, whose advance of 3,000 men under Wied Runkel headed the attempted escape, and drove the garrison back into the city. It has been stated that such was the famishing condition of the French soldiers at this juncture, that in the short interval of their sortie they pillaged the vineyards, and even cut flesh off the wounded horses by the wayside. Many of the garrison sunk now under the influence of a contagious fever; for there were no medicines or hospital stores, and even the medical staff was already reduced to a very few survivors. Seeing, then, no prospect of getting away, St. Cyr proposed terms — that the place should be given up to the Allies, and the garrison permitted to lay down their arms and retire to France until exchanged, which terms were accepted, and one marshal, 32 generals, 17,950 officers (!), and 25,000 men, marched out on the 7th, and deposited their arms on the glacis, while 8,000 sick and wounded were left in hospital. On their arrival at Altenburg on the 17th, it was signified to Marshal St. Cyr, by General Chasteler, that the Prince-Marshal refused to ratify the capitulation. At 10 days' interval there was nothing left to them but to submit; *au droit du plus fort; si juste—bon, si injuste—à la bonne heure*. This refusal on the part of the Allied sovereigns to ratify the convention agreed upon for the surrender of Dresden,

and that not expressed until the garrison had actually reached the Bohemian frontier, is a grievous blot upon the military fame of the Allies. It is perfectly just that a general who commits the indiscretion of conceding terms which, under the circumstances, were beyond his powers, or otherwise unjustifiable, should be publicly censured and disgraced ; but the enemy, who have fulfilled in good faith their part of the covenant, ought not to be punished for it. The alternative offered to Marshal St. Cyr by General Klenau, to return to Dresden, and be placed in the same situation as that in which he stood before the convention seven days previously, was, as M. Thiers fairly terms it, *une cruelle ironie*, and was rightly declined. It is the cause of sacred honour, the most estimable of a soldier's qualities, that is outraged, when military conventions are not executed with scrupulous fidelity.

After the battle of Leipzig, the corps of Bülow and Winzingerode were ordered to march in the direction of Holland, while the Crown-Prince, with his Swedes, took possession of Hanover. Here he united his troops with the army of Walmoden, and marched on the 20th of November against Hamburg, where Marshal Davoust still kept the field with 25,000 French and 15,000 Danes ; but on the approach of the Allies, fearful of being cut off from Hamburg, he retired with his French troops behind the Bille, while the Danes marched away to Lübeck, where an armistice was readily concluded between them and Bernadotte, which ended in the adhesion of the King of Denmark to the Allied cause, by treaty, on the 15th of December. It was no easy task to besiege the city and territory of Hamburg, with a garrison of 25,000 French soldiers, and under so vigorous an arm as that of Marshal Davoust, who was not at all scrupulous as to the means of defence which he might find it necessary to adopt. There was, however, all through the campaign, a great misgiving as to the cordiality of his opponent in the cause of the Allies against Napoleon, more especially when he was brought into negotiations with his former comrades, who commanded the French armies opposed to him. Davoust, who probably knew his man well, at this time proposed to his brother-marshal, the Swedish Prince, to be permitted to retire into France with all his force. The British military plenipotentiary, Sir Charles Stewart (afterwards Lord Londonderry), no sooner heard of this at Frankfurt on the 14th of November, than he despatched an energetic remonstrance against such a course. "Should Davoust escape to France by means of any capitulation, I foresee that it will fix the deepest stain on the military glory of the army of the north ; it would be nothing less than to transport the corps of Davoust from a fatal spot, where its destruction is inevitable, to one in which it might again appear in battle against the Allies. It is with the most sensible pain that I have recently heard, even after the assurances to the contrary which you gave me yesterday evening, that General Walmoden has received fresh orders to the effect I so earnestly deprecate." Happily, the Prince-Royal saw the necessity of conforming to the wishes of Great Britain, and, still more happily,

the town had not to endure either a siege or bombardment. Davoust retained possession of it till the end of the war, when he yielded up Hamburg to its owners, leaving behind him a name for severity and exactions which has earned for itself an unenviable immortality. On the 21st of November, the fortress of Stettin, under the government of General Grandean, and the fortress of Damm, on the opposite side of the Oder, defended by General Razier, which had been closely blockaded for eight months, surrendered to a part of the corps of Tauenzien, and 1,500 Dutch troops of the garrison immediately accepted service in the Allied army. There is upon the ramparts a statue of Frederick the Great; and, with a feeling that does him honour, General Dufresse took precautions to save it from injury during the doubt under which he had so long continued whether the place would be made to endure a siege. The garrison at Torgau was originally under the command of the Count de Narbonne; but he having been killed by a fall from his horse, his authority had devolved on General Dutailis, having under him, as engineer, General Bernard, aide-de-camp to the Emperor. On the 23rd of October, Tauenzien sat down before the place, but, unfortunately, a malignant fever broke out within the walls, and decimated the garrison. The siege was, nevertheless, continued till the 28th of November, when a capitulation was offered; but the Governor, not having deemed the terms sufficiently favourable, the siege was recommenced on the 6th of December, and the place did not surrender till the 26th. In Torgau, the whole reserve parc of "La grande armie," consisting of 287 pieces, came into the possession of the Allies. Wittenberg was defended by General Lapoye, and resisted for a very long period. Magdeburg, under the command of General Lemanois, resisted through the entire winter. The garrison of Zomoski surrendered on the 22nd of December, with General Haugh commanding its garrison; and that of Modlin a few days later, with General Daendels; Custrin, defended by Fornier d'Albe, held out till the 7th of March; and Glogau, till the occupation of Paris. General Rapp had been sent to Dantzic by Napoleon before he quitted the grand army on the confines of Russia, and resisted for an entire year all the endeavours of the Duke of Würtemberg to get possession of that fortress. After a blockade of six months, the siege commenced in form in the first week of October. Bombardment began on the 8th, and was continued, with little intermission, till the 3rd of November, when ground was broken and parallels run. At length, on the 29th, Rapp consented to capitulate, when the same result followed as at Dresden. The Governor had been granted terms embracing the return of the garrison to France, which the sovereigns would not ratify; military honour was, accordingly, again violated, and the captives were sent prisoners of war to Russia. The Confederation of the Rhine was now publicly dissolved, and their forces were, as a matter of course, called upon to march against France, under the Allied banners.

35. HOLLAND PROCLAIMS THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Holland had been at this time almost wholly denuded of its military strength, so that when Generals Bülow and Winzingerode advanced upon it from the side of Munster, General Molitor could only collect some 6,000 men, with whom he took post at Utrecht. No sooner, however, did the Allied troops approach the Dutch frontier than, without any previous concert, but with that rooted abhorrence of the French yoke which pervaded every class of the Batavian community, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body on the 15th of November, and with the cry of "Orange Boven!" put up the Orange colours, and proclaimed the Stadtholder. The example of Amsterdam was immediately followed by the other principal towns. The French authorities were dismissed without injury or insult, and an administration organised in the name of the Prince of Orange. A deputation departed for London on the 21st to wait upon His Royal Highness, and on the 25th the Prince embarked at Deal, on board the "Warrior," 74, accompanied by a nobleman accredited to the States General as British Ambassador, and was landed at Scheveling on the 30th. The proclamation which heralded the return to Holland of its stadtholder, declares that "Holland is free: the sea is opened: commerce revives: what we have suffered is pardoned and forgiven. We join our forces to those of the Allies to compel the enemy to make peace. Every one returns thanks to God. 'Orange Boven!'" General Molitor, now seeing the state of public feeling so unanimous, retired behind the Meuse; but had not proceeded on his march above 12 miles, when General Bouvet, with 300 soldiers, Dutch and German, hoisted the Orange cockade, severely beat their commander, and joined the patriots. On the 12th of November, therefore, Winzingerode entered Friesland, the most northern of the United Provinces, and overran it with little resistance; and on the 23rd his advance of 300 Cossacks entered the city of Amsterdam, and was followed on the 24th by the whole brigade of Benkendorf, which had travelled post from Zwoil. On the 30th Bülow arrived at Arnheim, and, having scaled the walls of the town, took 300 prisoners and some guns. Some slight opposition to the general movement was exhibited by Admiral Verheul, commanding the Texel fleet; but the Dutch sailors deserted from his ships, and joined their countrymen. An expedition of British Guards, which had been sent off from England to form the nucleus for an Anglo-Dutch force, landed on the 24th, and immediately marched to Delft. General Bonstel, following up the French to Neuss upon the Rhine, surprised three battalions under General Beauvais, and, having sabred a great number, and taken many prisoners, drove the enemy out of the United Provinces.

The grand Allied army, exhausted by a contest of such unexampled fatigue and endurance, now sought the repose of winter quarters; for they were in no condition, from the state of their shoes and clothing, to undertake further active operations. The Austrian army extended its cantonments along the left bank of the Rhine,

from the borders of the Black Forest to Ehrenbreitstein, whence the Prussians took up the line into Holland. A liberal supply of every necessary was immediately sent to the soldiers of the Allied armies from England, and the rich district they occupied kept them so well provisioned that their efficiency was soon completely restored.

36. WAR IN ITALY.

It now remains to give a sketch of the war in Italy, whither the Prince-Viceroy had, as we have seen, been sent by Napoleon, to undertake the defence of that kingdom. He arrived at Milan on this mission on the 18th of May, but literally found no troops whatever to command, and there were not above 20 officers of all ranks to be collected; for, not only had every soldier been marched away with the grand army into Russia, but every instructor and artificer belonging to the military service, who had been deemed equal to any active service, had been despatched to that wholesale shambles. The Viceroy, nevertheless, having full powers, called out the conscription, and, by incessant activity, soon collected a military force; but recruits were placed under other recruits as non-commissioned officers, and the superior officers had no more experience than the non-commissioned. The first step was to organise an army to take post upon the Adige, since the current of politics pointed to an inroad from this quarter. The news of the armistice, however, arrived in Italy most opportunely for the reorganisation of this army.

In July, the Viceroy had assembled a force of 45,000 infantry and 1,500 horse, with 180 guns, under General Vignolle as chief of the staff, having under him Generals Quessel, Gratien, Verdier, Marcognet, Palombini, Leochi, Bonfanti, and Mermet, with Grenier and Pino as chiefs of division. The viceregal head-quarters were placed at Udine on the 10th of July, when Grenier's *corps-d'armes* occupied Cividale, and Pino's Palma Nova and Goritzia, guarding the two grand debouches from Laybach and Ponteba through the Noric Alps. A reserve, called the Viceregal Guard, was assembled at Pordenone. The Austrian army was, at the same moment, assembling in front of the Viceroy. A force mustering about 50,000 Imperialists was assembled in the vicinity of Völkermarkt, on the frontiers of Styria, under Feldzeugmeister Hiller and Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Radivojevitch. At the expiration of the armistice of the 7th of August, and on the announcement that Austria had declared for the cause of the Allies, Croatia, Dalmatia, and all the Illyric provinces in which any French troops yet remained, broke out in insurrection against them; and on this same morning two columns of Austrians passed the frontier stream of the Save near Agram, and moving forward to Karlstadt opened the campaign. The numeric inferiority of his army, and the quality of his troops, did not permit the Viceroy to attempt more than to restrain his adversary and gain time; but he at once advanced his head-quarters to Goritzia. Radivojevitch, however, pushed past him to Neustadt, and

despatched a brigade of infantry and the hussars of Radetzki, under General Nugent, into the maritime province of Fiume; so that Eugène, finding the enemy already at Klagenfurth on the left flank, and in Illyria on the right, fell back behind the Isonzo. For some time the position of the contending parties was not materially altered, until on the 19th of September Hiller passed the Drave. The accession of Bavaria having now put the Allies in possession of the Tyrol, Hiller again pushed forward on the 4th of October, resting his left upon the Friuli and his right upon the mountains. The Austrians thus again threatened both flanks of the Viceroy, who, retiring successively behind the Tagliamento and the Prave, finally crossed the Brenta on the 31st; but it soon became evident that the line of the Adige was the only one on which he could make any stand under the circumstances, and, therefore, on the 4th of November, the head-quarters of the French army in Italy were established at Verona. The withdrawal, however, out of the Venetian States, left quite exposed the shores of the Adriatic, which Rear-Admiral Freemantle watched with a British squadron; and he now reported that "the Imperial flag was flying on the whole coast of Istria, and that Croatia was openly in arms against the French." The Croats, to the number of 1,500, rose against 600 French troops, with whom they were marching from Pola to Fiume, made them prisoners, and immediately took service in the Austrian army under General Nugent, who with these invested Trieste on the 15th of October, and carried on the siege with the assistance of the British squadron. An important outwork, called the Powder Magazine, was carried by assault by the combined British and Austrians on the 22nd, and breaching batteries opened against the citadel with good effect, so that the garrison surrendered at discretion on the 31st. The islands on the eastern shores of the Adriatic were numerous and strongly fortified, for this coast had supplied Napoleon with soldiers for his armies, seamen for his fleet, and naval stores for his ships of war; but now the Austrian troops, powerfully assisted by the insurrections of the inhabitants on one side, and by the British naval force on the other, successively secured all the ports of Istria, Dalmatia, Illyria, and the States of Venice, and invested the last-mentioned port and city. Here, however, had been collected a garrison of 12,000 men, and a flotilla mounting 336 guns. Praams, floating batteries, gunboats, &c., defended the lagune approaches of the Queen of the Adriatic, and even blockaded the entrance into her canal streets. Venice had never, perhaps, in her whole history, accumulated such formidable defences against an expected foe. Nevertheless, when, on the 6th of November, Eugène reviewed his army behind the Adige, he found that the necessity of leaving strong garrisons, and the casualties of the campaign, had already so diminished his forces in the field, that he was obliged to make a fresh organisation of those that remained, who, on this day, numbered 32,000 men under arms, with 80 guns. With this force he thought it safest to resume the offensive, and accordingly engaged the enemy at Caldiero and San Michele on the 13th and 18th of November, but with so little

success, that he withdrew all his forces back again to Verona, and there he continued to maintain his head-quarters till the end of the year. After the battle of Leipzig, Marshal de Bellegarde was sent down to Italy with another army of 25,000 men, and towards the end of November Eugène received information that a Neapolitan army had arrived at Rome, and on the 4th of December that it had even reached Ancona, but it was doubted which side it was coming up to reinforce. Their march was accompanied by no communications from King Joachim, nor were they preceded or heralded by any proclamation whatever. Their progress was slow but constant until the end of the year, and was shrouded in the same uncertainty. The Viceroy, therefore, turned his eyes to secure such defences as the Po might afford at Borgo-forte and Piacenza. His Austrian adversary was equally puzzled as to the intentions of this Neapolitan contingent, which had advanced as far as Rimini and Imola, without, as they asserted, any orders from their king. However, the Allies spread themselves along the shores of the Adriatic, and held Venice closely blockaded by the two brigades of Mayer and Rebrovitch, under Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Radi-vojevitch.

Early in December, Captain and Commander Josias Rowley in the "America," 64, collected a squadron consisting of the "Armada," 74, Captain Charles Grant; "Edinburgh," 74, Hon. Captain H. L. Dundas; "Impérieuse," 44, Hon. Captain Duncan; "Furi-euse," 44, Captain Mounsey; "Mermaid," 32, Captain David Dunn; and "Termagant," 18, on board of which he embarked an Italian levy of 1,000 men, commanded by Colonel Cattanelli, and with this force attacked Via Reggio, and landed the troops there. The marines, under Captain Rea, immediately stormed the castle to the northward of the place, which the Commodore ordered to be destroyed, and it was accordingly blown up. Cattanelli then advanced to Lucca, of which he took possession, but was encountered on the 12th by 600 French troops, cavalry and infantry, who advanced against him from Leghorn. These he completely routed, and took from them many prisoners, and three pieces of cannon. Supposing that these troops had left Leghorn unprotected, Rowley embarked Cattanelli's force and sailed for the harbour, but he was retarded by bad weather; and when the marines and seamen were landed on the 15th, under the Hon. Captain Dundas, they were attacked by the same troops who had been routed at Via Reggio, and who were now again completely defeated, though the British could not obtain possession of Leghorn, owing to the strength of the fortifications there. The troops and seamen were accordingly re-embarked, but the squadron remained in the road, waiting for a better opportunity.

Rear-Admiral Thomas Freemantle, who commanded in the Adriatic, took possession of the island of Augusta on the 10th of January, with a conjoint expedition of the "Apollo" and some gun-boats, with 250 soldiers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson; and on the 1st of February captured, by capitulation, the island of

Curzola. They subsequently landed in Corfu, at Otrante and Zapano, on the coast of Istria, and at Dignano; in which operations they captured some hundreds of vessels, laden with gunpowder, oil, grain, and other merchandise; scuttled many, and carried off numerous guns, or rendered them useless. The minor actions which occurred so frequently during the latter part of the war became too numerous to be minutely detailed; but all evidence the wonderful enterprise, gallantry, and skill of the British navy, even when reduced to the mere attack by boats of the batteries and light defences of the enemy's shores. The arrival of an Austrian army, after the termination of the armistice, led to more serious work, in co-operation with them, against the French army of the Viceroy Eugène.

37. WAR IN AMERICA — CAMPAIGN ON THE LAKES.

We must now turn our eyes to a theatre of war which does not afford any of the imposing grandeur that may have been found in the Annals of these "Big Wars, that make ambition virtue." The military operations of the year 1813 on the American continent were, however, conducted on a greater scale this year than in any preceding campaign. In the end of January, General Winchester, with a division of the forces of the United States, consisting of more than 1,000 men, advanced to the attack of Fort Detroit, in Upper Canada, and, before any troops could be collected for resistance, made himself master of Frenchtown, 26 miles from that place. Colonel Proctor, who commanded the British troops, no sooner heard of this irruption, than he hastily assembled all the force within his reach, and marched at the head of 500 of the 41st Regiment and the Glengarry Fencibles, with 600 Indians, against Winchester on the 22nd. He posted himself in the houses and enclosures of the suburbs, but before he could advance into the town, so much did the United States troops dread falling into the hands of the savages, that, although they at first made a good resistance, they readily accepted terms, and accordingly 32 officers and 500 men capitulated. The remainder of the force, with the general, attempting to retreat, were almost all cut off by the Indians. A Wyandot chief captured the American general, but was happily induced to deliver him up, unscathed, to Colonel Proctor. The British loss was under 180 killed and wounded.

General Sir George Prevost, who commanded the British forces in Canada, having been annoyed by some predatory incursions upon the inhabitants by the United States troops stationed at Fort Ogdensburg, upon the St. Lawrence, directed an attack to be made against that place on the 21st, when Major Macdonnel, with 2 companies of the Glengarry Fencibles and some militia, amounting in all to about 500 men, advanced through a deep snow and under a galling fire, and delivered the assault with so much gallantry, that the fort was carried. It contained 11 guns mounted on the walls, and considerable stores in the vaults. The United States navy upon the Lakes had been considerably augmented since the last year, espe-

cially in Sackett's harbour, on Lake Ontario, which gave them a considerable superiority over the British force on the same lake. Encouraged by this, an expedition of 1,700 men, under General Dearborn, was embarked on board 14 armed vessels, and landed near the old fort of Toronto, 3 miles from York, on the 27th of April. General Skeaffe, the governor, could only get together for the defence of the town about 700 whites and 100 Indians, but with this force he maintained a stout resistance in the woods and thickets, in the course of which the 8th Regiment lost more than half their complement. General Pike, however, having been landed in the rear of the British, they were obliged to retreat, and he entered the town of York, which was not fortified; but it contained a large magazine of gunpowder, which was exploded just as Pike advanced into the place, carrying him into the air with 100 of his men, and Skeaffe availed himself of this catastrophe to effect his retreat unpursued to Kingston. The United States troops now entered the town, when they seized all the naval stores in the place, and set fire to a large ship on the stocks; but, after this success, the American squadron sailed away to Sackett's harbour again. In the meanwhile, Colonel Proctor, crossing Lake Erie with 900 whites and 1,200 Indians, attacked General Harrison on the American side of the Lake, near Miami. General Clay, however, came up with 800 men in support of Harrison, and drove back Proctor; but, following up his success incautiously, two of his regiments were surrounded by the British and defeated, with the loss of 200 killed and wounded and 500 prisoners. Colonel Proctor, nevertheless, could not avail himself of this success to raise batteries against the fort, for almost all his Indians, being tired of the war, now deserted him, and he soon found himself in consequence in a very precarious situation.

The Lakes continued, nevertheless, to be the most active scene of American warfare. A powerful body of the United States land and sea forces was collected at the head of Lake Ontario, who effected a landing near Fort George on the 27th of May, and proceeded to attack Fort Niagara. This was defended by Colonel Vincent very gallantly, but finding that the increasing numbers of the enemy would render a long resistance impossible (for he had already lost 300 of his garrison), he resolved to evacuate the fort, after spiking the guns and destroying all the ammunition. Having effected this, he retreated, gathering in the detachments scattered between Erie and Chippewa, and took up a position near the head of the Lake, with 1,600 men, leaving the Americans completely masters of the Niagara frontier. In the month of May, Captain Sir James Lucas Yeo arrived on the Lakes from England, with a detachment of naval officers and seamen, expressly for service on the Canadian Lakes, and an expedition, naval and military, was subsequently organised under him, with 750 troops commanded by Sir George Prevost, which sailed from Kingston on the 28th, with a fair wind, and landed the next day near Sackett's harbour. Here, however, they found the United States garrison fully prepared for their reception. Nevertheless, Colonel Baynes, with great gallantry,

advanced against them, along a narrow causeway and through a thick wood, when he bravely drove in the enemy, and set fire to the blockhouse, and to the frigate "General Pike;" but the troops sustained such severe loss from the cannon of the fort that they were obliged to be reembarked, with the loss of 260 in killed, wounded, and missing. On the 3rd of June, the British commander again sailed from Kingston with a squadron, composed of the ship "Wolfe," 32, "Royal George," 21, "Melville," 14, "Moirs," 14, "Sydney Smith," 12, and "Beresford," 8, together with a few gun-boats, and on the 8th the hostile squadron came in sight of the American camp at Forty-mile Creek. On this occasion a spirited attack compelled the enemy's troops to make a precipitate retreat, leaving all their camp equipage, provisions, and stores in the hands of the British; and on the 13th the commodore captured two armed vessels, of 11 guns and 50 men each, with their materiel of provisions, ammunition, and stores. The British troops were now landed, and on the 6th an action, greatly to their advantage, occurred at Burlington Heights, near the same creek. Colonel Vincent, however, had received information that he was about to be attacked by a body of 3,500 infantry and 250 cavalry, having 8 or 9 field guns. Vincent accordingly determined on taking the offensive, and having reconnoitred the enemy, resolved upon a nocturnal attack. In the middle of the night he pushed forward Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey with 2 light companies, who completely surprised the enemy in the dark, and, being well followed up, Dearborn was driven out of his camp, with the loss of 4 of his guns, 2 brigadiers, and 100 men. The General now concentrated his forces at Fort George, and sent out 600 men against Colonel Vincent, at a place called Beavers-dams, but they were caught in their march by Lieutenant Fitzgibbons of the 49th Regiment, who so skilfully deceived the enemy by the disposition of his force of 200 men, that the American leader agreed to a capitulation, by which 23 officers and 509 men surrendered with their colours and field pieces. On the 11th of July, a British expedition was fitted out against Black Rock, on Lake Ontario, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bishop, who landed unperceived, and immediately attacked and carried the batteries there, driving back the enemy; but the Americans being reinforced, advanced again, and obliged the British troops to retreat to their boats with all expedition, in which act the brave young commander was unfortunately killed.

On the 8th of August, Commodore Yeo, with 6 vessels, came to action with a squadron of 13 sail, at anchor off Fort Niagara, at 11 at night. Commodore Chauncey commanded the United States force, but he declined the fight, and retreated into Sackett's harbour, leaving 2 schooners in Yeo's hands, who also destroyed 2 others. Prevost now blockaded Fort George. During this operation, a misunderstanding arose between the General and the naval service, which was productive of much evil to the British interest in the Canadas during the remainder of the war.

About the same time a disaster occurred to the British on Lake Erie on the 9th of September. In the month of May the flotilla

here had been intrusted to the command of Captain Barclay, whose squadron was only half manned, and without stores. It lay for a long time at Amherstburg, blockaded by a United States squadron of superior force, commanded by Captain Oliver Perry, of the United States navy. Two new brigs had been laid down by the Americans at Presqu'isle, and were in a state of some forwardness. Colonel Proctor, the commanding officer at Amherstburg, urged an expedition against them, but being unable to obtain the necessary amount of troops, it was deferred till the latter end of August. Barclay, however, a young officer, whose courage led him to attempt more than prudence would justify, saw the American flotilla appear in Put-in Bay, and could no longer refrain from sallying out to engage it. About noon, on the 10th, he brought on an action, which, for valour and resolution, could not be surpassed. The "Lawrence," which Perry commanded, was cut to pieces by the British guns, and Perry shifted his flag to the "Niagara," soon after which the "Lawrence" hauled down her colours, amidst the cheers of the British, who could not, however, take possession of her, because the "Detroit" had only one boat on board. Perry, however, in the meanwhile skilfully gained the weather-gauge in the "Niagara," and took up a position to rake the British ships. The result was, that after three hours of furious fighting, Captain Finnis, of the "Queen Charlotte," was killed, Barclay lost an arm, and was likewise severely wounded, and every officer about him either killed or disabled, so that at length both the "Detroit" and the "Queen Charlotte" surrendered, while the crew of the "Lawrence" drifted away, and rehoisted her colours. Captain Barclay was tried by a court-martial for the loss of the Lake Erie flotilla, and was acquitted with great compliments on his judgement and gallantry in the action, but he was not promoted till some years afterwards. The consequences of Barclay's defeat were serious, for Commodore Perry was now master of Lake Erie, and not only intercepted the whole of the British coasting trade, but prevented the military under Proctor from receiving their supplies. On the 26th of September, therefore, his troops abandoned Detroit and Amherstburg, both of which forts he dismantled, and retired to the river Thames. The troops were pursued by General Harrison, who came upon the British rear on the 4th of October, when Proctor immediately took up a position at a Moravian settlement on the bank of the river, where he was attacked on the 5th by the United States troops. His condition here would have been precarious, for the Americans were 3,000 strong; but that the Indians, under their chief, Tecumseh, who had preserved an honourable fidelity to the British, and rallied all the tribes in a confederacy to aid them, now stood by their side, fighting with heroic courage. Although this gallant chief, and many of his bravest warriors, perished in the conflict that ensued, they could not prevent Proctor's defeat. A sudden charge of the Kentucky horse broke his line, and his whole army, consisting of 450 regular troops, was thrown into confusion; so that he was forced to retreat on Ancaster with about 200 men,

and eventually reached Burlington, the head-quarters of General Vincent. The United States claim to have taken 600 prisoners and 8 pieces of artillery in this affair, and perhaps it is not disputed. Burlington is about 20 miles from Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, which is almost entirely situate within the boundary of the United States; but there was a British garrison established upon its waters at Isle-aux-noix. Colonel Murray, who had with him Major Taylor with a part of the 100th Regiment and some artillery, about 1,000 in number, was conveyed by water to Plattsburg, where they landed in spite of the American militia, seized and destroyed several sloops laden with provisions, and afterwards proceeded to take possession of Burlington and Swanton. All this took place about the beginning of August.

The Americans were so elated by their successes in the war, that they openly announced their intention of conquering Lower Canada, and of wintering at Montreal. With this view they concentrated the whole of their troops, amounting in all to 18,000 regulars and 10,000 militia, at Sackett's Harbour. Sir George Prevost therefore thought it expedient to quit Kingston and repair to the capital city, where he arrived on the 25th of September. He thence issued an animated proclamation to the Canadians, and put the militia of the lower provinces on permanent duty. Sir R. Skeaffe was ordered to assemble all the troops that could be collected upon the boundary line, and so readily did the province respond to the Governor-General's appeal, that 8,000 militia joined the British camp there. Major-General Hampton, commanding the eastern United States army, took post on the Chateaugay River, and crossed the Lower Canada boundary on the 21st of October. He had about 8,000 men with him, and had not above two days' march to attain the St. Lawrence River; while General Wilkinson, with 10,000 men, was coming down the river from Grenadier Island, upon Lake Ontario and Montreal, from which he was not distant above three or four days. Some misunderstanding as to time, or other accidents incidental to such a combined operation, prevented its success. Hampton encountered, on the 26th, 2 companies of voltigeurs and the Canadian fencible light infantry, in all about 800 men, under Lieutenant-Colonel De Salaberry, at the junction of the Chateaugay and Outard Rivers. This officer, belonging to one of the old French settler families of Canada, united much military science and experience with great activity and personal intrepidity, and possessed the entire confidence of his little force, of which he made so good a disposition as to check the advance of the column led by Hampton in person, by occupying the thickly wooded country through which the enemy had to march, and thence his troops poured in upon them a continuous fire, with the deadly precision of practised riflemen. The Americans (principally new levies), who had been taught to consider their principal duty to be platoon firing, were wholly disconcerted and discouraged by this unexpected incident. Indeed, the effect of this contest between tirailleurs and linesmen was sufficiently evident, for De

Salaberry had only 2 killed and 16 wounded, while the enemy's loss was so considerable, that Hampton, believing himself to be opposed to numbers, fell back to Plattsburgh, and had not the resolution again to return to the frontier. Sir G. Prevost came to the front during this contest, and bestowed great praise on De Salaberry's mode of defence. Wilkinson's army did not come up in co-operation until the 3rd of November, when he landed a portion of his troops near Point Iroquois. The British general, on hearing of his approach, despatched Colonel Morrison with 800 regulars and militia to stop the American column, which he encountered at Chrystler's Point, where 3,000 had already landed, under Major-General Boyd. The 48th, 49th, and 89th Regiments immediately fell upon them with the bayonet, and the Americans, unable to stand the charge, fled in disorder, with the loss of 250 killed and wounded, besides prisoners, and 1 gun. Wilkinson accordingly ordered the remainder to re-embark in their boats, which again descended the river; but before reaching Cornwall their commander received information of Hampton's failure and of that general's determination of retreating on Lake Champlain, and as the Canadian militia, which crowded the river banks, was a pretty convincing proof of the hostility of the province towards the Americans, General Wilkinson deemed the invasion of Lower Canada hopeless, and withdrew his army into winter quarters.

All causes of apprehension for Montreal being now removed, a strong body of troops was despatched, under Colonel Murray, to repel the invasion of Upper Canada. The troops accordingly returned to Fort George, with a view to resume the investment, amidst all the severities of a Canadian winter; but on reaching the fort, on the 12th of December, they found that the Government had deemed it untenable, and had ordered its abandonment. The Americans in the meantime had retreated across the Niagara, destroying such of the Canadian villages in their march as might shelter the British. Accordingly, the flourishing settlement of Newark was reduced to ashes at this time. Colonel Murray, therefore, indignant at this inhuman act, resolved to carry the war into the United States' territory, and on the 18th surprised and carried Fort Niagara, with the loss of only 5 killed and 3 wounded. The garrison, 400 strong, surrendered, with 8,000 stand of arms, and vast military stores. On the 24th, following up this success, General Drummond advanced with 800 men to Black Rock, which was stormed, and the fugitives pursued to Buffalo, where General Hull assembled 2,000 men to defend that rising town; but the British and Canadian militia attacked him with such vigour, that Buffalo was likewise taken and burned on the 28th. The Indians were now let loose on the surrounding country, and took fearful vengeance for the conflagration of Newark. This method of carrying on the war was, however, lamented and denounced by Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, in a proclamation which he issued on the occasion.

38. NAVAL WAR—FIGHTS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND FRENCH SINGLE SHIPS.

The disaffected and ill-manned French fleets in the Scheldt and at Toulon rendered a blockade so easy, that but a few petty and furtive attempts to break it gave the British little opportunity for open combat. In the latter end of October, the blockading force was blown off its station opposite Toulon by a succession of hard gales which lasted eight days, and it was only on the 5th of November that the in-shore squadron could return to their post off Cape Sicié. This consisted of "Scipion," 74, Capt. Heathcote, "Mulgrave," 74, Capt. Maling, "Pembroke," 74, Capt. James Brisbane, and "Armada," 74, Capt. Grant, under the command of Capt. Heathcote. On the 5th, the French fleet, commanded by Admiral Cosmao-Kerjulien, consisting of 14 sail of the line, 6 frigates, and a schooner, got under weigh and stood out for exercise between Capes Brun and Carquiraune. The outside squadron of the British fleet, consisting of 9 sail of the line, under Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, hove in sight, however, just as a shift of the wind induced the French to trim sails, in order to get back into port. A prospect of cutting off the leward-most of them, therefore, induced the in-squadron to stand for the French rear, and a little after noon the "Scipion" led in and opened upon the ships, as did the others in succession. The enemy returned the fire, and one of their first shots carried away the "Pembroke's" wheel. About 1 o'clock, the flag-ship "Caledonia," 120, Capt. Coghlan, opened heavily upon the French flag-ship "Wagram," 130, Capt. Legras, who promptly returned the fire; but although the "Boyne," 98, Capt. Mainwaring, and "San Josef," 112, the flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Sir Richard King, got into action with their rear, the French ships, having the weather-gauge, got out of gun-shot in a short time, and all further action ceased. This trifling affair cost 15 wounded on the British and 17 on the French side. The energetic endeavours of Napoleon to create a formidable fleet, nevertheless, continued at this and other ports. The 130-gun ship "Le Héros" was launched at Toulon in August, making a fleet there of 21 battle ships with 10 40-gun frigates anchored in the inner and outer roads of this port, but suffering from a dearth of seamen, in consequence of the draughts of men required for the armies. The newly-formed Port of Cherbourg was, however, opened this year with great pomp by the Empress Marie Louise in October, during the absence of her imperial husband at the battle of Leipzig!

On the 14th of March, the "Blazer" gun-brig, Lieut. Banks commanding the small British force stationed off Heligoland, desirous of assisting the Russians, who had at this time entered Hamburg, proceeded to the mouth of the Elbe in company with another gun-brig, and entering the river found there a French flotilla of 20 gun-vessels, which he forthwith destroyed. By invitation of the land authorities, Lieut. Banks disembarked a detachment of 32 soldiers, who took possession of the batteries off Cuxhaven. On the 21st, the

two brigs sent off their boats, commanded by Lieuts. Devon and Dunbar, in search of a privateer, when they came across two Danish gun-boats, which they attacked and captured with very great skill and bravery. The French afterwards succeeded in regaining possession of the forts at Cuxhaven, but Captain Farquhar, in the "Désirée," 36, having arrived to take the command at Heligoland, repaired with a squadron of gun-brigs and gun-boats to co-operate with a Russian force in the recapture of Cuxhaven, and afterwards ascended the river in conjunction with the Swedes and captured Glückstadt.

On the 25th of February, in the chops of the Channel, the French frigate "Gloire," 40, Capt. Roussin, fell in with the British brig-sloop "Linnet," 14, Lieut. Tracey, and on arriving within hail of the sloop ordered her to strike, but the latter boldly crossed the bows of her antagonist, regardless of her heavy fire, and endeavoured to outmanœuvre her by short tacks, in which process she had frequently to cross the bows of the "Gloire," but her fire fortunately did little execution. At length the French frigate got alongside of the "Linnet," and succeeded in cutting away the sloop's rigging with her fire, but her resolute commander would not yet haul down his colours until after repeated broadsides, which carried away the foreyard gaff and bowsprit; she was at length compelled to surrender. On the 17th of April, the British brig-sloop "Mutine," 16, Capt. de Courcy, encountered the "Invincible" privateer, 16, of Bayonne, and in about nine hours captured her. On the 9th of September, the British schooner "Alphea," 8, Lieut. William Jones, fell in with and chased the French privateer of Cherbourg, "Rénard," 14. The schooner, by the heavy swell which prevailed, got carried under the bows of the privateer, whose crew threw in grenades and other combustibles, and made an attempt to board, which the "Alphea" gallantly repulsed, as well as a second attempt of the same kind; but at length, in consequence of the combustibles thrown upon her, the British schooner blew up, and all her gallant crew perished with her. It was a most lamentable occurrence, for Lieut. Jones was justly regretted as a skilful and very deserving officer. In the early part of October, the French brig-corvette "Flibustier," 14, Lieut. de Vaisseau Daniel, lay at St. Jean de Luz, laden with treasure as well as arms and ammunition for the garrison of Santona, but the near approach of the British army to the port obliged her to put to sea, when she was seen and chased by the "Telegraph," 12, Lieut. Scriven, the "Challenger," 18, Capt. Vernon, and the "Constant," 12, Lieut. Stokes. The French brig was favoured by a breeze, but at length got becalmed under the heights at the mouth of the Bayonne river, where she anchored under some batteries. The "Telegraph," nevertheless, ran up to her fearlessly, and cannonaded her well, until she saw the Frenchmen set fire to her, when Lieut. Scriven sent in some boats to try to save her, but she nevertheless exploded in sight of the English and French armies encamped very near the shore, on the banks of the Adour.

On the 30th of September, the Franco-Batavian frigates "Trave," 40, Capt. Van Maren, and "Weser," 40, Capt. Cantz-Laan, put to sea from the Texel, and on the 16th of October a violent gale of wind dismasted both frigates and separated them from each other. The brig-sloop "Scylla," Capt. Colin Macdonald, however, fell in with the "Weser" on the 18th, on her way to Brest, and hailed her, when he received a broadside from her; but, although dismasted, she was still so superior to the brig-sloop that he durst not engage her. On the 20th, Capt. Macdonald joined company with the brig-sloop "Royalist," 18, Capt. Gordon Bremer, and the two brigs bore away to seek the strange frigate, and, after watching and chasing her for some time, resolved to engage her. On the 21st, the "Ripper," 74, Capt. Sir Christopher Cole, came up after the vessels had been in action an hour and a half, when the "Weser," finding that all hopes of escape were now at an end, hauled down her colours. The "Trave" was sighted on the same day by the British brig-sloop "Achates," 14, Capt. Hawkins Morrison, and on the 21st he gave chase gallantly, pouring in his fire, and receiving a damaging fire in return. The frigate, however, continued her course without further interruption, followed by the "Achates," and was lost to view in the darkness, till the 23rd, when she encountered the British frigate "Andromache," 36, Capt. George Tobin. The Franco-Batavian enemy opened fire on her new antagonist from her stern-chasers, as soon as her pursuer came within reach, but the "Andromache" did not return it till she had gained a commanding position on the frigate's weather-quarter, when she commenced a fire so close and well directed, that in a quarter of an hour the "Trave" hauled down her colours. She, like her consort, had been disabled in her masts and rigging in the storm, and consequently had not a prospect of escape when she struck. On the 9th of October, the British bomb-vessel "Thunder," Capt. W. O. Pell, on her way along shore from Spithead to Woolwich, observed a large armed vessel to windward off the Owen's light. In order to decoy the enemy he changed his course and took in sail, which induced the "Neptune," 16, privateer of Dunkirk, to take her for a merchant ship and to bear up in chase. The French captain accordingly ran up alongside, and, putting her helm up, prepared to board, when the "Thunder" put her helm down, fell on board the lugger, and boarded her in a trice. The privateer lost 4 killed and 10 wounded, but the "Thunder" had only 2 men wounded in the struggle. On the 1st of November, off St. Vallery, the brig-sloop "Snap," 16, Capt. Bateman Dashwood, captured, without the loss of a man, the privateer of Boulogne "Liva," 16, after a severe fight, in which the French captain was killed.

The British squadron stationed off the north coast of Spain was under the command of Capt. Sir George Collier in the "Surveillante," 36, and rendered much good service. In the early part of May it was important to Lord Wellington's land operations that the French occupation of the north ports of the Peninsula should be disturbed as much as possible, and accordingly Sir George detached

off the port of Castro de Nodales the brig-sloops "Lyra," Capt. Bloye, "Royalist," Capt. Gordon Bremer, and "Sparrow," Capt. Needham Tayler. The place was of no great strength, but was at this time threatened by the French, who had been already twice repulsed from its walls. The garrison consisted of an irregular body of about 1,150 patriots, under the command of Don P. d'Alvarez, who were soon besieged by the French division of Foy. The Spanish governor, with the aid of the crews of the "Royalist" and "Sparrow" brigs, made a vigorous sortie; while the sailors established batteries in such out-of-the-way places, that, with the aid of the Spanish artillery from the castle, the besiegers were clean driven out of their batteries on the 7th of May. The Spaniards, encouraged by the presence of their allies, defended the place with obstinacy, and every effort on the side of the French was met by a corresponding movement on that of the Allies; but numbers at length prevailed. A practicable breach was effected by the besiegers in the walls, and at 9 at night the French poured into it 3,000 men, who rushed through the breach and over the walls, and carried the place by assault. The Spaniards, after disputing the ground house by house, were driven into the castle; but by great exertions the garrison was thence embarked on board the brigs by companies, notwithstanding showers of musketry, and the enemy was kept out of the castle until the guns could be thrown into the sea, and the troops conveyed to Bermejo. Sir George now resolved to shut up the French within their acquisition, and so to blockade them as to prevent their receiving any supplies. This service was so effectually performed, that on the 22nd of June the garrison was forced to abandon it and march away to Santona; but the British were too alert for them, for they successfully prevented all their attempts to destroy the works before they quitted it, and 14 prisoners were captured in the place. Such, however, was the indignation of the Spaniards at the shocking barbarities which had been inflicted on the inhabitants, that these unlucky victims were carried to Bilbao and there executed in revenge.

39. FIGHTS BETWEEN BRITISH AND AMERICAN SINGLE SHIPS.

On the 24th of February, the American ship-sloop "Hornet," 34, Capt. Lawrence, when off Demerara fell in with the British brig-of-war "Peacock," 18, Capt. Peake, and, without a moment's hesitation, the somewhat rash Englishman brought his enemy to action, notwithstanding the disparity of metal. This began within pistol-shot at about half-past 4 in the afternoon of that day, and before 6 the captain of the "Peacock" was killed with 30 of his men, the hull and masts cut to pieces by the heavy well-directed fire of her adversary, and the mainmast went by the board. Such was consequently her condition, that, although every attempt was made to save her on the part of her antagonist, she went down in five-and-a-half fathoms water, carrying with her 13 of her crew and 3 Americans. For this action Capt. Lawrence received much praise from his countrymen, and was soon

after promoted to the command of the United States frigate "Chesapeake." On the day subsequent to this action, the "Chesapeake," 36, then under the command of Capt. Samuel Evans, returned from the coast of South America, and entered the harbour of Boston, having captured five ships, and having encountered a British 74, from which she had escaped. The British frigate "Shannon," 38, was at this period commanded by an officer of great good sense and determined resolution, Capt. Philip Broke, who had long served on the American station, and witnessed with deep grief the defeats of the British frigates and sloops of war by the United States navy, and had become convinced that the fault must have laid with the captains of the British ships themselves. He accordingly had for some years subjected his crew to the most rigid discipline, and by constant practice at their guns his men had attained a proficiency which satisfied him, that with such a ship and such a crew he was in all respects fitted for battle with any American frigate. Captain Broke had also been aware of the state of incapacity to which some of the British frigates had reduced themselves by sending away the prizes that they captured, to the diminution of their power, and therefore he destroyed all he captured, which are said to have been as many as 25 sail. Broke, in the "Shannon," was now stationed off Boston, where the "Chesapeake" was in harbour refitting, and while in this act Captain Evans was succeeded in the command of her by Captain Lawrence, as above stated. Impatient at the American ship remaining so long in harbour, Captain Broke addressed a letter to Captain Lawrence, which, according to the strictest principles of discipline, could not be justified, and which, it appears, the American captain did not in fact receive. It was not in answer to the challenge, but entirely from his own ardour and at the instigation of his fellow-citizens, that Lawrence went forth to measure his sword with Broke. They were adversaries worthy of each other, and for skill and boldness were alike worthy of the noble profession to which they belonged. On account of its candour and manly spirit, however, the paper deserves to be recorded:— "As the 'Chesapeake' appears now ready for sea, I request you will do me the favour to meet the 'Shannon' with her, ship to ship, to try the fortune of our respective ships. I entreat you, sir, not to imagine that I am urged by personal vanity in this wish, or that I depend only upon your personal ambition for your acceding to the invitation. We have both noble motives. You will feel it as a compliment, if I say that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service we can render to our respective countries. Favour me with a speedy reply, for we are short of provisions and water, and cannot stay long here." The American captain put out to sea on the 1st of June, and such was the confidence which the inhabitants of Boston entertained of his success, that they had prepared for their countrymen a public supper to greet their victorious return with the captive frigate.

The day was fine, with a light air of wind, when the "Shannon," with a blue ensign at her peak, stood in towards Boston to await

the reply to his challenge. At about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, the "Chesapeake" was seen to round the lighthouse of the port under all sail. She was accompanied by 50 or 60 pleasure-boats, and a privateer and schooner. The "Shannon" stood out to gain a little more offing until near 4 o'clock, when the "Chesapeake" fired a gun to intimate that she would not be led farther from the land. She now displayed three flags of unusual size at the masts-heads, on one of which was written the words, "Sailors' rights and free trade." It was near 6 o'clock before the two ships closed, when they each gave three cheers, and the British frigate fired the first broadside. The "Shannon" pointed her guns deliberately at the "Chesapeake," directing them admirably upon her rigging, and, as it afterwards appeared, making dreadful havoc among her men. The American frigate, in return, delivered her broadsides with great effect. The two ships now passed fast a-head at about a stone's throw asunder. The "Chesapeake" then fell on board the "Shannon," with her quarter pressing upon the latter's side, when the great guns ceased firing, and the American hooked her larboard mizen chains on the starboard bower anchor of her opponent. Captain Broke, now seeing that the Americans were not standing to their guns, rushed forward and ordered the two ships to be lashed together. The "Shannon's" boatswain, Mr. Stevens, immediately set to work to obey orders, when his left arm was literally hacked off by repeated sabre-cuts from an opponent; but, in spite of this dreadful casualty, the brave fellow fastened the ships together with his right arm, until he fell mortally wounded by a shot from the musketry in the tops. At a few minutes after 6, Broke himself leaped upon the enemy's quarter-deck, at the head of the boarders, followed by Lieutenant Watt and about 20 others. This "forlorn hope" was supported by the maindeck boarders, under Lieutenant Falconer. Not an officer, nor scarcely a seaman, of the "Chesapeake," was to be seen on the deck, and the 25 or 30 men who were found about were soon driven below. A destructive fire of musketry was, however, still kept up from the main and mizen tops. The second party of boarders having now come forward, the hatchways were closed down, and all were ordered to turn their fire upon the tops. The maintop was presently stormed by midshipman William Smith, who forced his way to the "Chesapeake's" main yard, and the tops were in a few minutes cleared; but while Captain Broke was giving orders about the firing and assault upon the tops, he heard himself loudly called by name, and turning round was attacked by three American sailors, who had previously submitted. He succeeded in parrying one fellow's thrust and wounded another in the face, but from the third he received a blow from the butt end of a musket, which bared his skull, and had nearly proved fatal; nor did he ever afterwards recover from the effects of it. The wretched assailant was soon cut to pieces by the "Shannon's" men, who, now rallying, cleared the main deck of the enemy, and hauled down the colours of the "Chesapeake." One of the "Shannon's" seamen was in the act

of tying a handkerchief round his commander's head to stay the bleeding, when, pointing aft, he called out, "There, sir, there goes up the old ensign over the Yankee colours." Broke immediately turned round, and in the words of the gallant commander, in the despatch relating this circumstance, he "had the satisfaction of seeing the American flag hauled down and the British Union floating triumphantly over it." While the contest was proceeding, the two ships had parted, and a small British blue ensign was all that was visible at the gaff end of the "Chesapeake," when Lieutenant Watt, unfortunately, wished to exchange this flag for a large white ensign, which might be seen from the shore; but as soon as the people on board the "Shannon" perceived the blue ensign to be hauled down, they concluded that their comrades had been overpowered by the ship's company, and immediately directed a heavy fire, with their accustomed precision, into the "Chesapeake's" quarter-deck, which killed the gallant first lieutenant (Watt) and 3 of his crew, who were in charge of the captured vessel. The action had only lasted eleven minutes, from the discharge of the first gun to Captain Broke's boarding, but it was one of the most determined and bloody ever fought between two ships of their class, and both ships came out of action in beautiful order, with their rigging undamaged; but the British had to lament 87 killed and wounded, including 6 officers; and the Americans had 70 killed, with about 100 wounded, including Captain Lawrence, who died of the wound he had received in the first few minutes of the engagement. The pleasure-boats did not stay to be added to the "Shannon's" triumph, but made the best of their way back to Boston harbour, to convey the news of the unlooked-for disaster. The humiliated feelings with which the numerous spectators had witnessed their gallant ship led away captive in so short a space of time may be well imagined, and they needed to know no more. Their anticipated triumph proved the severest mortification to their pride; but in proportion to the despondency on the side of America, was the joy on the side of England, where the news of this victory had the effect of restoring public confidence in the navy, which had been shaken by the late results of naval warfare between the two kindred nations. Broke was acknowledged as a hero on his return to England, made a baronet, received the Order of the Bath, and lived to a good age in the midst of undiminished popularity and immortal renown. A court of enquiry was held to investigate the circumstances under which the "Chesapeake" had been captured, of which Commodore Bainbridge was president, but Captain Lawrence had died before his character could be assailed. His body was conveyed to Halifax, and was buried there on the 8th with military honours, at which all the British naval officers in port assisted with every sentiment of respect; but on the 10th of August his remains were delivered over to a cartel which arrived from Boston, and were deposited with suitable ceremony and just regard in his own land.

On the 5th of August, off the southern coast of the United

States, the British schooner "Dominica," 12, Lieutenant Barreté, having under convoy the post-office packet "Princess Charlotte," carrying the mails, fell in with the privateer schooner, "Decatur," 6, Captain Dixon. The latter gradually closed with the former, and attempted to board her, but was twice repulsed. At length the "Decatur" ran her jibboom through the "Dominica's" mainsail, and under the confusion arising from this the Americans gained a footing on the British deck. Barreté, already twice wounded, was killed in the struggle, which soon became a hand-to-hand encounter of cutlasses and cold shot, when numbers carried the day, and the "Decatur's" crew, being six times more numerous than her opponent, hauled down the British colours, while the brave fellows still fought to save her deck. On the 12th of August, off St. David's, in the mouth of the Irish Channel, the British brig-sloop "Pelican," 18, Captain Fordyce Maples, observed a brig with a ship on fire, which proved to be the U. S. brig-sloop "Argus," 20, Captain W. H. Allen, and running up to her commenced an engagement at 6 o'clock in the evening. The action soon became extremely warm, and Captain Allen was severely wounded. Captain Maples so manœuvred as to deprive his antagonist of the use of her after-sails, and passing astern of the "Argus" raked her from stern to stem. The command had devolved on Lieutenant Watson; but, after his ship had become perfectly unmanageable, he could not prevent the British brig boarding and capturing her. The British had 1 killed and 5 wounded; the Americans 6 killed and 18 wounded. Captain Allen had his left thigh amputated, but died on the 18th of August at Plymouth, where he was buried with all military honours. On the 5th of September, as the British brig-sloop "Boxer," 14, Captain Blyth, was lying at anchor near Portland, the U. S. gun-brig "Enterprise," 16, Lieutenant-Commandant Burrows, was seen in the offing. The "Boxer" instantly got under way and sailed after her, and coming up engaged her. In the very first broadside an 18-pound shot passed through Captain Blyth's body, and a musket-ball mortally wounded Captain Burrows. The command of the two ships devolved, in consequence, on the two first lieutenants, Mr. Creery and Mr. Call. The action did not last beyond a quarter of an hour, for the "Enterprise" got a position to rake the "Boxer" so effectually, that the latter became a complete wreck and struck her flag. The British vessel was much cut up in hull and spars, and lost in killed and wounded one-third of her ship's complement. The American was very little injured in her hull and spars, and only lost a twelfth of her crew.

40. BOAT ACTIONS IN THE CHESAPEAKE.

During all this time a close blockade of all the United States harbours was maintained by the British navy. Rear-Admiral Cockburn was directed by Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren to destroy the American commerce in their southern havens and waters. Up to the 3rd of March this year, no hostile attempts had

been made upon the American main beyond cruising off their ports. Now a marine battalion, numbering 2,000 men, was drawn from the several ships of war, and having been formed and disciplined by their own officers for land service, the manner of carrying on the war was entirely changed. Surveys were made and excellent charts procured, by which means the naval officers became all very expert shore pilots. Cockburn was directed to carry a squadron of small vessels, well manned with marines, to penetrate the rivers that fall into the great estuary of the Chesapeake, and to cut off the enemy's supplies, particularly flour and other military stores, as well as to destroy foundries and public works. Some very gallant boat actions accordingly now took place in this quarter. On the 8th of February, the boats of the British frigates "Belvidera" and "Statira," Captains Byron and Stackpoole, proceeded, under the command of Lieutenant Kelly Nazer, to attack the schooner "Lottery," 6, Captain Southcomb, in Lynhaven Bay, and carried her after a most obstinate resistance, in which her captain was mortally wounded. The boats of the "San Domingo," 74, Captain Gill, "Marlborough," 74, Captain Hodgson Ross, "Maidstone," 36, Captain Burdett, and "Statira," 38, Captain Stackpoole, were sent in pursuit of four armed U. S. schooners up the river Rappahannock. One of them, the "Arab," 7, was boarded and carried by the "Marlborough's" boat; another, the "Lynx," 6, hauled down her colours to the "San Domingo's" crew; another, the "Racer," 6, was carried by the same; and the "Dolphin," 12, was boarded and carried by the boats' crews of the "Statira" and "Maidstone." The Rear-Admiral was now directed to penetrate the rivers at the head of Chesapeake Bay. Accordingly, having anchored the brigs and schooners of his squadron, Cockburn went with the boats, on the 28th of April, up the Elk river; but, owing to misinformation regarding the water, they did not reach Frenchtown till late the following morning, when they found all prepared for their reception. Nevertheless, the Rear-Admiral landed with the marines, and drove the American militia into the woods. Acting upon the uniform system of not doing injury to unopposing inhabitants, he only captured such munitions of war as he could find, and destroyed the magazines and vessels lying near the water, but offered no molestation to the people, either in their persons or property. On his subsequent way to Specucie Island, which led past the village of Havre de Grace, situated on the west side of the Susquehanna, the attention of the crews was drawn to a large American ensign over a 6-gun battery, which immediately opened fire. This induced Cockburn to make that battery the object of an attack. Accordingly, on the 2nd of May, at midnight, he proceeded up the creek with 150 marines and artillerymen. The marines were instantly landed, who, after driving the militia out of the battery, turned their own guns upon them, and then demolished the village, whose inhabitants had taken part in the conflict. The guns were carried away, and the captain of the militia, and about 130 stand of small arms, were captured. The boats then proceeded to destroy a

cannon-foundry, a little way off to the northward, and burned five vessels with a large store of flour. The Rear-Admiral proceeded on the 5th up the river Sassafra, towards the villages of Georgetown and Fredericktown, which nearly faced each other from the opposite banks. Here a fire was opened on them from 300 or 400 militia, and Cockburn accordingly landed at the head of the marines, and charged them with the bayonet, when they fled to the woods, and were not seen or heard of afterwards. Having ascertained that there were no warlike stores or public property at these places, the Rear-Admiral and his party re-embarked, and having now received assurances from the inhabitants that they would not sanction any hostile attempts, the British retired out of those waters.

On the 12th of June, the boats of the frigate "Narcissus," 32, Captain Lumley, were sent up York River under the command of Lieutenant Cririe, to cut out the U. S. schooner "Surveyor," 6, which they effectually boarded and carried, with the loss of 3 killed and 6 wounded. On the 18th, the boats of the "Junon" frigate, Captain Saunders, were despatched to capture or destroy any vessels that might be found at the entrance of James River. Commodore Cassin, who commanded the U. S. naval station at Norfolk, despatched 15 gun-boats, manned from the "Constitution" (an American frigate lying there), to attempt the capture of the "Junon." Half of this flotilla, with 30 guns and 500 men, commenced its attack, which Captain Saunders vigorously resisted, when, seeing some assistance arriving to the "Junon," the American gun-boats desisted from their attack and returned to Norfolk. On the 20th, 13 sail of British ships, consisting of three 74's, a 64-gun-ship armed *en flûte*, 4 frigates, and transports, with about 800 soldiers, under Major-General Beckwith, arrived and anchored off Craney Island, for the purpose of attacking this great naval arsenal situated on the Elizabeth River at Norfolk. Seventeen or eighteen boats departed on this service at daylight on the 22nd, and were followed by another detachment of 15 boats, the whole under the command of Captain Samuel Pechell, of the "San Domingo;" but the expedition failed from the water having proved too shallow to admit of the troops being landed. On the night of the 25th of June, 2,000 men were embarked under Beckwith, and Rear-Admiral Cockburn took the command of the squadron and landed the troops two miles to the westward of Hampton, opposite to, and about 18 miles from, Norfolk; when the town of Hampton was taken possession of, and 7 guns fell into the hands of the British, with the loss of 12 killed and about 60 wounded on the two sides. Some Canadian Chasseurs, who were all French, and therefore not quite under British discipline, here perpetrated some scandalous acts of rapine and violence, which excited a just clamour from the American press; and Beckwith, as soon as he heard of it, searched for and brought in all the scoundrels who had so disgraced their cloth, and sent them home, declaring with great truth that he should feel much stronger without such reprobates.

On the 1st of July, Rear-Admiral Cockburn shifted his flag to the "Sceptre," 74, and was despatched with the "Romulus," "Fox," and "Nemesis" frigates, armed *en flûte*, to attack Oeracoke Harbour, on the North Carolina coast. The troops were accordingly embarked in boats, under the command of Colonel Napier, which were rowed off, under Lieutenant Westphal, who, on reaching the harbour, found the enemy fully prepared for resistance, having two large armed vessels, the "Anaconda," 18, and "Atlas," 10, which opened fire upon them. In the course of the morning the troops were, however, landed, and took possession of Oeracoke, without the slightest opposition. Lieutenant Westphal, with the boats, then boarded and carried the schooners, and they were brought away, but the Rear-Admiral, not feeling himself competent to attack Newburn, re-embarked the troops and seamen on the 16th, without loss or molestation. On the 17th, the brig-sloops "Content," Captain Rattray, and "Mohawk," the Honourable Captain Byng, despatched their two cutters, under Lieutenant Curry, to push up the Yeocomico inlet, where they found an American schooner "Asp," 3, hauled up on the beach, under the protection of a large body of militia; but, after a smart struggle, they carried the vessel, with the loss of 2 killed and the lieutenant and 5 men wounded. The commanding officer of the "Asp," Lieutenant Segourney, was killed in the conflict, with 25 of his crew. On the 29th, the ship-sloop "Martin," Captain Senhouse, grounded in the Delaware River, when a flotilla of American gun-boats and block-vessels, 10 in number, came forth to destroy her, while a crowd on foot, on horseback, and in carriages, hastened to the beach to witness the fun, and partake in the glory. Captain Senhouse most gallantly beat them off for nearly two hours, when Captain Saunders, of the "Junon," who was in company, seeing one of these adversaries a little separated from the rest, signalled the captain to despatch 3 boats from the "Martin," and 7 boats were collected, under Lieutenant Westphal, who, notwithstanding a spirited fire from the flotilla, quickly overpowered the gun-boats, to the great mortification of the crowd on shore. Many of the enemy's boats had grounded in their attack, which, however, as they did not again resume, they got off. It was next decided to land and take possession of Kent Island, in the Chesapeake, for the purpose of refreshing the troops; and on the 5th of August the Rear-Admiral and General, with a party of soldiers and marines, took up a post at Lynhaven Bay, where they remained, making profitable excursions thence into all the creeks and inlets. On the 6th of September, Sir John Warren and the principal part of the fleet returned to the Halifax station, leaving Rear-Admiral Cockburn in command of Chesapeake Bay and anchorage.

41. BOAT ACTIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND ADRIATIC.

France having lost her prestige on shore, was not likely to maintain it on her coasts, which now became an almost unresisting prey to the invaders. A brilliant service was performed on the coast of

Calabria on the 14th of February by a flotilla, under the command of Captain Hall, with the assistance of four companies of the 75th Regiment, under Major Stewart. The enemy had thrown up some works on Pietra-nera, and these were defended by a battalion, with 2 troops of cavalry and 2 guns; the adjoining heights were also mounted with batteries, under cover of which lay a convoy of 50 armed vessels, to protect the transport of timber and other public property to Naples. Major Stewart, assisted by a detachment of the rocket corps, led 150 soldiers, with an auxiliary party of seamen, under Lieutenant Le Haute, against the heights, and a most determined resistance ensued, which ended in the rout or death of the whole party. The seamen of the flotilla, under Captain Imbert, in the meantime stormed the batteries; having carried which, the most valuable of the vessels and timber were brought away, and the rest set on fire. The guns were also captured and taken away. Both the French Colonel Roche and Major Stewart, commanding, perished in the fight. On the 26th, the British frigate "Thames," Captain Charles Napier, having on board the 10th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Coffin, accompanied by the "Furieuse," 36, Captain Mounsey, made an attack on the island of Ponza, near Naples. This island has a small harbour, which was defended by batteries on each side of a narrow entrance. The troops were landed, and pushed immediately for the tower, when their daring countenance and the sight of the ships induced the governor to hoist a flag of truce, and to surrender on terms of capitulation.

In the Adriatic, Captain William Hoste, in the "Bacchante" frigate, 38, did much execution with the boats of the squadron under his command. On the 6th of January, near Otranto, the boats of the "Bacchante" and "Weasel," under the command of Lieutenant O'Brien, discovered 5 gun-boats becalmed, and captured them all, without the loss of a man, though each was commanded by an *enseigne de vaisseau*. On the 14th of February, the boats of the frigate, under Lieutenant Hood, assisted by Lieutenant of Marines Haig, captured the French gun-vessel "Alcinous;" but she was so shattered in the action, that she was of necessity set on fire. The gallant young lieutenant received so severe a contusion by a fall, that he became eventually deprived of the use of both his legs. He, however, had further opportunities of performing good service, by commanding the boats again at the capture of Karlebago, on the 15th of May. On the 12th of June, Hoste despatched the boats again, under Lieutenant Hood, to attack and bring away from Gelanova, on the coast of the Abruzzi, 7 large gun-boats, convoying 14 sail of merchant vessels, which service was very gallantly performed, with the loss of 3 killed and 6 wounded. The "Weasel" gave chase to an enemy's convoy, making for the ports of Trau and Spalatro. Having divided them, he followed 10 gun-boats into the Bay of Boscalino, where they anchored in line, and commenced a furious action with Captain Black. The gun-boats, after 20 minutes, ran closer in to the shore, and recommenced the fight, under the protection of some shore batteries and musketry. Thither the "Weasel"

followed them, and, after a contest of nearly twelve hours, 6 of the gun-boats were taken, driven on shore, or sunk. The "Weasel" was almost a complete wreck before the action ended, but nevertheless Captain Black sent in his boats after dark, and destroyed the remaining 4 gun-boats and 8 vessels, which formed their convoy. It was absolutely necessary to bring away from the shore some anchors to warp the "Weasel" out of the bay.

42. THE INVASION OF FRANCE — THE BRITISH CROSS THE BIDASSOA.

Lord Wellington, who was unwilling to hazard an invasion of France, so long as the policy of the Northern Powers remained uncertain, rested in the Pyrenees, inactive for nearly six weeks after the fall of San Sebastian. This event had given the English operations a new basis, and rendered the whole army available for fresh ulterior operations. It has been said that Wellington deemed the proper step to be taken should be to transfer the war to the province of Catalonia, and free Spain altogether from the French armies; but he so far yielded his military judgment to political pressure, as to assume a menacing position on the frontier of France; for he understood the English Cabinet had promised the Continental Sovereigns that a diversion should be effected from this side at the earliest available moment. The sterility of the country, however, which he now occupied, and the difficulty of obtaining supplies from an iron-bound coast, made him long hesitate as to a movement across the French boundary. He knew well enough that he could advance to the Adour, or even to the Garonne, without meeting with any opposing force to alarm him, but he had not very great confidence in the stability of the Grand Alliance, and knew that, if it should fall to pieces again, and that a partial peace should be concluded in Germany, for which he knew there were negotiations, it would be impossible for him to maintain himself in the interior of France. He therefore contented himself, for some time, with the Pyrenees as a limit to his achievements, where he busied himself in fortifying the passes, and alarming the enemy's outposts. The weather was cold and inclement, and the sufferings of the troops who guarded these passes were, at times, very great. It was necessary that extreme vigilance should be maintained, and the outpost duties were accordingly severe. The British Government, knowing the effect it would have upon the Alliance, if their army should invade France, and that this was expected in England, as a consequence of the British success in Spain, and how it would prove the means of a very powerful diversion, continued to urge Wellington to pass the Bidassoa without waiting for the fall of Pampeluna, which fortress, it was known, could not hold out much longer, for the garrison was already reduced to desperation by famine and disease.

Marshal Soult, on his side, was not a man to sleep on his post; he had devoted his time and resources to strengthening the natural defences of the frontier by artificial works. His base and place

d'arnes was the fortress of Bayonne, towards which two great *chaussées* diverge through the Pyrenees: the one coasting the Bay of Biscay leads to the frontier by St. Jean de Luz, and the other enters Spain by St. Jean Pied de Port. The interval between these two roads was intersected by a double range of mountains, which form the boundary of the basins of the Nivelle and the Nive, while the reverse of the first-named becomes the water-shed of the Bidassoa. These were the hills now occupied by the French army: the position was nearly 40 miles in extent, having no direct lateral communications, except where the disposition of the troops was governed by the mountain passes. Foy, with 15,000 men, occupied an entrenched camp in front of the Fort of St. Jean Pied de Port, and was there opposed by Hill, posted between Roncesvalles and Aldeides. D'Erlon was entrenched in the centre near Ainhoué, opposed to the British troops in the valley of the Bastan. Clausel commanded the right wing of the French army posted at Vera. His right column was under Reille, opposite San Marcial. The great La Rhune mountain, 2,700 feet high, stood between the Nivelle and Bidassoa valleys, overlooking the whole country round. Its possession was valuable, and had been the occasion of an obstinate contest in the frontier war of 1794. It is situated within the French territory, but there is a hermitage at the top, which belongs to the faithful of both nations. From its summit one rivulet flowed by Sarre into the Nivelle, and the Bayonnette carried its waters by Ascain and Urrugai down to the Bidassoa. All the *contresorts* of this mountain which bound the valleys of these small streams were now covered with earthworks "from the centre all round to the sea."

The operation contemplated by Wellington was one of the boldest of the war. His plan was to seize the great La Rhune mountain, with its dependent ridges. By its possession he would menace the centre of the French line, and at the same time obtain possession of Fuenterrabia. To attempt this last so much depended on the state of the tides and fords of the many sea havens, that he was obliged to await the arrivals of the pontoons, which were delayed through neglect of orders, and afterwards to proceed with very great caution, so as, if possible, to come by surprise upon his talented antagonist. Soult had published a furious proclamation, in which the inhabitants of the menaced provinces were invited to take up arms, and in which the enemy was threatened with desperate resistance on the field, and also with a guerilla warfare "to the knife." In reply to this, Wellington issued a moderate "order of the day" to his troops, reminding them that England was not at war with the French people, but with their ruler, and he positively prohibited, on pain of death, any marauding or violence. He feared most from the retaliating spirit of the Spaniards, but nevertheless it was necessary for him to avail himself of their forces. The Duque del Parques' army was therefore brought up to Pampeluna, and a portion of the blockading force before that fortress was marched away to strengthen General Giron at Echallar. Mina was also directed to bring his guerillas into the mountains about Ron-

cesvalles, where he, *au premier essai*, surprised a French post at Ayrola, and swept away a flock of sheep out of the Val de Baygorry.

Soult was soon aware that something was intended against him by Wellington, but, adapting his views to ordinary military rules, he thought the attack against him would be made on his right and centre, and accordingly came up in person to Espelette on the 6th, and slept there that night. He was not prepared for the "astonishing hardihood" of passing columns by fords where the tide rose 16 feet, and where the sands were half-a-mile broad, to force such a river as the Bidassoa at its mouth. At 8 o'clock in the morning of the 7th, the British army was in march to carry out this contemplated movement. A thunderstorm, which had gathered about the height of Pena de Haya, now fell with violence upon the French position, and heralded the attack; and during the turmoil of the storm, the pontoons and artillery secretly attained their stations along the banks of the Bidassoa River, to the left of the bridge at Irun, under the heights of San Marcial, on which a number of guns and howitzers had been disposed to cover the operation. Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham directed the 1st and 5th Divisions and Wilson's Portuguese brigade to cross the river in three columns, above and below bridge, and carry the enemy's entrenchments about Andaye. The Spaniards, under Freyre, being ordered to cross, at the same time, in front of Biriatu, were to attack the Montague Verte and Mundalle. Not a shot was fired until the brigades of the above Divisions, and the Portuguese brigade, under the respective orders of Major-General Hay, Honourable Colonel Greville, Honourable Major-General Stopford, and Major-General Howard, with Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre, and a part of the 4th Spanish army, all under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, had passed the low-water channel, when an English rocket was sent up from the steeple of Fuenterrabia as a concerted signal. Then the artillery opened from the heights of San Marcial, from whose crest 7 columns could be seen descending at one and the same moment, along an extent of five miles. The French were completely surprised, and permitted the divisions to gain the right bank and form line, before a single hostile musket flashed. The 6th Division had made at the same time a false attack on D'Erlon at Espelette, but Soult, who was there, as above stated, soon comprehended the truth, and hurried to his right to meet his adversary's attack; but his camps were carried before he arrived. Nothing could exceed the steadiness and bravery with which the several attacks had been executed. Redoubt after redoubt had been carried in a run, and 8 pieces captured in them. The fort called La Croix des Bouquets, upon the chaussée, was the key of the whole position, which the 9th Regiment, under Colonel Cameron, carried at the point of the bayonet, but in obtaining which they were strongly opposed, and suffered greatly. The Spaniards won the Mundale mountain with great dexterity and gallantry, which obliged the French to abandon the entrenched camp at Biriatu, as they had already abandoned the

town of Andaye. The guards and Germans above bridge also worsted Reille, who retreated before them. Soult ordered up Villatte's reserve, and by this reinforcement and his presence restored order; but Graham had already established himself firmly within the French territory.

While this was going forward on the British left, Charles Alten, with the Light Division, supported by Longa's Spaniards, crossed the frontier line, and attacked the entrenchments and posts on the La Rhune mountain. The French were equally unprepared on this side as on the other flank. The brigade of the 43rd and 17th Portuguese, under Kempt, moved on the right of Vera. Colborne, with Skerret's brigade, advanced on the left of the town, while Giron's Spaniards descended from Ivantelly, and Cole displayed his force on the heights of Sta. Barbara, in reserve. The 52nd, led by Major-Mayne, charged in gallant style, and carried one entrenchment with the bayonet, but Colborne was checked by a star fort upon the crest of the mountain, until Kempt had successfully turned the one flank, and Freyre's Spaniards the other. These last cut off the brigade Taupin, who lost a mountain battery, together with 300 men. The Bayonetté and Commissane Valleys, together with the Puerto de Vera, being thus in the hands of the British, it remained to drive the French from the summit of La Rhune. It was 3 in the afternoon when the Spaniards, in two columns, assailed the enemy's posts and entrenchments on the mountain, in which they were supported by part of the 7th Division, descending upon it from the Puerto de Echellar. These troops carried in the most gallant style the fort of Saint Barbe, and other outworks covering the camp at Sarre, till they arrived at the foot of the rock on which the Hermitage stands, and they made repeated attempts to take that post by storm; but it was impossible to get up. Havelock, an officer of Alten's staff, had been sent by him to see the progress that Giron's Spaniards had made, and came up just at this time. Possessed of a fiery temper, he could not brook the check, but, taking off his hat, and setting spurs to his horse, he bounded over the abbatis, and led the regiment of Las Ordenas headlong against the enemy, the Spanish soldiers cheering the *chicoblanco* (as they called him) and following the impulse.* The French, however, rolled down large stones on their advance, which swept away a whole company at a time, and, in spite of everything, retained possession of the post for the night.

Some time elapsed on the morning of the 8th before the fog cleared off from the hills sufficiently to enable Wellington to reconnoitre the mountain on which the French still maintained themselves, and finding it to be most accessible from the side of Sarre, he ordered Giron to concentrate his forces to the enemy's right, and Dalhousie, with the 7th Division, to continue to give them support. Sarre was accordingly abandoned by the enemy without opposition, and some of the 7th Division rashly pushed through the village, and by their impetuosity might have lost all that had been gained,

* The gallant and much-lamented Sir Henry Havelock.

but for the Spaniards; so that Wellington, who witnessed it, assured Colonel Hore, in command of the Spanish regiment, "that their attack had been made in as good order and with as much spirit as any attacks he had ever seen made by any troops." With the exception of the first slight check at Sarre, the course of the operation had been uniformly successful; and now Clausel, alarmed by some demonstrations in his rear, and seeing the lower slopes and also Saint Barbe in possession of the enemy, abandoned his impregnable post in the course of the night, and the mountain was securely taken possession of by the 7th Division.

The passage of the Bidassoa has been classed among the ablest and boldest of Wellington's operations. His masterly combinations had overwhelmed every point of his opponent's line. It was a general's, not a soldier's, battle. It was some Spanish fishermen who had reported to Wellington that the river could be forded at low water; but there was the apprehension that, if much time were occupied in the attempt to cross, the ascending tide would interpose an insurmountable obstacle to the retreat of the attacking force, in the event of a check. It was peculiarly, therefore, a matter of nice calculation of time. Soult was, however, completely deceived by the manœuvres and apparent calmness of his adversary. It never entered his head that a commander would pass such a river as the Bidassoa at its mouth, for such an operation was beyond the French marshal's genius; and so negligent also were Soult's lieutenants at the several points assailed, that the battle was fought out with some considerable disorder, and with only 5,000 French soldiers, for neither Reille nor Clausel could bring up their reserves into action with sufficient rapidity. Indeed, it was already too late when Villatte arrived in the front, to be of any use. The whole loss in the three days' fighting was about 1,600 Allies and 1,400 French, but the victorious standards of Britain, Spain, and Portugal having been now planted on the soil of France, the veteran Graham was recalled to an independent service, on the northern frontier, and Sir John Hope took the place of second in command to Wellington's army.

The Duke of Dalmatia now considered that it would be better to endeavour to co-operate with the Duke of Albufera, through the defile of Jacca, and carry the war into Aragon, which, he thought, might oblige Wellington to re-cross the frontier, unmask Pampluna, while, by the union of all the French forces, he might enable them to remain master of the Pyrenees; but Suchet had always evinced the greatest unwillingness to act with any other French marshal, and had again and again refused to assist in the execution of Soult's plan. The winter, however, set in much earlier this year than usual, and Soult was therefore obliged to remain where he was, disciplining his new levies, with a view to regimenting them with his veterans, for future operations. His steady attention was always fixed upon Wellington, who, establishing his head-quarters at Vera, also set about organising his army and forming permanent camps for his men along the bare sides of the

Pyrenees with some manifest object. The fort of San Barbe, which blockaded a pass leading between La Rhune and the Nivelle River, had been without reason abandoned by the French, and he saw it was but imperfectly guarded by the Spaniards; accordingly, General Foy was ordered to endeavour to regain possession of it, and on the night of the 12th 3 French battalions surprised and escalated the work. The Spanish troops in possession had gone off at the first alarm, but becoming, after the late commendations lavished on them, ashamed of their conduct and at the result of their negligence, they made a vigorous effort to recover the fort at day-break, and nearly brought on a general action. Nevertheless, in the end, the French retained Saint Barbe, with the loss of 200 men, but were repulsed without difficulty by the Spanish troops in an attempt to regain possession of other works that they had lost on the 8th.

Soult now assiduously worked to complete a chain of entrenchments, some five French leagues in length, which he had previously commenced in the space of ground contained between the sea and the bridge of Cambo, on the Nive. His head-quarters were placed at the town of St. Jean de Luz, which was defended by double lines of works; and there was an entrenched camp at Serres, on the right bank of the Nivelle, and a strong chain of works on the left bank of that river, all the way from Ascain to Amotz, where a bridge crossed it. This was protected by redoubts, whence extending to the rough Mondarain mountains, there were camps at Suroide and Espelette, with another chain of detached closed works in front of them. A shorter line of entrenchments had been traced behind that river, and in rear of St. Pé, crossing the road to Ustaritz. The French army therefore rested in position, its right across the great road to Bayonne, near the sea at Urrugne; the centre occupied a steep ridge behind Ainloue; and on the right, in rear of this flank, Foy occupied the *tête du pont* at Cambo. The left of the position covered the Vallée d'Osser, near Bidarray, and communicated with St. Jean Pied de Port. Reille defended the right with 3 divisions from St. Jean de Luz, Clausel guarded the centre with 3 divisions, and D'Erlon the left with 2; Foy, with his single division, was to act as circumstances should require. Marshal Soult's whole force was reckoned at 80,000 men, including 16,000 conscripts. Wellington at the same time laid 3 bridges across the Bidassoa for his troops to come up, and strengthened his position with field works, awaiting the surrender of Pampeluna. He learned on the 20th of October, from an intercepted letter, that the place could not hold out another week; and this circumstance, and the news from Germany, had, as has been said, decided him to invade France. The resolute garrison had now been reduced, after a four months' blockade, to the last extremity, and, about the 15th, had even been put upon scanty rations of horse-flesh. The blockade of Pampeluna is a solitary example of the investment of a considerable fortress, close to the enemy's frontier, having been so successfully maintained that the garrison was precluded absolutely and

altogether from any communication whatever with their friends across the border. Although the sound of Soult's artillery had been heard by the garrison on the last days of July, not a French soldier had been seen by them since they had been left by the ex-King, after his flight from Vittoria. One sortie had, with the loss of 100 men, obtained a trifling quantity of sustenance, but every other had been firmly met and quickly repulsed, and Maucune, the Governor, accordingly discontinued them. Every domestic animal was consumed, the rats even were all destroyed, and every weed about the ramparts gathered and used for vegetables; but disease generally accompanies famine, so that scurvy had now broken out, on the 26th of October, when the Governor sent out to offer a surrender. It is remarkable with what cool assurance the French generals always demanded terms. Here one at his last gasp demanded to be allowed to retire into France, with 6 pieces of cannon. Wellington's instructions were, however, peremptory, that the garrison must surrender at discretion, and that every other proposal should be rejected. On this refusal, the Governor ordered the bastions to be mined, and intimated to the Spanish general in charge of the blockade that he would blow up the works, and trust to fortune and gallantry for the deliverance of the exhausted garrison. He was apprised, in answer, that any such attempts would be retaliated on the garrison, of which the Governor and officers should be shot, and the private soldiers decimated. At length, on the 31st of October, the event, so long expected, occurred, and Don Carlos de España announced to Wellington that the French garrison, to the amount of 3,000 men, had surrendered prisoners of war, and that the finest fortress of the Peninsula had been taken possession of. This was indeed the first fortified place in Spain which fell a bloodless prize to the British arms, for France had obtained it and all the other strongholds of the Peninsula, through fraud, and not through conquest.

43. BATTLE OF LA NIVELLE.

Winter came on so rapidly, that Lord Wellington could scarcely cover his troops in the field or feed them; those near Roncesvalles had been already two days without provisions, and could scarcely be reached; for the communications in the mountains were blocked up with snow. Nevertheless, the British Government was incessant in urging him to carry the war into France, for the war in Germany having now taken a favourable turn, it had become a question of policy that the British should go forward. With this view, Hill's corps was moved from Roncesvalles into the valley of the Bastan, and the General had a conference with the Commander-in-Chief on the 7th, to combine operations. The plan determined upon was to direct the chief effort upon the centre of the enemy's position, for that on his right was recognised as too strong for an attempt. Wellington therefore resolved to hold it in check, while the 2nd and 6th English Divisions, under Hill, and Beresford, with the

3rd, 4th, and 7th, assisted by the Portuguese, should storm the redoubts in front of Sarre, which was the salient point of the position between Rhune and the Nivelle, and which, if gained, would separate Clausel and D'Erlon, and establish the head of the British army on St. Pé. Finally, Baron Alten, with the Light Division, and Giron's and Freyre's Spaniards, were to attack the little Rhune, and threaten Ascaïn, so as to prevent reinforcements being sent to Clausel from the camp of Serres. The state of the weather, however, again obliged the British general to delay the attack, so that it was the 10th, when a beautiful morning opened on a glorious day, that the Allied army, consisting of British, Portuguese, and Spaniards, and numbering 100,000 combatants, with 95 pieces of artillery, descended upon the sacred soil of those who had conquered Europe. The several columns attained their respective stations so secretly, that the enemy had no suspicion of their vicinity, and all were resting quietly upon the slopes of the greater and lesser Rhune, when 3 guns fired from the summit of the Alchubra mountain gave the signal for attack, which at once began along the whole line by a brisk cannonade and a skirmish of picquets. Sir Lowry Cole immediately assaulted the redoubts in front of Sarre, which the division Couroux, which occupied them, defended as long as it was able, but at length relinquished them, and the 4th and 7th forthwith occupied the village, while the 3rd passed through it on its left. The Light Division, notwithstanding a heavy fire from a few guns upon the top of the large mountain, was enabled, by the accident of the French aim being incorrect from so great a height, to get up to the redoubt Sainte Barbe, which they assailed with a stern shout, and not only carried it, but a second earthwork beyond, named *Aide de Pré*. The donjon, on the summit of the lower Rhune, was carried by the 43rd Regiment and Portuguese caçadores, and the star fort by the 52nd. Longa and Freyre's Spaniards during the fight approached very near Ascaïn, but Alten awaited the progress of the attack on his right before he attempted to clear the mountain, and Sir John Hope, who commanded the extreme left wing, having carried the redoubt above Urugne, had rested himself in front of it, on the height commanding Siboure, in readiness to take advantage of any forward movement of the enemy's right centre.

Far on the British right, Hill had got by a long and difficult night march along the road leading out of the valley of Bastan, by the Puerto de Maya, and reached Urdax about 7 in the morning, where he fell upon the division D'Armagnac, and drove it back, across the Nivelle, towards the fortified heights beyond it and the 6th Division and Hamilton's Portuguese, and subsequently Byng's brigade of the 2nd Division advanced to the attack of D'Erlon's position, behind Ainhoue. Nothing could equal the steadiness with which these troops ascended an almost inaccessible hill, and, before firing a shot, rushed at the redoubts, in the midst of a heavy discharge of artillery and musketry, and carried all the entrenchments at the point of the bayonet. Sir Henry Clinton pushed with the 6th Division between the troops of Hill and Alten across the river, and assailed "by a

most handsome attack" the enemy's unfinished works that covered the bridge of Amoz. It was about 11 o'clock, when Wellington, seeing the strongly-entrenched height above the Nivelle carried, ordered the 3rd and 7th Divisions, forming his right centre, to move by the left of the river upon St. Pé, and thus established himself in rear of the enemy's right. The division D'Armagnac accordingly set fire to the hutted camp, and fell back, pursued by Clinton; while D'Erlon was obliged to order a retreat, the division Abbé to retire on Espelette, and the brigade Maucombe to quit the Mondarain rocks, on which he rested the left wing of the army, and surrender them without a struggle. The communications between D'Erlon and Clausel were now broken, and the latter therefore had feared to be cut off in his retreat, for Colville had also crossed the river, and was driving the division Couroux beyond it. It was in resolutely covering the retreating movement that the French general Couroux fell, exclaiming his oft-expressed prophecy, "Que Sarre serait son tombeau." The divisions Taupin and Maransin, with a large body of Clausel's right, nevertheless still remained to fight. They occupied a closed redoubt, called the Signal redoubt, which had no artillery, but which commanded the fortified heights along their whole extent, and some breastworks about Ascain, that covered the entrance of the ravine leading to the camp at Serres. Clausel, who saw the retreat of the left wing of the French army, thought he could check the flight and retrieve the day, and took the requisite disposition to do so, but Alten, having descended from La Rhune by a ravine upon Ascain, led up the 52nd and the Spaniards to attack Taupin's front, and this formidable regiment, followed by the rest of the division, could not be stopped, but drove the enemy through the ravine, and beyond the bridge. This so alarmed the conscripts, that three entire regiments disbanded, and the rout soon became general, so that the whole fled across the Nivelle, and quitted all their works and positions in front of St. Jean de Luz. Reille and Soult withdrew their head-quarters on Bidart, and Clausel to Arrauntz. D'Erlon succeeded, with some difficulty, in rallying his wing, and pulling up at the bridge of Cambo. Soult, from some cause or another, does not appear to have been present at any of these actions, in which, however, his army was completely driven out of a position which he had been fortifying for three months, leaving behind it 51 guns, 1,400 prisoners, and all the field magazines at St. Jean de Luz and Espelette; and, had the weather permitted Wellington to strike with his accustomed vigour, the entire French right wing would have been compromised. The advance of the Allies was again impeded by the same cause on the 11th and 12th, which gave the defeated army time to rally and become concentrated. There had been a small camp, called *des sans-culottes*, on the borders of the seashore, where a stiff combat ensued between the Spanish division of Freyre and the Spanish guards of the ex-King, under Casa Palacio, and this "false battle" was maintained until nightfall. The Allied army halted on the field, but in the course of the night an accidental conflagration lighted up all the

hills, a blazing sign of the invasion of France! The Allies lost 2,694 killed and wounded, in which last category were Generals Kempt and Byng, and Colonel Andrew Barnard, commanding the 95th Rifles.

On the morning of the 11th, Soult withdrew his forces to Anglet, an entrenched camp still remaining to him near Bayonne, for his troops were in no condition to sustain any more fighting. He was evidently mortified, for he wrote to the Minister at War his surprise "that the entrenchments such as he had raised, and which were so well defended by Clausel and D'Erlon, could have been taken;" and "the extraordinary vigour which was in this battle displayed by all the Allied troops in attacking redoubts, forts, entrenchments, and abattis, some of earth, some even faced with stone, amid high mountains and precipices," has been made matter of deserved admiration. Indeed, the escape of Soult's army across the Nive was entirely owing to the badness of the roads; and the bye-roads were so terribly cut up that cavalry were knee-deep, and no exertions could get the artillery forward.* After Soult had thus lost the Nivelle, he established his army on a new line between Anglet and the camp he had begun to fortify in front of Bayonne, which was still unfinished, and thence he maintained a flanking position behind the Nive, with his left on the entrenched mountains of Ursonia, communicating by the bridge occupied by Foy at Cambo with the division Paris stationed at St. Jean Pied de Port. D'Erlon was now sent to reinforce Foy, and Wellington, becoming a little uneasy by this operation, directed Hill to make a demonstration against the bridge of Cambo, and, by great good fortune, the officer in command of the bridge-head was induced, in a panic, to destroy the bridge, which enabled Wellington to bring forward his left wing and to take up cantonments at Espelette, Larrissore, and Ustaritz.

But the disorders of the Allied army on their first entry into the country of that people who had inflicted so many evils on the shores of the invaders, became soon a most serious subject of

* I was ordered forward this morning with a patrol, upon the high road leading from Sourante, upon Bayonne; and as it was the first patrol that I had ever made in an enemy's country, I was proportionably anxious to take every precaution prescribed by hussar practice. As I advanced, I saw to my right the village of Ustaritz, and, leaving two videttes to watch the chaussée, I descended into it to obtain information; but so careful was I, that while I was examining the *mairie du village*, I kept my men with swords drawn and carabines loaded, ready for all emergencies. I was, however, received with all courtesy, and every question I asked was frankly answered, so that I went back to the high road well satisfied, to continue my progress onward to the front. My reasonable alarm may, however, be guessed, when I found that my videttes were gone, and I accordingly retraced my steps back to the British lines with caution, expecting to meet an enemy *en route*, but there learned that they had neither seen nor heard of the enemy since I quitted them. I accordingly returned to the spot on which I had posted my missing men, and made the most anxious search for them all around, when at length I discovered them both dead drunk at an adjoining farm-yard, to which they had been enticed by a farmer, who really desired to show the British army attention and hospitality by this deed. I recount this anecdote to show of how serious importance it is to an army to have a superior class of individuals in the regiments suited for cavalry outposts. A colonel of hussars would do well to regard stature or appearance in his men less than individual character, for the safety of the whole army might be compromised by a thoughtless, stupid fellow, unable even to discriminate the proper time to get drunk.

anxiety to the Commander-in-Chief. On the very day after the battle of the Nivelle, rapine commenced, and the Spaniards at Ascain pillaged it, and violated and murdered several persons. Mina, indeed, made, without leave or licence, an incursion to Helletto, with the avowed object of plunder. Nor were the British and Portuguese less disposed to outrage. Terrified by these excesses, the French inhabitants fled from some of the towns, and Wellington, in just indignation, determined to act with vigour against conduct at once so reprehensible and impolitic. He ordered two British soldiers, caught in the act, to be hung with a paper on their breasts detailing their offence. He put to death every Spanish marauder caught plundering, and disarmed the whole of Mina's mutinous battalions, ordering them to return across the mountains into their own country. Giron's Andalusians were at the same time ordered into the valley of Bastan; Freyre's Galicians to Ernani; and Longa's across the Ebro. Murillo's Spaniards had conducted themselves better than the rest of their countrymen, and accordingly he retained them with the army in France. The effect was decisive; it checked all further excesses, marked the lofty character of the general in the chief command, and restored his authority. The French peasantry returned to their homes in reassured confidence, and the good humour of the English, with their ready-money habits, soon established an amicable intercourse between the invaded and the invaders.

44. BATTLE OF LA NIVE.

The effect of Lord Wellington's firm and temperate administration also brought the inhabitants of the invaded country into the British camp with supplies, and they even showed themselves ready to obtain intelligence of the French movements. It is a remarkable evidence of the good effect of moderation in war, that the British even became to be regarded as the protectors of the property of the inhabitants against the plunderers of their own army. The people actually brought away their cattle, property, &c., from the French cantonments to Wellington's lines.* It was, however, a matter of no slight difficulty to nourish 9,000 cavalry, and the equipages of 100 guns, in the narrow space now occupied on the French territory, and, therefore, when the weather cleared a little, Wellington resolved to widen the *emplacement* of this army and to force the line of the Nive, so as to establish himself in more productive quarters on the left bank of the Adour. He had already, by degrees, advanced his posts from Bidart to the broad ridge of Barouillet, which the great coast-road crossed, while his left centre was established in front of Arcangues. These posts were, however, not obtained without contest, and in one of these Generals Wilson and Vandeleur were wounded, and the Light Division lost nearly 100 men. After reconnoitring the enemy's position thoroughly, the Commander-in-Chief deemed it impossible to make an attack upon

* Wellington Despatches.

the Marshal in the strong position which he had fortified in front of Bayonne with great labour, and which appeared to be well flanked by the fire of the place. Bayonne is situated at the confluence of two rivers. The Vauban's camp, occupied by two divisions Reille and Villatte, protected by an artificial inundation, and defended along the course of the Adour to the sea, was also protected by a small flotilla. The advanced posts occupied some field-works in front of Anglet, on the roads to Bidart and Biarritz. The left wing, composed of three more divisions, under Clausel, was on the right of the Nive. D'Erlon stood with four divisions, having posts extending along the right bank, opposite Usteritz and Cambo. The division Paris also closed in from the side of St. Jean Pied de Port. The country held by the Allies in front of this position was a deep clay, covered with small farms and woods, exceedingly unfavourable for movement, especially in such a wet season. To place an army on both sides of such a river as the Nive, at all times navigable, and liable to be swelled by freshes from the mountains, was a delicate and dangerous operation in the presence of the Duke of Dalmatia. It appeared to Wellington, therefore, that the best mode of obliging the enemy either to abandon this position altogether, or at least to weaken his defence of it, was to pass the Nive and bring forward his right wing up to the Adour.

On the 9th of December Hill was ordered to pass to the right bank of the Nive at or near Cambo, and Beresford at Ustaritz; but here the bridge was broken, and, although an island where it had spanned the stream was in the hands of the British, Beresford was obliged to lay his pontoons in the night across the river higher up, so as to force the passage as well by some fords as by the pontoons. Both these operations of the right wing succeeded completely, and the same day Hope, on the extreme left, displayed 24,000 men and 12 guns along the whole front of the entrenched camp. D'Armagnac made no resistance to Hill, and fell back before him; and Foy, seeing his own retreat endangered by his comrade's retreat, went off to join D'Erlon with his left, leaving his right wing under Berlier at Halzon. Pringle, therefore, inserted his brigade between the two detachments, which obliged the latter to fall back by the high road to St. Jean Pied de Port, where he encountered the 6th Division, and was obliged to make a considerable détour to avoid being intercepted by them, before he could rejoin General Foy at the farm of Lormentua. Morillo's Spaniards crossed by a ford at Itsassu, where he encountered the division Paris, which retired before him to Hellette and St. Palais. The cavalry had the good fortune to capture and secure a convoy of wheat, biscuit, and wine in Mendcondo, and the 14th Light Dragoons established outposts and pickets at Hasparren for the night, and its patrols followed Paris through St. Palais the next morning. Marshal Soult arrived on the ground from Bayonne about 1 o'clock, but not before Wellington was already in possession of the entire field of operation to the left of the French army.

One consequence of this success of the British was to fall into exactly the same error which had attached to Soult's position of the Nivelle. Wellington's wings were now divided by the Nive, and the Allied army was extended over at least three leagues of ground. Soult, therefore, resolved to avail himself of this error to fall, without a moment's delay, upon that portion of the British force which lay on the left bank of the river. So confident was he of success, that he wrote off the same evening to the Duke de Feltre, French Minister of War, saying, "I hope that I shall have a victory to announce to you." He was able, with the greatest facility, to assemble in Vauban's camp, opposite to which the Allied front was most extended, a very preponderating force, which might issue from it either by the road to Barrouillet or by that to Arcangues. He selected the former. This post was occupied by Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, who had cantoned his advance in the village, leaving the 1st Division at St. Jean de Luz, six miles in the rear, and the 5th Division about Bidart. Major-General Alten, with the Light Division, had orders to fall back four miles behind Bussurary; but Kempt, acting upon his own discretion, delayed this movement, and by his moral courage saved the position. Sir Rowland Hill occupied a position on the other side of the river facing the entrenched camp, having his left at Villefranque and his right towards the Adour.

There had been heavy rain in the night, but the morning broke fair on the 10th of December, when Marshal Soult filed four divisions through Bayonne, and over a boat-bridge across the Nive to the attack of Hope's corps. This force is said to have counted, including conscripts, 60,000 men and 40 guns. Wellington had indeed given orders that his entire position should be entrenched; but when danger does not spur them forward, British soldiers labour carelessly at field works, which are not at all to their taste, so that only a few abattis and the tracing of some lines and redoubts were just shadowed out, and no more. Reille commanded the leading divisions Maucune and Boyer, with from 20 to 30 guns, which advanced upon the left wing at Barrouillet, while at the same time a most desperate attack was made on Arcangues, by Clausel, who advanced rapidly upon it from Bussurary. Kempt, who commanded a brigade of the Light Division at this point, formed up his men outside the village hastily, but only just in time to anticipate the French possession of it; for the rest of his division had marched in the night to their cantonments at Arbonne, as above stated, so that he had barely force enough to keep back the enemy from crossing the small common between the villages; but the 43rd and 52nd, with their accustomed courage, kept back the enemy until Charles Alten could arrive to their assistance. The mansion-house at Arcangues, covered by an abattis and not very accessible, was defended by a battalion of the 95th and some Portuguese caçadores, and the church and churchyard were occupied by the 43rd. Clausel attempted to shell the churchyard, and under this fire 400 or 500 infantry assailed it, but they were driven back

by the rapid firing of the light infantry. Both here and at the chateau the action continued all day. In the meantime, a more sanguinary fight was going on to the left. About 9, Reille had attacked the Portuguese brigade under Major-General Campbell, and drove it out of Anglet, where the French cavalry under Sparre cut down a great many men. The same over-confidence which ordered the Light Division back to Arbonne, had allowed the 1st Division and Lord Aylmer's brigade to go back to Bidart; so that the attack here would have been overwhelming but that the French infantry was delayed in its progress by having to march upon a narrow ridge confined on each side by tanks, which limited their formation, for the country was so deep from the quantity of rain which had fallen, that they were unable to move except by the main road, and it was near mid-day before they could deploy these columns. This delay saved Hope, for it enabled Robinson's brigade of the 5th Division to come up quickly in support of Campbell from the side of Barrouillet, where a desperate and bloody conflict now ensued in a thick coppice wood and orchard, until Lord Aylmer came up with the Guards from St. Jean de Luz in breathless haste, who were also soon followed by Bradford's Portuguese. Sir John Hope received a severe contusion, and Robinson was wounded in this encounter. The sound of heavy firing, followed by the arrival of messengers in hot haste, soon gave the alarm to the brigades in the rear, and the energy of the British character was soon evinced in their marching rapidly along the high roads to the scene of action. Pushing on in excellent order, all were soon in their places in the line, when a sort of lull followed, as if Soult paused to meditate how to act under this change of circumstances. The 9th Regiment, under Cameron, about this time espied a French regiment filing rapidly to the rear between him and the Portuguese brigade, and although he was constrained to leave a portion of his men to hold a copse-wood which had been entrusted to him, he sprang upon these intruders at the charge, and made near 500 prisoners. Reille's attack was by this time quite repulsed, and Clausel's nearly so.

It was about 2 o'clock, and Soult gave orders to renew the battle, but Wellington, who had been away on the right bank of the Nive at the first moment of the attack on the left bank, had his attention attracted by the firing to the really threatened portion of his line, and seeing the paucity of troops where he was that had been left in front of Hill, he judged that Soult was pouring his entire strength upon the right flank of the army, and sent an order to the 3rd and 6th Divisions, under Beresford, to cross the river with all expedition. This movement was immediately seen by D'Armagnac, who was posted on the road to Ustaritz, who reported it to Soult. This again suspended the attack, and the division Daricau was ordered to march towards Villefranque to threaten Beresford's line of communication, who had, in fact, ordered a pontoon-bridge to be thrown across the river near that place, which very much shortened his line of march, and had already checked Clausel in the midst of his

attack at Arcangues, into which the divisions Taupin and Maransin had nearly penetrated, but were now obliged to be recalled in great haste to the plateau in front of Bussurary. This imperatively prevented Soult's renewed attack at Barrouillet, for Wellington placed a division at Urdains and another at St. Barbe, and brought up Cole's to the ridge behind, and both armies thus rested on the field of battle. After the action was over, the regiments of Nassau and Frankfort, under the command of Colonel Kruse, quitted the French lines, and came over to Ross's brigade of the 4th Division.

The morning of the 11th passed in quiet, and the British had received their rations, and were cutting wood to cook them, when the cry was raised "to arms!" There had been a thick fog, and as soon as it cleared, about 10 o'clock, Wellington, desirous of ascertaining what Soult was doing, had directed the 9th Regiment to push some skirmishers forward beyond the tanks of water above spoken of, and into the valley. But the enemy, seeing that the 9th was unsupported, sent forward some men against them, and Cameron had scarcely time to save his regiment, when Hope sent down some Portuguese to his support. The French divisions, however, moved on with shouts of "en avant, en avant!" and were, in fact, already in the midst of the British position, which had occasioned the above cry, and a confused action ensued. The coppice was filled with men of all nations, intermingled in a perilous manner. However, the 9th Regiment re-formed, and with the assistance of the 85th, plied the French flank with their fire, so that the enemy was again repulsed with considerable loss. Hope, conspicuous from his stature and courage, was continually seen in the midst of the danger; his clothes were pierced with bullets, and he was severely wounded in the ankle, but he would not quit the field. His calm intrepidity had restored the battle, and the French were, at the close of the day, driven out of Barrouillet and back to their former bivouac.

The 1st Division, under General Howard, now came to take the duties of the front at Barrouillet, and about 10 o'clock in the morning of the 12th another little fight arose, which, however, was principally a contest of artillery. An English battery having opened fire, Reille brought up a number of guns to reply to it, and a fire was kept up without any object for several hours, which occasioned casualties to the amount of 400 of a side. Soult, however, had ordered D'Erlon to push cavalry patrols as far as Hasparren and Urcuray, and to ascertain the British strength on the right bank of the Nive, and being convinced, from the information he received, that his bolt was shot on the left bank, Soult, availing himself of the peculiarity of his position, resolved to change the direction of his attack to the right bank, and leaving two divisions in the entrenched camp, he marched through Bayonne, in the night of the 12th-13th, with 35,000 men and 22 guns, in order to attack Hill on the heights of St. Pierre, whose force he had discovered to be only 13,000 men and 14 guns. He at the same time directed General Paris to bring back his 8,000 men and the light cavalry of Pierre

Soult to threaten the British General's rear from the side of Palais. In expectation of this attack, Wellington therefore directed Beresford to send back the 6th Division across the Nive at daylight on the 13th, and subsequently he ordered the 4th Division and two brigades of the 3rd to march in the same direction.*

Under cover of a mist, Soult formed his order of battle at 8 in the morning; D'Erlon, with the divisions Abbé, D'Armagnac, and Daricau, having Foy and Marassin in reserve, marched by the great chaussée out of Bayonne, with cavalry, infantry, and guns, directly upon Hill's position, who was well prepared to receive them. General Abbé, in the centre, came upon Ashworth's Portuguese brigade with such violence and vigour as to shake them, when the 71st Regiment was brought up to their aid, and subsequently the 50th, but nevertheless Abbé pushed on, and gained the summit of the position. Barnes was therefore now brought up from the reserve behind the hill of St. Pierre, and made so furious a counter-attack, that the French mass quavered and gave way, for they had no succour behind them. Soult therefore brought up 16 guns, under Colonel Lambert, to their support, which opened fire with destructive effect. Ross's guns responded with effect, and, in defiance of Lambert, poured "shrapnel" against Abbé, which tore his ranks in a horrible manner. A Portuguese battery did not fare so well as Ross, for they, having lost their commander, limbered up to retire, which compelled the 92nd to take shelter behind St. Pierre, and Barnes was wounded, and the whole of Hill's staff much hurt; indeed, matters had begun to appear desperate. Pringle was fighting with the 34th, 39th, and 28th Regiments, on both sides of the high road, to prevent Daricau's advance to the left, under the hill or Villefranque; and Byng, with the 3rd, 57th, 31st, and 66th, supported by a Portuguese brigade, was endeavouring to check the advance of D'Armagnac, who, nevertheless, forced them back to Vieux-Moquerre. The divisions Foy and Marassin were so retarded by the deep roads, that they had not yet come into line to support Abbé, who was gasping in his onset for want of support, when Hill, seeing him deprived of any reserve, brought against him the 3rd and 71st, and renewed the fight in person, while he ordered Lecon's Portuguese brigade, in reserve, to march against D'Armagnac. Colonel Cameron, having re-formed the 92nd, came at the same moment from behind St. Pierre, with colours flying and pibroch sounding, and, advancing close up to the enemy without a shot, now charged with the bayonet, accompanied by an eagle screech, that must have been heard to be fully appreciated. They looked

* Before the conflict of the 12th had closed, a cavalry affair took place, in which a most gallant but unsuccessful charge was made by Major Brotherton, of the 14th Light Dragoons, who was ordered by General Vivian to charge a body of Pierre Soult's cavalry, placed in a thick mass upon a high road behind a mill stream. The impossibility of success was so apparent, that it is not easy to understand how the brigadier could give such an order; but the whole thing very much resembles, in small, the famous Balaclava affair. Brotherton, a man noted for his daring, received the order, and went forward into the very thick of the enemy, followed by only two men and a subaltern, who were all immediately closed upon, and taken prisoners. It was a grievous needless sacrifice.

like weird women, with their plumed bonnets, and kilts scarce covering their bare knees, and as their tartans received the breeze, they closed upon the foe. The conscripts, who never saw the like before, deemed them to be creatures of another sphere, and dared not abide the furious onset, but fled in all directions, like chaff before the wind. The hitherto victorious French had been also overthrown by the 71st and Lecon's Portuguese, in their attack against Daricau, and by the 3rd Buffs and Buchan's Portuguese against D'Armagnac, on both the enemy's flanks; but it was just the turn of the die, for General Barnes had received a second injury, General Ashworth was badly wounded, General Lecon was disabled, and the whole British line had been shattered on every side.

It was now about mid-day, when the 6th Division came marching up in perfect order of battle just below St. Pierre, and Wellington riding up at their head on the field. The 3rd and 4th Divisions followed in rapid succession, and some brigades of the 7th were also in march, coming up from the bridge. At sight of these reinforcements, the British generals everywhere restored the order of battle; but the crisis was past — Hill's day of glory was already complete. Marshal Soult drew off his troops, and retired to some strong ground in front of Bayonne, where he was seen personally urging and exhorting the tirailleurs to keep back the British, who now became quite irresistible. Byng, with his brigade of 2 battalions, attacked a hillock between the road and a mill-pond, wherein 2 light guns had played without ceasing; these were now charged and captured. The French made an effort to regain them, but Buchan came up with his Portuguese, and obliged them to desist. At 2 o'clock Wellington ordered forward the whole line in a general advance, when the French retreated, fighting, and Soult withdrew all his army through Bayonne and into the entrenched camp, leaving the country between the rivers in possession of the British. The total loss of the British in the actions between the 9th and 13th was 5,061 killed and wounded; the French had some 6,000 casualties. It was regarded on both sides as "*sans contredit une des plus sanglantes batailles, que l'armée Francaise d'Espagne ait livrée; et il n'y était pas une où tomba autant de morts sur le champ à bataille.*" The loss of generals on both sides (for the British had 6 wounded and the French 3) is a clear proof of the obstinate nature of the conflict, for it proved the stern necessity imposed upon the officers to expose themselves, like grenadiers, in both armies. It was very much in the generous character of Wellington, who had witnessed the imminence of defeat at the moment of his arrival on the ground, although he knew that he had sufficient reinforcements at hand to avert it, to ride up in a frank, manly way to Sir Rowland Hill, and, taking him affectionately by the hand, exclaim, "My dear Hill, the day is your own."* The extreme rigour of the season now induced

* He did more than pay a mere compliment; he sent home the despatches by Major Hill, the brother and aide-de-camp of the general, instead of by one of his own staff, as if the battle of the Nive had been Hill's victory; and in the despatches he wrote: "The expected arrival of the 6th Division gave the Lieutenant-General great facility in making his movements, but the troops under his own

Lord Wellington to place his army in cantonments, in the country south of the Adour, extending from the sea to the Gave d'Oléron. Marshal Soult, leaving Reille in Vauban's camp, placed his headquarters at Peyrehorade, which he fortified with entrenchments. No other military events, therefore, occurred in this quarter till after the end of this year; for the result of these battles had convinced Soult that the French force could not maintain their defensive position in their camp before Bayonne during the winter. He had now indeed played his best card, and it was very nearly made a winning one; but Wellington always used to say of his old adversary, that "he was generally right in his plans, but did not know the right moment to strike and accomplish them."

45. TREATY OF VALENÇAY — REFUSED BY THE SPANISH CORTES.

The state of public affairs, as they related to the war in the Pyrenees, became complicated at this period by a civil event of considerable importance. The presence of the British in the south of France had occasioned real chagrin to Napoleon. They had been the first nation to soil the Empire with a hostile tread. The Pyrenees had hitherto been regarded by France something like the blue waters of the ocean by Britain, as sacred against invasion, and both pride and policy dictated that the intruder should be driven back, either by force or cunning, and the more so, because the author of the Berlin and Milan decrees heard, with shame and dismay, that the British general had opened all the ports of France within his power to the commerce of all nations. To remove Wellington by force had been found to be beyond the power of Marshal Soult. This result was therefore only to be accomplished by political intrigue. Napoleon was sufficiently well informed of the bad understanding that existed between the British Commander-in-Chief and the Spanish troops on the matter of pillage, and of the angry correspondence that had passed between him and their general, which had induced Wellington, at this period, to send the entire Spanish army back into Spain, and he thought it might be so turned as to arouse a national hostility against the British by a bold stroke of diplomacy. The ex-monarch of Spain and the Indies was still at Valençay, more occupied, as it was said, in the observances of his religion than in any dream of a restoration to the throne, and leading the inglorious life which had indeed been forced upon him, but which also best suited the peculiar turn of his mind. Poor creature as he was, he appeared just the proper tool to serve the objects of the French ruler, in order at once to fan the flame of dissension between the British and Spanish nations, and, by letting loose the King into the Peninsular contest, to entice away the Spanish troops, which he might be induced, for other purposes, to employ within the kingdom of Spain. By the advice of Talleyrand and Caulaincourt, therefore, Napoleon altogether

immediate command had defeated and repulsed the enemy, with immense loss, before their arrival."

abandoned the interests of his brother Joseph, and opened direct negotiations respecting the throne of Spain with Ferdinand. He sought out an ancient diplomatist, who had been accredited in former days to the Court of Madrid, a certain M. de Laforest, and who had an accurate knowledge of the secret springs of influence in the Spanish councils, while at the same time he sought out the Duke de San Carlos, who had been separated, by order of the Emperor, from the Spanish King at Valençay, and sent to reside at Lans le Saulnier in France, who might, again, have influence with Ferdinand.

An unexpected communication from the Emperor startled the little camarilla at the Château de Valençay, who had been kept in complete ignorance of everything that had passed in the world during the entire period of their captivity. The poor King had accordingly reason to be distrustful, when M. de Laforest began to speak of his being restored to liberty and to his throne. He suspected some new perfidy against him, until the arrival of the Duke de San Carlos, who had seen and spoken with Napoleon, reassured him, for he had come direct from the Court, charged with the personal assurances of the loyalty of the French ruler in this new negotiation. The King was too tired of his prison not to be readily led into terms, and on the 16th of December he signed the Treaty of Valençay, by which, on condition of his being recognised King of Spain and the Indies, he agreed to act in the expulsion of the British armies out of the Peninsula. It was, obviously enough, thought desirable that this proceeding should be kept a profound secret from the British Government and from Lord Wellington, and accordingly the negotiators adopted feigned names in their proceedings. M. de Laforest took that of *Dubois*, and the Duke de San Carlos that of *Ducos*. The latter immediately repaired, under his assumed name, to the army of General Copons, in Catalonia, who forwarded him by his own horses to the capital, and he was shortly followed there by the illustrious General Palafox, who himself carried the copy of the treaty, which, it was thought, his popularity with his countrymen would the more readily induce them to accept.

Wellington, however, got wind of these proceedings, and despatched a letter, roundly expostulating with General Copons on the step he had taken without reporting it to him. Singularly enough, it was from the French that the British general received warnings that some act of treachery was meditated. The Regency and the Cortes, however, had, nevertheless, the virtue and patriotism to refuse the ratification of the treaty brought to them by the Duke de San Carlos, and informed Palafox that they had been invited by the Allies to name, on his Majesty's part, an ambassador to the Congress which had been called by the Allied Sovereigns, which they trusted would result in a treaty that his Majesty himself might be called upon to ratify in his royal palace of Madrid. The happy result of this affair was an exceeding relief to Lord Wellington's mind; for, in spite of his eminent services, his influence with the

Ministry of Spain was at this moment at its lowest ebb. He knew well that the Spanish authorities, now relieved from their hostile invaders, were exceedingly desirous of getting rid of the British, for they had begun to treat them, on all occasions of intercourse, with marked indignity. The Xefe Politico of Guipuzcoa had even placed the British shipping on that coast under quarantine, which was an act as absurd as it was malicious; for its only effect was to draw from the Commander-in-Chief an order that the decree should have no respect paid to it. Even an Alcalde at Fuenterrabia, under the very nose of the British army, but probably an *afrancescado*, presumed to put Santander, where the British hospital was established, under quarantine. Wellington accordingly caused it to be intimated to the Junta de Sanidad, that he "should continue to use the port as long as it shall be convenient to the service of the cause," and would attend to none of their quarantine.

Lieutenant-General Sir William Clinton, who had succeeded to the command of the British army in Catalonia, found himself unable, with no more than 12,000 effective men, to do otherwise than give employment to Suchet's force, so as to prevent him from detaching assistance to Soult in the Western Pyrenees. The Duke de Albufera had a disposable force little short of 25,000 men, in excellent condition, with a large body of cavalry, and several important fortresses, well garrisoned, but attempted no offensive operations, for he saw the necessity of withdrawing out of Catalonia, and on the last day of the year he withdrew and established his head-quarters at Gerona, close to the French frontier.

46. THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS OFFER NAPOLEON PEACE AT FRANKFORT.

While the Allied Sovereigns were at Frankfort, it happened that M. de Saint Aignan, who had been formerly French Minister at Weimar, and who was brother-in-law of Caulaincourt, passed through the Imperial city, on his return to France. Metternich, whose entire existence was diplomacy, thought that he could, through the instrumentality of a convention with M. de St. Aignan, throw out, indirectly, a proposition to Napoleon, to the effect that the Allies were inclined to overtures of peace, on the condition of assuring to France the limits of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. M. de Nesselrode and Lord Aberdeen, as the Ministers of Russia and Great Britain, gave their verbal acquiescence to this proposal, and he was accordingly despatched to Paris on the 9th of November, with a private letter from the Emperor of Austria to his daughter, the Empress, containing, in a few concise terms, the basis on which the Allies were disposed to treat. Napoleon sent back an immediate reply, dated Paris the 16th, acknowledging, but neither accepting nor refusing the basis proposed. On the 1st of December, "the Allied Powers" issued a "Declaration," dated from Frankfort, expressing "their desire of obtaining a general peace, on a solid foundation;" but that "they will not lay down their arms until they have obtained

this result, and settled the political state of Europe upon immoveable principles."

At the same time, however, that the olive-branch was thus paraded without any result, the sword and shield were not laid down, and Bellona "bared her arm" for future conflict. Napoleon on reaching Paris had again convened his obsequious Senate, and, in order to meet the exigencies of the time, and "considering that the enemy had invaded the frontiers," they decreed a levy of 300,000 conscripts*, and additional taxes. On the other hand, however, a convention had already been entered into by the Sovereigns for the organisation of the entire military force of Germany to the cause of the Allies, and the best German financiers were sought out to aid in the development of the resources of the country for the purposes of the war. A central administration, under the presidency of Baron Stein, whose energy and wisdom had already been employed with the best effect in consolidating the resources of Prussia for the effectual resistance to French domination, was now formed, to direct and regulate the efforts and contributions of the League, to which the leading princes of the Confederation of the Rhine at once gave in their adhesion. Two treaties were concluded at Frankfort, on November 18th and 24th, having this object. The troops thus raised amounted to upwards of 100,000 men, and engagements were entered into to obtain by instalments, every three months, nearly two millions of money. Switzerland, like all feeble states, pronounced for a neutrality: the Allied Sovereigns, however, were not disposed to accept so temporising an alliance, and notified their intention of occupying the country with their armies unless they pronounced, and Schwarzenberg accordingly sent a portion of the Austrian army to enter Berne on the 21st; and on the 31st announced, by a public declaration, that in calling on the cantons to take up arms against France, they solemnly engaged themselves to assert and establish the Helvetic confederacy. Thus was at length accomplished that great coalition for the restoration of peace to Europe, which had been the dream of Mr. Pitt, and had since become the policy of the successive cabinets of Great Britain, as the only remedy for the evils of the French Revolution, but which the selfish ambition and blind jealousies of the Continental Powers had so long baffled.

* The conscriptions which had been raised for the Russian war consisted of—

120,000 men, by decree of the Senate,	20th December 1811
100,000 " by the cohort plan,	11th January 1812
137,000 " " "	1st September 1812
250,000 " " "	11th January 1813
90,000 " " "	4th April 1813
30,000 " " "	24th August 1813
280,000 " " "	11th October 1813
300,000 " " "	26th November 1813

1,307,000 men.

47. THE ALLIED ARMIES CROSS THE RHINE.

The forces which the Grand Alliance was enabled to collect for the projected invasion of France were again all placed under the superior direction of Generalissimo Prince Schwarzenberg, as in the former campaign, and numbered, at the close of the year 1813, 260,000 combatants on the side of Austria, under the command of Bubna, Lichtenstein, Giulay, Marshal Weide, the Princes of Würtemberg and Hesse-Homburg. The Russian and Prussian guards, including the reserves, under the Grand Duke Constantine and Miloradovitch, in all 137,000 men, stood in battle-array on the right bank of the Rhine, between Mayence and Coblenz, under the command of Blücher, having under him De York, Kleist, Langeron, Sacken, the Duke of Saxe-Cobourg, and the Prince of Hesse-Cassel. Between Cologne and Düsseldorf was the corps of the Prince Royal of Sweden, having under him Winzengerode, Bülow, the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar and Brunswick-Walmoden, and the Swedish auxiliaries. Taking into consideration the reserve of the Allied grand army, the British army under Wellington, and the soldiers serving in Italy and Spain for the united cause, it has been estimated that the destructive but defeated spoiler was now about to be assailed in his own den by one million and twenty-eight thousand men.

Opinions were, however, much divided in the Allied councils how this enormous force might be best wielded. It is said that the plan which united most suffrages, and was ultimately adopted, originated with the Czar, who urged the immediate resumption of offensive war, before France could recover from her consternation, and proposed that Schwarzenberg should enter the enemy's territory from the side of the Jura, Blücher cross the Rhine, and Bernadotte penetrate from Belgium, all directing their respective forces straight on Paris.

On the 20th of December, 6 Austrian columns, under the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Homburg, Giulay, Colloredo, Bubna, the Prince Royal of Würtemberg, and Wrede, passed the frontier between Schaffhausen and Bâle, and spreading themselves, without resistance, over Switzerland, surmounted the passes of the Jura, and inundated, as with a torrent, the plains of Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and Burgundy. On the 26th, Blücher despatched secret orders to the generals commanding his forces to prepare to cross the Rhine in the night of the 31st, when Sacken, accompanied by the King of Prussia in person, crossed the river at Manheim, and came, in the act of doing so, *aux prises* with the enemy. Langeron and De York crossed the same day at Caub, and St. Priest, with the Russians, effected his passage at Coblenz with little opposition.

An amusing incident occurred at this latter town. On the French army passing through it, in their progress to the Russian campaign in 1812, the Prefect, to show his loyalty to the Emperor, and his enthusiasm in the cause of his glory, had erected a slab of stone in front of the cathedral, and inscribed it thus: "MDCCXCII. Memo-

nable pour la campagne contre les Russes ;” but now a Russian governor was appointed by the Allies, who added to the stone these words: “Vu et approuvé par nous le commandant Russe de la ville de Coblantz, 30th December, 1814.”

1814.

1. INVASION OF FRANCE — PROCLAMATION OF THE ALLIES. — 2. NAPOLEON JOINS THE ARMY IN CHAMPAGNE — COMBAT OF BRIENNE. — 3. BATTLE OF LA ROTHIERE. — 4. CONFERENCE AT CHATILLON. — 5. ALLIED COUNCIL OF WAR AT BRIENNE. — 6. AFFAIRS AT CHAMP-AUBERT AND MONTMIRAIL. — 7. BLÜCHER DEFEATED AT VAUCHAMPS. — 8. COMBAT AT MONTEREAU. — 9. A BRITISH EXPEDITION ARRIVES IN THE SCHELDT UNDER GRAHAM — CARNOT MADE GOVERNOR OF ANTWERP. — 10. NAPOLEON ADVANCES ON TROYES. — 11. ARMISTICE OF LUSIGNY. — 12. PENINSULAR WAR. — WELLINGTON IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE. — 13. HE THROWS A WONDROUS BRIDGE OVER THE ESTUARY OF THE ADOUR AND INVESTS BAYONNE. — 14. BATTLE OF ORTHEZ — COMBAT OF AIRE. — 15. MARSHAL BERESFORD ENTERS BORDEAUX. — 16. AUGEREAU IN THE WEST OF FRANCE — COMBATS AT CHAMBERRY AND GENEVA — BATTLE OF LIMONERT AND FALL OF LYONS. — 17. WAR IN CHAMPAGNE — BLÜCHER ADVANCES ON MEAUX. — 18. COMBAT AT BAR-SUR-AUBE. — 19. FIGHT AT CRAONE. — 20. MARSHAL VICTOR WOUNDED — HIS MILITARY CHARACTER. — 21. BATTLE OF LAON — NAPOLEON AT RHEIMS. — 22. THE BRITISH FAIL TO TAKE BERGEN-AP-ZOOM BY ESCALADE. — 23. BATTLE OF ARCIS-SUR-AUBE. — 24. NAPOLEON MARCHES ON ST. DIZIER. — 25. THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS RESOLVE TO MARCH ON PARIS. — 26. COMBAT AT FÈRE-CHAMPENOISE. — 27. THE EMPRESS AND KING OF ROME FLY FROM THE CAPITAL. — 28. BATTLE AND CAPITULATION OF PARIS. — 29. NAPOLEON HASTENS BACK TO FONTAINEBLEAU. — 30. THE ALLIED ARMIES ENTER PARIS IN TRIUMPH. — 31. NAPOLEON IS DETHRONED BY DECREE OF THE SENATE. — 32. WAR IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE. — 33. CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST OF SPAIN — RESTORATION OF FERDINAND VII. — 34. BATTLE OF TOULOUSE. — 35. SALLY FROM BAYONNE. — 36. END OF THE PENINSULAR WAR. — 37. CAMPAIGN IN ITALY. — 38. NAPOLEON NEGOTIATES AT FONTAINEBLEAU. — 39. HE SELECTS THE ISLAND OF ELBA FOR HIS RESIDENCE, AND REPAIRS THITHER. — 40. NAVAL WAR. — 41. WAR IN NORTH AMERICA. — 42. BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, LUNDY'S LANE, AND NIAGARA. — 43. CONJUNCT EXPEDITION UP THE CHESAPEAKE — THE BRITISH ENTER WASHINGTON. — 44. ATTEMPT UPON THE CITY OF BALTIMORE. — 45. THE BRITISH SEIZE THE PROVINCE OF

MAINE.—46. A BRITISH CONJUNCT EXPEDITION AGAINST PLATTSBURG FAILS.—47. FORT ERIE — FORT BOWYER.—48. SWEDISH-NORWEGIAN WAR.—49. WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA—BOLIVAR.—50. WAR IN INDIA—CAMPAIGN IN NEPAUL.—51. FAILURE AT FORT NALAPANEE.—DEATH OF GENERAL GILLESPIE.

1. INVASION OF FRANCE — PROCLAMATION OF THE ALLIES.

THE passage of the Rhine was preceded by the following proclamation, addressed to the French people:—"Victory has conducted the Allied army to your frontier, which it is about to pass. They do not make war on France, but they cast away from them the yoke that your Government has attempted to fix on those countries, who have the same rights of independence and happiness as yourselves. We say to all persons, remain quietly at home. The maintenance of public order, respect for private property, and the most stringent military discipline, shall accompany the march of the Allied troops. They are animated with no spirit of vengeance, nor with the desire to retaliate upon you the numberless evils that France for 20 years has brought upon her neighbours, and even on more distant lands. Very different principles, and other views, have brought the armies, and directed the councils, of the Allied monarchs. It shall be their glory to put as speedy a term as possible to the misfortunes of Europe. Their only conquest shall be that of peace—a peace that shall give permanent repose to France and to the whole of Europe. They had hoped to obtain this without crossing the French frontier. They pass it to seek for it."

The receipt of this proclamation, and the information of the passage of the Allied armies across the Rhine, sensibly mortified Napoleon. He felt the indignity, and saw that he was under the ban of the Sovereigns, who designedly and impressively separated him from the French people, treated the notion of peace with his person with indifference, and appeared resolved to follow up the tide of victory without waiting for the ordinary military consideration of the seasons, or affording him sufficient time to make his preparations for defence. With characteristic resolution and courage, he resolved to go forward to meet the storm. He did not disguise from himself the immensity of the task imposed upon him, and he set himself to view it in all its phases. He considered that the blockade of the numerous garrisons he had left behind him in Germany would demand an immense army, and that at least 150,000 men must be deducted from the ranks of his enemies for this object. With regard to the forces available to the Allied Sovereigns for the invasion of France, if they should succeed in bringing up 100,000 men, he could oppose them by an equal number; and such a body of defenders *pro aris et focis*, under his guidance, was not a just cause for despair. He forthwith ordered the conscripts to march and join the forces of Marshals Macdonald, Marmont, and Victor, while he stopped those origi-

nally destined for Italy at Lyons, where he directed an army of reserve to be formed against the inroad of his enemies from the side of Switzerland. He directed Sault and Suchet to be in readiness to transmit to his standard, or to the capital, 25,000 or 30,000 of their best soldiers in case of necessity, and to limit all their operations in the field to the duties of retarding as much as possible the advance of the enemy opposed to their respective armies. The conscripts of the south were ordered to concentrate at Bordeaux, and all the rest at Paris, where they might be absorbed, some in the Imperial Guard and the rest in the great *dépôt* which he contemplated establishing in the capital *pour le dernier ressort*, and which was placed under the orders of the veteran Marshal Moncey and the active General Gérard. Feeling, however, that, after all, he would be deficient in good infantry, and conscious that so excessive had been the losses in the last disasters and the demand upon his arsenals, that even if he had the disciplined men he had not muskets to arm them with, he sought out every species of available cannon, mounted them, and from private and public sources collected all their disposable gear, that he might make an imposing display of field artillery. He set every man to work in the capital to complete the harness requisite to set in motion 400 or 500 guns, took out of the garrisons almost every invalided artilleryman left in them, and ordered every horse accustomed to draught to be collected from the farmers; for he knew that, under the protecting fire of heavy guns, the most feeble and untrained soldiers will advance in battle. Having thus put the army in array, he directed the Prefects throughout France to appeal to the patriotism of the *communes* to make a levy of the National Guard for the defence of their respective Prefectures.

Having created the ways and means, the next consideration was the disposal of them. He knew that the Allies must invade by separate armies; and, with the ordinary strategy of his military genius, Napoleon resolved upon the plan of crushing them separately; but the first difficulty which presented itself was the actual *emplacement* of his several detached corps. He observed that the army under the command of the Crown Prince was moving down from the Belgian frontier, but Bernadotte himself was still in Holstein. This attack was the least formidable, and therefore he turned towards the south, where the project of the Allies appeared to be to advance in force by Belfort, Langres, and Troyes, upon Paris, in order that by this approach they might more effectually turn the natural defences of the capital. He accordingly ordered Marmont out of Mayence, and Victor out of Strasburg, to occupy the strong positions of the Vosges, and Ney to take post at Epinal; and while he trusted to them to resist the approach from the side of Switzerland, he directed all the divisions in the north to march upon Chalons sur Marne and Langres, there to form a new *corps-d'armée* under General Decaen. He thus hoped to collect 60,000 men to repel the projected invasion by the valleys of the Marne, the Aube, and

the Seine. Napoleon determined to place himself in the centre of France, and imposed on the force he led the especial task of repairing in person to Champagne, and making head against Blücher coming up by Metz.

The march of the Allied forces was, however, too vigorous to permit the Emperor's directions to be quite carried out as he wished. He had said himself, "If I could have gained two months, the enemy should not have crossed the Rhine;" but within a short month the Allies had overrun the third of France. Schwarzenberg, marching forward by Montbelliard and Veson, had established his head-quarters on the 19th at Langres. Blücher had crossed the Saal on the 9th, and had his head-quarters at Nancy on the 17th, where he was in communication with Schwarzenberg's army. Marshal Victor was in consequence wholly unable to withstand the concentrated masses which came down upon him, and his strength was quite inadequate to the task imposed on him by Napoleon of defending the positions of the Vosges. Marshal Mortier was, therefore, ordered up from Troyes to his support, but their united forces were still insufficient, so that they both fell back to Bar-sur-Aube. Marmont, in like manner, had retreated before Blücher, first to Kaiserslautern, and then behind the Sarre; and not feeling himself strong enough even there to resist an attack from the Prussians, he had continued his retrograde movement behind the Moselle; for Blücher would not permit him to take post anywhere long in quiet, so that, throwing supplies into Metz, and entrusting its defence to General Durutte, this Marshal had carried back his head-quarters to Verdun. The Duc de Valmy, in like manner, had withdrawn before the Allied armies, and had occupied Chalons-sur-Marne, while the Prince of Moskowa had hastened off to Toul and joined Victor on the road to Bar-le-Duc and St. Dizier. Here, however, on the 22nd, the Prince of Neufchâtel arrived as Major-General, with orders from the Emperor that the armies should stand firm.

Thus the provinces of Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche Comté had been occupied by the Allies almost without firing a shot. The inhabitants of this district at first seemed disposed to resist the invasion; but on being informed by an order of the day of the Allied generals, dated the 8th, that every man out of uniform found with arms in his hands should be shot, and that every town or village that showed any resistance should be burned or razed to the ground, while unauthorised promises had been circulated to induce a belief that the most injurious monopolies which still existed in France, together with the taxes on salt and tobacco, should be removed by the authority of the conquerors, the people in general were satisfied that any hostile dispositions against the Allies might be neutralised. Indeed, when they saw the Marshals and all the high functionaries of the Imperial government flying before the Allied troops, the populations were too much discouraged to offer the slightest resistance. It was a vain hope which Napoleon entertained, that he could rouse the French people to rise in his cause in the manner in which Spaniards, Russians, and Germans

had been aroused by their respective governments, and it was soon utterly dispelled. France, in spite of the appeals made to its patriotism by the Emperor, did not arise. The long despotism under which it had groaned had deadened all respect for the sanctity of the soil. He could only hope that the inhabitants of the capital would render Paris secure. He had ordered 52 barriers to be constructed for its defence, and had appointed his brother Joseph (now in this last necessity restored to favour), in conjunction with the Empress, to provide for its safety. He now addressed himself to excite the National Guard, for which purpose he ordered a grand ceremonial to receive an oath of fidelity from the officers, which took place in the Marshals' Hall of the Palace. Here, on the 24th, the Emperor came in the midst of them, bearing in his arms his infant son, the King of Rome, and, addressing them with great emotion, said: — "Je laisse avec confiance au milieu de vous ma femme et mon fils. Je partirai avec l'esprit dégagé d'inquiétudes, lors qu'ils seront sous votre garde. Je vous laisse ce que j'ai au monde de plus cher après la France, et le remets à vos soins." After this ceremony concluded, he passed some hours in burning a great many papers, and gave his final instructions to Joseph, on whose fidelity he knew he could surely rely, and at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 25th, Napoleon having embraced the Empress and his son for the last time in his life, set out for the army.

2. NAPOLEON JOINS THE ARMY — COMBAT OF BRIENNE.

Napoleon arrived the same evening at Chalons-sur-Marne, and, devoting but 12 hours to rest and preparation, advanced his head-quarters against the foe. He learned that Blücher had thrown across the Marne at Joinville 26,000 Russians of his army, who were defiling by Brienne upon Troyes. He therefore went forward on the 26th to Vitry. Here he concentrated the broken corps of Lefebvre, Marmont, Ney, and Victor, who altogether did not count more than 34,000 effective combatants. Although the two armies of Schwarzenberg and Blücher were already in communication with each other, they were not actually united, and therefore the Emperor thought, with a prompt attack, to beat them in detail. On the 27th, accordingly, he pushed forward on the road to St. Dizier, where he found Blücher with about 30,000 men, on one flank, but De York, with 20,000 Prussians, was still at St. Michael-on-the-Meuse, on the other; so that, without knowing it, he had by this first move succeeded in cutting the army of Silesia in two. His advance came upon the leading Cossacks of the Russian corps of Landskoi belonging to Blücher's army, who were wholly unprepared for any such encounter, and, taken at a disadvantage, were worsted. The presence of Napoleon reanimated every spirit, and when Victor was ordered to drive the Prussians out of St. Dizier, the attack was rendered successful by a rare vigour. Napoleon, therefore, having here placed his head-quarters, ordered Marmont, with the division Duhesme, to march by the high road to Joinville and Doulevant, while he himself took

a cross-road which was shorter, and notwithstanding the snow and the rain, and the woody and intersected character of the country, he made his way across, and forcing the peasantry to assist his guns, he reached Mortiere on the evening of the 28th, and on the 29th proceeded to Brienne, where, about 3 in the afternoon, when debouching from the woods, he saw spread out upon the plain the cavalry of Count Pahlen and the infantry of Scherbatow, and farther off, under the hill of Brienne, in the valley of the Aube, an imposing mass of troops, which proved to be Blücher in full march upon Troyes. The veteran hussar had taken prisoner an orderly officer of Napoleon's, from whom he had learned that the Emperor was in his immediate rear. Had it not been for this fortunate accident, it is certain that a great disaster must have befallen Blücher; but the Prussian general immediately cried a halt, and hastily recalled Sacken, who had been detached to Lesmont, while he drew up his troops in successive lines behind his guns on the beautiful terrace-ground which adjoins the castle of Brienne, whose streets rise in successive tiers above each other in a remarkable manner. The difficult cross-road by which Napoleon had come upon the enemy so unexpected by them led through the forest of Der, so that it was 4 in the afternoon before they could come up, for a thaw had succeeded to the previous hard weather, sufficient to have rendered any of the execrable cross-roads of France quite impassable. The Emperor did not, however, wait the arrival of the laggards of his column, but ordered Grouchy and Lefebvre-Desnouettes not to lose a moment in falling upon the cavalry of Count Pahlen, whom, with their accustomed vigour, they obliged to give way, when Scherbatow's infantry formed squares, which Napoleon immediately ordered to be cannonaded. The French infantry being still delayed by the badness of the road, he was obliged to limit his further aggression upon these masses until his troops should arrive out of the wood. In the meantime, the Prussian corps of Sacken, flanked by the Russian cavalry under Olsouvieff, had come up and formed in front of the hill of Brienne. As soon, nevertheless, as the columns of Ney and Victor debouched, he pushed them forward, the former on the town and the other to threaten the road to Bar-sur-Aube, which soon determined Blücher to retire; but the Prussian, perceiving that in this attack the division Duhesme was somewhat separated from the rest, sent against it 40 squadrons of Russian cavalry, who broke them and drove them back, with the loss of some of their guns. Napoleon immediately galloped in person to their assistance, and ran great risk in checking the retreat of the fugitives; but at the same moment, the remaining brigade of Victor's column had assaulted and carried the castle of Brienne, where they very nearly took Blücher prisoner. Ney, with the conscripts called *des Marie-Louise*, pushed back the Prussians and took the town of Brienne; but the ever-wakeful Prussian general returned at 10 at night and surprised the French in the town, although a battalion of the 56th of the line drove back the assailants, and before midnight secured the post. In this fight, however, the French general Decouz and the

Contre-Amiral Baste lost their lives, and about 7,000 of one side and the other were killed and wounded; but the French held the field, and the courage and spirit of the conscripts were exalted by sharing in a victory under the guidance of their Emperor.

The French army advanced on the 30th and occupied a position round Brienne, their right resting on the Aube, where they commenced raising entrenchments, while Blücher, falling back by the road, leading to Bar-sur-Aube, took up his ground at Trannes, with his left on that river. The position adopted by Napoleon was on the elevated plateau midway between the valleys of the Marne and Seine at La Rothière, whence a short march to the left on Chalons, or to the right on Troyes, covered either approach to Paris. Meanwhile, the Allies had been alarmed and were aroused to make vigorous efforts to concentrate their forces. Leaving Wittgenstein and Wrede to cover his right flank at Vassy and St. Dizier, Schwarzenberg brought his head-quarters to Bar-sur-Aube, and gathered the Austrian army around him there on the 31st of January, and the Czar and King here found themselves at the head of 100,000 men. Napoleon accordingly perceived that it was necessary for him to secure Troyes from attack, as the most direct road to Paris. Marshal Mortier was accordingly directed to march there with the Old Guard from Arcis-sur-Aube, while Gérard, with the division Dufour, was moved from Brienne as far on the road as Piney. General Hamelinaya was already at Troyes with about 4,000 men, and all the National Guard of Burgundy had been directed to join him there, so that it was thought a force 65,000 strong could be in a few days collected at that town to stop any movement on that flank by the Prince Marshal. This point, therefore, being secure, Napoleon fixed his eyes on Blücher, determined to follow him wherever he might go, but he did not dare to attack him where he should have such a disproportion of force as three to one, for the enemy had now brought up Giulay, the Prince of Würtemberg, and the reserves of Barclay de Tolly, to reinforce the troops already in position at Trannes on the 31st. Napoleon, therefore, saw that his surest policy was to receive the attack, but he prepared for the chances of defeat by ordering the bridge at Lesmont to be repaired. The whole of the 31st was passed by him in and about Brienne. Might he not carry back his memory to the year 1783, when, as a pupil at the Royal Military School there, he enjoyed his mimic war in the deep snow with snowballs for his artillery, and snow ramparts for his defences? There was the snow falling as of yore, but where was the buoyancy of the schoolboy happiness which could turn it to a pleasure instead of the toilsome misery, that now caused it to embarrass the movements of his army in the most anxious moment of his real battles? He had received at the school of Brienne his first lesson in the art of war. It seemed as if he were now going to fight his last battle amid the scenery of his youth. His confidants say that this impression was indeed on his mind, but that in his ever buoyant heart it renewed his faith in the smiles of Fortune, so that he looked for her presence to assist him in the traces of his early footsteps.

3. BATTLE AT LA ROTHÈRE.

Napoleon, remaining quiescent, so contrary to his custom, puzzled the Allies ; but, nevertheless, as Schwarzenberg had, with great delicacy, given over the command for the day to the Prussian general, Blücher, at length, about 1 in the afternoon of the 1st of February, ordered the attack. The various nations of which the Allied armies were composed, had rendered it desirable to provide that some means should be adopted as a recognised and distinctive badge of their troops, and it was accordingly ordered that a white band on the left arm should be worn by the troops of all the six Allied forces, which was here witnessed for the first time. Some considerable space of deep impracticable mire, almost impassable for horses or carriages, divided the opposing armies. Blücher ordered that his guns should be all doubly horsed, but even this precaution did not enable him to bring half his artillery into action. Having struggled through the soil, Sacken with one column, and Scherbatow and Olsouvieff with another, reached the French outposts at La Rothière about 2 o'clock. Napoleon stood with his right resting on the river Aube at Dienville, which Gérard held with the divisions Dufour and Ricard. The centre, which was now assailed, was commanded by Victor, who stood across the high road, resting his right flank upon La Giberie. The left of the position was under the direction of Marmont, and extended *en potence* to the village of Morvilliers in front of the forêt d' Ajou. Napoleon, with the Young Guard, took post behind the village of La Rothière, so as to be at hand to carry succour to Marmont or Victor. The division Duhesme held the village ; Nansouty, with the cavalry in two lines, was found between it and Petit Mesnil ; Giulay attacked Gérard at Dienville, while General Pfluger marched on the other side of the river by Unienville, and, finding no one on this side to check him, penetrated to the bridge, which he found barricaded and defended by the division Dufour. The ground, however, occupied by Pfluger commanded the bridge, and, in consequence, a very destructive fire of artillery was played upon it, but without any result. The Prince of Würtemberg, at the same time, attacked La Giberie, and Wrede with the Bavarians, making a circuit by Soulaines, fell upon Marmont at Morvilliers. For two hours all these three attacks were accompanied by a violent, continuous cannonade and fusilade, without any material effect either way. Blücher, not readily contented with such a state of things, and knowing his superiority of strength, determined, about 4 o'clock, to come to closer quarters, and led forward the Russian and Prussian guards against La Rothière and La Giberie, where they were received by Marshal Victor in person, at the head of the division Duhesme, and the contest became intense and terrible. Both villages were at length carried by the Allied troops, and the Bavarians, not to be outdone, advanced, and carried also the villages of Morvilliers and Chaumend, driving Marmont into the wood of Ajou. Napoleon, seeing that the moment was critical, and feeling that he could not

withdraw with honour or safety excepting under the protection of the night, ordered forward his guard, and, placing himself at the head of one division while Marshal Oudinot headed the other, the villages of La Rothière and La Giberie were recovered by the divisions Meunier and Rothenbourg, who maintained the combat in the streets, until, at 10 at night, when the troops were ordered to withdraw, leaving the villages in flames, and the guns in their batteries, from whence they could not be removed on account of the tenacious soil. Napoleon had in the meanwhile arranged everything for a general retreat of his entire army, under cover of the darkness, to Brienne and the bridge of Lesmont, which he had already secured as his only way across the Aube. Blücher arose at early morning, and rode up to the Russian grenadiers, who were all ready in line to renew the combat, but could find no enemy except a weak rearguard, which was overtaken in Brienne. Marmont showed great *sang-froid* and moral courage in making his escape from the extreme left of the French position, where he was opposed by Wrede with 25,000 Bavarians, against whose attack he defended himself with great bravery, until he reached the village of Rosnay, and thence descended along the right bank of the river.

The loss of artillery at the battle of La Rothière has been variously stated at from 73 to 54 pieces, but it is also said that their *attellages*, as well horses as harness, were brought off; the French lost 6,000 men, of which 2,400, with two generals, were prisoners. The Allied loss was estimated at between 6,000 and 7,000. But it was a very sad defeat to the French army, for it was lost in sight of their own countrymen, on the sacred soil of France, and under a chief whom till then even they had deemed invincible. Here they could lay no blame on revolted Germans or broken bridges, nor salve their wounded pride by any palliatives. They had been driven out of the position they had selected at leisure by force and bravery greater than they could evince for its defence; and the Allies, from this time forward, had more confidence and resolution in their encounters with the enemy. The Emperor rested at Piney on the 2nd, and on the 3rd established his head-quarters at Troyes.

It was impossible for Napoleon not to have become alive to the conviction that his affairs were becoming every day more and more desperate. He still, however, clung to the hope that the want of concord among the Allies would lead to the separation of the armies of Schwarzenberg and Blücher, and that he could then beat them separately and in detail; but, nevertheless, the French army only counted by tens where the Allies counted by twenties, and it was unreasonable to expect that, beyond some unimportant advantage, any effect could be permanently produced on the campaign by the most fortunate accidents. He also at this time received unsatisfactory accounts from distant quarters. The Bourbons had been roused in the south by the arrival of the Duke d'Angoulême, who had circulated an address to the French nation, calling on them to renounce their allegiance to the Imperial dynasty, and restore the ancient line of princes, while General Maison had been expelled out of Bel-

gium by an insurrection, and had retired into the Department du Nord, with scarce sufficient strength to be protected against pursuit. The Emperor's companions at Troyes, Berthier and Bassano, urged him, under these circumstances, to listen to whatever terms he might be able to obtain from the Allies.

4. CONFERENCE AT CHATILLON.

Caulaincourt, Duke de Vicenza, had, in fact, been sent by the Emperor, some days before he quitted Paris, to endeavour to reopen the overtures which had been previously addressed to him through M de St. Aignau; but he was refused permission to pass the Allied outposts, and remained, in consequence, for some weeks at Nantz, unable to get to speech with any of the plenipotentiaries. At length, on the 27th of January, he received an invitation from Prince Metternich to repair to Châtillon-sur-Seine. This place had been fixed upon for the meeting of a Congress, at which assembled Count Stadion, who represented Austria; Baron Humboldt, Prussia; Count Razumovsky, Russia; Caulaincourt, France; and Lord Castlereagh, Great Britain. The conference opened on the 4th of February. Its object was, without doubt, a very ready desire of peace, but upon terms to be dictated by the Allied sovereigns, whose demands were no longer limited, as at Frankfort, to the recognition of the frontier of the Rhine. The news of the battle of Brienne, however, overthrew all the instructions on which Caulaincourt was prepared to negotiate, and Murat was now known to have thrown off the mask, and declared against Napoleon. The ultimatum of the Allied sovereigns was communicated to the Emperor on the 8th, and was based on the restriction of the limits of France to the period of 1792. In declining this, it was clear that Napoleon had nothing left him but his good sword, but he secretly resolved henceforth to employ the Congress only as a means of throwing discord amongst the Powers coalesced against him, and to maintain the contest either for life or death.

The advance of Schwarzenberg had by this time driven the French armies beyond Troyes, and the Imperial head-quarters had fallen back to Nogant, fighting, treating, and retreating, at the same time. The Cossacks were now advanced on the right as far as Sens, and already actually menaced Fontainebleau. Blücher had driven back the French left wing, under Macdonald, as far as Château-Thierry, and threatened an advance on Meaux. Murat, in Italy, had actually brought his troops into line with the Austrians, and was therefore in hostile attitude against the Viceroy. The most confidential and trusted ministers of Napoleon were on their knees before him, to implore him to yield to any terms he could obtain; but when he received the Allied proposal, he was roused to the highest indignation. He exclaimed to Berthier and Maret: "Consentir à recevoir moins que la France, la véritable France! c'était se déshonorer, sans espérance de se sauver. On me demande donc l'impossible, car on me demande mon propre

déshonneur." Nevertheless, his real and ardent friends repeated their advice, saying: "Sauvez, sire, votre trône et en le sauvant vous aurez tout sauvé." Overcome by their importunity, he is reported to have so far conceded as to desire the Duc de Bassano to write that he gave Caulaincourt *carte-blanche*. This would have been a weakness, if it had been said in good faith; but it neither expressed his own resolve, nor any readiness to accept the conditions made to his ambassador; and, so far was he from making the proffered concession, that, when Maret returned to the room, he found the Emperor extended on the floor of his chamber, half dressed, intent on the maps that were lying before him. He had been scanning Blücher's movements, and, in his mind's eye, beating him on the road to Paris, at Montmirail, &c. "Je le bats demain—je le bats après demain. I will not yield, for if fate should become propitious, we shall soon speak another language." However, the letter with *carte blanche* was transmitted to Caulaincourt by Maret, and to all appearance it might, notwithstanding Napoleon's obstinacy, have produced a general peace; but at this critical juncture, a letter was addressed to the Congress by the Czar, requesting a suspension of their sittings till the 17th, and when the conferences were resumed, the die had been cast, and all accommodation between the parties had become impossible. On that day Napoleon, dazzled by the successes he had obtained over Blücher, withdrew the *carte-blanche* from Caulaincourt in the expressive order: "Ne signez rien, ne signez rien."

5. ALLIED COUNCIL OF WAR AT BRIENNE.

From whatever cause arising, whether from want of provisions and forage for the vast accumulation of troops in the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian armies, or whether from some weakness in the leaders, the Allied generals, when meeting at the castle of Brienne on the 2nd of February, the day after the battle of La Rothière, resolved, as the future plan of operations, that Schwarzenberg should pass the Aube and advance after Napoleon to Troyes, marching by the Seine, while Blücher should descend the valley of the Marne and take the way to Paris by Château-Thierry and Meaux. It was a most disastrous resolve, which well-nigh rendered abortive the future of the campaign. They forgot how much they had been indebted to the concentration of their armies, and altogether overlooked the peculiar characteristic of Napoleon's genius, which had been always that of defeating his enemies in detail, by which policy he had at the commencement of his career overwhelmed Austria in Italy, and had repeatedly saved himself on many occasions. Nevertheless, it has been surmised that Blücher was conscious of the difficulty of getting the Austrian generalissimo to march at a pace at all commensurate with his own zeal and energies, and that he hoped, by acting independently, to reap the glory of getting to Paris first. One is, however, unwilling to believe that Blücher would have jeopardised all by such a vain-

glorious dream, which was so unworthy of his patriotism. Prince Schwarzenberg entered Troyes on the 7th, and immediately prepared to canton the army in the environs of that city, and on the following day the Allied Sovereigns took up their quarters there. The rapid movement that Napoleon made after he had assumed the command of his army had the effect of separating for the time the corps of De York and Kleist from the Allied army. The Prussian generals, however, took the most vigorous steps to recover their communications, when De York at Vitry had a serious engagement with a portion of Macdonald's corps on the 3rd, and defeated them with the loss of some hundred men and three guns, and on the 4th the town of Sta. Menehould entered into terms with the Prussians to receive them instead of the French garrison. Blücher, however, after his victory at La Rothière, thought he could cut off Macdonald, and with this view marched to anticipate that marshal, whose head-quarters were at Epernay on the 6th, by marching rapidly on La Ferté sous Jouarre, so that the Duke of Tarentum was glad to make the best haste he could to escape to Château-Thierry on the 8th, where he crossed the Marne, and succeeded in reaching Meaux on the 10th. Here De York and Kleist were again united to their old chief of the army of Silesia, and Macdonald now received fresh orders from the Emperor for further operations.

6. AFFAIRS AT CHAMP-AUBERT AND MONTMIRAIL.

Napoleon was duly informed of the decision arrived at by the Allied Generals at Brienne, and resolved to avail himself of it. He first thought of falling with heavy force on the detached Austrian divisions of Colloredo and Giulay; but always more intent on crippling Blücher's army than that of Schwarzenberg. The Emperor, having been apprised by Macdonald that the Prussian veteran was driving him before him on the road to Meaux, and actually invading the plains of Paris, took the bold step of falling upon the old hussar on the 7th of February. He left the corps of Oudinot and Victor, numbering 30,000 men, to defend the approaches to the capital from Troyes, and ordered Marmont to march to Sézanne, and Ney to follow him with the Young Guard and the cavalry of Lefebvre-Desnouettes the next day, while with the Old Guard and the troops commanded by Mortier he marched in person on Champ-Aubert, which place he reached on the 10th. He found his enemy just as loose and disordered in his march as he could have desired. Sacken had reached La-Ferté-sous-Jouarre, with 15,000 Russians, on the march to Montmirail; De York, with 20,000 Prussians, was moving down the valley of the Marne upon Château-Thierry; and 5,000 Russians, with 24 guns, under Olzouzieff, were already at Champ-Aubert. Marshal Ragusa came upon this last at Port-St.-Prix, at 9 in the morning of the 10th, and immediately launched through the defile of St. Goud the divisions Lagrange and Ricard, who drove Olzouzieff

back to Baye. The Emperor came up to the ground at 10 o'clock, and ordered the brigade Pelleport to threaten the enemy's two flanks by Baunay and Epernay, and at the same time advanced Giratoli and Doumère, under a fire of artillery, upon Champ-Aubert, into which Marmont had pursued the enemy. The Russian general was overthrown, and himself taken prisoner, with 21 guns and 3,000 men, leaving 1,500 dead on the field. From these prisoners the position of the several corps of Blücher's army became known, which induced Napoleon to send orders to Marshal Macdonald on no account whatever to continue his retreat. By daybreak on the 11th, the Emperor was himself in the saddle to attack Sacken, leaving Marmont with 8,000 or 9,000 men to proceed towards Etoges to watch Blücher. Napoleon reached Montmirail at 10 o'clock, and found Sacken as far advanced on his road to La Ferté as Vieux-Maisons.

Sacken's situation was very critical, for Blücher, as soon as he heard of the affair near Champ-Aubert, had recalled him, and the Russian general was actually on his march back when he heard that Napoleon was in position in front of Montmirail. De York also had been ordered back from Château-Thierry, but had been delayed in his march by the badness of the roads; his orders were to unite with Sacken at Montmirail. Napoleon took up his position in columns of regiments in two lines, just in front of the junction of the two roads leading respectively to Château-Thierry and La Ferté, having the cavalry on his right at Le Plesnoy, facing the arrival of troops by the former of these roads. It would have been the most prudent course for Sacken to have effected his junction with De York by some cross-road; but, intent upon implicit obedience, he would march straight forward on Montmirail, and, in sight of the French army, he took up some strong ground between Epine and the Petit-Morin stream, and well garnished it with his guns. The division Ricard was, however, advanced by Napoleon into the villages of Bois-Jean and Courmont, with orders to make but a feeble resistance against the Russian advance, and to fall back before it on Marchais, and accordingly both villages were successively surrendered to Sacken's advance, who then ordered the village of Marchais to be attacked. A bloody combat ensued, and the possession of it was steadily maintained by Ricard, with whom it finally remained. During this conflict, Ney, with the division Friant, dashed along the high road to Epine-aux-Bois, and, coming on the artillery in flank, silenced all the batteries, and shook the Russian line. Sacken brought up his second line, but Ney was followed by Guyot, who came upon the Russian rear, and the whole corps fell back in disorder towards Vieux-Maisons. It was past noon when the advance of De York's column was perceived to debouch at Fontenelles, upon the heights away to the left of the position; but Mortier, who was expecting their arrival, sent forward the division Michel from behind the wood of Bailly, when Napoleon, seeing the advantage he had already obtained over Sacken, sent up the Old Guard, under the Duke of Dantzic, and the Young Guard, under Bertrand, to follow up

this attack, while he directed four battalions to the support of Mortier. Night now put an end to the combat, and the French army bivouacked in two divisions *à cheval* of the two great roads, the Imperial bivouac being established at Haute-Epine. It had been a warm engagement and a complete victory for Napoleon. The Russians had lost 26 guns and many tumbrils, with more than 700 prisoners. The killed and wounded were counted at 2,500 or 3,000 on each side. Sacken was almost in sight of his comrade De York, when he was obliged to retrograde, but his only communication from Vieux-Maisons to Fontenelles was across the open ground, or by cross-roads, both alike impracticable at this season for the march of an army. It was Napoleon's plan to render Sacken's flank march still longer by driving back the Prussian corps at Fontenelles upon Château-Thierry, before they could effect their junction.

7. BLÜCHER DEFEATED AT VAUXCHAMPS.

The French army had scarcely concluded the fight by 8 in the evening of the 11th, but the Emperor, nevertheless, was early in the saddle on the morning of the 12th, and, sending Ney with the troops on the Château-Thierry road, he directed his own steps towards Vieux-Maisons, where he found the road clear, and General Germain arrived with 2,500 horse, whom Macdonald had sent to watch the direction that Sacken might take. Leaving, therefore, General Friant in the village to observe the debouch towards Sézanne, he carried four light battalions with him by the cross-road to Rozo, to strengthen Ney's column. General De York, with 30,000 Prussians and Russians, had withdrawn from Fontenelles, and formed up his force behind a stream, at a place called Les Caquarets. A cannonade soon commenced, under which the division Michel advanced and deployed. As soon as Napoleon came up, he manœuvred with the four divisions of cavalry, under Lefebvre-Desnouettes, Lefevrière, Colbert, and Defranc, to threaten the flank of their position. The battle, however, at the beginning, was entirely one of skirmishers, of which clouds were sent against the Prussian tirailleurs, who were obliged to give way before those of the French. De York brought up the cavalry of General Jugrats, who charged the enemy, but were encountered with such vigour by Ney that they were routed and driven back. The Russian infantry formed square, and were assailed by the squadrons of Delort and Bellard, and so broken that the fugitives sought to escape by the woods to join Sacken, where they could not, from the state of the ground, be pursued by the French cavalry. While the Prussian general Jugrats was unable to stop the French cavalry, which was much superior in force to his own, the six battalions of the division Michel were ordered to move along the road, and 200 grenadiers crept out of fire of the guns to alarm the enemy's line. De York, seeing himself unable to maintain his position, ordered his corps to retire on the road to Château-Thierry, and there to cross the Marne; but the Allied divisions had no sooner turned about, than the cavalry of

the guard, under Nansouty, who had been sent to the rear, came sweeping between the Prussians and the river. De York instantly ordered his cavalry to meet them; but Nansouty fell upon and dispersed them, and took their light artillery. By the rapid retreat of the Prussians, seven battalions became separated from the main body; these fell a sacrifice to the French cavalry, with all their guns: not, however, until Prince William of Prussia, at the head of a gallant charge, at the very gates of Château-Thierry, had endeavoured to check the pursuit, but was met by General Petit, with two battalions of grenadiers, and driven back, with a loss of 500 men. Just at night-fall the French army reached the plain in which stands Château-Thierry, in hot pursuit, and they entered the town *pêle-mêle* with the Allies. No less than 3,000 casualties accompanied the passage of the Allies across the Marne, the bridge over which was immediately destroyed; but General De York could not have been in safety even here, had Marshal Macdonald obeyed Napoleon's orders, and come up with all speed from Meaux, to fall upon the head of the Prussian column as it crossed the Marne.

The Emperor slept at the Château de Nesle, near Château-Thierry, and remained there thirty-six hours, as well to repair the bridge as to rest his troops. He was also desirous of receiving information as well concerning Blücher as Schwarzenberg, and of his own scattered *corps-d'armée*. While these events had been going on, the former remained at Vertus, on the road from Epernay to Fère Champenoise, and opposite to Marmont at Etoyes. It may be imagined with what impatience he had listened to the distant sound of cannon from the side of Montmirail and Château-Thierry, but he had scarcely any troops with him beyond Olzouzieff's remnant of force, and was obliged to remain inactive, awaiting the arrival of Kleist and Kaptzevitch, whom he had called up to join him there. Schwarzenberg, having reposed his army some days, had advanced to the Seine and occupied its left bank from Mery to Monterau. Victor and Oudinot, to whom Napoleon speedily communicated his success, promised to do their best to dispute the passage of the river with the Generalissimo, but demanded his return to their assistance, with the most urgent entreaty. At length, in the night of the 13th-14th, Napoleon received a report from Marmont, that the enemy was increasing in great force in his front. In effect, by the junction of Kleist and Kaptzevitch, and the remnant of Olzouzieff's corps, Blücher had collected 20,000 men, and now advanced upon Etoyes and Montmirail. With the indefatigable energy of his early days, the Emperor was instantly on the alert. Leaving Mortier with directions to pursue De York and Sacken *sans relâche*, he ordered all the cavalry of the guard, under Ney, and the infantry under Musnier, to follow him, and started himself at a gallop for Montmirail, in order to carry the benefit of his presence to Marmont's *corps-d'armée*, and arrived there at 9 in the morning, where he found the troops in position, a little behind Vauxchamps, with all their artillery well placed on a wooded eminence, but they had been forced to yield the village to the Prussians. A forward movement was immediately

commanded, and about noon, the division Ricard entering the village, found Ziethen established there, and well resolved to defend it. Twice were the French driven back, and on debouching out of Vauxchamps, the artillery from the height behind caused them great losses. In the meantime Grouchy, with the cavalry of the line, was sent round the village to turn it by the left, and the division Lagrange, in like manner, moved round it by the right. Ziethen was thus driven out of it in disorder, and was assailed and almost destroyed by the Emperor's *escadrons de service*. Blücher, who thought he had a flying enemy in his front, was soon convinced by the vigour of these movements that the ubiquitous Emperor was now before him. With the French on both flanks and hammering at his front, he had no course but to retire. He had requested Schwarzenberg to send up some troops to his assistance, and Wittgenstein was coming up by the road from Sézanne. He was, however, sorely disappointed, when the arrival of some troops was reported, to find that it was a reinforcement to his adversary of the division Leval, which had been sent away from the army of the Duke of Dalmatia, and now joined the Emperor at this opportune moment. It was about 11 o'clock, and Ricard had just succeeded in expelling Ziethen out of Vauxchamps, when Grouchy's column of cavalry debouched on the left towards Janvilliers. Blücher's entire force immediately formed squares, and commenced to fall back. Many stragglers were left behind in the village, and two battalions, comprising 2,000 men, with 12 guns, were left behind in a wood, and obliged to lay down their arms to the French. Napoleon immediately ordered forward his whole army in pursuit, and from 11 to 3 o'clock, an incessant fire of artillery, a cloud of tirailleurs, and repeated charges of cavalry, appeared to devote Blücher to destruction. But the Prussian infantry retained the firmness and steadiness which have always characterised it, and repeatedly forced back their assailants. And now, finding that the Prussian artillery so swept the chaussée by which the Prussians marched, that neither infantry nor cavalry could reach them, the Emperor ordered the artillery of the guard, under Davoust, to respond, and, if possible, silence their fire. The veteran chief, however, flanked his squares with the few horse he had, and, with a high and firm demeanour, pursued his way through Janvilliers to Champ-Aubert, a distance of four leagues, without his soldiers losing their formation or showing any unsteadiness. Just at sunset, on arriving at Champ-Aubert, as they debouched from the town, Grouchy galloped round the village, and met the Prussians on the way to Etoyes. Total defeat appeared inevitable, and it was clear that there was now no hope of escape, except by forcing the way through with the bayonet; for they were here surrounded on every side. Blücher and Prince Augustus of Prussia saw the imminence of being made prisoners, and agreed in the determination to cut their way at all hazards through the enemy. The drums were commanded to beat, the colours to be displayed, and "with all the pomp and circumstance of war," the mass, led forward by their veteran hussar general, pushed resolutely along the road. Cheered

by the boldness of their advance, which was soon accompanied by the booming of the guns and the defiant cry of the soldiery, the weighty columns rushed through the forest of sabres. Fortunately, Grouchy had no light artillery, for that under Cottin, in marching through bye-roads, had stuck in the mud, and the French cavalry alone could not abide *l'arme blanche* of the Prussians, but were forced to let the main body of the enemy with their gallant chief pass, so that the whole staff got through in safety. Two Russian battalions were, however, cut to pieces, and two Prussian regiments were compelled to surrender, wearied with the exertion, and bleeding from the conflict; the rest of the column reached Etoges in safety.

But the rest and repose they looked for were not yet to be attained. Marmont had observed the harassed condition to which the enemy was reduced when making his entry into Etoges, and at 10 at night, after it was dark, he directed the cuirassiers of Doumarc, and the division Leval, to march rapidly through the wood to the left, without firing, for fear of being discovered, and to fall upon the soldiers who, he knew, would be scattered here and there to gather firewood. The few that watched in the advanced picquet were driven confusedly upon Udom's brigade, who guarded the entrance of the village, while the best of the troops were already in their quarters, and could not be collected, but were thrown into such disorder, that Prussians and Russians fled away as fast as they could by the road to Chalons, and General Urusoff with his staff, 600 men and 8 guns, were captured. Blücher hastened to attain the strong place of Bergères for the night, but did not think himself secure until he had reached Chalons, where he began at once to collect the scattered remains of his army around him for renewed operations, and where he was at length joined by the corps of Winzingerode. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the genius, resolution, and merit of this wonderful little campaign of Napoleon. After the affair of La Rotherie, on the 1st of February, his fortunes appeared waning; but, arising like a giant out of sleep, he turned quick upon the foe, fell upon the Russians at Champ-Aubert on the 10th, and captured or dispersed the whole division; next, taking the Prussians at a disadvantage, he routed Sacken's division on the 11th, and De York's on the 12th; and then turning savagely on Blücher, he drove him off in a quite contrary direction from his scattered divisions to Chalons-sur-Marne; and thus utterly dispersed the army of Silesia, with a loss of 28,000 men, an immense number of trophies, and with the personal satisfaction of having humbled the most bitter of all his adversaries; but "the pride and presumption under which the angels fell, always raged in Napoleon without measure and without control;" he forgot that five victories were not a campaign, and that the wave which he had forced back would at length return in pristine power to engulf him. Nevertheless, he wrote the same evening to Caulaincourt, to revoke the *carte blanche* he had given him to sign a treaty, and, at the same time, despatched orders to the Viceroy, whom he had directed to abandon Italy and hasten to his assistance, to hold firm behind the Alps, and save the iron crown.

The trophies, consisting of 61 guns and numberless standards, were despatched to Paris, and pompously paraded through the streets of the capital, that they might revive the national enthusiasm for the illustrious chief whose genius and whose fortune had so often redounded to the national glory.

Meanwhile, the Prince Marshal had not hurried himself. The Allied head-quarters had rested at Troyes till the 10th, and on the 11th, the troops of Würtemberg had carried Sens and Bray, and the intention was openly avowed to march forward on Paris, along the two banks of the Seine; but Wittgenstein and Wrede had been repelled by Marshal Victor in their attempt to pass the river at Nogent, and this was the position of Schwarzenberg's army on the 14th, the day of the battle of Vauxchamps: Wittgenstein and Wrede in Nogent and Bray; the Würtemberg Prince at Montereau; and Colloredo and Giulay upon the Yonne, advancing upon Fontainebleau. The great reserve, Russian and Prussian, remained under Barclay de Tolly at Troyes. The Cossacks, having actually occupied and sacked the palace at Fontainebleau, had thrown Paris into consternation. It happened that at this moment General Regnier, who had been exchanged against the Comte de Merveldt, arrived at Paris from Troyes, where he had had some interesting conversation with the Czar and King of Prussia, and brought back to the knowledge of his chief, that the refusal of the conditions offered at Châtillon had made both Alexander and Frederick William his irreconcilable and personal enemies, and that it was solely on the Emperor Francis that any hopes of reconciliation or peace could now depend.

Napoleon, however, cherished at this moment no desire of accommodation. Having punished Blücher, he employed the prodigious fertility and energy of his mind and character in preparing an attack upon Schwarzenberg. Leaving Marmont, with 10,000 men, to enter the country between the Seine and the Marne, against the débris of the army of Silesia, and Grouchy at La Ferté to give support both to him and Mortier, he marched, on the 15th, with both the old and new guards, and all the cavalry, by Meaux to Guignes, where he arrived on the 16th. Here he united himself to Marshal Macdonald, Oudinot, and Victor, whose forces united represented some 36,000 men, and on the same day he went forward to Fontenay, where he learned that Count Pahlen, with Wittgenstein's advance, was just before him at Mormant. Having transacted, *en route*, enough business of detail to have overwhelmed an ordinary man, he was impatient to fall upon his enemy, and therefore he was on the alert at early morning of the 17th, when, sending Victor forward to march rapidly on Montereau, the advance guard soon came upon Count Pahlen at Mormant. Gérard, with a single battalion, threw himself, sword in hand, into the village, while the cavalry of Valmy turned it on the right, and that of Milhaud on the left. Surprised and overwhelmed, the Russians were immediately enveloped, and 2,500 or 3,000 men captured, and the rest driven off to Nangis, Drouot following them on the road to

Provins, with his guns, and showering grape upon the retreating column; while Valmy's horse completed the dissipation of the entire corps, covering the field with 4,000 killed and wounded, and securing 11 guns and 40 tumbrils. Without a moment's *réliche* the Emperor ordered the divisions Treillard, Peré, and Biche to follow after Victor, for it was of first importance to drive back the Allied corps of Wittgenstein and Wrede across the Seine, because he hoped by that manœuvre to cut off the corps of Colloredo and the whole of those who had so imprudently advanced in the direction of Fontainebleau. He therefore sent Macdonald on the road to Bray, and Oudinot on that to Nogent; for he was ignorant which of the three bridges might be most easily secured, and therefore directed his plan upon all three at once. All he wanted was the possession of one or two and the destruction of the others, that he might prevent the concentration of the generalissimo's army. The Bavarian general Lamotte, who was leisurely pursuing his way at Valjouan, near Villeneuve, was attacked forthwith by Gérard, who, having deprived him of the protection of the village by advancing through a woody ravine upon the rear, drove him across the little plain, where he was assailed by the dragoons of Milhaud, *et c'en était fait de la division Lamotte*; but such was the exhaustion of the troops, and Victor's force had been so thoroughly cut up by these affairs, that he was quite unable to reach Montereau that night, and accordingly pulled up at the village of Salins, about one league short of it. Napoleon was himself so knocked up by the fatigue of the march, that he descended for a little repose at Nangis, but any *réliche* was short with him, and he was again on horseback in the middle of the night, when he learned, with an indignation that he could not suppress, that Victor had not advanced beyond Salins. He instantly repaired there, roused the Marshal out of his bed, sounded the troops from their bivouac, and, to the mortification of his lieutenant, prepared to supersede him by leading them on in person, and he sent advice to Oudinot and Macdonald of his whereabouts, directing them to fall back upon him at Montereau, if they should have found the bridges at Nogent and Bray in the hands of the enemy.

The Prince Marshal, as soon as he was apprised of the result of the affairs at Mormant and Valjouan, and the vigorous advance of Napoleon towards him, ordered his entire army to withdraw across the Seine. Wrede accordingly crossed at Bray, and Wittgenstein at Nogent, but the Prince Royal of Würtemberg was directed to hold the right bank of the river at Montereau as long as possible.

8. COMBAT AT MONTEREAU.

It was 9 in the morning of the 18th, when Napoleon, with the corps of the Duc de Bellano arrived before the height of Surville, on which the Würtembergers were formed in two lines, between Villaron and St. Martin. The position is an excellent one to defend, but is most hazardous to retire from, in consequence of the difficult

passage of the Seine in the rear (although the bridge was still sound and defensible from the opposite side); nevertheless, it was "adossée à un vrai coup-gorge." Besides the troops of the Prince Royal, there were two Austrian divisions attached to his command under Bianchi, the whole numbering 18,000 men of the two nations. While Victor prepared to attack, Napoleon rode off to give orders to the guard whom he expected to arrive from Nangis upon cars, and whom he hastened as expeditiously as possible to join the corps of Victor at Montereau; but when he made up the dispositions he intrusted General Gérard with their execution to mortify Victor. Generals Chateaux and Duhesme were immediately sent by Victor, the one against Villaron, and the other against St. Martin; the former was son-in-law to the Marshal, and was an officer of great merit, who, striving with all his might to recover the Emperor's countenance for his father-in-law, was struck down dead in the endeavour. A second attack, supported by the division Pauthod and the cavalry of Pajol, had no better success; but General Doering, with two Würtemberg battalions, attacking with the bayonet Gérard's corps of reserve, was completely overthrown. While this was occurring, Napoleon arrived on the field by the road from Nangis, and immediately collected and formed up 18,000 men into four columns, which advanced under a strong fire of artillery and a cloud of tirailleurs to attack the plateau of Surville, while Gérard was at the same time advanced from Courbaton on the lower road by the river to threaten the bridge. The Prince Royal, finding the attack becoming too strong for his forces, determined to withdraw, and immediately sent away his guns and cavalry to the left bank of the Seine. At the same time, he placed the Austrian general Schaefer in command of the old castle of Surville, to cover the passage of the troops. As soon, however, as the retreat of the Allied force was observed, Napoleon ordered General Dijeon to open fire from his guns, and sent Pajol against the enemy with the horse. He himself hastened on his columns, which obliged the fugitives to fly *pêle-mêle*, in which manner they passed through the town, the inhabitants of which fired upon them from their houses; but the Prince of Hohenlohe, with one brigade, stood firm, and saved the greater portion of the Würtemberg infantry. While this was going on, Bianchi, who found himself compromised with 30,000 men between Sens and Fontainebleau, hastened to escape, although in a downright flight, and succeeded in regaining his communications with Schwarzenberg. Napoleon, who took up his quarters for the night in the château de Surville, exclaimed to his staff, "Mon cœur est soulagé, je viens de sauver la capitale de mon Empire." Paris was, in fact, a second time delivered, and was loud in its acclamations for the Emperor. He had gained the object for which he contended, and had made in this last affair 6,000 prisoners and captured 16 guns. He had not succeeded, however, in cutting off the Austrian force of Colloredo as he had hoped to do, for it had been ordered quickly back across the Yonne, and was already in line behind

the Seine. On the other hand, Macdonald had captured from the Bavarians their whole parc of artillery, though he had not succeeded in anticipating them at Bray; and, with a loss in killed and wounded nearly equal on both side at Montereau, the French had obtained, as further trophies of the operation, 6 guns and 4 colours.

When the Prince Marshal was made acquainted with the success of his adversary, he summoned a council of war, at which the sovereigns assisted, and which resulted in the mission of Colonel Par with a flag of truce to the French outposts, to demand an armistice. Napoleon, in his haughtiness, would not admit the messenger to his presence, but received with an ironical smile the letter of Prince Schwarzenberg. Flushed with victory, and with that childish reliance on mere luck, which he called his star, this child of Fortune forgot or feigned forgetfulness that he had yet Blücher advancing on the capital with 100,000 men from the right, and Schwarzenberg with 200,000 from the left, and yet he replied through his negotiator, "I have conquered, and I know my position; it is now more advantageous than it was at Frankfort, and I will accept no propositions less humiliating than those which were addressed me from thence." Notwithstanding that all his troops were quite knocked up by their late rapid movements, he desired to march out of hand in pursuit of Prince Schwarzenberg on the 19th, but he had only the bridge of Montereau to cross all his army, those at Bray and Nogent having been destroyed before his Marshals could reach them. He knew by experience that the Austrian generals are, on principle, nervous about their lines of communication with their base, and thinking he had struck a blow against Schwarzenberg which would send him back in a great hurry, he imagined that even Marshal Augereau, from Lyons, might now assist in forcing him back, if he assumed the offensive. He therefore ordered that Marshal to advance to Mâcon, and he had previously directed Sachet to send reinforcements out of Spain to Lyons to strengthen Augereau. The communications between France and the Viceroy's army in Italy across the Alps being now re-established, he thought that he could bring up this auxiliary force also to work upon the Prince Marshal's apprehensions, and oblige him to quit France. The defection of Murat, however, at this moment, sensibly affected his plans, for although Joachim had not yet pronounced himself definitively, yet he evidently was awaiting the propitious moment when he could do so most safely for his own interests.

9. A BRITISH EXPEDITION ARRIVES IN THE SCHELDT UNDER GRAHAM — CARNOT MADE GOVERNOR OF ANTWERP.

But while Napoleon's eye only scanned the South, a more redoubtable enemy was coming down to the aid of the Allies from the North, seriously threatening the French rear and communications. The remonstrances of the Allies had at last forced the Crown Prince of Sweden into activity, and he had arrived at

Cologne, whence he addressed a proclamation to the French people, with the view of vindicating, in their eyes, the invasion of his native country. It was, however, the 26th of January before His Royal Highness actually established his head-quarters within the empire at Liége. Meanwhile, 8,000 British troops had landed in Holland under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, where a communication had been effected with the division of Prussians under Bülow, which, in truth, belonged to the army of the Crown Prince, but could not be said to be attached to it. The French forces, who had been scattered in small detachments over this remote portion of the French empire, fell back before the Prusso-British army, and rendezvoused at Antwerp in the first days of January. Graham and Bülow, marching together, established their head-quarters at Oudenbosch and Breda respectively, after some unimportant affairs with the enemy; and from the latter town Bülow sent a regiment under the command of Colonel Hoven to attempt to take Bois-le-Duc by escalade, who succeeded in getting within the town in the night of the 25th-26th, when the garrison of 650 men, under Colonel Laraitrie, retired to the citadel and surrendered upon terms on the 28th of January. General Maison, who had been sent by the Emperor to command the northern frontier, determined, nevertheless, to keep the field between Brussels and the Meuse, and the celebrated Carnot, having made an offer of his services, was sent as governor to Antwerp, and entered on his duties there on the 2nd of February. He found the Allied troops already investing it, and that, in an affair of posts the day previous, the town of Merxham had been carried by assault, and the garrison driven from that side entirely within the works of the place. Although Carnot mustered the garrison under his command 15,000 strong, yet it was his cautious policy to act with moderation so as to husband his resources, and therefore he would not disturb the Allies in their position, who accordingly prepared to bombard the city from the Breda approach. The fire opened on the 3rd, and was continued during the 4th and 5th, but by the admirable precautions of Admiral Missiessy and his marine battalions, who formed part of the garrison, the conflagration, as fast as it burst out, was extinguished or kept down in the city, and little or no harm was done, even to the vessels of war in the docks. It happened that Bülow was at this time called away to take part in the great operations of the Allies against Napoleon in Champagne, who, marching away from Graham on the 6th, united himself to Winzingerode, and both took the road by Namur and Avesnes to Laon. Graham, unable to carry on even a blockade of Antwerp alone, retired to his former cantonments, and awaited the progress of events. The advance of Winzingerode had summoned Avesnes on the 9th, which surrendered without resistance, and here set at liberty a number of Spanish and English prisoners, who had been captured in the Peninsular war. Many of the great towns successively opened their gates without opposition to the Allied corps as they marched, until on the 11th they found themselves opposite the town of Soissons, which was to become the great strategic

point of the Generalissimo's operations. The fortress, situated on an elevated plateau above the town, commands the high road to Paris and the bridge over the Aisne, and its possession had been deemed of such importance by Napoleon, that it was intrusted to the veteran general Rusca, with a garrison of 45,000 men, to hold it. Braving all the resistance that was, under these circumstances, to be expected, General Czernichev, as soon as Winzingerode's advance joined him, determined to attempt to carry the place by a *coup-de-main*. On the 12th, the outposts were driven in, and early in the morning of the 13th, dispositions for the assault having been made, the Russians advanced to carry the gate of Laon, but were repulsed with loss. In this first affair, however, the brave General Rusca was killed by a cannon-ball. The loss of the Governor and the disorder in the defence occasioned by this event was observed and adroitly turned to account by the Russian leader, who advanced another body of assailants to blow in the gate, and the resistance was at length overcome. General Longchamps, rallying three battalions, endeavoured to make his escape on the opposite side towards Compiègne, but Czernichev immediately followed after him with his cavalry, and made the whole prisoners. This important capture was, however, no sooner effected than accounts were received of the reverses which had befallen Blücher; and in consequence Winzingerode received orders to march to Rheims, that he might be at hand to support the army of Silesia, so that, with his diminished strength, Czernichev was obliged to relinquish his gallant conquest almost as soon as he had obtained it, and a detachment of Mortier's troops came resolutely forward and re-occupied Soissons.

10. NAPOLEON ADVANCES ON TROYES.

It is a common characteristic of energetic minds to deem that no one can evince the zeal and activity requisite to carry out their wishes but themselves; and therefore they are always ready to throw the blame of any shortcomings which may happen to their accomplishment on the apathy or indolence of their subordinate agents. Napoleon at Montereau found fault with every one, and such was his wrath against Victor, that when he arrived on the field before Montereau he had, as we have seen, superseded the Marshal and placed the troops under the command of General Gérard. This indignity, coming upon him at the very moment that his son-in-law, General Châteaux, had received his death-wound in the Emperor's service, preyed upon the unhappy man's mind, and for the whole day he had sought a glorious death in the field in the midst of the hottest fire; but the same evening, when the combat had ceased, he repaired in person to wait upon the Emperor at the Château de Surville, his cheeks furrowed with tears. He was received with a storm of invective, every fault he had committed was remembered, and all his gallant antecedents forgotten. The broken old soldier replied:—"Qu'il allait s'armer d'un fusil, se ranger dans les bataillons de la vieille garde et mourir en soldat

à côté de ses anciens compagnons." These words disarmed Napoleon, and he seized the hand of this ancient comrade even of his Italian campaigns, and pressed it warmly to his heart. He could not, however, depose Gérard from a command in which, after having thus recently received it, he had already greatly distinguished himself, but made a separate corps of two divisions of the Young Guard coming up from Paris, of which he gave Victor the command. But, although this appeared a pardon, such was still the Imperial resentment, that Marshal Victor's conduct is thus alluded to in the official bulletin:—"Château has died regretted by the whole army—a fate far preferable to that of a soldier who has only purchased the prolongation of existence by surviving his reputation and extinguishing the sentiments which French honour inspires in the circumstances in which we are placed."*

Napoleon had employed the whole of the 19th to pass his army across the Seine, resting himself at the Château de Surville; he then prepared to follow his troops, and on the second day after the battle of Montereau he was in motion to ascend the course of the river to Nogent and Mery, and on the 22nd he reached the point where the Seine makes a considerable bend, and instead of its direction continuing east, it becomes south-east. It was the Emperor's intention to cross by the bridge of Mery, instead of pursuing by the great road to Troyes, and by adopting a road less occupied by the enemy, he thought he might move more quickly to his destination; but while his officers were busy in repairing the causeway, which at this point is carried on piles across several islets in the stream, they observed an increasing number of troops collecting in their front, whom at first they took for Russians or Bavarians, but who subsequently proved to be Prussians. It was, in fact, Blücher's army, who, mortified at the events which, by scattering, had defeated them, had by a common feeling of accord which signalised their whole conduct during the invasion of France, rallied around their veteran chief at Chalons, and, regardless of fatigue or other privations, had marched down to Mery to oppose Napoleon, and had now arrived to his encounter. 48,000 men and a great array of cannon was thus brought up to reinforce the Prince Marshal. Since, then, Blücher was in possession of the right bank of the Seine, the French army was obliged to remain on the right bank, but did not relax in the object of reentering Troyes. To oppose this movement, the grand Allied army therefore occupied a position on both sides of the river, extending from Mongeux on the right to Villacros on the left, Wrede was at Mâcon, and Wittgenstein at Port sur Seine, with an advance at Romilly; and thus matters stood on the 22nd,—the one army counting 148,000 men, and the other 80,000 or 90,000. It was not Napoleon's policy to attack a force so manifestly superior, and he therefore awaited their onset.

* Fain, Campagne de 1814.

11. ARMISTICE OF LUSIGNY.

But while resting at Troyes, in the expectation of a battle, his adversaries renounced the opportunity to deliver it. On the 22nd, a council of war had been held by the Allies, before quitting Troyes. The Emperor of Austria, the Czar, and the King of Prussia attending it. As is usual in all deliberations in war, they terminated in adopting temporising measures, for discussion generally ends in compromise. Although with a superiority of two to one in the tented field before their eyes, it might have been supposed that action would have been unanimously resolved upon, yet the party of moderation prevailed, and it was resolved to offer Napoleon an armistice. It is a grand proof of the advantage of audacity in war, when under the circumstances of this moment such a concession should have been wrung from the stronger party. So little did the French Emperor appear to expect the proposition, that he had set his army in order for the march forward on the 23rd, and had actually summoned the city in which the Sovereigns resided, when Prince Wenceslas de Lichtenstein appeared at the outposts with a letter from the Prince Marshal. It did not require the superior sagacity of Napoleon to suspect that the Generalissimo was not quite at ease in his position; but he was by character a great adept in dissimulation, and did not betray one thought of his heart at being thus relieved from a very serious complication; accordingly, he received the proposition for a truce with silent dignity, and all the compliments of Prince Wenceslas with open satisfaction; but it was his habit to exaggerate to an adversary the advantages he desired that they should believe he possessed, and accordingly he spoke of the number of his troops far beyond all truth, of the effect of his victories, and then quickly turning on the Austrian Prince, demanded if his Emperor was intending to adopt a dynastic policy against his own son-in-law, by countenancing the arrival of the Bourbon princes in France, announcing to him the arrival of the Duke de Angoulême with Wellington's army, and of the Duke de Berry off the coast of La Vendée, in a British frigate. This was, however, all mere *verbiage*. Commissioners were immediately nominated to determine the terms and limit of the proposed armistice: General Flahault was named for France, Count de Schaavalov for Russia, Count Duca, or De Langenau, for Austria, and General Rausel for Prussia. Lusigny, a village between Troyes and Vandouvres, was designated as the place where the discussion should take place, and it was agreed that this place should be deemed neutral to both armies for that object. The French Commissioner made it a preliminary condition that hostilities should continue, notwithstanding the armistice, which was to be deemed as only the means for the preparation of a treaty of peace upon the basis of the Frankfort proposition. Accordingly, the armistice did not prevent the Allied army from evacuating Troyes, or Napoleon from entering it, in the midst of his guards, with the acclamation of

the inhabitants, on the 23rd. The Duke of Tarentum was even ordered to pursue Schwarzenberg on the road to Chatillon, who now placed his head-quarters the same night at Bussy l'Evêque; and the Duke de Reggio went forward to force the defile of Me-grigny, and to occupy Mery, whence the French left and rear were threatened.

During the interval that the Emperor remained at Troyes, he was induced to commit an act of vengeance which his staunchest admirers have ever regretted for his fame. Napoleon was not of a cruel disposition, and did not delight in the cold-blooded death of his adversaries; but perhaps it must be acknowledged, that when his Empire was overrun by an enemy, and when a large party notoriously existed within it hostile to the Imperial throne, it might appear to have been a mere act of self-defence to punish those of his subjects severely who had openly avowed an act of hostility towards his person and government. The Marquis de Vidranges and the Chevalier de Gonault — both Chevaliers de Saint Louis — had displayed the white cockade whilst the Allied head-quarters were at Troyes, and had, by so doing, scandalised the Imperial authorities of the place, who denounced them to the Emperor on his arrival at Troyes, and as having actually offered to the Sovereigns to proclaim the restoration of the Bourbons. The former of the two had the prudence to withdraw from the fangs of the lion, but the veteran De Gonault had the imprudence to remain at home. Napoleon ordered him to be seized at the very moment that he dismounted from his charger, and before he sat down to his dinner his order was obeyed, and the white-haired Royalist was tried by a court-martial, condemned, and shot, being conducted to execution with a placard on his breast inscribed with the word, "Traitor!" It is said, that through the urgent entreaties of a gentleman of the Imperial household, an order was obtained from Caesar's lips, "Qu'on lui fasse grâce, s'il en est tems;" but it arrived too late! The execution had been concluded before the eyes of many who could not, under such circumstances, but recall the memory of the murder of the Duc d'Enghien.

During the 25th-26th, an anxious discussion took place at Bar-sur-Aube, in the councils of the Allied Sovereigns. The Czar had been over-persuaded by the Emperor of Austria to the adoption of a pacific policy, and upon reflection had again changed his mind; therefore, expressing his conviction of the absolute necessity for an offensive course, he declared that, notwithstanding the armistice of Lusigny, which did not extend beyond the Grand Army, he would, on his own authority, direct the corps of Winzingerode to unite for immediate operations with the Prussians, for Blücher had not ceased to exclaim against the weakness of allowing this opportune moment to be lost for marching on Paris. Napoleon had himself refused to consent to the suspension of the acts of war during the conferences, why then should the Allies? The Hussar General was therefore soon in the saddle, and ready to march forward, only awaiting the co-operation of the Sovereigns; but here a very great, and, as it was thought by the council, an insurmountable difficulty

presented itself: Blücher's force was not strong enough to act offensively without the two detached corps of Bülow and Winzingerode, and these formed part of the army of the Crown Prince of Sweden. Bernadotte had not shown himself at all eager to share in the invasion of France, and was not thought likely to consent to a part of his force being withdrawn from his command for the purpose of aiding so inveterate an enemy of his nation as the veteran Blücher to march upon the capital of the empire. Alexander ardently desired to carry out the Prussian general's object, but did not like to interfere with the command of a jealous brother Sovereign, and, moreover, the Crown Prince was not present to give his consent, nor within reach to be consulted; for he was not further advanced towards the frontier than Liége. It happened that Lord Castlereagh, the British Plenipotentiary, was present at the Imperial council, a man of singular audacity and firmness of character, and, in the course of a life of many great difficulties in the direction of public affairs, he had always proved himself to be possessed of great moral courage, and the man for a difficult emergency, by the hardihood with which he was ready to incur any responsibility. Finding, from the opinion of the most experienced officers present, that the augmented force, as proposed, was indispensable to the success of the intended operation, he declared that the plan must be adopted, whether the Crown Prince liked it or not, for that Great Britain gave subsidies to the common cause, and not to individual Sovereigns; that he was ready to incur all the responsibility, and would withhold all further subsidies from his Royal Highness if he did not consent to the arrangement. His brother, Sir Charles Stewart, was, in fact, accredited to Bernadotte, and Lord Castlereagh well knew from him all the bearings of the case. Such was the effect of his manly bearing, that his advice prevailed. The requisite orders were forthwith given, "that the Grand Army should concentrate on Langres, and there, uniting with the reserves, accept battle; and that the Silesian army should march to the Marne, and there, uniting with the corps of Bülow and Winzingerode, should immediately advance on Paris." It is not too much to assert that the vigour and energy displayed by Lord Castlereagh at this crisis decided the fate of the campaign; and that to his moral courage, displayed at Chatillon, is to be ascribed the downfall of Napoleon.* Nor was this the only service rendered to the common cause by this able, though most unjustly Whig-maligned statesman, who represented Great Britain in this council. He at the same time proposed to the Sovereigns a solemn compact, by which Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia should agree to furnish 150,000 men each, independently of what might be supplied by the smaller States, for the purpose of carrying on the war until the emancipation of Europe should be absolutely effected. On the part of England he offered to contribute, beyond the quota named, six millions sterling for the expenses of the war. Each State was to be bound not to enter into a separate engagement with Napoleon; and when the war should

* Alison.

be successfully brought to a conclusion, the contracting parties agreed to prolong the alliance for twenty years, and to maintain amongst them a quarter of a million of men under arms, to keep the peace of the world. This was the basis of the Treaty of Chaumont, which, in consequence of the impracticability of bringing Napoleon to accede to any accommodation, was not finally signed till the 1st of March. The conferences opened at Chatillon were nevertheless continued, awaiting the result of the armistice of Lusigny; but M. de Caulaincourt was apprised, that if the preliminaries which had been offered to the Emperor were not accepted within a given time, the congress of Chatillon would be concluded, and all negotiations with the Emperor definitively determined. It may literally be said of Napoleon, at this juncture, that "the Lord had hardened the heart of Pharaoh." For the day of grace, while it was yet in his power, was now recklessly cast aside; and the day of retribution ensued more expeditiously than any one thought of.

12. WELLINGTON FORCES THE PASSAGE OF THE GAVES AND THE ADOUR.

The inaction, which the severity of the weather rendered unavoidable in the south of France, was employed by Wellington and Soult with their opposing armies very differently. It was not the inaction of a truce. The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia had received reinforcements, which, with his accustomed energy and industry, he disciplined and organised. A Basque guerilla warfare was endeavoured to be set on foot in the Pyrenean valleys, under Harispe and Maransin, to carry on desultory warfare on the flanks and rear of the Allied army, and Daricau, a native of the Landes, prepared a hostile force in the wilderness, with his wonted professional ability. Entrenchments were actively thrown up; Hastings, at the confluence of the Bidouse and the Adour, was fortified; and the bridges over the latter river at Guiche, Bidache, and Come protected by *têtes-de-pont*, while a series of redoubts were erected along the banks of the Adour. The town of Dax was entrenched to serve as an *entrepôt* and arsenal for supplies and for the reinforcements continually expected from the interior. Navarreins on the Gave de Oleron, and Oyergave on the Gave de Pau, were both placed in a condition of defence. The works at St. Jean Pied de Port and Peyrehourade were carefully inspected, repaired, and strengthened. Soult was alert on all sides, and, as Lieutenant of the Emperor, along the whole south and west of the Empire, was also anxiously watching for an enemy on the distant shores of La Vendée, for he had received intelligence of an expedition preparing in England, under Sir Thomas Graham, and that the Duke de Angoulême was arrived in France, and had been received at the British head-quarters at St. Jean de Luz, while the Duke de Berry was known to be somewhere on the high sea. In the meantime, Soult's army was continually reduced by drafts sent into Champagne by order of the Emperor, until at length so

many troops had been withdrawn from his army, that, it is said, he seriously proposed, as he could not contend with the British general in the field, to scatter the troops remaining with him, and engage in a partisan warfare to oppose the Allied invasion.

At the beginning of 1814, the British General-in-Chief had very much improved his position. He had received both reinforcements and money, and the weather, which had been for so long a period hopelessly wet, had turned to frost, when the roads were rendered hard enough to allow of the recommencement of field operations. Wellington had been attacked at La Joyeuse on the 3rd, and the French had advanced as far as La Bastide against his right, where an ineffective attempt had been made to relieve Jaca, which was reduced to the last extremity. He had, however, after repelling both attacks, sent his men back into cantonments, and was contented to bide his own time for further proceedings. In the meanwhile, he successfully nullified the partisan attempts in the Basque district by neglecting no means of conciliation with the people, permitting the local authorities to carry on the internal government without change, and by directing that the taxes raised should not be diverted from the payment of their salaries and their accustomed douceurs, while he enforced the most constant moderation from the troops. He was enabled, by this course, to establish many channels of acceptable kindness with the natives, and he adopted a singular means of preventing the slight inconvenience of employing a strange coin by an expedient which he had before practised in India. Knowing that in a British army there are a wonderful variety of mechanics, good or bad, he caused all the die-sinkers, or men who may have been suspected of having been coiners, to be sought out on a promise of pardon, and he ordered some new French coin to be struck, carefully preserving their just fineness and weights. He thus avoided all difficulties about exchanges, and removed a thousand causes of quarrel and dissatisfaction between troops and native shopkeepers: a measure of exceeding great wisdom and forethought.*

Wellington had prepared himself to commence active operations the first moment the weather permitted. He had collected great magazines of every kind at all his seaports, caused a minute examination by the soundings of naval men, and the observations of military draughtsmen, of the course and shores of the Adour, and carefully meditated one of the boldest strokes of his military career. The country before him was remarkable for its natural and artificial strength, but his force now very greatly outnumbered that of his opponent, and gave him, therefore, every advantage in an offensive movement. The army under his command is estimated to have been at this time 70,000 Anglo-Portuguese and 30,000 Spaniards, with 100 guns; while the active field force remaining to Soult did not exceed 35,000 combatants, with 40 pieces of cannon. The Allied army could not, however, commit itself to a further inroad into the French territory, while leaving

* Napier.

Bayonne with all its accumulated strength in its rear; and, in order either to blockade or besiege that place, it was absolutely necessary to drive the enemy across the deep and rapid Adour, very wide at its mouth, where it was defended by the action of dangerous tides, and where a flotilla of gun-boats kept unremitting watch. The bold and brilliant manœuvre Wellington now contemplated was to enable him, by diverting the enemy's attention from other points, to move the principal portion of his army to his left, and to force the passage of the Adour at its mouth. Once across, the entrenched camp and part of the fortress or citadel could without doubt be stormed, but probably could not, if obtained, be held, unless the town were also besieged; and it would require an immense accumulation of troops at once to resist the garrison at a given point and invest the fortress and citadel, comprising in their circuit the entire confluence of the Nive and the Adour.

13. WELLINGTON THROWS A BRIDGE OVER THE ADOUR, AND INVESTS BAYONNE.

Between Bayonne and Toulouse the stream is divided into the Gaves* d'Oléron and de Pau, torrent rivers descending out of the Pyrenees, very abrupt in their banks and not easy to bridge, even were their passages not guarded by troops established in the best defensive positions. Indeed, it was the conviction of Soult that Wellington could never cross the Adour anywhere, but least of all at its mouth, as it would require pontoon vessels of considerable tonnage; and, besides the great and dangerous sand-banks of the estuary, it presented other obstacles to the approach of even the smallest vessels. The inhabitants gave him reason to believe that these difficulties were insurmountable. Soult was therefore quite easy as to the attempts on his right flank, and readily fell into the notion that he must look to check the advance of the Allied forces from the mountains, since they would naturally desire, from the most obvious strategic reasons, to threaten him in the direction of Pau. Wellington, consequently, had no difficulty in deceiving him, and getting ample time to complete his preparations; all concurring in the determination to make the attempt to cross below and not above Bayonne. To collect boats enough, however, to bridge the stream at its widest part would inevitably give notice of his intended design, unless he could employ secrecy and craft sufficient in the assemblage of his preparations. Forty chasse-marées, of from 15 to 30 tons burthen, laden with the materials necessary for the construction of a bridge, were therefore ostensibly collected, as if for the Commissariat service; they were the ordinary French trading vessels of that coast, which had come out of port upon licences to serve the British Commissariat, and accordingly the deception

* *Gave* does not appear to be a French word; but it is the vernacular by which the Basque people who inhabit the Pyrenees speak of the torrents and rapids of the mountains. It would appear to distinguish a flowing river from the mere element of water, which yet retains among this singular people the Greek name of *adour*, as the French and Spaniards are called by the name of Römer.

was complete. The principal step, however, was to conceal his real design from the enemy, and accordingly he advanced boldly by his right to threaten Soult on his left flank. In the second week of February the weather set in with a strong frost, and Lord Wellington ordered his army to take the field. His first design was apparently restricted to turning the rivers which flow down from the mountains. While Hope, therefore, was especially charged with maintaining a bold front against the enemy's right, and Beresford in the centre kept the French army in check upon the lower course of the Gaves, Hill was on the 14th ordered forward with 20,000 men and 16 guns to move in two columns; the one to drive in Clausel at La Joyeuse, and the other to attack Harispe at Hellette. Mina was likewise ordered up out of Spain to move upon Baygorry and Bidart, by which means the port of St. Jean Pied de Port became invested. The divisions Harispe and Paris fell back before the British, in order to take up a strong position in front of Garris, against which Hill advanced on the 15th, and was joined on the march by Major-General Sir William Stewart, with the 2nd division, and General Morillo's Spaniards. The British troops were commanded to attack the position assumed by the enemy in front, while the Spaniards marched to turn it by St. Palais. Wellington determined to superintend the execution of this operation himself, and after a reconnoissance of the ground, resolved to turn the Bedora before Soult could come up, and he therefore immediately ordered an attack, which was gallantly carried out on the 16th without any considerable loss, when he established Hill on the side of the water-courses so as to be ready to cross the first Gave, saying with concise energy, "The hill must be taken before dark." In this affair Generals Stewart and Pringle, with Colonel Bruce of the 89th, were wounded; but on the side of the enemy 10 officers and 200 prisoners were taken, and Harispe and Paris drew back to St. Palais, breaking down the bridge in their retreat. Picton was now marched upon Hill's left to menace Villatte, and the Bidouze river was occupied by the British on the same evening. Soult, who only arrived upon the field after this success, immediately proceeded to make new dispositions. He resolved to take post behind the Gave de Mauléon, and charged General Clausel with its defence, who ordered the division Paris to attempt the destruction of the bridge which crosses it at Arriveriette. On the 17th, Hill and Picton's divisions united, prevented Paris's success, and the 92nd, under Colonel Cameron, discovering a ford, crossed the river under the fire of Bean's horse artillery, so that the Allies were enabled to seize the main road, and drive two battalions of French infantry out of the village. Soult, seeing his inability to stop the British, crossed the Gave d'Oléron in the night, and marched rapidly towards Sauveterre, where he took up a position on the left of that Gave, his right resting on Peyhourade and his left at Navarrens. Soult was altogether at a loss to discover his adversary's object, for, after this vigorous commencement of the campaign, Hill rested quite tranquil for many days after the 18th. As soon, however, as Wel-

lington had established his right strongly upon the Gave d'Oléron, and knew that his pontoons were already on its banks prepared for the passage of it, he returned rapidly to St. Jean de Luz to superintend, in person, the casting of the wondrous bridge across the Adour.

It was intended to commence this operation on the 21st, but contrary winds and a tempestuous sea rendered it impossible for the convoy to quit Socoa. Rear-Admiral Penrose was intrusted with this part of the scheme. Hope, impatient of the delay, went nevertheless forward to Anglet on the night of the 22nd-23rd, taking with him 18 pontoons and 6 small boats; and on the morning of the 23rd, 28,000 men and 20 guns moved silently towards the river. The French picquets were driven by him into the entrenched camp, and some 18-pounders were placed on the bank, which obliged the flotilla of French gun-boats to move higher up the river. The chasse-marées, however, which should have reached the mouth simultaneously with the military, did not arrive to gratify the longing sight of the Lieutenant-General, whose firmness no untoward event could shake, and therefore, with some rashness, he resolved to try to effect the passage without them. The French gun-boats immediately opened fire on his columns, but were soon reduced to silence by the artillery and by the fire of Congreve's rockets, which were now first introduced into the Peninsular conflict. The awful rush of the rockets, and the terror occasioned by their whizzing through the air, when seen for the first time, and the quick and sustained discharge of these missiles, created such consternation that all took to flight. The picquets, bewildered, retired without fighting, the flotilla ran out to sea, and three of the gun-boats were destroyed. Six hundred men of the Guards, under General Edward Stopford, were therefore rowed across in boats, but General Thouvenot in command, who, for some reason, did nothing to prevent the troops from passing, afterwards attacked this force when they had passed, but was easily repulsed, the rocket brigade doing great execution upon the amazed column, who fled with the loss of 30 men. The British General then moved across the 60th regiment; but, to his delight, the long-expected chasse-marées were at this moment seen under a press of sail making for the mouth of the river. Stimulated by the sight of the army passing, Capt. Dowell O'Reilly of the brig-sloop "Lyra," 10, having with him the principal pilot, could not resist making a dash to cross the bar of the river in a boat, but it was unfortunately upset. At length, after other gallant failures, Lieut. Cheyne of the "Woodlark" crossed the surf above the sands in a Spanish boat with five British seamen, and led up the river. The remainder of the boats and vessels then followed in rapid succession, the zeal and science of the naval officers triumphing over all the difficulties of the navigation. Admiral Penrose in the "Porcupine," 24, directed the operations in person; but this arduous and most perilous undertaking was not accomplished without a heavy loss of life, Capt. Elliot of the sloop "Martial," and more than a dozen of the seamen of the same ship, were drowned, and several boats' crews of the chasse-marées were swamped and perished. Twenty-six of these

large boats at length safely cast anchor about three miles below Bayonne, and were placed forty feet apart from centre to centre, so that upon these, as upon floating piers, a platform was soon laid with planks and cables, and by midday on the 26th the bridge was strong enough to bear guns. It was the joint construction of Colonel Sturgeon and Major Todd of the British staff corps, and it was a stupendous undertaking, which must always rank amongst the prodigies of war.* Hope forthwith sent notice to Lord Wellington of the complete success of the operation, and that, on the 25th, he had availed himself of it to cross over the whole of his corps for the investment of the fortress, in which he had been assisted by the 4th Spanish army under Don Manuel Freyre, who had been sent up in consequence of his lordship's directions. The cordon of the encampment rested on the river both above and below the town; the river, however, here made such a bend that the two ends were not above two miles asunder, and its banks were for the most part protected by a marshy ravine. Gun-boats, with aiding batteries on the banks, were, however, now stationed to protect the bridge and keep off fire-ships, and all being well settled and strong, the heavy guns were conveyed across the river, not without some difficulty, and placed in battery.

The bridge thus constructed opened a direct communication with Bordeaux, where it was known that a strong party existed in favour of the Bourbons. Their partisans had for some time past been in secret communication with the English Government, and, rather unexpectedly, a Bourbon prince now presented himself at the Allied head-quarters. Wellington's good judgment was, however, immediately apparent. He says in his despatches about this time: "The object of the Allies in this war is peace," and for this "I am prepared to assist any party that may show itself inclined to aid us in getting the better of Bonaparte. . . . The true policy is to hit one's enemy as hard as one can, and in the most vulnerable place; for I am certain he would so act by us, if he had the opportunity." Immediately on the completion of the Adour bridge, Sir John Hope determined to contract the line of investment. Three converging columns covered by skirmishers were set in motion, and both wings were brought forward to within 900 yards of the enemy's works without many casualties, but in advancing the centre the attack was more vigorous, and attended with serious loss. The brigade of Guards and a German brigade advanced simultaneously against the village of St. Etienne, when the citadel brought its guns to bear upon them with injurious effect. The Germans stormed the village and church, when the Governor sallied out from the town, and drove them back with the loss of some prisoners and a gun, and the Allies lost no less than 500 men and officers.

* I would refer the reader for further information about this "wondrous bridge," to the able work of the late General Sir Howard Douglas, on *Military Bridges*, who has given the most scientific details of every expedient for bridging deep and rapid water, from the inflated skins of the ancient Assyrians to the latest efforts of skill and science; and as rivers constitute the great strategic lines of a country, the subject should be studied in every institution for military education, for expedients will be found ready to hand in every inhabited region, if carefully looked for.

14. BATTLE OF ORTHEZ — COMBAT OF AIRE.

While Hope was passing the Adour* Wellington was pushing forward his operations on the Gaves with great vigour. Hill had brought up the pontoons from Garris, and now prepared to force the passage of the Gave d'Oléron, which he did on the 24th at Ville Nove, with the light, 2nd, and Portuguese divisions; while Clinton, with the 6th, got across between Montfort and Laas. Picton, at the same time, made a demonstration against Sauveterre, which induced General Villatte to blow up the fort there and retire across the Gave. Beresford kept Foy in check opposite Peyrehourade, and obliged him to retire within the *tête-du-pont*. Morillo drove in the enemy's posts near Navarreins. Soult did not consider himself strong enough to oppose either passage, and withdrew his forces without offering further opposition across the Gave de Pau. The right of Wellington's army was therefore, on the 25th, massed opposite Orthez, while the 4th and 7th divisions watched the junctions of the two Gaves of Oléron and Pau until the 25th, when Beresford finding that Foy had abandoned Peyrehourade, threw a pontoon bridge across the Gave and moved his force forward. The cavalry, under Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, passed the Gave de Pau at the fords of Canneille and La Hontau. By this means General Vivian, with the 18th Hussars, attained the high road to Orthez, and drove some French cavalry before them. It has been related that an officer of the staff, being on this occasion without a sword, pulled a large stake out of a hedge and encountered two French hussars in succession whom he overthrew; but a third cut his club in twain, and sent him flying to the rear.* Beresford, Picton, and Cotton's cavalry were ordered to take up a position for the night of the 26th on some heights near the village of Baights, and another pontoon bridge was directed to be thrown over the Gave to supply the place of the broken one in their rear at Boureux. It was sufficiently strange, however, that Soult did not turn round and fall upon these troops, whom he might have crushed when thus separated from the main army by a considerable river in their rear. The blame of the omission is thrown upon an inferior officer of cavalry, who was afterwards suspended and tried for this negligence. Wellington had by this operation brought up his right wing and united it with his centre, and, at the same time, had secured a direct communication with Hope. Soult, on the other hand, was turned on his right, and if the British should be enabled to continue their forward movement, and by a

* A singular occurrence is said to have been noticed during this operation. An immense flight of what were supposed to be eagles was seen hovering in the air just as the left wing had taken up its position about Bayonne. In ancient times, the augurs and diviners would have been consulted, and perhaps, had they now appeared at Troyes, some Imperial superstition might have been aroused by the circumstance. It is not improbable that they were no other than the birds of prey which always make their appearance on scenes of warfare, and were continually hovering over ground in the Peninsula near which there was to be or had been a battle.

rapid march make themselves master of the road to St. Sever, his magazines at Dax, Mont de Marsin, and Aire must be abandoned, and he would be hopelessly cut off from Bayonne and Bordeaux. An admirable position near Orthez covered both the roads to Dax and the Sault de Navailles : but it had the fault of resting the right flank solely on the village of St. Boes, so that it might be said to be *en l'air* ; and moreover there was no retreat from it but by the one road to St. Sever, through a difficult and marshy district. There was a bridge at Orthez which was an ancient and beautiful structure, but not easy to be forced. It was composed of irregular arches with a tower in the centre, and the river under it was deep, rapid, and full of rocks ; but above the town the water spreading wide over flat banks presented an easier means of crossing. Hill was accordingly ordered to parade his column at a point opposite the ford of Souars, and Wellington's first design was to direct him to force this passage ; but when he heard that Beresford had crossed the Gave to his left and reestablished a bridge at Bereux, he poured his troops in the night across the pontoon bridge, and when across doubted whether the Duke of Dalmatia would dare to await a battle. But Soult had no thought of retreating: though he had heard of Hope's investment of Bayonne, and saw that even his communications with Bordeaux were threatened, he nevertheless determined to stand on the defensive. The position he had taken up was a stupendous one, the last almost that offered itself before quitting the mountain-shoots of the Pyrenees, which soon soften down and sink altogether in the plain of the Garonne.

The French army here stood upon a line of heights extending from a hill of peculiar boldness behind St. Boes, and running back towards the road from Orthez to Sault de Navailles. The road to Dax ran along the ridge, leaving the village on the left. The slopes of the position were partly woody and partly bare. The right wing, holding the ground from St. Boes to the centre, was under the orders of Reille, and consisted of the divisions Taupin and Maransin, and these occupied the village of St. Boes and a steep contrefort in front of it, together with the ravine on each side leading up the heights. The centre was commanded by D'Erlon, with the divisions Foy and D'Armagnac. The left, resting on the town of Orthez, was held by Clausel, with the divisions Villatte, Darricau, Paris, and Harispe under him; 12 guns were on this flank, and 12 more on an ancient camp, and upon a remarkable salient in the centre, commanding the whole position, there were 16 pieces of cannon placed so as to sweep the open space crossed by the road to Dax. The British general having reconnoitred the ground, resolved on an attack on the entire extent of it, but, as a portion of his force was still in the rear, it became necessary for him to gain a little time. He therefore made a demonstration of attack with Beresford's wing to await the coming up into line of the light and 6th divisions from Bereux. It was a skilful manœuvre, for, as Soult rested inactive, it gave Wellington the time he wanted. It was not till about 9 o'clock in the morning of the 27th, that Beresford with the 4th and 7th divisions moved to the real attack

of the French right, supported by Vivian's cavalry; the 3rd and 6th divisions, under Picton and Clinton, at the same time marching up against the centre, supported by Somerset's brigade of horse; and Charles Alten, with the light division resting in reserve, and connecting the two columns. Hill, opposite the ford of Souars, had received orders to act against the French left as soon as he could get across the Gave. Wellington approached the formidable position with 37,000 men of all arms, of whom 4,000 were cavalry, with 48 guns. Notwithstanding all the resistance of General Taupin in St. Boes, Beresford got possession of the village, but could not advance out of it in face of the fire from the guns on the salient height. Cole tried in vain to get to the open ground with Ross's British brigade and Vasconcello's Portuguese. The French guns swept the plateau, preventing the force as it came forth from deploying. Five times did the troops carry the battle forward, and as often were they driven back into the village. The struggle was fierce and slaughtering, and in it General Ross was dangerously wounded on one side and General Béchard killed on the other. Picton very nearly gained the summit of the central hill in his front, but could not make any head against Foy, who defended the heights. When the combat had continued in this way with unabated fury for three hours, and while prodigies of valour were performed by both French and British, and a large number of killed and wounded lay on the ground, Soult on a central hill saw with delight that his enemy was thwarted and thrown back, and is reported to have exclaimed with exultation, "Enfin je le tiens!" But Wellington had also seen the crisis, and, not being at the end of his resources, was prepared to meet it. He suddenly changed his plan of battle, and sending up Anson's brigade to support Ross, he ordered forward the 7th division and Barnard's brigade against the height, and threw the 3rd, 6th, and light divisions upon the enemy's centre. Colborne, at the head of the 52nd regiment, immediately sallied out of the old Roman camp, and crossing an intervening swamp, bore with such vigour against a French battalion which connected the divisions of Foy and D'Armagnac, that the troops so lately confident of victory suddenly became shaken and discouraged. The 52nd had scarcely been perceived, but now, with a mighty shout and a rolling fire, they dashed forward, driving rout and disorder before them. Foy fell dangerously wounded, and his division, discouraged by his fall, and appalled by this sudden attack, got into confusion. At the same time Picton and Clinton renewed the attack upon Reille's left wing, and the disorder soon extended to the whole French line. That general was obliged to fall back and take up a new position; and Wellington, seeing the gap thus opened to the rear of the village of St. Boes, seized the critical moment, and thrust Vivian with his cavalry through it, followed by the 4th and 7th divisions, and two batteries of artillery. Victory was thus incontestably secured, the village was evacuated, and, as the cavalry poured through, the retreating troops formed square; but the guns, placed on a knoll, ploughed through the French masses, and

though some chasseurs came up to their assistance as fast as they could gallop, yet they, too, madly pushing forward in their brave career, got entangled in a narrow way, and were nearly all destroyed. Another body of French cavalry also attempted to charge the guns, but the fire of the 42nd repulsed them, and Inglis's brigade attacking the infantry with the bayonet soon cleared the whole of the enemy's right. In the meantime Hill had forced the passage of the Gave by the ford, and was now ordered to carry the bridge of Orthez, which he promptly executed, and moved immediately, with Stewart's division and Fane's cavalry, by a ridge of the hills parallel to the road leading to Sault de Navailles, in order to cut off the retreat of the French army in that direction. Soult, therefore, seeing that his only line of retreat through Sallespice was seriously menaced, became satisfied that his position was no longer tenable, and consequently gave orders for the army to retrograde: this was a perilous manœuvre, but it was executed with skill and promptitude. Reille had already fallen back, and D'Er'on now did the same. Harispe abandoned Orthez and the height called La Motte de Turenne; but the 4th and 6th divisions, with Vivian's hussars, marching on Harispe's flank, obliged him to get, without loss of time, and at double quick, to a second row of heights. Villatte and Berton tried in vain to stop Hill, and the division Paris sustained the fight gallantly; but the British general, seeing the French retreating along all the ridges of the hills, quickened his pace, and made the French do the same. The nature of the ground, intersected with ravines and cumbered with brushwood, which the right and centre were obliged to cross, rendered a hasty march there almost impracticable, yet the enemy retired at first in admirable order, taking every advantage of the numerous good positions which the country afforded; until Hill's quick advance soon obliged them to accelerate their movements. Both sides were seen to race one after the other, and the whole country was covered with scattered soldiers at a run. Many threw away their arms, and the example of desertion under such danger and fatigue was not followed by a few only. Cotton poured down his cavalry upon them, and in this way many were sabred, but the ground was most unfavourable for this arm. The 7th Hussars, however, charged a battalion of the National Guards brigaded with another regiment of Harispe's division, which added something to the confusion by throwing them off the road into the broken ground. Lord Edward Somerset's hussars also encountered Leclair's chasseurs à cheval, and captured 700 of them. At the very moment, however, when the confusion in the enemy's ranks was at the highest, a spent shot struck Wellington near the pommel of his sword and caused, for the moment, a painful contusion, so that he kept his saddle with difficulty, but he still was in a condition to laugh at his Spanish friend Alava, who was hit at the same instant rather more severely. The conqueror nevertheless persevered in the pursuit, which lasted as far as Sault de Navailles, when night closed upon the victors and the vanquished. The losses on both sides were considerable. Soult lost 6 guns, and it has been said that the

number of his men *hors de combat*, after the action, amounted as high as 14,000, if to those killed and wounded be added those who laid down their arms or deserted. The loss of the British was 2,200 killed and wounded. The French retreat was carried the following day across the Luy de Bearn to Hagetmau, and thence it continued to St. Sever, where Soult placed his head-quarters on the 28th of February; but as he had now the choice of three roads, — 1st, that by Mont de Marsin on Bordeaux, by the way of the Landes; 2nd, that by Agen or Condom; and 3rd, to ascend the Adour to Tarbes, — it was difficult to guess what line he meant to adopt. He chose the last, as holding still to the mountains, and thus preserving his communications with the Duc d'Albufera's army and the other French detachments still in Spain. Although it has never received its just meed of renown, the battle of Orthez was one of the greatest of the war in its numbers, duration, quality, and consequences. 100,000 men stood up in the fight for seven or eight hours, and it was essentially a soldiers' battle, with no outflanking or manœuvring, but "an attack along the whole line face to face." Its consequences were very great. Bordeaux, the second city of the Empire, was permanently wrested from the rule of Napoleon, and the Bourbon cause inaugurated throughout one third of France. The Emperor's lieutenant, and the most skilful of his generals, no longer able to keep the ring, was driven clean over the ropes, and forced to cling for safety to the mountain boundary of France, there to hide himself in the clefts of the rocks, or to protect himself by perching on the off-shoot spurs of the Pyrenees at Tarbes and St. Gaudens. Thiers, it is true, hardly names the battle of Orthez in a history of eighteen volumes, except as a "lutte longue et acharnée contre un ennemi visiblement épuisé;" and Kausler, in his elaborate "Atlas der merkwürdigsten Schlachten der alten und neuern Zeit" does not even include the battle of Orthez!

Wellington evinced little daring in the pursuit. It was not in his nature to make those clean sweeps of a defeated army that characterised Napoleon's more dashing character, but he pertinaciously pushed on after the retreating force as fast as the waters in the rivers would permit, and on the 1st of March established his head-quarters at St. Sever. In the uncertainty of his adversary's further movements, he directed Beresford to march on Mont de Marsin, and Hill and Cotton on Aire, where it was known the French had extensive magazines. Beresford found one undefended at Mont de Marsin, which he forthwith took possession of. Hill, on the 2nd, found himself in presence of General Clausel, prepared to defend with the divisions Villatte and Harispe those which were in the town of Aire and in Barcelonne, and he attacked without hesitation. The 2nd division, under Stewart, advanced by the road on the French right, while Da Costa's Portuguese assailed the centre. The action was sudden, but Harispe met the Portuguese on the flat summit of the height with so rough a charge, that they gave way. Da Costa, nevertheless, succeeded in gaining possession of the ridge, but in so

slovenly a manner that he could not hold it; until Stewart, having easily won the French right from Villatte, immediately detached Barnes with the 50th and 92nd regiments to the aid of the Portuguese, and these troops soon turned the tide of battle. The French were broken, and, though they made reiterated efforts to recover their ground, were always driven back; yet they still resisted with their wonted bravery, until Byng's British brigade arrived to the conflict, when both Villatte and Harispe were forced out of Aire and across the Lees, the bridge over which they had, however, just time to destroy. In this affair the Allies lost 20 killed, including Colonel Hood of the staff; and 35 wounded, including General Barnes. The French lost General Dauture Gasquet, and had many officers and men wounded, while upwards of 100 prisoners were taken. The magazines became, of course, the prize of the British. Cotton now ordered the 15th Hussars to ford the Adour below St. Sever, who overtook the French cavalry at Cazères, on the left bank of the Adour, when an affair took place between the British hussar regiment and the French 13th chasseurs à cheval, who were driven through Barcelonne, and Captain Thackwell, who commanded, gained distinction which afterwards ripened into eminence in his services in the East Indies. Soult now continued his retreat up both banks of the Adour by Manbourget and Vic de Bigorre, the Count D'Erlon with the cavalry marching to Plaisance; but he was not followed by the Allies, since new combinations had opened to the view of the British general.

15. MARSHAL BERESFORD ENTERS BORDEAUX.

It was Wellington's policy to effect a real lodgement in France, where he did not deem it prudent to awaken political sentiments until they had evidenced some solid foundation. There was a large party at Bordeaux in favour of the house of Bourbon, but it had not influenced the British cabinet to undertake, on its own responsibility, the cause of the exiled dynasty, and Wellington therefore considered it right to protest against a proclamation, in which the Mayor of Bordeaux assigned him a part which he had not been authorised to play. His equity and moderation at this time added as much to his renown as his most transcendent victories. "The wise conduct of the English general," writes the Marshal, "and the excellent discipline which he maintains among his troops, do us more harm than the loss of ten battles. All the peasants desire to place themselves under his protection."* His great adversary, the Duke of Dalmatia, made incredible efforts to rouse public opinion on the side of his Imperial master, and appealed, but without success, to his countrymen's patriotism to defend their soil against foreign armies. The French nation was, perhaps, at this period somewhat enervated in public spirit, substituting for a rational love of country an idle tinsel vanity, which could only be gratified by useless vainglory, unrooted in any

* Brialmont.

patriotism. Wellington, therefore, though in an enemy's country, was without anxieties as to his security there; for he was as safe in his flanks and rear as if he had been in England. Nor had he the remotest apprehensions of the French, of whom their own historian even says, "ils craignent les rencontres avec l'armée anglaise, qui avaient été presque toujours malheureuses."* It is true, indeed, that he had heard (which, indeed, it was reasonable to believe probable) that Suchet had detached 10,000 men to join Soult; but the English general had been likewise promised reinforcements, so that, in order to protect the movements of these, Fane was now sent with a detachment to take possession of Pau.

It was under these circumstances that the Marquis de la Roche-Jacquelin arrived at the British head-quarters "supplier le général anglais au nom des Bordelais pour le soutien de leur cause."† He showed that a royalist confederation, consisting of the Dukes de la Tremouille, de Fitzjames, and de Duras, MM. de Polignac, Ferrand, de Montmorency, de la Rochefoucauld, and other high and noble families, had authorised the step he had taken, and that the French princes were only awaiting the auspicious moment for a rising to declare themselves. The Deputy Laisne and the mayor, the Comte de Lynch, were also known to be favourable to the Bourbons, but were unwilling to pronounce for the cause till the British army appeared in sight of the walls of the city. With a view to support this feeling, as well as to meet the wishes of the Duc d'Angoulême, who had become more urgent since the late successes of the Allies in that portion of France, Beresford, with the right wing of the army, was ordered to march across the Landes to Langon, at which place he arrived on the 8th. Here the Chevalier de Luitkins met the Marshal on the part of the Bordeaux authorities, and urged him to pursue his march. Cornudet, the Imperial civil commissary, and General L'Huillier, the military commandant, had both yielded to the storm and quitted their posts, and the feeble garrison of conscripts, now left without any superior commander, could offer no resistance. Marshal Beresford, accordingly, was received on the 12th, at a short distance from the city, by the mayor and a crowd of respectable inhabitants, and conducted into Bordeaux with every demonstration of joy. The magistrates and city guards took off their Imperial badges and spontaneously assumed the white cockade. The Duc d'Angoulême, attended by Count Dumas and an orderly officer, joined the British column in a manner so quiet and with a demeanour so modest, that his presence was not suspected; but when it was found out who he was, the enthusiasm was immense, and Louis XVIII. was formally proclaimed. Beresford, in accordance with Wellington's instructions, threw no impediment in the way of this manifestation, though he declined formally to acknowledge it. ‡

* Thiers.

† Alphonse Beauchamp.

‡ Beresford's march to Bordeaux led through a singular country, in which he would have been dangerously hampered if the population of the Département de Landes had at this time been hostile. The entire district north of the Adour consists of wide plains composed of ash-coloured sands, too unproductive even for sheep-

We must now for a time leave Wellington and Soult watching each other, both believing that they were respectively in presence of an antagonistic force more considerable than either of them could show : Soult because he was ignorant of Beresford's expedition to Bordeaux, and Wellington under the supposition that reinforcements had come up to the Duke of Dalmatia from Suchet's army in Catalonia ; the truth being, that in their effective strength both armies at this moment were pretty nearly equal. Soult had been urged by Napoleon to resume active operations, but difficulties to an obedience to the Imperial order hourly increased around him. Wellington was equally desirous to take the field, and has been blamed for having, after his victory at Orthez, left Soult to recover himself ; but he was embarrassed by the state of the weather, and by the direction of the line of retreat selected by his adversary, which, if followed up, would have exposed his flanks and rear in the narrow ground betwixt the valley of the Garonne and the mountains, and thus would weaken him in every step he might make forward.

16. MARSHAL AUGEREAU IN THE WEST OF FRANCE—COMBATS OF CHAMBERRY AND GENEVA—BATTLE OF LIMONEST—FALL OF LYONS.

Events of no ordinary importance were occurring at this period in the centre of France. The Austrians, after having placed Count Bubna with a detached corps at Geneva, were, as usual, so slow in their movements, that they did not advance upon Lyons until the 14th of January, on which day Augereau reached that city to assume the command. The Marshal Duke of Castiglione found, on his arrival, great terror amongst the citizens, who were flying in numbers from their manufactories and closing them against their operatives ; and a feeble garrison of about 1,700 men under General Musnier, amongst whom there were not 300 old soldiers. The prefect of the department, the Count de Bondy, was at his post, with about 1,000 National Guards embodied ; and every exertion was made to assure public tranquillity and to provide for the defence of the

walks. Forests of *Pinus maritima* occupy here a vast expanse of country, where the trees acquire a height unusual anywhere else, yielding good masts for shipping, with abundance of resin, pitch, and charcoal. The population of the district is exceedingly scanty. There are no towns nor even farms, the peasantry living in solitary cabins, or in a wretched aggregation of them not worthy even the name of a village, and the younger members of the families roaming about the open district without a home of any kind, making charcoal, or attending on their distant flocks. On these duties men, women, and even children, traverse these wild wastes on long *échasses*, like boys' stilts, by means of which they pass over the deep sands, and cross dry-footed through the morasses, which abound everywhere. The shepherds watch their flocks mounted on these artificial supports, and resting on their staves, the tops of which are rounded to afford them a seat. The old *route royale* from Paris into Spain, which was never better than a mere track, although supplied with detached *maisons de la poste*, passed through the entire length of this district. Yet along this direct road Louis XIV. and the royal dynasty he planted in Spain had frequently travelled in their cumbrous state, accompanied by a court which we must suppose formed the very cream of refinement. This road is now abandoned for a more circuitous *chaussée* by Mont de Marsin, the *chef lieu* of the department, whence other high roads lead to Bayonne, Pau, and Toulouse.

second city of the empire. Augereau immediately despatched an officer to Napoleon to represent the inadequacy of the means at his disposal for this object, and hastened himself to Valence, where he found 1,000 men who had been sent up from Suchet's army, and whom he expedited in post-carriages to Lyons, where they arrived during the night of the 18th. The floods about the Saône at Meximieux retarded very much Count Bubna's advance, so that it was not till the 19th that the Austrians took post at the Croix Rousse. The indecision of Count Bubna saved Lyons. Unaware of the condition of affairs and the weakness of the military force in the city, he would not venture, without heavy artillery, to undertake the siege of it, and hearing that Musnier was meditating a night surprise, the Austrian general raised his camp and retired back to Geneva on the 20th, on which day Augereau returned to his command, accompanied by both cavalry and guns, when, sallying out of the city, he pursued the enemy as far as Montluk. Instead, therefore, of contemplating another descent upon Lyons, the Austrian general sent detachments to disperse the National Guard and destroy the defensive preparations in the departments adjoining Geneva. General Zeichmester, however, entered Chamberry, whence he drove out General Dessaix, who retired before him behind the Isère, and posted himself at Montmeillan. General Marchand, at the same time, took post at the well-known romantic defile of Les Échelles. Here he was attacked by Zeichmester on the 31st, and after a short resistance forced to retire on St. Laurent de Pont. Dessaix was next attacked at Fort Barraux on the 3rd of February, and driven in. Bubna, at the same time, advancing to the south upon Châlons sur Saône, made himself master of the departments of the Aisne and Jura. But during the progress of these small successes, Augereau made such vigorous efforts to raise reinforcements, that by the 17th of February he had collected under his command at Lyons an army of 22,000 men, with 30 guns; and had organised 4,000 National Guards for the defence of the city. He accordingly resolved on taking the offensive against Bubna. The division Musnier forthwith dislodged General Klopstein from Meximieux, and on the 19th and 20th drove him back on Bubna at Bourg and Nantua. This movement was supported by Marchand who recovered Les Échelles, and Dessaix who recovered Montmeillan; while General Klebelsberg was glad to escape to Aix on the lake of Bourget, where he assumed a very strong position, with precipitous mountains on his flanks and a morass in front. Dessaix, however, attacked the Austrians here on the 22nd, and on the following day took possession of Aix. General Serrant was directed to pursue the enemy, who retreated on Auncey, where they occupied a castle, out of which they were forced and driven over the bridge of Brugny. Augereau, however, was fearful of entangling his young and inexperienced soldiers in a distant mountain campaign, and remained content with these successes till the end of February. The Emperor was greatly displeased at this inaction, and directed the Minister of War to apprise him that he did not require

at his hands "des accessoires;" that it was towards Geneva and the Pays de Vaud, which lay on the communications of the Allied army, that his assistance would be effective. Accordingly, at this time, the reserves assembling at Châlons and Mâcon were sent to Lyons to be the nucleus of another grand army, to be called the Army of the South, to which Suchet was ordered to send up forthwith 10,000 of his veterans and Prince Borghese 8,000 more. In the beginning of March, therefore, Augereau again put himself in motion to carry out Napoleon's strategical commands. On the 1st of March, Dessaix, Marchand, and Serrant advanced against Bubna, posted on the height of San Julien in front of Geneva, and after a long and harassing day's fighting forced General Klebelsberg to withdraw into that city. On the 2nd, Augereau established his head-quarters at Lons le Saulnier, and pushed forward the division Musnier to Poligny. Anxious to obey Napoleon's orders, and therefore without waiting for the possession of Geneva, the Marshal pushed forward with the greater part of his force to attack the corps of Prince Lichtenstein at Besançon. This diversion saved Count Bubna, who, knowing very well that Marchand and Dessaix could not besiege Geneva without battering artillery, was content to bide his time. Moreover, the head of the Duke de Castiglione's column had now fallen on the route of the powerful body of reserves hastening up to the Allies, one portion of which, that under General Bianchi, had already reached Beaune. Augereau, accordingly, saw the necessity of concentrating all his forces in order to protect Lyons; with which view he now called in all his detachments, and reentered Lyons on the 9th of March. He nevertheless left the brigade Bardet to occupy Bourg, and the brigade Remond in Villefranche, with a detachment at Pont de l'Ain; but, with the true military vigour of the Napoleon school, he was ready the very next day to sally forth again out of the city against an Austrian force under Bianchi, which he deemed to be in an unprotected position at Mâcon. Musnier was accordingly sent out of Lyons on the 10th, and encountered at St. Georges the Austrian advance, which he drove back to Les Maisons Blanches, having taken a battalion of infantry prisoners; but on the 11th, Bianchi, advancing out of Mâcon in support, opened such a fire from 30 pieces of artillery, and charged so resolutely with his cavalry, that the French were defeated with the loss of 700 men and 2 cannon. As soon as the Prince of Hesse-Homburg received information of the attack of the French on Mâcon, he concentrated a considerable force on the right bank of the Saône, and advanced to St. Georges, where Augereau now took up a position to face his enemy. On the 18th, the Prince ordered Bianchi and Wimpfen, with 22,000 men, to attack the right of the French line; and the Prince of Wied-Runchet, with 21,000, to turn the left of the position. The French combated against such preponderating numbers with great bravery, and held firmly the village of Lage Longsart with much resolution for a considerable time; but Wied-Runchet's flank march having rendered the position no longer tenable, Augereau

retreated to Limonert. Here again he stood on the 20th, barring access to Lyons, in order to afford time for the arrival of the great reinforcements expected out of Catalonia and Italy. Musnier occupied the village and a range of heights extending from the river to the Châlons road. The division Pannetier stood next to him at Dardilly, while General Bardet was sent to Misibel to watch the road leading towards the city from Bourg. The Prince of Hesse-Homburg accordingly made the following dispositions of attack:— Bianchi was to push by the direct road to Lyons, supported by Wimpfen, while Mumb's brigade was to follow the crest of the ridge which extends from Chasselay and threaten the rear. The attacking force consisted of 43,185 men of all arms, who moved forward at the break of day, fell with such vigour on Musnier, that he, seeing himself also taken in rear, made the best of his way to enter the city. Pannetier, in like manner, found himself overwhelmed by Bianchi at Dardilly, and, although General Dijeon stoutly resisted General Bauerman in the defile at this point, he likewise fell back to the gate of Lyons. The battle appeared already gained, for the French right and centre had abandoned their position, and it was not more than 3 o'clock; but Augereau, again sallying forth out of the city, fell on the forces of Wied-Runchet near the road to Moulins, where, having arrested his advance, he sent General Guillemet to support General Dijeon; and General Bardet, seeing the aspect of affairs, held firm. In this way the combat lasted till dark, when both sides established their bivouacs in sight of each other outside the city. The loss of the French and Allies in these combats in front of Lyons amounted to nearly 5,000 men, in which loss the Allies had the larger share, as the French were defending their position. Upon Augereau's resuming his head-quarters, he sent for the prefect and the civil authorities, and consulted with them as to the propriety of now abandoning Lyons, in order to prevent a bombardment by the enemy, and all the horrors to the population of a capture by assault. Before daybreak on the 21st, accordingly, the army defiled along the Pont de la Guillotière and took the road to Vienne, through which they marched to Valence, the rear-guard under General Bardet covering the retreat successfully; and on the 23rd Augereau placed his head-quarters at Valence, where he received information of the occupation of Bordeaux by the British, and of the assumption of the white cockade by the civil authorities there.

17. WAR IN CHAMPAGNE — BLÜCHER ADVANCES ON MEAUX.

While the negotiations at Troyes and Chatillon were still in progress, military operations of an important character had been resumed both by Napoleon and Blücher. The latter had fallen back from Méry upon Sézanne, and although the Allied Sovereigns were hesitating at Lusigny as to the course they would pursue, he, with characteristic impatience, resolved to act altogether without

reference to his King; and, having crossed the Aube on the 25th, prepared on the 26th to fall upon Marshals Mortier and Marmont, whom he knew to be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Château-Thierry. On the 27th he found them with their united forces at La Ferté sous Jouarre, and had the gratification of hearing that the corps of Winzingerode, Woronzoff, and Bülow were coming up to reinforce him, in obedience to the resolution adopted in the Allied councils at Bar-sur-Aube. He therefore communicated to the Generalissimo that he was prepared to risk a great deal to disembarass him of the presence of Napoleon; for which purpose he had ordered Sacken to march by his left and threaten the approach to Paris at Meaux, and Kleist to pass the Marne and take the same direction. The two Marshals who defended these roads, in order to do their best with a small force to impede the march of the army of Silesia on Paris, crossed to the right bank of the Marne and burned the bridge of La Ferté, marching away in all haste to Meaux. This town is of a somewhat remarkable character, being divided by the Marne and the Canal de l'Ourcq into three portions or wards, which are united by stone bridges. Sacken was actually entering the ward called le Cornillon by the stone bridge across the Marne at the same moment when Marshal Marmont entered by the road from La Ferté. The Marshal immediately assaulted and obtained possession of the ward of Cornillon, and manning the old walls, which had been abandoned at the first shot by the 1,600 National Guards, made every preparation for a vigorous defence, but nevertheless he could not obtain possession of the bridge. Kleist very nearly cut off General Vincent, in charge of Mortier's rear-guard, as he was passing Montreuil aux Leons, and forced him to make his way into Meaux on Lizy by the left of the Canal de l'Ourcq.

Blücher however, having received intelligence from General Tettenborn at Fère-Champenoise that Napoleon was in full march upon his rear, hastened to place the Marne between him and his redoubtable antagonist; and, leaving De York to occupy La Ferté, he determined to await the coming of Winzingerode and Bülow, whom he was expecting to arrive every moment, the one from Rheims and the other from Laon. Napoleon had been duly and regularly advised by Mortier and Marmont of their very perilous position in face of Blücher, and the difficulty they had in keeping him from forcing his way to Paris by the valley of the Marne, and he therefore, on the 25th, had ordered Victor to march from the vicinity of Troyes to Plauco, and there cross the Aube. On the 26th, Ney quitted the city for Aubeterre to cross the Aube at Arcis, and the remainder of the guard was directed to follow the same course. The Emperor himself remained at Troyes to organise a force capable of holding the Prince-Marshal in check, and he now confided the task of defending the Aube to Marshals Oudinot and Macdonald, having General Gérard under them, with a force altogether amounting to 30,000 men. He sent orders to Flahault to keep alive the discussion for the armistice, and even with this object to show a disposition to give way on some points, and Caulaincourt at Chatillon

was to evince no appearance of weakness, and to assert that the Emperor was occupied at Troyes in framing an answer to the last proposal sent him. He then prepared to quit that city on the morning of the 27th with great secrecy, when, riding forward to overtake his columns, he resolved to carry the forces he had set in motion to form a junction with the force of his two Marshals, and thus, with nearly 50,000 men, to fall upon Blücher. On the 28th, his headquarters reached La Ferté de Jouarre, which the Prussian general in charge at once abandoned to him.

18. COMBAT AT BAR-SUR-AUBE.

The departure of Napoleon from Troyes was soon known at the Allied head-quarters at Chaumont, for a despatch from Blücher to the King had announced that the army of Silesia had crossed the Marne, and that he had reason to apprehend that Napoleon was making preparations for marching after him; the Generalissimo accordingly ordered Wrede and Wittgenstein, on the very same day (the 27th), to attack Gérard at Bar-sur-Aube and Oudinot at Dolancourt. The latter French Marshal, however, judging that his position was untenable, yet unwilling, by a retreat, to expose the departure of the Emperor, took post on the heights of Arsonval and Arrentières, on the left bank of the Aube, of which the bridge was held by the division Hardegg. Wittgenstein advanced against the French position in three columns; the first under Count Pahlen, the second under Prince Eugène of Würtemberg, and the third under Prince Gortschakov. The French, however, anticipated the action by storming Ailleville, where two regiments of Russian chasseurs had already crowned the heights, upon whom General Montfort came suddenly and drove them, with the loss of several prisoners, back to the ravines. Gortschakov then launched his cavalry against the French, but the country, intersected with vineyards, was unfavourable to this arm, and it was not until a powerful artillery was put in battery that Montfort could be shaken. This afforded time to the Prince of Würtemberg to arrive at the heights, when the Duc de Reggio found it necessary to send to Gérard for further assistance. The Generalissimo likewise reinforced Wittgenstein with some troops drawn from the corps of De Wrede. Marshal Oudinot saw that he could no longer hold his ground against the accumulating forces, and ordered a general retreat. In the meanwhile the Bavarians had made a vigorous attack upon the town of Bar-sur-Aube with five battalions in column. Here they were received by General Duhesme, who had barricaded all the issues of the town, and the French made a most determined resistance, until Gérard, informed of Oudinot's retreat, considered all further contest useless, and the troops, forming square, marched away under the protection of their batteries to Ailleville, on the road to Spoy. The retreating columns were followed by Count Pahlen, with four regiments of hussars and three pulks of Cossacks, with 12 guns, who caused the greatest disorder among the French, but could not prevent their

passage of the Aube, or interrupt their march till nightfall. The French loss was about 3,000 men, of whom near 500 were prisoners. The Allied loss was estimated at 2,400 men, and both the Generalissimo and Wittgenstein were among the wounded.

The retreating army was not very severely pressed, so that they gained Vandœuvre on the 28th, where they united with Macdonald. The two Marshals were followed thither on the 1st by the Prince-Marshal, who made a grand reconnoissance upon them with the Allied cavalry on the 1st of March, and having ascertained that the united force opposed to him was insufficient to check the grand army, he immediately issued orders for its advance, when the Allied head-quarters were established at Bar-sur-Aube on the 2nd, and brought forward to Troyes on the 5th of March.

Napoleon, on the 2nd, ordered the bridge over the Jouarre to be repaired, while Blücher was endeavouring to avail himself of his adversary's absence upon the Marne to seek the means of attacking the two Marshals, and with this view was marching along the course of the Canal de l'Ourcq. De York, leading the march, had already approached Onley, followed by Sacken; and Kapzevitch had reached Ancienville and Milou, Ziethen forming the rear-guard; when the latter was attacked at 5 in the afternoon by the divisions Merlier, Lagrange, and Ricard, with 12 guns, and thrown suddenly back upon Kleist, who took up the fight till Kapzevitch could get across the Ourcq, where the Prussians formed up behind the defile of Mareuil, and Marmont and Mortier did not think fit to continue the contest, but assumed position at Neufchelles and Vauzenfroy. The Emperor, having crossed the Marne at 2 in the morning of the 3rd, pushed forward with his usual energy, and about 10 o'clock came upon the enemy, with his Marshals, at the height of Passy. General Dommerc was sent forward with his cavalry against the Prussians, who were at the moment in some confusion crossing the Ourcq; but the latter got up 24 guns in battery, which kept the French back from the bridge and the fords, so that after the loss of 500 or 600 men they got across at 5 o'clock, and continued their march to the Aisne in two columns, by way of Blancy and Parcy on Soissons. Blücher sent forward his pontoon equipages, with his engineers, to select points for throwing bridges across the Aisne, that he might communicate with Bülow and Winzingerode, whom he expected to find near Soissons. It has been already related how the town of Soissons had fallen into the hands of the Allies on the premature death of General Rusca; and how Sacken and De York had been obliged to evacuate it immediately afterwards by the circumstances of the campaign at that time. Marshal Mortier had sent 1,500 Poles to garrison it under the command of a General Moreau (no relation of the celebrated general of that name), who passed for a good officer. Bülow, in order to reach Blücher, had prepared the means of storming the place on the following morning from both sides of the river, but, with considerable address, he thought of trying the effect of persuasion, and ordered Colonel Lowenstein to make his way into the fortress as with a flag of truce, who so worked upon

the fears of the governor as to induce him to accept a capitulation on condition of being permitted to march out with all the honours of war to Villers-Cotterets. Accordingly the French marched out, and Woronzow took possession of the place at noon on the 3rd.* Thus, on his arrival at the walls, Blücher defiled his columns into the city without opposition or intermission, so that on the 4th the whole of his army passed into the fortress, and thence across the Marne, effecting at the same time a junction with the corps of Bülow and Winzingerode. On the 4th Napoleon had reached Fismes on the Vele; and concluding that the Prussian general would have been forced to make his way to Rheims (since he expected that Soissons was held by a garrison of French troops), he thought that he had got him in his clutches, when this most unlooked for incident saved him. The Emperor's indignation at this *lâcheté* of Governor Moreau may be well conceived, and is recorded in the letter he addressed on the spot to the Minister of War: "Faites arrêter ce misérable ainsi que tout son conseil; faites les traduire par-devant une commission militaire composée des généraux; et faites en sorte qu'ils soient fusillés dans les 24 heures sur la Place de Grève." With wonderful resolution, although it is believed that at the moment he only knew of Blücher's escape, and not of the reinforcements which had reached him, Napoleon ordered the same day that his army should cross the Aisne in pursuit; yet Blücher's force had been, in fact, raised to 100,000 men, while he had but 50,000 in face of them. Blücher had now also heard of the evacuation of Troyes by the troops under Macdonald, and that the Prince-Marshal was already up again and marching against him.

19. FIGHT AT CRAONE.

The Emperor did not lose a single moment, but despatched Nansouty with the cavalry to secure the stone bridge over the Aisne at Berry-au-Bac, while he ordered the engineers to throw three other bridges over that river, for he was determined to come to blows with the army of Silesia before Schwarzenberg could come up to its assistance. Nansouty encountered some Cossacks at the river side, whom he immediately charged and overthrew, securing the possession of the bridge, so that in the night of the 5th-6th, and in the course of the following day, the greater part of the French army was enabled to file over before Blücher had time to despatch sufficient force to oppose the passage. This success pleased Napoleon: "C'est un petit bien," he remarked, "en dédommagement d'un grand mal." However, he by no means gave up the hope of retaking Soissons, and forthwith ordered Marshals Mortier and Marmont to attempt to carry it by assault. The Allied troops were, however, so well established in that important post, that, after making every exertion till nightfall on the 5th, the French withdrew from the attempt,

* It is said that while the negotiation was pending, a question arose as to Moreau's departure with his guns, when Count Woronzow said in Russian to the colonel: "Let him take his guns and mine too, if he will only give us the bridge over the Aisne."

with the loss of nearly 1,000 men. General Corbineau had been at the same time detached to secure the possession of Rheims, and did so with little difficulty at early morning of the 5th, taking some prisoners and baggage. By the possession of the capital of Champagne, he stood in the way of Schwarzenberg's approach, and effectually hindered for the moment any junction of the Allied armies of the North and of Silesia. The road leading from Soissons to Laon is separated from that leading to the same town from Berry-au-Bac by a range of heights which run parallel to the Aisne, having on their summit a broad plateau, which terminates in a slope at the town of Craone. Blücher, as soon as he saw his adversary crossing the Aisne, suspected that his intention would be to endeavour to reach this position, which would anticipate his arrival at Laon, and therefore he himself hastened his march on that town, while he directed Woronzow to occupy the plateau of Craone, and Winzingerode to push forward with a strong body of cavalry and Cossacks by way of Fétieux. De York was left to guard the high road to Laon, and Langeron to garrison Soissons with 6,000 men.

On the morning of the 7th of March, Woronzow stood across the road which is known by the name of Route des Dames, in three lines, with 40 guns, having a host of tirailleurs bordering the plateau of the hill to the right and left. Two lines of cavalry and several batteries were in reserve, and the corps of Sacken. The plateau of Craone is visible directly after you pass the Aisne at Berry-au-Bac, standing to the left of the post-road leading from Rheims to Laon by Corbény. To the right extends a considerable plain, slightly undulated, but the small town of Craone is placed just below the bluff which terminates the hog's-back that borders the river all the way from Soissons, and divides the valley of the Aisne from that of a brook called La Lette. As soon as the Emperor understood that the heights of Craone were occupied in force, he pushed forward the Old Guard to feel if it was the intention of the enemy to resist him on this position, and finding this to be probable, he mounted his horse to make a close reconnoissance of it. The position was not half a mile long, and was bounded on each flank by a steep slope. A gully of no great depth existed at right angles across the neck, and behind this Count Woronzow, commanding the infantry of Winzingerode, formed them on this narrow space, in three lines of close columns of battalions; while the commanding general, with 10,000 cavalry and 60 field guns, was in the valley of the Lette, ready to fall on any advance against the position on the right flank, and Winzingerode was at this period regarded as the first cavalry leader in the Allied armies. Kleist and Langeron were stationed with infantry divisions in both valleys to support the cavalry, and Sacken's entire corps stood across another narrow neck of the plateau, in reserve, about two miles farther back. Napoleon, at sight of these dispositions, recognised his own want of strength for the attack, and saw the necessity of supplying it by wise combinations.

He had on the previous evening taken possession of the bluff above

noticed, and now directed six batteries to be established upon the summit above Craone and the village of Craonelle, and he determined to lead the principal assault upon the front in person. At the same time he ordered the Prince de la Moskowa to make an attack upon the left flank of the enemy at the village of Ailles, near which stands the celebrated abbey of Vauclerq. Generals Boyer, Meunier, and Curial were told off to lead the three columns of this attack. Mortier and Nansouty advanced along the valley of Foulon, to fall upon the Russian right, which was placed at Ouche, in the valley of the Aisne. The battle commenced soon after 9 in the morning; but Ney, having begun his attack prematurely, Sacken, who saw his advantage, sent against the head of his column some cavalry, who drove the French back into the valley of the Lette; but, soon recovering his ardour, the Prince de la Moskowa returned with redoubled vigour, and carried the hamlet of Ailles after hard fighting. Napoleon accordingly advanced Victor on the ridge to Heurtelise, with directions to establish a battery on the site of an old redoubt there called Les Roches. It was about 10 o'clock when the Emperor ordered the attack to be pressed on all sides. The two flank attacks having succeeded after much resistance, Napoleon led forward the centre, at the head of the Old Guard, under fire of the guns at Les Roches, and the enemy retired before this combined attack in good order. The French attack was nevertheless but feeble, for, with the exception of the divisions Friant and Christiani, the troops were new levies, who were continually alarmed by the action of cavalry around them, and it required all the personal exertions of the marshals and generals to get them forward. In this duty Victor and Grouchy were struck by cannon-balls to the ground; and Nansouty, Boyer, and three other generals were severely wounded. Napoleon, writing of this encounter, says: "La vieille garde seule se soutient; le reste fond comme le neige." Woronzow, seeing his opportunity, ordered General Swarikin to fall upon the troops of Meunier, Boyer, and Curial in Ailles, who were driven back into the park of Vauclerq, and Colonel Lafevrière, who was severely wounded in the attempt, strove in vain to drive back the Russians, but in the end Druot brought up his guns, which, opening effectively on the Russian flank, forced them to retire. Winzingerode's cavalry, which ought to have appeared at this time from the valley of the Lette, had been so delayed by the badness of the roads, that Blücher thought it useless to wait his arrival any longer, and ordered the retreat to Laon at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The French are said to have lost 8,000 men, with a very large disproportion of officers, against 5,000 of the Russians, although the former gained the field; but there were no trophies on either side. The French historians have endeavoured to show that Napoleon fought this battle with 40,000 against 100,000; but the Russian divisions engaged did not exceed 27,000 men, and even with the addition of Sacken, who did not take part in the contest, neither side preponderated. The Russians retired with admirable firmness and order, and brought forward most formidable batteries, in succession, to cover their retreat. The guns were worked with

extraordinary rapidity, and with such precision, that for twenty minutes Count Drouot, with the guns of the Imperial guard, which he directed with his accustomed skill and bravery, could not make the least impression on them, but was forced to withdraw his guns from the destructive Russian fire. General Woronzow, however, was wounded, while directing the march in person; the Russians fell back on the road to Laon, by way of Chavignon, where they rested some hours, to be joined by other troops from Soissons, when they continued their march to Laon. The French followed the enemy by the same road to Oslet and Filain, and on the 8th reached Chavignon.

20. MARSHAL VICTOR SERIOUSLY WOUNDED—HIS MILITARY CHARACTER.

Although the wound was not mortal, yet Victor was the last of the Napoleon marshals of France that figured among the killed and wounded in battle, and, as the date of his death is uncertain, it may be best to insert a biographical sketch of his services where his military career terminated.

Perrin Victor was born at La Masche in Lorraine in 1766. His parentage is unknown. He commenced his career in 1781 in the artillery, but it was not until the period of the Revolution that he obtained advancement or distinction. He was at the siege of Toulon in 1793, with the rank of *Maréchal de camp*, and there attracted the notice of Bonaparte in his own arm of service by the skill and precision of his artillery practice. At the capture of Fort Aiguillette he was wounded in two places. On the general's recommendation he was made a general of brigade. The following year he was given a command in the army of the Pyrenees, and served at the sieges of St. Elmo and Rosas. In 1795 he was transferred to the army of Italy, where he commanded a brigade at the battle of Loano and Dego, and here Bonaparte found him. He continued with him all through these distinguished campaigns as general of division, and by his skill both in combination and vehemence of attack he mainly contributed to the capture of the Austrian general Provera, with 6,000 men, before Mantua. In 1797 he was detached into the Apennines with a separate army of 20,000 men, assisted in the operations which resulted in the possession of Venice, and defeated the Papal army at Tolentino. After the peace of Campo Formio he was sent into La Vendée, where he partially succeeded in repressing the insurrection by the mildness of his rule. In 1799 he was again in Italy, where he commanded the right wing of Scherer's army at Magnano, and served with Moreau and Macdonald at the battles of La Trebbia and Novi, but lost the greater part of his division at Melas near Placentia, and at the end of the same year had great difficulty in keeping the French army in possession of even a *piéd à terre* in the Italian Alps. In 1800 he descended into the valley of the Po once more, and served under his old leader, now First Consul, at the battle of Marengo, and for his conduct there received

from his hands a sword of honour. He was not included in the first list of Marshals of the Empire in 1804, but received that honour after Friedland. He was present in 1806 at the battle of Jena, where he was wounded, but afterwards took a distinguished part in the battle of Pultusk, where he was taken prisoner. He was again in command of a *corps-d'armée* at Friedland, where he accompanied Ney in the wonderfully bold manœuvre which gained that victory. His name is found among those who received a liberal revenue out of the Hanoverian electorate. In 1808 he was sent to Spain, where he defeated the Spanish armies at Somosierra, Espinosa, Uccles, and Medellin, but was himself defeated by Wellington at Talavera. He subsequently made a bold and skilful march across the Sierra Morena, and was entrusted with the siege of Cadiz. He was defeated at Barrosa, and failed at Tarifa against the British. Having been unable to force his way into Cadiz after a blockade of two years, he was recalled out of Spain, and received in 1812 the command of the 9th *corps-d'armée* in the great Russian campaign, gained distinction at the passage of the Beresina, and shared the post of danger in command of the rear-guard of the disorganised army until the Emperor quitted it. In 1813 he was at the head of the 2nd *corps-d'armée*, and was at Bautzen, Dresden, Kulm, Leipzig, and Hanau. He was sent by the Emperor at this time to look to the defence of Strasburg, where he had an independent force of 12,500 men; but he was obliged to fall back before the Austrians through the Vosges and joined the Emperor in Champagne, under whom he served at Nogent, Montereau, and Craone, where he was severely lacerated by the blow of a cannon-ball in the thigh, and quitted the field of battle never to return. He gave in his adhesion to the Bourbons, and remained faithful to the King during the 100 days; and he was so far honoured for his fidelity as to be nominated to represent the army at the marriage of the Duc de Berri. He was an intrepid soldier, but, notwithstanding his long service and repeated wounds, he never was regarded as a leader of eminence in any of the transactions in which he shared. The anecdote of his remissness at Montereau seems to stamp him as a leader greatly deficient in energy and resolution.

21. BATTLE OF LAON

Napoleon was at this time in the sad position, that it was out of all question in any strategy to disregard numbers or chances; for he had only the one chance, that if he hesitated to attack, he could be instantly attacked on every side. He had, by dint of hard fighting, carried the plateau of Craone; but the position, when obtained, was of no use to him, and did not advance in the remotest degree any object he had in the plan of the campaign: he hoped, however, that this modicum of success might effect something in his favour by acting upon the *morale* of his enemy. Yet it was still necessary for him to place himself between Blücher and Paris, and, indeed, it was with this view that he had assailed the plateau of Craone. On the

8th, therefore, he pitched his camp between L'Ange Gardien and Chavignon, having before him two defiles by which the great *chaussée* leads to Laon; the one where it crosses the Lette between Chavignon and Urcel, and the other at the passage of the Ardon between Étouville and Chivy. These passes were across wet and spongy meadows, which afforded no room for the march of troops beyond the width of the road, and they were already strongly occupied and watched by the enemy under Czernichev. After having made his observation of the ground he retired to his head-quarters in the village of Bray, to consider the mode of overcoming these obstacles, and the same evening he received a despatch from Chatillon, announcing the firm determination of the Allies to break up the conference there, unless the fundamental principle of their proposition were at once acceded to. The army rested on the 8th, in order to be joined by a reinforcement of 12,000 or 13,000 men, which Joseph had sent from Paris under the Duke of Padua. This division was at once attached to the corps of Marshal Marmont, who was directed to advance on the right by the Rheims road, through Corbény and Fétieux, to Laon, in order to turn the above-mentioned natural obstacles that lay in the direct way from Soissons; or, at all events, to divert the attention of the enemy from Chavignon, should he endeavour to force that defile. Woronzow had, indeed, already quitted that town and joined Blücher, who had collected all his six corps around the large isolated rock of Laon.

Laon is an ancient city, built upon a truncated conical mount, elevated 250 feet above the adjacent plain. It stands at the junction of three great roads; that by Soissons to Paris, that by Mons to Brussels, and that by Rheims to the east and south of France. These roads terminate at the foot of the mount, at three *fauxbourgs* called respectively of Semilly, St. Marcel, and Vaux. Irregular ancient walls and towers, extending nearly 5,000 yards in length, run along the edge of the lofty plateau on which the city stands. It is approached on each side by an ascending road of gentle acclivity, leading between gardens, orchards, and even green fields, which lie on the slopes of the ascent. The abbey of St. Vincent is remarkable at one angle, and an old castle on the other, while the cathedral rises above all. The Allies had been induced, by its central situation, to make it their grand entrepôt; but, nevertheless, they had done so little towards putting it into a state of defence, that several old breaches remained at this time unrepaired, and eleven old gates pierced the *enceinte* without barriers or palisading, or even the timber porches called by the French *tambours*. On the right side of this isolated rock stood, on the morning of the 9th of March, Winzingerode's command in two lines, with considerable batteries of field guns in front of them; while his cavalry, under the orders of General Orurk, formed a third line in the rear. The centre, consisting of the corps of Sacken and Langeron, under Bülow, stood behind the hill, ready to lend assistance on either hand. The Silesian army, under De York and Kleist, composed the left wing of the Allies, and faced Marmont's advance from Berry-au-Bac. On

the plateau and sides of the rock were placed six batteries, commanding all the approaches; in the abbey of St. Vincent were three battalions, and in the fauxbourgs other bodies of infantry were placed behind barricades and loopholed houses; and the whole base of the ascent swarmed with tirailleurs, under some kind of cover or other. Napoleon, not having received from his scouts the account of any enemy's troops being left to defend the defiles through which he had to pass, sent forward General Gourgaud with two battalions of light infantry and some cavalry of the guard, who completely surprised Czernichev in Etouville, and opened the way for Ney's advance along that defile at early morning, when General Belliard drove back the Russian infantry, who were pursued by the combined squadrons of Gourgaud and Roussel through Chivy and as far as Clacy. Favoured by a thick fog, which entirely enveloped the hill, Ney sent the division Boyer, at midnight of the 8th-9th, against the fauxbourg of Semilly, while Marshal Mortier advanced more to the right, and occupied the village of Ardon. The fog combined with the darkness to cover the approach, so that the sharpshooters of each army almost touched before they saw one another; but, as soon as the day broke and the fog cleared, a dozen pieces opened with grape from the batteries on the hill, and from the front of Winzingerode's lines. It was nearly 11 o'clock before Blücher could see from the rock the disposition of the French attack, and how inconsiderable were the forces composing it, when he immediately transmitted orders to Winzingerode to advance and take it in flank. Colonel Clausewitz stoutly resisted for a time the occupation of the fauxbourg Semilly by Ney, but nevertheless the French tirailleurs and detachments succeeded in occupying the gardens around it, and some of the French even got into the fauxbourg itself. From Ardon Mortier attempted to assail the rock near St. Vincent, but could not maintain himself against the concentric fire which opened upon him from the batteries on the slopes the very moment he showed himself outside the village. Clausewitz now received orders to obtain possession of Semilly, and Bülow to drive Mortier out of Ardon, and the French were expelled from both fauxbourgs; but Ney with some squadrons of the guard, and Belliard at the head of the dragoons of Roussel, fell upon the Prussians, and covered the retreat of Mortier. Winzingerode had, however, come down on Ney's flank, and cleared Clacy of French troops; but the divisions of Charpentier and Boyer, taking advantage of the woods and hedges, got back again, and Semilly and Clacy were taken and retaken, remaining at length to the French, who defended themselves in those posts till nightfall.

Marmont, however, was fated to foil all the eagerness of Napoleon to get possession of Laon. He had begun his march at early morning, but was not farther advanced than Fétieux at 1 in the afternoon, and it was 5 before he debouched into the plain of Laon at Athies. This village lies to the left of the *chaussée*, and was now occupied by Prussians, who, after a cannonade and hot conflict of three hours, were driven quite out of it, and Marmont formed up two

strong batteries, so as to command obliquely the whole plain in their front, although he could not venture to show a single soldier of the 6th corps outside the village. It was already night when Langeron and Sacken were marched up from the Brussels road to support De York, who had been ordered to advance immediately against Marmont; for it was now clear that Napoleon was only amusing them on the side of the Soissons road, and contemplated his more serious attack from the Rheims road. Marshal Blücher, with considerable sagacity, suspected that Marmont's force had been in march the whole day from Berry-au-Bac, and he therefore just allowed them time to sink into repose, after a day of such unusual fatigue, before he gave signal to the troops, whom he had ordered to be in readiness, to make a nocturnal attack. In the dead of night, and in perfect silence, Prince William of Prussia led the brigades of Horn and Klux against the little town of Athies, while Kleist filled the fields on each side with his columns, and Ziethen, at the head of the cavalry, setting spurs to his horse, dashed into the midst of the French bivouac. So complete was the surprise, so universal the consternation, so general the panic, that the *vieux moustaches*, no less than the conscripts, sought instant safety in flight. The French artillery opened fire with grape, which fell amongst friends and enemies until the batteries were seized. The obscurity rendered it totally impossible to reestablish order. The Allies were in the midst of the artillery parc, and their cavalry and field guns were galloping through every French regiment. The Marshal was carried away in the rush of his flying divisions until he reached Fetioux, where, with the assistance of Colonel Fabvier, he rallied some of them. As they had not been pursued, they halted when they reached Corbény, and took a few hours' rest, and then recrossed the Aisne at Berry-au-Bac. The Emperor was drawing on his boots at 4 in the morning of the 10th, when he heard of Marmont's disaster, just as he had been considering what should be the order of his attack on the morrow. He was, of course, furious against the Marshal, not choosing to consider that the 6th corps had been left quite *en l'air*, isolated and unsupported, and that it was unequal, from its composition, to repel any strong attack. Napoleon, however, was never a man to lose time in vain regrets, but forthwith sat down to reflect on the best plan to be adopted under the circumstances. He resolved to stand firm where he was, at the base of the rock of Laon, to prevent any pursuit of Marmont. Simple as was such a resolve, it imposed immensely upon his adversary, who, finding when day broke that Napoleon did not stir, immediately countermanded the pursuit after Marmont, and determined to advance his whole force against the Emperor. Winzingerode was now directed to attack the French at Clacy, and Czernichev accordingly advanced against it; but Charpentier, as soon as he saw the movement, remained passive until the Russians came up to his guns, when he so milled them with grape, that, seeing themselves without support, they fled back to the foot of the hill, and Ney brought forward his left to support Charpentier.

It was a little after 9 o'clock when Napoleon ordered a general attack by the divisions of Curial and Meunier upon Semilly; where Clausewitz, nevertheless, stoutly maintained his ground, until Bülow came up to his assistance. No less than five times were the attacks renewed against the ill-fated village of Clacy, until at length the Russians, evincing some disposition to quit it, Ney, who still held possession of Semilly, sallied forth, and so vigorously did his soldiers follow such a leader, that some of them, belonging to the divisions Curial and Meunier, actually climbed the rock and reached the old walls on its ridge. It was 2 o'clock when the Emperor, from a little eminence near Clacy, thought that he saw Blücher about to abandon Laon, and his ever active genius immediately meditated an attack upon his probable retreat by the *chaussée* to La Fère. He accordingly sent the artillery-general Druot to reconnoitre the possibility of such a movement, who in a most daring manner examined the ground and declared it an impossible scheme. Napoleon was, therefore, forced to the consciousness that he had no other course left but to order his army to withdraw, and to succumb himself before the adversary he most hated. Laon was altogether impregnable, and could not be anywhere assailed, and the retreat upon Soissons was therefore forthwith ordered. The artillery kept up a violent cannonade to cover this decision, which began to show itself about 4 o'clock, when the march of the French army commenced through the defiles, which they cleared by 11 in the forenoon of the 11th; but the Allied cavalry intercepted the sick and wounded, and carried them off prisoners. Napoleon rested for the night at Chavignon, and on the next day reached Soissons, which Blücher had again evacuated, after he had crossed the Aisne and carried the Silesian army up to Laon. The veteran Prussian General made no effort to pursue, but rested on his strong rock till the 12th. "For the first time upon the soil of France, the whole disposable forces of the Emperor Napoleon, under his own immediate orders, had been brought to a stand. The expedition beyond the Marne had been frustrated, and the grand army, left during ten days at liberty to pursue active movements from Troyes by Fontainebleau, might have led to the capture of Paris." However, from one cause or another, both combatants were exhausted, for not only had Napoleon's strategy broken under him, but his strength was fearfully diminished for further exertions. Thiers puts at 12,000 men, and Alison at 16,000, the chasms which had been made in the ranks of the French army during the sanguinary struggles that had occurred since the 7th, at Craone, Soissons, and Laon. It is of comparative unimportance what had been the loss of the Allies in numbers during the same period, for their forces were continually augmenting, while Napoleon, with but 40,000 men under his eagles, was no longer a very redoubtable adversary. Besides Blücher, victorious, would be indefatigable in his rear if he should venture to attack Schwarzenberg, and both united might crush him. The Emperor was therefore obliged to employ the resting-day of the 12th in contemplating new complications, and in

ordering an entire reorganisation of his army, by the amalgamation of many corps and divisions, now perfectly decimated by the late engagements. He saw, moreover, that the troops were dispirited and jaded; and that marshals, generals, and officers of all grades, were out of spirits from defeat, and knocked up by continuous marching. Even the great gladiator himself no longer fought with the concentrated energy that he had been wont to exercise. He "fought as one that beateth the air." He sought for success not as heretofore, and looked to mere fortune rather than to skill and experience in the game. He sought to trip up his adversary like a wrestler, instead of delivering the well-directed stroke of the boxer, with which he had so often won the battle. His veteran adversary, likewise, either from lassitude, sickness, or age, played the game with little vigour. It is said that he was ill from ague and inflammation in the eyes, and was altogether unable to mount on horseback; but "these sheep had a shepherd," whoever might be said to have been the chief in that army. No military leader is quite one-handed; and he might have been permitted to sit down and rest himself, after he had gained the day, but he should have selected a lieutenant to follow the defeated enemy. A younger general would have been up and stirring as soon as he found that Marmont was in abandoned flight, and would at once have ordered forward Winzingerode or Sacken, or Langeron or Kleist, from either flank, to crush Napoleon at the morning light, before he was sensible of the loss of an entire *corps-d'armée*. No power remaining to the Emperor could then have prevented his being driven headlong into the defiles of Chivy and Etouvelles, and forced back in hot haste on Paris. This would have been, at all events, the strategy of Napoleon's better day, it would have been that of Wellington; but, although Blücher was a sturdy general, he was now an old man, and none such can ever command armies with the requisite vigour. Accordingly, the whole of the 11th and 12th were allowed to the French army to recover themselves. Napoleon exhibited some of his wonted fire by perambulating on horseback the environs of Soissons, directing the engineers to exercise their art upon the defences of the town and the surrounding position, while for nine days after the battle of Laon Blücher remained on his impregnable hill, "to give repose," as it was said, "to a harassed army, and, as far possible, to provide it with bread."*

Napoleon had indeed received a severe defeat, but his spirit was still unconquered, and, with most wonderful energy, he even looked about for a new enemy, and condescended to discover one in an emigrant officer, a General St. Priest, who was in command of a division of 15,000 men in the service of Russia, and had, while the French army was at Laon, fallen upon the troops under Corbineau, and driven them out of Rheims on the 7th. At midnight of the 12th, therefore, the Emperor quitted Soissons, and at break of day reached Berry-au-Bac. On poor crest-fallen Marmont he bestowed an angry frown and severe rebuke as he passed through his quarters, and then

* Danilessky's Campaign in France.

without further delay he pursued his march, at the head of 30,000 men, on the road to Rheims. *Chemin faisant*, two Prussian battalions, occupied in preparing their midday repast at the village of Rosnay, were enveloped and taken prisoners. His approach was so well concerted, that St. Priest, who had just received information of Blücher's success at Laon, could scarcely believe the report that he himself was attacked, when about 4 in the afternoon the divisions Ricard and Merlin fell upon this force and drove it into the suburbs of the city. St. Priest, as soon as he found that he was engaged with the Emperor himself, ordered a retreat, but as he was organising his men he was knocked over by a shell upon the shoulder, and so disabled that General Pantschenlidzer took the command, and maintained the combat till 11 at night, when St. Priest, with 2,000 men and 11 guns, fell into the hands of the French, and the General died of his wounds some days after. Napoleon entered the city, and took up his head-quarters there, in the midst of a general illumination of the principal streets in his honour, at 1 in the morning of the 14th. A flaming bulletin announced this success to the capital, informing them that "la même batterie qui a tué le Général Moreau devant Dresde, a aussi blessé à mort le Général St. Priest, qui amenait les Tartares dans sa belle patrie."

Whilst the indefatigable Emperor was overriding his army in a direction that left Paris open to the Prussian Field-Marshal, the latter was resting in cantonments. Bülow took post at Compiègne, Langeron at Coucy-le-Château, Sacken at Croui, Kleist and De York at Corbény watching Berry-au-Bac, and Winzingerode at Laon. The Prince-Marshal was equally quiescent at Nogent, and behind the Seine. Napoleon, therefore, gave his army some slight repose at Rheims till the 16th; but while he desired to give rest to his troops, he took none himself. An immense correspondence reached him in the "crowning city," and he awaited with impatience the speedy fulfilment of the orders he had already expedited to the distant garrisons, to send the better half of the troops of which they were composed to join his head-quarters. Lille, Valenciennes, Mons, Antwerp, Maestricht, Metz, and Mayence had all received orders to despatch reinforcements, and General Jansens with 5,000 or 6,000 men did, in consequence, reach him during the few days that he remained at Rheims, indeed he was continually receiving other large detachments which Joseph sent up from Paris as quick as he could collect them, some of which reached him here to the additional extent of about 7,000 combatants.

22. THE BRITISH FAIL TO TAKE BERGEN-OP-ZOOM BY ESCALADE.

While all these belligerents were taking repose, or preparing for one more round of gladiatorial skill, events which demand our notice were occurring in other more distant parts of France. The departure of the Prussian corps of Bülow to unite with Blücher at Laon left the Allied troops still remaining in Belgium under

the orders of Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, under whom were placed 15,000 infantry and 22,000 cavalry in idleness at Ath. General Maison, who commanded the French army on the northern frontier, remained behind La Marque. In the first days of March the reconnoitring parties of the two armies, under Generals Carra St. Cyr and Lecocq respectively, encountered each other unexpectedly near Vieux Condé, but without any important result. A more serious affair took place on the 6th and 7th, when General Maison threatened Oudenarde, whence he was driven back on Courtray, where the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, collecting together 12 battalions and 6 squadrons with 16 guns, attacked the French general and obliged him to fall further back behind Lille.

A more serious affair was attempted by Sir Thomas Graham, commanding the British army near the Scheldt. That general saw clearly that a governor so diligent and wakeful as Carnot left him no hope of carrying on any successful operations against Antwerp*, and therefore considered whether he might not be able to carry by a *coup-de-main* the important fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom. It must be confessed that it was a truly British military idea. "To take the bull by the horns" would have been a trifle to it. The place had been regarded as impregnable for more than a century, and it had never been taken but once, when the French bribed the Governor Cronstrom in 1747, and when the fidelity of the Scotch Highlanders nearly arrested the treachery.†

Bergen-op-Zoom, as a fortress, was the *capo d'opera* of the celebrated Dutch engineer Coehorn, and had been always regarded as secure against any attack from an enemy, and as the principal bulwark of Holland. It may be proper to give a short account of its fortifications, to show the fearful odds against any hope of success by escalade. Before the gate of Antwerp is a large redoubt joining the fortified lines called Kijken-de-pot, strengthened by four flanking forts armed with cannon. On the side of Steenberg are the forts of Moermont, Pinsen, and Rover, with a well-fortified line of connexion, beyond which is an inundation reaching all the way to Steenberg. Before the Water-gate is a regular fort of 5 bastions called Zuyd Schants, under cover of which two canals lead from the Schelde and form the harbour. On the east towards Breda is another considerable inundation caused by the waters of the Zoom, which renders the whole approach on that side marshy and inaccessible. The body of the place is defended by a rampart about a league in circumference, flanked by 10 bastions covered by 5 horaworks; in addition to which an extensive system of mines and subterraneous galleries render every approach to the fortress hazardous in the extreme. All the resources of art had, indeed, been exhausted on its works. On the other hand, the ramparts were so extensive as to require 12,000 defenders, and being in a

* It was at this period that Carnot invented his theory of vertical fire, by which he proposed to eject balls into the air at an angle of 45°, which might fall on the heads of the besiegers; but Sir H. Douglas has shown that they would lose all their force as projectiles, and that falling from mere gravity they could do little mischief.

† See "Annals of the 18th Century," vol. ii. p. 120.

great degree unreveted, they were always greatly shaken by the frost of the winter, which would naturally much assist the passage of the ditches and marshy approaches from without. Graham received information that the garrison had been diminished to little more than 2,700 men by desertions and sickness, and that the inhabitants, consisting principally of seafaring folk, were not thought to be true to the French authority. The governor, General Bizanet, was warned to be vigilant, and "de garder ses dehors à la Turque."

It was nevertheless resolved to make a bold attempt to obtain possession of this important fortress, and the night selected for the enterprise was the 8th of March, being the birthday of the Prince of Orange. The assailing force, 3,300 strong, was divided into four columns of about equal strength, three of which were to form serious attacks, and one a feint. The first, under General Lord Proby, was ordered to effect an entrance between the Antwerp and the Water-gate; the second, under Colonel Morrice, was to attack the right of the Water-gate; the third, led by Colonel Honey, was to make the false attack on the Steenberg gate; and the fourth, under Brigadier Gore, was to assault the mouth of the harbour, which was always fordable at low water; and therefore, to suit the tide, the attack was fixed for half-past 10 at night. The left attack was superintended by General Cooke, the right by General Skerrett; and the two grand divisions were to effect their entrance separately by escalade, and then to move rapidly and expeditiously along the ramparts so as to form a junction as soon as possible and force open the Antwerp gate. The false attack opened fire first between 9 and 10 o'clock, and took the guard by surprise, but was arrested at the first drawbridge. The sound of musketry, nevertheless, attracted the garrison thither, who were soon in sufficient force to expel the assailants from this quarter with great loss. Skerrett made his way with the fourth column into the harbour-mouth without much difficulty, and seized and forced open the Water-gate, when the British troops scattered right and left on the ramparts, which were almost wholly undefended. The place was really on the point of being taken, and if the successful divisions had known their ground, and instead of dividing their force on the ramparts, had opened at once the Antwerp gate, they would have admitted Graham, who anxiously awaited there the opportune moment to dash into the town at the head of the cavalry; but Bizanet had directed all his reserves to the Water-gate, thinking that one to be the serious attack, and in the conflict that ensued Gore and Carleton were both killed and Skerrett dangerously wounded. The column accordingly, as usual when deprived of its leaders, fell into disorder, and suffered great losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Cooke with his two columns met with an unexpected difficulty when endeavouring to pass the frozen ditch on the ice, by which a considerable delay ensued, and they did not gain the rampart till half-past 11, when they escaladed without difficulty the bastion of Orange, and being soon joined there by some fugitives from the right columns, the combat was maintained all through the night; but Morrice in command of one

column, and Elphinstone commanding the 33rd regiment, were both now killed. A detachment of the 1st guards, which had been sent to the assistance of Skerrett, was cut off, and the rest of the brigade suffered most severely during the night from the galling fire maintained upon their position, which was aggravated by a heavy fire upon them from the houses. Cooke, seeing the increasing casualties and despairing of success, ordered his troops to withdraw down the ladders by which they had entered, and the remainder of the guards and the other regiments followed his example and retreated in perfect order; but, nevertheless, other divisions, being without orders, stood firm, and when daylight broke the commanding General found it impossible to withdraw them, and these gallant men were forced to surrender. The loss to the British amounted to 800 killed, besides many drowned in the ditches, and 1,800 prisoners; that of the garrison to 160 killed and 400 wounded and prisoners. Graham's attempt was daring and well planned, but all such enterprises are so hazardous as scarcely to be justified. The difficulty of directing combined attacks is at all times very great, but it is immensely increased when an attack must be made amid darkness and with a very imperfect knowledge of the ground, the nature of which can only be learned at all from the cursory glance of maps. An error arising from misconception of the locality cannot be rectified by any second reference to plans in the darkness, or without much delay; and the requisite of a reserve, so essential to all military operations, is impracticable in the case of a fortress attacked on three or four sides at once. The French governor acted with great resolution and skill, and was ably seconded by the intrepidity of his troops, who were in the first instance wholly taken by surprise. No operations in the field of any consequence were undertaken by Graham after this failure, but he rested on his arms, awaiting the issue of the grand contest going on in France. O'Meara relates that this daring attempt of Graham was frequently recurred to by Napoleon both at Elba and St. Helena. It could not fail to be an interesting subject to the hero of a hundred battles, as to every old soldier of every nation in the world. It was the very quintessence of pluck, and deserved the success which it very nearly obtained.

23. BATTLE OF ARCIS-SUR-AUBE.

Singularly enough, the leaders of the contending armies, not above ten leagues asunder, reviewed their respective forces at Rheims and Laon nearly on the same day. But,

“quantum mutatus ab illo
Hectore!”

Napoleon could scarcely muster 40,000, in skeletons of corps and regiments, as well officers as men, haggard, worn out, and a strange motley of uniforms of all arms, collected without order or symmetry. Blücher, on the other hand, assembled 109,000 com-

batants, of whom 29,000 were horse with 265 guns. No genius, no experience, not even the inexhaustible resources of the mighty master, could make up for power so disproportionate. During the three days that he stopped at Rheims to give physical rest to his wearied troops, his own indefatigable mind revolved the state of his prospects: "Ce qu'allaient lui conseiller les événements." Despatches from all quarters met him there. The conferences at Lusigny had been abandoned; the Allied sovereigns had detected the bad faith that would convert the question of a military armistice into a mere political delay. The same conviction brought to a crisis the negotiations at Chatillon, for the counter-project of Napoleon to the conditions offered to him by the sovereigns was clearly a mere scheme to gain time. He was not yet subdued in his spirit or his hopes, and answered an old counsellor who ventured to preach peace as he had answered Savary: "Qu'on n'oublie pas que c'est moi qui suis le grand tribun: Qu'ils sachent bien que je suis aujourd'hui le même homme que j'étais à Wagram et à Austerlitz. Car si on veut nous donner les étrivières, le moins qu'on ne nous oblige pas à nous les donner nous-mêmes." Before he quitted Rheims he heard from Caulaincourt that he had received notice that the negotiation at Chatillon would be definitively closed on the 18th.* It was now therefore necessary to take action, and he determined on a new plan of operations, namely, to leave Paris to the defence of its citizens, and to march up the Marne to collect the garrisons out of the east of France with which to reinforce his army. General Tettenborn, commanding a brigade of light cavalry, had been ordered up by the Prince Marshal from Cologne to Luxembourg, and was directing his march towards Rheims, when he heard of the battle of Laon, which he immediately reported to Schwarzenberg at Troyes on the 14th of March, at which time it would seem the Generalissimo first heard of this event. He, in consequence, hastened to concentrate his army between the Seine and the Aube, and even ventured to cross the Seine on the 16th and attack Macdonald, who immediately fell back before the Allies on Provins; but, as soon as he learned that Napoleon was as near as Rheims, he called in his advance, and carried the grand Allied army back towards Brienne, in order to cover the ground between the Aube and the Marne. Napoleon quitted Rheims on the 17th and marched to Epernay, and on the 19th bivouacked his army at Fère-Champenoise and in the adjacent country. For a moment he hesitated whether to advance against Schwarzenberg from this point towards Plancy or Arcis-sur-Aube, but at length determined on the former. Had he adopted the latter direction, he might have surprised the Prince Marshal in his quarters in that town, confined to his bed by a fit of the gout, for there the Czar found him on the evening of the 18th. Alexander immediately took upon himself to act, and ordered the army to concentrate about Troyes, while Wrede with the Bavarians should occupy Arcis and defend the passage of the Aube at Grand Torcy. The arrival of Alexander at Arcis was indeed most opportune, for General Toll, the quarter-

* Thiers.

master-general of the Allied army, was without any orders from the Generalissimo, and, when addressed by the Czar in the very ante-chamber of the invalid, admitted that he could not persuade him of the pressing danger in which the army was standing. Had Napoleon been aware of this state of things, he might easily have routed Wrede and found himself in the very centre of the Allied camp; and the effect of such a success at this moment could scarcely have been overvalued; but ignorant of the prize almost within his grasp, he had turned aside to effect a junction with Macdonald and Oudinot, whom he had ordered up from Provins to meet him near Plancy. The Czar could not stop Napoleon, who had crossed the Aube at Plancy with the cavalry of the guard, and was now gone forward to secure the bridge of Méry on the Seine, which he found in possession of the Prince of Würtemberg. On this he sent the Old Guard under Letort across by a ford, who fell upon the enemy, routed him, and captured a pontoon equipage of the Allied army. Then, leaving his guard in possession of Méry, he returned to sleep at Plancy, where he received notice of the arrival of his expected reinforcements at Chartres. Thinking the Allied army to be in complete retreat, he instantly sent orders to Ney to call him up from Chalons, and with 55,000 men thus collected, Napoleon prepared to march up the left bank of the Aube on the 20th, and by mid-day reached Arcis, where he met Sebastiani, who reported his encounter with the Bavarian outposts, and it was only from the information he thus received he discovered that the enemy was before him in force.

The Allied army had, in fact, already received the impulse of a younger chief. The Prince Marshal had carried his prudence and caution to the extreme verge, which had produced the natural effect of averting disaster by simply doing nothing; but the Czar resolved on action, and the circumstances of the moment favoured that policy; for Caulaincourt having been dismissed with the assurance that all negotiation was at an end, and the Emperor Francis having become reconciled to the necessity of acting without further regard to dynastic prepossessions, Schwarzenberg entered fully into the Czar's desire of a bold initiative. Accordingly, the whole Allied army was now brought up from Troyes, and concentrated with the resolution of attacking the French. This change of policy took Napoleon totally at fault: he was not prepared for this sudden resumption of the offensive; he thought Schwarzenberg would, as usual, retreat before him; but at 2 in the day of the 20th, the Allied outposts came down against the French, and the Allied army was discovered on the summit of the swelling hills lying on the westward of the town of Arcis, ranged in several lines extending from Chaudry-sur-L'Aube to the rivulet of Barbuisse. The united Austrian and Bavarian cavalry were soon seen advancing in mass, and the Cossacks, led by General Kaiserov, fell upon the division Colbert and threw it back in confusion upon the division Excelmans, all of whom fled *pêle-mêle* through Arcis. So suddenly did the attack come upon him that a battalion of Poles, commanded by Sko-

zynecki, actually received Napoleon in their square to protect him from the assault of the Allied cavalry. As soon as he could get free from the squares, the Emperor saw the imminency of the moment, and that he would be in a great strait if the enemy should get possession of the bridges over the Aube. He therefore galloped to the bank of the river to rally the retiring columns. He dashed into the midst of the fugitives, and drawing his sword exclaimed, "Voyons qui de vous le repassera avant moi." General Pelets, in command of a division of the guard, forthwith obeyed the Emperor's orders, and deployed the division amidst a perfect shower of balls, and effectually stopped the disorderly flight. While some of the army was thus got into order to cross the river, Ney, the constant hero of every battle, whether to carry a position or to cover a retreat, held his ground resolutely at Grand-Torcy against all the efforts of the Bohemian army. He barricaded the village, loop-holed the houses, and from every garden, wall, and hedge of the outskirts, maintained such an unremitting flanking fire that he checked the heavy columns directed against him, and ever and anon led forth battalion after battalion to the charge, which prevented the Allied occupation of the town. Nevertheless, the situation was grave; the position of the French formed a semicircle in front of the town of Arcis, resting both flanks on the Aube. The Allies formed a larger semicircle around them; Wrede on the right, Barclay in the centre, and Giulay on the left. But such a post could not be long maintained, for not a third of the enemy were come up, and an imperious necessity counselled Napoleon to retreat. As usual, he opened all his guns to cover it, and 70 pieces of artillery, well served, ploughed with fearful effect through the masses of the Allied troops. Napoleon rode from the bridge to Grand Torcy and from Grand Torcy to the bridge, encouraging the defence and hastening the departure of his troops. To encourage the conscripts, he performed, at this time, an act of heroism which shows the species of fatality that hangs over every one in the day of battle. A burning shell fell in front of one of the columns. The Emperor instantly pushed his horse up to it, and made him smell the burning match, when it exploded, wounding his horse but doing no mischief to himself. The incident was regarded with wonder and enthusiasm by both the young and old soldiers, and has been perpetuated in many well-known *chefs-d'œuvre* of painting and sculpture. It was no doubt a rashness; but it would have been regarded as a miracle in the ages of faith, and it was as high an act of courage in a commander as has ever been recorded; the object being not a mere individual bravado, or an idle appetite for renown, but a moral daring, that might convince the reason of his followers that boldness will often avert danger. There was, it must be admitted, a needless bravado when the Emperor afterwards remarked to those who remonstrated with their leader for this exposure of his valuable life: "Ne craignez rien, le boulet qui me tuera n'est pas encore fondu." In the meantime the Old Guard was passed across the bridge and formed up on the other side under Friant to protect

the passage of the rest of the army. Schwarzenberg now ordered the Russian guard to advance under cover of the Russian batteries, and, as they passed by the Czar, he bade them remember Leipzig. They were followed by the Russian and Bavarian cavalry, who soon came in contact with 4,000 horse under Sebastiani; but the French artillery had been already reduced to silence, and that of the Russians played with terrible effect upon the dense columns of the French. The Czar and King descended from the heights of Ménil-la-Comtesse and followed the reserve into action, and the air resounded with guns, trumpets, and the war-cries of several nations. The towns of Torcy and Arcis were in flames, and the contest continued till 10 at night, all the French army having, in the meanwhile, crossed the river, except the corps of Oudinot. But just as the sun set, a column was seen unexpectedly to debouch on the road leading from Plancy, which at first occasioned some anxiety to the Emperor: it turned out to be 4,500 men of the Young Guard arriving from Paris, under the command of Lefebvre-Desnouettes.

An episode of some interest occurred this day in the rear of the French columns. A detachment of grenadiers and chasseurs of the guard were coming up on the left bank of the Aube from Méry, escorting the pontoon equipage which had been captured by Letort, when they encountered the enemy's cavalry, commanded by Prince Adam of Würtemberg, and Count de Pahlen preceding the corps of Rajefstskoi. As soon as the Prince saw the French, he sent against them the hussars of Oloropol, with some Uhlans to fall upon their left flank, while he led the remainder against the head of the column. The French resisted bravely, but must have succumbed had it not been for the timely arrival of the brigade Curely coming up to join the Emperor from the dépôt at Versailles. By their aid they were relieved from the danger of the moment, and got back to Méry with trifling loss, retaining possession of the pontoon equipage. Napoleon rested at Arcis on the night of the 20th-21st, and the Prince Marshal's head-quarters were in Pongey.

Napoleon awaited with the greatest anxiety the break of day, to discover in what direction the Prince Marshal would advance against him; but when he saw the arms of 150,000 men on the hills about Arcis-sur-Aube glittering in the beams of the rising sun, he turned to Sebastiani and said, "Eh bien, général, que dites-vous de ce qui vous voyez?" A dead silence prevailed. The soldiers stood at ease, the cavalry dismounted, held their horses' bridles in their hands, the guns unlimbered were ready to open; yet not a sound was heard, not a shot was fired, not a cry was raised; a hum of voices told of the presence of a mass of human beings assembled within the narrow circuit, but not a single hostile act was evidenced. Hour after hour thus passed away in the French lines. Napoleon resolutely persuaded himself that the Allies would fall away and not renew the attack. He accordingly called in his infantry from Plancy and Méry, and ordered Sebastiani to carry the cavalry of the guard to feel the enemy's right, directing Ney to take forward his corps in support. Their reports finally determined the Emperor to think of

his future plans. He forthwith ordered a second bridge to be thrown across the river opposite Villette, and directed the artillery and baggage to cross and take the road to Vitry, while the Duke de Reggio was ordered to establish his rear-guard firmly in Arcis. Accordingly, the brigade Montfort occupied the fauxbourg on the road to Troyes, and the brigade Maulnout that of Méry. The brigade Chassé remained ready to assist either from the town, and the division Rottembourg stood on the right bank of the river. The Generalissimo, in the meanwhile, left to himself, could scarcely muster resolution enough to determine upon an attack, though he passed the night in deep meditation about it; but the Czar and the King, and the younger leaders, could not any longer permit the disgrace of allowing the advantage of such overwhelming odds as they possessed to be neutralised by the mere name of Napoleon. Nevertheless, Schwarzenberg waited still to see what his opponent was going to do, so that no order issued from the Allied headquarters till half-past 2 in the afternoon!

The battle of Arcis-sur-Aube was the last in which Napoleon commanded in person before his fall. His victorious legions had never yet quailed before an enemy except under circumstances which were in some measure thought to extenuate the defeat; but now, on the 21st of March, the army which had so nobly stood by the great conqueror in all his dangers had neither the hope of glory nor the satisfaction of patriotism. The situation of Arcis is such that on the right bank of the Aube it is approached by a single causeway only, over an impracticable marsh, at the commencement of which the three roads to Fère-Champenoise, Châlons, and Vitry unite. It was by extraordinary promptitude alone that the entire army could hope to get across the obstacle by such an insufficient line of retreat, and accordingly it was of the first importance to deceive the enemy. Great was the astonishment of the Allied leaders when they beheld the French columns retreating, not towards the capital, but towards the Rhine. Napoleon had, in fact, seen that to play his favourite game of attacking the Austrians and Prussians right and left against such long odds was no longer possible, and he therefore resolved to carry out his previously considered plan of trusting Paris to the inhabitants, and marching into Lorraine to collect his garrisons, which might at the same time alarm the Austrian for his rear.* He resolved to abandon the heart of France, and to rally the garrisons of Metz, Verdun, and Mayence, in hopes of returning with an army of 100,000 men to spring like a lion amidst the columns of the invaders, and break, disperse, and destroy them in detail, exposing to the astonished world the spectacle of a million of men devoured by the soil on which they had so imprudently set hostile foot; but he calculated on the enthusiasm of a more popular cause, and on a nation which had not sunk into apathy from the long exhaustion of tyranny and war. The mass of the French people

* Napoleon admitted at Elba that his experience had convinced him of the dread that always existed among the Austrians for their lines of communication, and that their apathy on this occasion deceived him.

was manifestly weary of his yoke and deaf to his voice, and no national insurrection occurred anywhere to avert his inevitable fall.* It was not until the French retreat had been perceived by the Prince Marshal that he gave the signal for immediate attack; but this had been deferred till too late in the day for any decisive measures. A large part of the French army was already on its march over the distant hills; while Oudinot, out of Arcis, dealt death and destruction from every species of missile on the troops of Prince Eugène of Würtemberg, who advanced against him, and at length succeeded in marching off across the Aube at a ford. All attempts, however, to restore the bridge after sunset, under the iron shower which played upon it, were in vain. At length, at 9 o'clock, the Duc de Reggio ordered the last of the rear-guard to retire, and established his bivouac at the point where the three great roads converge; and, having withdrawn the brigade Maulmont, cut down and destroyed the bridge. The Imperial head-quarters were established the same night at Sommeques, and the following day carried across the Marne by the ford of Frignicourt.

24. NAPOLEON MARCHES ON ST. DIZIER.

The battle of Arcis-sur-Aube was not attended with the loss that might have been expected from the Emperor's presumptuous confidence in himself in seeking it. 4,200 men and 3 guns were the casualties on the part of the French army; but its immediate results were to throw Napoleon upon that eccentric line of operations which prematurely led to the end of the war. The moment had, however, arrived when he was almost *au bout de son latin* to maintain any military ascendancy. Blücher, already advanced towards Châlons, and not more than 12 leagues distant from Vitry, could no longer be restrained by the feeble *corps-d'armée* remaining to Marmont and Mortier. The armies of Bohemia and Silesia were therefore on the point of uniting, which must crush any force that the Emperor could now unite to meet them. He had played out the game of trying to beat the two armies in succession, and it required all the resources of his inexhaustible genius to devise some new expedient for further operations. Although the wisdom of the course he now adopted has been much condemned, it is really difficult to conceive what other he could have followed to continue the contest. The scheme he now entered upon was to unite his forces near Metz, and throwing himself into the provinces of the East of France endeavour to call in all the detached garrisons, while he might summon Marshal Angereau from Lyons and call up Suchet out of Spain. By these means he hoped to collect a force of 120,000 men; and though he thus left Paris exposed, he regarded the capital of his empire as a mere military head-quarter, the possession of which would in no degree affect the contest. He nevertheless expedited his last orders to Paris, commanding that every possible measure should be adopted to dispute its possession with the enemy, to keep down all needless

* Lamartine.

alarm in the population from the threatened intrusion of the Allies, which could only last for a day or two, and to send to him everything of military value that could be spared from its menaced occupation. He ordered all the outlying divisions to be called in, with the exception of a few National Guards under General Souham, who were to keep the field and dispute the bridges over the Seine at Nogent, Bray, Montereau, &c. Having settled his plans, therefore, his army reached Saint Dizier on the 22nd, and he himself placed his head-quarters at the Château de Plessis, near Oreonte. On the 23rd he wrote his last instructions to the Minister of War at Paris; but this dispatch, as well as the last letter he ever wrote to his Empress, were intercepted and straightway forwarded to the head-quarters of the Sovereigns at Dampierre.

25. THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS RESOLVE TO MARCH ON PARIS.

In consequence of the information derived from these intercepted despatches, the Czar summoned a council to be held at Sommeques, on the 24th, at which (the Emperor of Austria was absent at Bar-sur-Aube) besides the King and Generalissimo, Marshals Volkonski, Barclay, Diebitsh, and Toll assisted. They had scarcely met when news reached the assembled council of the occupation of Bordeaux by British troops, and of the proclamation of Louis XVIII. in the south of France, amidst great acclamations, and Count Pahlen also sent in a report that he had fallen in with Blücher's advanced guard between Arcis and Chalons; so that, at the moment when Napoleon had abandoned the protection of the capital, the united armies of the Allies stood between him and Paris, and had the road clearly open to them. Alexander therefore proposed to the council, "s'il était plus convenable de se porter sur Paris ou de se réplier sur le Rhin à la poursuite de Napoléon." After some deliberation and difference of opinion, the important resolve was taken that all the different forces should be united, with the exception of 8,000 or 10,000 horse, under General Winzengerode, who should follow and keep watch upon the march of the Emperor, and that they should commence their march on the very next morning (the 25th), by way of Sézanne and Montmirail; Blücher on the right, and Schwarzenberg on the left. Winzengerode, with a considerable number of guns attached to his squadron, had orders to endeavour to impose upon Napoleon the idea that the Allied army was in pursuit of him. No words can convey an idea of the enthusiasm which prevailed through the Allied army, when at daybreak of the 25th they found themselves in full and avowed march upon Paris.

26. COMBAT OF FÈRE-CHAMPENOISE.

The army was, however, no sooner in march than it unexpectedly came upon an enemy. The Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso had been recalled by the Emperor to join his army without delay, but had only received this order at Fismes on the night of the 20th.

They prepared to obey it immediately, and marched by Château-Thierry and Champaubert, but heard at Bergères on the 23rd of the affair at Arcis-sur-Aube, and of the Emperor's subsequent passage of the Marne at Vitry. They were therefore well-prepared to find an enemy in their path, and proceeded to join their chief by feeling their way. In this manner they had reached Soudé-St.-Croix on the 24th, when the two Marshals, differing as to the next direction to take, Mortier resolved to proceed on the road to Chalons, and Marmont rested where he was, on the road to Fère-Champenoise. At 8 o'clock on the following morning, the 25th, the latter saw, to his dismay, an immense line of camp-fires extending before him, behind the Soude. He immediately directed some twenty staff officers to go on a reconnoissance, who actually penetrated into the Allied bivouac, and, on receiving their report, he despatched an adjutant to Mortier, to invite him to rejoin him as quickly as possible. This Marshal had also already learned his danger, and was returning when the messenger reached him, so that both now agreed to fall back on Fère-Champenoise. Two other French detachments, under Generals Pacthod and Compans, the one coming from Sézanne, and the other, with some more of the Young Guard from Paris, were also at this time actually marching upon La Fère-Champenoise. Accordingly, at the same moment the opposing armies were moving on the same point of Fère-Champenoise, the Allies to pass it towards Paris, Marmont and Mortier towards Vitry, when the two advanced guards clashed near Soudé-St.-Croix. A sharp cannonade ensued for two hours, during which the two Marshals brought their respective forces under the fire, and took up line between Sommesous and Montefrieux. Two ravines, parallel to each other, at Vassimont and Conantray, covered their flanks, leaving a narrow plateau between them quite denuded of defence. Towards mid-day, Count Nostitz, the Grand Duke Constantine, and Count Pahlen came up with a strong body of cavalry, who fell upon the cuirassiers of Bourdessoule, and threw them back upon the infantry, who immediately formed squares, and those of the brigade Jasmin were broken. At the same moment a body of light cavalry advanced upon the rear of Mortier's columns and took some prisoners, but the chasseurs of Latour-Foissac restrained them. For seven hours the engagement lasted with various success, the two Marshals hoping to keep off the enemy sufficiently to effect their march on Fère-Champenoise; but on reaching Conantray a violent shower of hail came up suddenly, and blew with great force directly in the faces of the French. The Russian cuirassiers took advantage of it to fall upon them, and though the French squares received them at first with great steadiness, at length a panic seized the troops, and they fled in disorder towards the town; and, although they were rallied by Colonel Le Clerc at the head of a regiment of heavy cavalry, they lost 24 guns and more than 60 tumbrils. At this moment unexpected assistance arrived to them from the division Compans, and the sound of another conflict going on upon the flank apprised the Marshals that Pacthod, also with

his division, which escorted a convoy, was at hand and already in action.

At this juncture the Prince Marshal, with the Czar and King, arrived at Fère-Champenoise, attracted by the firing, and saw the convoy under General Pacthod in hot engagement with the cavalry of General Korf in a narrow valley near Clamerge, six or seven English miles from where the Marshal had stood. The carriages, four in front, stood upon the road while the village was stoutly defended, and the rest of the detachment formed squares about it, leaving space for 16 guns to open with grape upon the assailants who were sent against them. It was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon when the Sovereigns came upon the field, bringing up fresh bodies of cavalry under the orders of General Wasilitchikov. The Prince Marshal immediately ordered the guns to open upon the French squares, and under their fire Alexander led the cavalry forward in person. Pacthod nobly resisted; but 48 guns in battery made such frightful havoc in the French squares, that Pacthod was forced to lay down his arms. 9,000 men, with 6 generals, were accordingly brought in as prisoners to the Czar, and Pacthod was permitted to yield up his sword to Alexander in person, who accepted it with some words of consolation and grace, and invited the unhappy general to dine in his tent. Sixty guns and 150 carts and tumbrils here became a prize to the conquerors.

In the midst of the confusion the two Marshals effected their retreat to Allement, whence, after a few hours' rest, they proceeded in the middle of the night of the 25th-26th to Sézanne. Before daybreak they arrived there, but found it in possession of the Prussian General Ziethen. In such an emergency the boldest course is the safest, and day broke as they were bravely pushing through the town; but they had to sustain a sturdy fight with the Prussians before they could reach the heights above Bellecroix. Three hours after the French had passed Sézanne, the Prince Royal of Würtemberg came up in pursuit. The greater portion of the army of the Marshals, nevertheless, was able to gain and establish itself securely for the night at La Ferté-gaucher. On the 27th, the two Marshals, actively pursued by Pahlen, Ziethen, and the Prince Royal of Würtemberg, were cut off from the road to Coulommiers, and forced to fall back by the way to Provins. Here they joined to their corps the division Souham retiring from Nogent. Compans, who had been enabled to retire on Chailly, succeeded in reaching Meaux, where he crossed the Marne, the passage of which was disputed by the brigade Vincent against the advanced guard of the army of Silesia, under the Count de Langeron: but on the 28th, Blücher ordered bridges to be thrown across that river, and drove Compans out of Meaux, who retired on Ville Parisin and Montvaigle, whence, on the 29th, he continued his retreat amidst perpetual combats with his pursuers to Bondy. The two Marshals, on their arrival at Nanges on that day again separated; Mortier marching direct on Paris by the high road to Guignes, and the other by a cross-road to Melun.

The united armies of the Allies pursued their course, on the 29th, in three columns against the French capital. The right column consisted of the army of Silesia under Blücher, who, having left a strong division at Meaux on the right of the Marne, under Sacken and de Wrede, took the great route royale from Brussels by Soissons. The centre column marched by the great German approach along the Canal de L'Ourc. The left column marched down the left bank of the Marne. In this manner the Allies, on the evening of the 29th, established themselves: Blücher, Kleist, De York, Worozoff, and Langeson were near St. Denis, having their advance at La Chapelle at the foot of Montmartre. The Prince Marshal, with 5,000 men, was at Pantin and La Villette at the foot of the heights of Romainville; and the Prince Royal of Würtemberg, with 30,000 men, threatened Vincennes and Montreuil. The head-quarters of the Sovereigns were at Bondy. On the other hand, the two French Marshals again united their forces, and passed the Seine at Charenton about mid-day, and were therefore arrived in front of Paris before the Allied armies arrived, and had already established themselves on the heights of Montmartre and Romainville.

27. THE EMPRESS AND THE KING OF ROME FLY FROM THE CAPITAL.

The uneasy state of Paris at such a moment may be imagined. Not only was the population excited to the utmost by the disgrace and danger of falling into the hands of enemies, who had all of them a bitter account to settle for past injuries, but crowds of peasants flying before the foe beset the barriers of the capital, bringing those natural exaggerations which always accompany fear. The sight of endless crowds of countrymen thus defiling along the Boulevards, with their wives, their children, and their cattle, as if seeking their last asylum, was calculated to add immensely to the trepidation that seized the citizens. Joseph and his brothers, Louis and Jerome, who were all in Paris, felt the responsibility which weighed upon them as the chief depositaries of their Imperial brother's wishes. Driven themselves from their paper thrones of Spain, Holland, and Westphalia, they were still Princes of his Empire at Napoleon's capital; and they resolved to exercise authority by calling together the Council of Regency, which accordingly assembled at the Tuileries on the evening of the 28th of March, under the presidency of the Empress. The ex-Kings, together with Cambacères, Talleyrand, Lebrun, and the ministers and high authorities, to the number of 25 persons, assisted at this solemn assembly. After a long discussion, the council determined, by a considerable majority, that the Empress and King of Rome should remain in Paris. Upon this Joseph presented letters from Napoleon, in which he was expressly commanded that in no event should they permit his wife and son to fall into the hands of the enemy. He had good reasons of state for apprehending that, in the hands of his enemies, they might be converted into an instrument against him,

and he had accordingly written to his brother that he would rather see them in the Seine, than part with so precious a security. In his characteristic language he said: "The fate of Astyanax, a prisoner in the hands of the Greeks, has always appeared to me the most deplorable in history." What even at this juncture Napoleon had commanded they all prepared to obey, and orders were forthwith issued for the departure of the Empress and the King of Rome, under the care of the Arch-Chancellor Cambacères, for the palace of Rambouillet. On the morning of the 29th, therefore, the Place de Caroussel was crowded with the Imperial carriages, and with a crowd, some curious, but many displeased at what appeared almost a desertion in the moment of danger. These last succeeded in reaching Marie Louise, and implored her to stay with her son, assuring her of their devotion; but she pleading the obedience due from her to the Emperor, persevered in her resolve. She carried with her a load of baggage, including all the most precious private papers of Napoleon, all the crown jewels, and about 18 millions of francs in gold, and at mid-day departed "dévorée de chagrin, emmenant son fils, chéri qui trépassait de dépit, et demandait où on les menait."* Joseph and the Duc de Feltre, Minister of War, then turned about to make the best arrangements in their power for the defence of the city. There was not a field work at this time existing for its protection, and scarcely a musket was left in the arsenals for the defence of the capital of this mighty military monarchy. At the utmost, 22,000 or 23,000 soldiers could be rallied under the two Marshals, with about 12,000 National Guards, of whom not above one-third had arms, to defend Montmartre and the Butte de Chaumont. Had the great chief been present to command, barricades would doubtless have been forthwith raised in the streets, and the arsenal of Vincennes emptied of the immense supply of combustibles which were yet amassed within its walls; but Joseph was not the man to take the place of one so wonderfully full of resources and so marvellously endowed with energy to use them most effectually. Marshal Moncey was chief of the National Guard, General Hulín was *chef de la place*; but these two functionaries were independent, by virtue of office, of the Minister of War, which latter only possessed authority to instruct Marmont to defend the plateau of Romainville, and Mortier the heights of Montmartre. Some guns were dragged up in haste from the arsenal to the heights and placed in battery, and some palisades were driven in to secure the barriers and gates from an inroad of Cossacks. A spirited proclamation was issued by Joseph, in which he earnestly exhorted the troops and the inhabitants to resist the enemy bravely till the arrival of the Emperor, who might be hourly expected to arrive to the assistance of his capital at the head of a victorious army.

The Allied Sovereigns and generals were congregated at the Château de Bondy on the night of the 29th, and determined that the attack of Paris should take place at early morning of the 30th, for it was known that Napoleon was already advancing with rapid

* Thiers.

strides to take part in its defence. The object of attack was to be the heights of Montmartre and Belleville. Barclay de Tolly, with the corps of Raefskoi and Shachafskoi, and the reserves, amounting in all to 50,000 men, was to storm Romainville, while Pahlen moved on Montreuil, and the Prince Royal of Würtemberg and Giulay marched down the right bank of the Seine by way of Charenton and cleared the Bois de Vincennes. The right attack was confided to Blücher, who advanced against Montmartre with 90,000 men in two strong columns: one under Count Langeron to move through St. Denis on Clichy and Montmartre; and another, under Kleist, De York, and Woronsoff, upon La Chapelle and La Villette. Prince Eugène of Würtemberg, between the right and left attacks, was to advance from Pantin against the Butte de Chaumont. An address to the inhabitants of Paris was also agreed upon at this council, in which the inhabitants were assured that the object of the Allied Sovereigns was to establish peace and a beneficent government, and the preservation of tranquillity in concert with their own authorities. This proclamation, with a proposal for a capitulation annexed, was sent in to the French advanced posts, but was at once rejected by the Marshals, who replied that they were resolved to maintain their ground.

28. BATTLE AND CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

At 2 in the morning the *générale* beat in all the quarters of Paris to summon the National Guard to their places of rendezvous. Joseph repaired to Montmartre and established himself on the *butte des cinq moulins*. Here he was joined by Hulin with a staff of artillery and engineer officers, and was soon followed by the Minister of War and others. From this spot they could overlook the whole plain of St. Denis. Marshal Moncey, Duke of Conéglino, marched up to the heights about 5 o'clock at the head of the National Guard. Marmont had arrived first on the ground with his corps, and had disposed his troops on the northern slopes of Romainville from that village to Pré St. Gervais. Mortier, who had passed the night in position, had charge to defend the plain in front of Montmartre all the way to St. Denis, and therefore had more ground to pass over and cover; but it so happened that Blücher, notwithstanding his natural impatience to be "*vorwärts*," was unable to get his corps up from Meaux so early as the Generalissimo. Prince Eugène of Würtemberg, accordingly, began the battle at 6 in the morning, and was encountered by Boyer's division of the Young Guard as he debouched from Pantin. He was, however, supported by the Russian cuirassiers under Kretov, and a furious conflict ensued, when the Prince, finding himself overmatched, sent to Barclay, who immediately ordered Raefskoi to commence operations on the left. Pahlen also had at this time carried Montreuil. Marmont now sent forward Compans with the division Lagrange from his left and the Duke de Padua on the right to take the offensive, and the battle raged fiercely in and about Romainville.

Barclay de Tolly, as soon as he saw Raefskoi likely to be overwhelmed, resolved to secure possession of the plateau of Romainville, and Mezenzov advanced with three divisions of the Russian guard, foot and horse, in support, while Paskevitch mounted the hill with the grenadiers from Rosny. General Mezenzov forced Lagrange to give back the ground, while Pahlen's advance from the side of Montreuil and Bagnolet obliged the Duke of Padua to fall back ; so that the French were driven back rearwards to Belleville and almost to Mesnil Moutant. All this time General Compans remained master of Pantin with the division Boyer, and sent up the division Michet in support to Pré St. Germain, while Mortier, finding he was not yet attacked, sent the divisions Curiel, Charpentier, and Christiani to occupy La Villette and La Chapelle. Marmont also contracted his line by withdrawing into Belleville and Bagnolet. The Duke of Padua was accordingly formed up on the plateau near Malassis behind Bagnolet, in order to communicate with the troops who still held Montreuil, thus maintaining with solidity the right of the position. The Duke of Ragusa resolved even to attempt the offensive again, and sent Boyer out of Pantin into the wood of Romainville, who took the Russians in their advance by surprise, but they immediately sent General Kretov with his cuirassiers to drive them back. These, however, found themselves checked by the guns on the heights, which covered them with grape and obliged them to fall back. It was about 8 o'clock when the Czar arrived on the field of battle. He at once ordered Barclay to send up the grenadiers under Paskievitch in aid, who carried the wood of Romainville after a most desperate conflict, while the Prussian guards and the Baden troops were sent again to Pantin, and thus Raefskoi was in a position to resume the offensive.

During these attacks Mortier awaited Blücher's attacks, which did not take effect till 11 o'clock, when Langeron's column was seen coming up from Bourget and driving the brigade Robert out of Aubervilliers, and when the corps of York, Kleist, and Woronzow were seen to be moving steadily forward. The dark mass of blue uniform became quickly edged with fire; standards were seen waving, trumpets were heard sounding, and a hundred pieces of cannon opened their voices as the Prussian army, widening and extending, burst like one huge wave and overspread the whole plain of St. Denis.* At sight of this imposing force the ex-King Joseph lost heart, and called the ministers to council in his tent. He showed them that he had no strength of troops to resist such a host, and no reserves or reinforcements to bring up; not only did the countless host they saw endanger the capital, but that he had received reports that Charonne and the Barrière du Trone were already attacked by the Austrians, who had driven their troops out of Montreuil; and an officer was brought forward who had been captured by the Cossacks and carried to the head-quarters of Bondy, where he had seen the Czar, who desired him to tell the Parisians that he was not making war against them, but against Napoleon, and

* Allison.

that he wished to enter the city, not as a barbarian but as a friend. His councillors therefore agreed with Joseph that, to save the capital from horrors, Paris must be within a few hours delivered up. Joseph frankly admitted that resistance would destroy the capital without saving the Empire; that the contest was, in fact, reduced to a hopeless battle of one against a dozen, the result of which could never admit of the least doubt, whatever bravery might be called forth. He therefore announced his own intention to depart, and gave to the Marshals full power to capitulate if they pleased. Joseph, Jerome, and Clarke then, mounting their horses, descended from Montmartre and fled at their utmost speed by the external boulevards to the Bois de Boulogne, whence they took the road to Blois. De York, continuing his forward march, fell upon La Chapelle, and Kleist, with Woronzow, attacked La Villette, while Langeron followed after Robert, and sent a detachment to attack Les Batignoles on the left, and threaten the Bois de Boulogne. General Christiani in Onin struggled to retain possession of La Villette, and carried forward four fresh battalions to its support; but the French were driven out of it by Woronzow, and all their cannon taken. Mortier, however, contended for four hours with heroic resolution to hold the hill of Montmartre against the constantly increasing masses and reiterated attacks of the Prussians.

While thus the army of Silesia developed its strength in the plain of St. Denis to the north, the heads of the columns, under the command of the Crown Prince of Würtemberg to the south, arrived at 1 o'clock in the afternoon at Neuilly-sur-Marne, where he left Count Giulay in observation, and marched with the rest of his division in two columns against Fontenay-aux-Bois. The columns under the command of the Prince of Hohenlohe then advanced by way of Port St. Maur, and the other under Stockmayer across the Bois de Vincennes to Charenton. The wood was occupied without opposition and the castle blockaded, but Hohenlohe was obliged to carry the bridge by storm, when he drove the enemy back with severe loss and captured 8 guns. The united force then appeared at Charenton, where a mixed body of veterans and young soldiers made some resistance; but they were forced to cross the Marne and yield possession of the bridge. The duty of securing all the approaches across the rivers from the south being thus accomplished, Count Pahlen communicated the result of his successful advance, which made the left flank of the Allied army secure.

The Czar now ordered an attack from the whole line. Raeffskoi sent the division Mezenzoi against Malassis, and drove the Duke of Padua out of Bagnolet and Charonne. Pitsnitzki carried Romainville, driving the division Chabert before him to Belleville. The division Ricard in vain endeavoured to hold the Parc des Bruyères. Marmont put himself at the head of the brigade Clavel to keep back Pitsnitzki; but the whole brigade was dispersed, the brigadier killed, and the Marshal's horse shot under him. The combat was rude and bloody, when Compans came opportunely with a division of the Young Guard under General Dejean, which gave rise to the

report that Napoleon had arrived. The cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, accordingly, ran along the ranks, and now, animated by a new hope, the conflict was renewed with spirit. Belleville was the key of the position, as commanding the whole of it from Montmartre to Vincennes, and here Marmont rallied the remains of the divisions Lagrange, Ricard, Padua, and Ledru des Essarts, with all his artillery, and held his ground against every attack till the Prince Marshal ordered two columns to push their way, the one between Menilmontaut and the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise to attain to the Butte St. Chaumont, between Belleville and the external boulevard, and the other to reach the same point from Pantin and La Petite Villette. The chief artillery officer, Paixhans, placed his guns in battery at Charonne, which bore direct upon the front of these assaults; but the Russian grenadiers, though riddled with grape, persevered and carried the butte; Prince Gortchakoff forced Charonne, and stormed the batteries, and Paris lay at their feet. The Russian centre pressing forward crowded upon the plateau from here to Belleville with deafening shouts. The cry of "Fire on Paris! fire on Paris!" now resounded on every side, and, amidst discordant cries which rent the welkin, 20 howitzers were immediately brought up under the direction of General Miloradovitch, and bombs were speedily sent as far as the Chaussée d'Autin. Marmont, calling Generals Pelleport and Meynadier to his assistance, rallied all who would follow him, and stood sword in hand to stop the Russians from penetrating into the Faubourg du Temple. Then might be seen the friend of the Emperor's youth, excited by the occasion, disputing, step by step, the entrance to the suburb. His sword being broken, he seized a musket, and with his features blackened with smoke, and with one arm in a sling, he did all that man could do for glory, for his Emperor, and for his country; but he who was the last of the heroes was calumniated as the first of traitors.*

Seeing at length that the city was at the mercy of the fire of the Allies, Marmont sent Colonel Labedoyère to the Generalissimo with propositions for an armistice similar to that which had been granted a short time before to Mortier. He still held La Villette with the divisions Curial, Charpentier, and La Chapelle with the division Christiani, but being utterly exhausted of ammunition, he had been unable to hold the Butte Montmartre against the attack of Langeron, and two columns, under Generals Radzevitch and Kapzevitch, had consequently advanced from St. Onin into the village of Clignancourt, which advance Dautencourt and Spasse with the cavalry were unable to impede, and consequently the Allied forces now reached the foot of Montmartre almost unopposed. Here Belliard resisted their ascent in vain, and was forced to fall back before the Russians to the barrier of Monceau. The Butte de Montmartre was thus crowned and secured with 20 guns in battery, the Russians exclaiming as they looked down on Paris: "So, Father Paris! you must now pay for Mother Moscow." The Duke de Conégliono, with the National Guard, who still held

* Lamartine.

Les Batignoles, was now also obliged to give way, and the veteran Marshal Moncey was found at the barrier of Clichy wounded, utterly exhausted in person, and absolutely deserted by any troops. On seeing this state of things, Mortier immediately wrote on a drum-head the following missive to the Prince Marshal: "Prince, let us save a useless effusion of blood. I propose to you a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours, during which we will treat in order to save Paris from the horrors of a siege." The two propositions reached Schwarzenberg nearly at the same moment, who named the village of La Villette as the place of rendezvous for the negotiations, where, on the table of a public-house and amidst the roar of the battle, which was still going on with fury, a capitulation was signed at 2 o'clock in the night, by which it was agreed that the French troops should evacuate Paris at 7 o'clock, and that it should be delivered up to the Allies at 9 o'clock in the morning of the 31st of March. This battle of Paris, the crowning scene of the invasion of France by the Allies, cost them not less than 9,093 killed and wounded, of whom upwards of 7,000 were Russians. Eighty-six guns were captured on the field and 72 pieces of artillery were afterwards given up by capitulation. The French loss is not believed to have exceeded 4,500 men, but of course was never reckoned.

29. NAPOLEON HASTENS BACK TO FONTAINEBLEAU.

Napoleon had been joined at St. Dizier on the 23rd by his plenipotentiary Caulaincourt, Duke de Vicenza, who had quitted Chatillon on the 20th with the other negotiators. The sight of an ambassador who had failed in his embassy was not calculated to heighten the enthusiasm of the army. But the Emperor received him graciously, and said he did well to return to him without accepting the ultimatum of the Allies, for if he had accepted it, he would have disavowed him. Nothing of interest occurred at the Imperial head-quarters while they rested at St. Dizier, excepting the capture by General Pine at the outposts of the Baron de Wessenburg, together with M. de Vitrolles returning from a mission to the Count d'Artois, who contrived to conceal their mission from the Emperor. With great difficulty Caulaincourt obtained permission to liberate the Baron, and charged him with a letter to Metternich, in which, but without his master's authority, he endeavoured to reopen negotiations. In the meanwhile, Napoleon was anxiously expecting the report of his scouts, that the Prince Marshal was following him with the Allied army, and at length some prisoners were brought in who affirmed that the armies of Bohemia and Silesia had joined and had marched on Paris: this, nevertheless, the Emperor persisted in disbelieving. At last, on the 26th, Macdonald reported that from the reports he had received, there was absolutely no enemy on his trace, except a few light troops. Upon this a reconnoissance was ordered that Napoleon might convince himself of the reality. Whilst marching along the left bank of

the Marne, he perceived a strong body of cavalry on the right bank, in the direction of Vitry. Without hesitation, though well knowing the danger of passing a river in the face of an enemy, he immediately forded the Marne at Héricourt with all his forces except the corps of Oudinot, whom he left at St. Dizier, and marched straight forward, when he was attacked by 10,000 cavalry and some light infantry the moment he reached the opposite bank. The action commenced by échelon from the left, and Winzengerode, who commanded, soon found he had got the entire French army on his hands, which was just what he ought not to have brought about. He was soon driven back to Penthin, on the road to Bar-Le-Duc, when night put an end to the combat, and the Emperor returned to St. Dizier, satisfied that the affair had been but one of outpost. In considerable uncertainty as to what he had best do next, he ordered the army to march on the 27th to Vitry, which he found *à l'abri d'un coup de main*, and the hazardous attempt to carry it by storm failed; and here he received the account of the double action at Fère-Champenoise. He accordingly took counsel of Ney, Berthier, and Caulaincourt, who recommended unanimously an immediate advance on Paris without a moment's delay, and on the 28th the army began its march to Doulcourt, where it rested that night, and on the 29th proceeded to Troyes. With his ordinary impatience, he soon outstripped his troops, who could not move at his rate of speed, and on the march this day he received a despatch from M. de Lavalette, which apprised him of the danger that menaced Paris, and induced him to hasten forward still faster. He reached Villeneuve l'Archévêque on the morning of the 30th, and here his impatience increased upon him so much, that he quitted his horse and took post, with Berthier and Caulaincourt, for Paris. Towards midnight he reached Fromenteau, where he threw himself out of the carriage and ran to enquire the news at the poste. On his way he encountered a body of French cavalry marching under the orders of General Belliard, and from him, as he was issuing forth from the obscurity of a doorway, he received the fatal information:—"Paris has capitulated. The enemy enter it to-morrow. These troops are the remains of the *corps-d'armée* of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, falling back on Fontainebleau." He seized the General by the arms and almost threw him into the carriage, which he also entered, and overwhelmed him with questions. After an ebullition of temper at all that was told him, very natural under the circumstances, he gave up all idea of proceeding in person to Paris, and taking Caulaincourt aside he said:—"Ride full speed! ride! for I am given up and sold. See if I have time yet to intervene in the treaty which is signing perhaps without me and against me. Do not lose an instant. I give you full powers." The Duke de Vicenza rode off, but returned while Napoleon still awaited at Fromenteru, having been refused a passage at the outposts. Shut up with his negotiator, the Emperor succeeded in overcoming the scruples that Caulaincourt had the honesty to admit he felt with regard to making a second attempt at negotiation; but

at length he again started for Paris, while Napoleon mounted his horse and slowly and in silence took the road to Fontainebleau, accompanied by Berthier.

30. THE ALLIED ARMIES ENTER PARIS IN TRIUMPH.

Paris had never been trodden by the foot of a foreign conqueror since the 15th century, when a King of England entered it and assumed the crown of France; now "the Kings of the earth stood up and took counsel together" to destroy a pestilent ambition which, nurtured in the hotbed of unbounded license, had subsided into slavish obedience to arbitrary power, and carried fire and sword into all their dwellings. Nevertheless, it had been made the open avowal of the Alliance that they did not come to France in a spirit of revenge and retaliation for former injuries, but in the interest of peace and self-protection, and, therefore, it was essential that the great military chief should be removed from power; but beyond that, France should be left in full liberty to choose her own form of government and her own ruler. The deputation from the capital, consisting of the civil magistracy and chiefs of the National Guard, were accordingly received by the Czar with these words: "I am not the enemy of the French nation, but only of a single man who, devoured by ambition and filled with bad faith, came into the heart of my dominions, and left me no alternative but to seek security for my future safety in the liberation of Europe. The Allied Sovereigns have come here neither to conquer nor to rule France, but to learn and support what France itself deems most suitable for its own welfare." Whilst Alexander assumed to himself to be the grand arbiter, the officers entrusted with the duty of settling the evacuation of Paris arranged that the outposts of the two Marshals should surrender the gates to the soldiers of the Allied armies at the hour named in the morning; after which the Sovereigns would make their solemn entry.

At mid-day on the 31st, the Czar, having on his right King Frederick William, and on his left the Prince Marshal, Generalissimo of the Allied armies, entered Paris on horseback, through the Porte de St. Martin, attended by all the notables and chiefs of the three nations, and a numerous military staff. The Cossacks formed the advance; the Archduke Constantine came next, at the head of the guards of the different powers, formed in column; and 50,000 picked troops succeeded, each soldier wearing on his arm a white scarf. The crowd that assembled to witness this triumph was so enormous, and the acclamations so great, that the procession was frequently stopped before they could even attain to the streets of the capital. All the city seemed assembled and concentrated, and one unanimous feeling evidently directed the minds of all. The system that had put all their families into mourning was at an end. It was hoped that the reign of the sword had terminated. Arrived at the Place Louis XV., the troops filed in perfect order before their Sovereigns, and were then marched off to the cantonments pre-

pared for them in the adjacent villages, while the Sovereigns were conducted to the quarters prepared for them in the town, the Czar dismounting at the hôtel of Prince Talleyrand, situated at one angle of the garden of the Tuileries. The vast and splendid apartments of Talleyrand's mansion offered large accommodation for ministers and aides-de-camp, and were well suited to the ordinary diplomatic re-unions of important councils.*

In the meanwhile, at daybreak on the 31st, Caulaincourt had found himself in the midst of the military girdle of the soldiers of all nations who held firm hold of Paris, and who were all busily occupied in preparing to enter the capital *en grande tenue*. He first essayed to meet with some provisional government at the Hôtel de Ville; but finding no one there with whom to open his mission, he made his way to the Chateau de Bondy, where he succeeded, through some old acquaintance, in obtaining immediate admittance to the Czar. Such a moment was most unpropitious for the *date obolum Belisario*, and he was unable to obtain anything more than a gracious acknowledgment from the sovereign to whom he had been so long accredited as ambassador. Caulaincourt waited accordingly till the triumph was over, when he again repaired to the ante-chamber of Alexander, and had the good luck to obtain the recognition of the Grand-Duke Constantine as he passed by him to his Imperial brother's apartment, and to him he communicated his desire to be received at the Allied councils as the representative of his fallen master. Constantine confessed to him his knowledge that the most inflexible precautions had been taken to close the cabinet of the Sovereigns against every emissary of Napoléon; nevertheless, the Grand-Duke, moved by the entreaties of his former friend, carried him in his carriage to a place of concealment where he passed the night, and in the morning he gained admission, unknown to the cunning and vigilant owner of the mansion, into the private apartment of the Czar. He afterwards knocked in vain at the doors of the many still influential functionaries who had lived with him in the sunshine of Imperial favour, but to little or no purpose, and (last of all) he effected an audience with the Prince of Benevento himself. "Il est trop tard," said Talleyrand; "il n'y a plus à s'occuper de Napoléon, que pour lui ménager une retraite éloignée."

31. NAPOLEON IS DETHRONED BY DECREE OF THE SENATE.

M. Thiers states very forcibly the ascendancy that Talleyrand's opinions naturally obtained at this peculiar crisis. "C'est à lui que s'adressaient particulièrement des questions, comme au plus accrédité des personnages aux quels on pouvait les poser; M. de T.

* M. Thiers mentions as the reason for this arrangement that the offer of the Tuileries having been made to the Czar, he had expressed his own wish in preference to occupy the Elysée; but that during the review His Imperial Majesty was privately informed that it was thought that this palace was mined with gunpowder, and Talleyrand accordingly offered the loan of his own mansion, which was accepted on the spur of the moment.

possédait au plus haut point le discernement des situations, savait découvrir ce qui convenait à chacune, et avait de plus l'art de donner à ses avis une forme piquante ou sententieuse, qui leur valait tout de suite la voque d'un bon mot ou d'un mot profond. Il avait clairement discerné qu'élévé par la victoire, Napoléon ne pouvait se soutenir que par elle; que vaincu il était détrôné; que la République n'était pas proposable à une génération qui avait assisté aux horreurs de 1793, la monarchie était le seul gouvernement alors possible." Talleyrand thus summed up his own opinions: "La République est une impossibilité; la Régence Bernadotte soit une intrigue; les Bourbons seuls sont un principe." The Allied Sovereigns in their proclamation invited the Senate to meet and determine the future of France; and, accordingly, on the 1st of April, the Prince, Grand Dignitary and Vice-President of the Senate, assembled that body, who nominated a provisional government, and on the following day reassembled, and resolved unanimously these two simple articles:—"That the hereditary sovereignty established in the person of Napoléon Bonaparte and his descendants was abolished," and "that all Frenchmen were absolved from further allegiance to him."

32. WAR IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia had not been inattentive to the state of affairs in the campaign of Champagne, and was well aware how they affected his own position. He had sent to the Emperor all the assistance he could spare, without destroying every hope of being able to check the advance of the British army, whenever its leader might determine to move against him. With the foresight of a great commander, he had, as early as the 3rd of March, given directions to his engineers to throw up works of defence about Toulouse, of which it has been thought that Wellington knew nothing whatever; but Soult had considered that he could, without any great effort, and without any serious resistance, be able to reach that city, when it might be no longer expedient, or even possible, to cling to the mountains. On the 10th, he despatched all the conscripts in his army to man those lines, and he then awaited the issue of events about Conchez and Lembèze, to which last place he fell back on the 15th, keeping his advanced posts still at the former town.

Wellington was, of course, fully apprised of what was going on in Champagne, and especially of the resolution taken by the Allied Sovereigns at Chaumont, that they would not sheath the sword till they had totally crushed Napoleon Bonaparte; and having now received all his reinforcements, and having called back Beresford from Bordeaux, he had in line 27,000 British with 42 guns, and 18,000 Spaniards with 18 guns, making in all 40,000 bayonets and sabres with 60 pieces of artillery, to oppose Soult with 28,000 and 38 guns, who was now, however, as he apprehended, daily expecting to be joined by Suchet out of Spain. Soult, after Hill's attack

at Aire, having heard of the state of affairs at Bayonne, retreated in the night of the 16th by Semalourbe upon Vic-Bigorre. The British army was immediately in motion in three columns in pursuit; the right upon Conchez, the centre towards Casteluare, and the left on Plaisance. The sight of the latter columns on the plateau of Sauveterre showed the French Marshal that he was turned by the valley of the Adour, and that Wellington had barred the road leading from Tarbes to St. Gaudens and Toulouse. Hill next drove in the French outposts on the 19th, who retired upon the little town of Vic-Bigorre, about three leagues from Tarbes, with the loss of some 80 killed and wounded. On the following day, a strong rear-guard was observed in position on a ridge behind the small river Laiza. D'Erlon, on the right, standing across the great road to Tarbes, and Berton's cavalry in column covering Vic-Bigorre, on a narrow road bounded on each side by a deep and wide ditch. Picton coming up with the 3rd Division and Brock's German horse, then overthrew Berton, which enabled the former to drive D'Erlon through the vineyards and town, who being much pressed fell back in good order upon Tarbes. Soult, thinking this only a flank movement, moved to fall upon it with his whole army, and caused the divisions Darican and D'Armagnac under General Paris to unite with D'Erlon, Clausel, and Reille upon the plateau of Oleac, behind that town. The country was unfavourable for quick observation, and the French so covered their movements with rear-guards, that it was difficult to estimate the numbers or real direction of their march. A young cavalry officer of most varied attainments, Captain William Light, bold as well as accomplished, offered his services to explore the enemy. The offer having been accepted, he rode forward as if he would charge the skirmishers, and suddenly dropping on his saddle as if wounded, entered unobserved and unpursued into a wood, where he found no enemy. Passing through this concealment he reached an open summit, whence he could see the main body of the French army, whom he counted by battalions and squadrons; but as his daring confidence and his sudden appearance saved him at first, so the speed with which, when he would return, he broke down the declivity astonished and bewildered the skirmishers, and he was thus enabled to return in safety to the spot from which he had started when he left the side of the Commander-in-Chief.*

On the 20th, Wellington advanced against Tarbes in two columns by the roads leading up from Vic-Bigorre and Rabastens, while Clinton, with the 6th Division, turned the post through the village of Dours. The action commenced about 12 o'clock. The fight was short, but wonderfully fierce and violent, often muzzle to muzzle; when Soult, seeing himself threatened in flank, was forced to give way, but knowing the country well, he held on until he had directed Reille to quit Tarbes. Hill passed through that town without opposition, but a little way beyond it found Clausel's entire corps of four divisions in position. A sharp affair ensued, but the French, seeing

* Napler.

Clinton's approach in their rear, gave way. The flat country was soon covered with confused masses of pursuers and pursued ; but, as had been foreseen, the British cavalry could not act. The situation of the French seemed, however, desperate, but Clausel extricated his troops with great ability, and joined Soult and the remaining divisions drawn up behind the batteries, which opened all their fire upon the British. Darkness prevented Wellington from making new dispositions, and he bivouacked his army for the night between the Larret and Arroz rivers. In the night of the 22nd, however, the Duke of Dalmatia again retreated to St. Gaudens and Montrejeau, followed by the 13th, 14th, and 15th Dragoons, who took a great many prisoners. He had learned the march of the 4th Division and Vivian's cavalry upon Triè and Castelnau, and became, in consequence, apprehensive for his communications with Toulouse. This he regarded as his great strategic post, because it commands the principal passage of the Garonne, and is the centre of a great number of roads on both sides of that river. Thence he had it in his power to move according to circumstances, either by Carcassonne to unite with Suchet, or by Alby to march towards Augereau ; or he could draw the Allies away from either of these armies by placing the Garonne between him and them, and descending the right bank of the river to join Decaen near Bordeaux, where he could shake the schemes of the Legitimists and re-establish the Emperor's government. Besides, Toulouse was the chief military arsenal of the South of France, and the "knot of all his future combinations," by which any effectual stand could be made there. The Allies pursued in three columns, but their marches were short, so that the British took seven days to accomplish the distance which the French had accomplished in four ; for Wellington was solicitous to bring his army forward in the most efficient state, that he might husband his strength and be ready for that finishing blow, which he saw was now imminent. The British army, accordingly, pursued its march without further interruption, and on the 27th reached the left bank of the Garonne, above Toulouse.

33. CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST OF SPAIN — RESTORATION OF FERDINAND VII.

Since the junction of the armies of Catalonia and Aragon, and the retreat of the British under Lord William Bentinck to Tarragona, the opposing armies still remaining in Spain had rested nearly inactive. At the beginning of the year General Clinton had succeeded Bentinck in command, and lay at the right bank of the Llobregal with 10,000 British troops and 9,000 Spaniards, the latter under Sarsfeld. General Elio, with an ill-disciplined force of 16,000, observed the neighbourhood of Gerona, while Copons, with an army of 12,000, besieged Peniscola and blockaded Lerida and Mequinenza, in which places the French still held garrisons. The Marshal Duke of Albufera is supposed to have maintained under

his command during the first reverses of the Emperor, including all these garrisons, 65,000 men; but Napoleon had withdrawn 9,179 men in December, and had recalled in January 10,000 more, with 80 guns, to join his standard; nevertheless, he still had 13,000 men standing by him in the field, who were in Spain, employed to no good purpose during the disasters of his master. It must have been sufficiently clear to Suchet, that he could not hold Catalonia in the face of Napoleon's falling fortunes; nevertheless, he clung to his separate command, and resisted every appeal of Soult to cross the Pyrenees to his assistance. The disposable force in Catalonia might have averted, or even rendered favourable, the battle of Orthez. He was now again urged to move his army upon Wellington's rear, to disturb his communications, and prevent his falling with his entire army upon Toulouse. This entreaty, like all preceding ones, was answered by a letter which was received near the last day of the campaign, and while Soult was expecting the full benefit of the operation. Suchet replied: "The proposed diversion upon Wellington's rear would serve only to disorganise the few troops that were left to him."

A singular event, which now occurred, hastened the crisis of the French relinquishment of the Peninsula. A Spanish adventurer, Juan Van Halen, was attached to Suchet's staff. He had been captured at the battle of Rio Seco, and had since sworn allegiance to Joseph, and held a commission in the guards of the intrusive King. Finding that this cause was falling, he determined, by committing a fresh treason, to purchase pardon for his former desertion. While serving on the staff of the Duke of Albufera, he had got a key to his cypher and the possession of his private seal. He had also made himself master of an ingenious secret stratagem, by means of which the French Marshal had been enabled to assure his generals of the genuine nature or otherwise of the despatches and orders he issued, for such was the known duplicity of Spanish emissaries that the French knew that they could never safely trust them although they were occasionally obliged to make use of them. Thus armed, Van Halen employed the agency of a mistress to make overtures to the Baron d'Erolles, and they two drew up orders addressed in Suchet's name to the governors of the strong places still held by the French, directing them to evacuate the fortresses and march to join the Emperor in the heart of France. These orders were so thoroughly well fabricated that they deceived the governors of Lerida, Mequinenza, and Mouzon, which were accordingly evacuated, and these fortresses thus returned into the possession of the Spaniards; but the stratagem failed at Tortosa, where Van Halen was nearly taken prisoner by a counter snare. The garrisons, nevertheless, set themselves in march, as they supposed, to go into France, but on reaching the defiles of Martriell they were surrounded by the Spanish troops, and 2 generals, 2,600 men, and 4 guns, with a military chest, submitted to the Spaniards, who treated them with great harshness and insult. The British General Clinton had been no party to Van Halen's deceit, and

refused to meddle in any way in the subsequent dispute that arose about the conventions.

The Duke of Albufera was not much injured by Van Halen's treachery, for he could no longer continue to maintain the garrisoned places, and accordingly surrendered Gerona and drew back his army to Figueras. Barcelona, however, still held out under Habert, whither Sarsfield advanced to blockade him, which he did till the 20th of March. The French Marshal even made a further proposal to restore all the fortresses in Spain possessed by the French troops, on an understanding that the garrisons should be sent back to France, with a right of being disposable; for Barcelona, Tortosa, Peniscola, and Murviedro retained 15,000 or 20,000 men from active service in the field: but Wellington strenuously urged the Spanish ministry not to admit of any capitulation of these garrisons, except on the basis of their becoming prisoners of war.

The state of Napoleon's affairs had now made it a matter of policy, as well as of necessity, that the unfortunate King Ferdinand should be released from his imprisonment and restored to Spain. He had greatly chafed in his fetters since the treaty of Valençay, when he had been first aroused from his deep religious exercises to a knowledge of the outer world; and, in reply to his earnest solicitations addressed to Napoleon, he received on the 7th of March passports to enable him to join Suchet's army on the Pyrenean frontier, and to effect his return to Spain. Accordingly, on the 13th he set out from Valençay, and forthwith acquainted the Regency of the kingdom of his intention to arrive speedily in Spain. On the 20th he crossed the frontier from Perpignan, accompanied by his brother Don Carlos and his uncle Don Antonio, and was received by the Marshal Duke of Albufera, who immediately forwarded him to the outposts of the Spanish army, where he was received by General Copons with great pomp, and in presence of both armies, who made a convention for a suspension of hostilities for the occasion. Ferdinand, continuing his course, arrived at Gerona on the 24th, whence he sent an autograph letter to the Regency expressive of his happiness at finding himself again amidst his own nation and army, which had displayed so generous a fidelity towards him. On the 6th of April he reached Zaragoza, which he entered amidst every manifestation of general joy; but when he arrived at Valencia the true character of the narrow-minded monarch broke out. He thence issued a manifesto on the 4th of May, charging the Cortes with having violated the constitution of the kingdom; and having avowed this policy, he on the 13th removed to his capital; he immediately directed his vengeance against the Regency, banished some, degraded others, abolished the liberty of the press, restored the Inquisition, and proved himself a hateful despot, undeserving of the mighty deeds which the glorious people of Spain had for six long years performed to uphold the crown in his behalf with a heroic firmness, constancy, resolution, and endurance that can never be obliterated from the annals of Spain. The French General Habert, left in Barcelona and in ignorance of the state of

affairs at Paris, made a vigorous effort to cut his way out of Barcelona on the 18th of April, but was repulsed and driven in again by the Spaniards, who lost 800 men in the very bloody encounter that ensued. Measures were, however, taken soon after this for the removal of Sir William Clinton's army; and an article of the General Convention provided for the French troops surrendering all the fortresses that still remained in their possession, and thus the contest in the Spanish Peninsula was finally terminated.

34. BATTLE OF TOULOUSE.

The Marshal Duke of Dalmatia had, as we have seen, some reasonable expectation that he should either be joined, or in some manner or other aided from the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, by Suchet; otherwise it was a somewhat hazardous resolve, with the disproportionate numbers, and the quality of his army, to offer the British battle at this moment. Nevertheless, before he could have done so rash a thing, he must have entertained the conviction that the cause of Napoleon was trembling in the scale, and that now or never was the time to do him effectual service. This determination on the part of Soult is regarded as a high proof of his talent and determination. He had made his preparations for defence with extraordinary energy, and had, in truth, rendered his position in Toulouse very formidable. Indeed, it has been thought by an able military critic that Wellington should not have hazarded an attack upon it; but that he should have passed the Garonne above the city, so as to have turned the position on the north and east, and interposed his army between Soult and the town of Montauban, which would have compelled the French Marshal to abandon the line of the Garonne, and thrown him back into Languedoc, leaving the road open to march on Paris, or to co-operate with the Allies in their general plan of invading France. Certainly, the British general subsequently admitted that if he had not been stopped by the cessation of hostilities, it was his plan at this moment to march direct upon the capital.*

It has been made a charge against Soult that he now imitated the crime of the illustrious William III., who fought the battle of Mons out of personal vanity or personal pique, after the peace had been signed. Doubtless the French general knew from rumour the events which had occurred in Champagne, and had also heard of the entry of the Allies into Paris on the 7th of April, for he communicated the news to Suchet. Nevertheless, this news did not necessitate a termination of the contest, and only confirmed him in the resolution to preserve, if possible, the capital of the south for the Emperor; who, he might reasonably calculate, would in consequence remove the seat of war south of the Loire.

The city of Toulouse is admirably situated for every purpose, civil, military, or commercial; it communicates with the Atlantic by the Garonne, and with the Mediterranean by the Canal of Lan-

* Vandencourt.

guedoc : in case of invasion of the south of France, it is, as already shown, a strategical point of first importance ; and in 1814 was still surrounded by an old wall, which had been well looked over, and put into a state of defence by new flanking fortifications. It is covered on three sides by water defences ; for the canal, making a considerable curve round the east and north, joins the Garonne a little below the city, where the river forms the concave of a deep loop in which stands the suburb of St. Cyprien, constructed most conveniently for a military position, and protecting a massy stone bridge of ancient architecture. This suburb is also surrounded by a thick wall of brick, strengthened with flanking towers solid enough to bear cannon. Eastward beyond the canal stands the suburb of St. Etienne, and 800 yards beyond rose the high ridge called Mount Rave, running nearly parallel with the canal and the valley of the rivulet L'Ers, which ran at a little distance behind. Every point of vantage was crowned with redoubts ; all the bridges across the canal and the rivulet were mined and covered with *têtes-de-pont* ; and the banks of the latter were inundated from the Croix Daurade to the Port las Bordes. South of the town was another suburb, that of St. Michel, which was also defended by entrenchments guarding the high road from Montpellier. Commercially it is the great *entrepôt* of the south of France, situated midway between the looms and *ateliers* of Lyons and the port of Bordeaux ; nor should it be forgotten in the description of Toulouse that it is one of the most ancient cities of France, was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Aquitaine, is celebrated in poetry and romance for its connection with the troubadours, and is even now considered scarcely inferior to Paris in its tastes for science and the *belles lettres*.

Such being the importance of Toulouse, Wellington recognised very clearly that his enterprise against it was one of extreme difficulty ; for, first, it would be necessary for him to separate his army into two parts, to act from both sides of the river against an enemy whose whole force was united by means of the fine bridge across the Garonne, which he would, in the second place, have to pass in face of the French troops ; who, in the third place, had a position of very great strength, natural and artificial, upon which to retire to defend the northern access to the city. After a careful reconnoissance of the ground, he thought that the Fauxbourg St. Michel was the most open to his attack ; since, if he could throw his right wing on that side into the open country between the canal and the river, he could assail the suburb of St. Cyprien upon the left bank of the Garonne with his centre and left, and avoid altogether the strongly entrenched Plateau Calvinet on the summit of Mount Rave. Having fixed, therefore, on the south side of the city for his attack, he resolved to cast a bridge across the Garonne at Portel, six miles above Toulouse, and Hill arrived at the spot with this object at 8 in the evening of the 27th.

Lord Wellington, it now appears, had expressed his apprehension to Hope some days previously that the Garonne was too deep and wide for his pontoons, and so it proved ; for, on the sheer line being

stretched over the water surface, it was found too extensive to be covered. He wasted no time in reproaches upon the erring officials, but said, with a very characteristic expression of the British chief, "Well, if it cannot be done one way, we must try another, for I never in my life gave up what I once undertook." Wellington, therefore, persisted, and on the 31st the pontoons were laid down and a bridge established across at Pensaguel, when Hill passed over his division; but from the state of the roads it was now found impossible to attain Toulouse in that direction, for indeed the wretched condition of the cross-roads in France, which rendered them impracticable for the passage of artillery, was one of the elements of strength which the French Marshal had calculated upon for his security in this quarter. Accordingly, the right wing of the army was now ordered to countermarch and recross to the left bank of the river.

This delayed the passage for some days; but in the meantime more mature reflection on the point induced the conviction that to pass the river below the city would be the more prudent course, and to make the attack by the left wing of the army instead of the right. Accordingly, the whole army made a flank march by their left, and on the 4th of April a situation was found for laying the bridge between Grenade and Merville, at the confluence of the Ers with the Garonne, 15 miles below Toulouse, and a battery of 30 guns established to protect its construction. The 3rd, 4th, and 6th Divisions, with three brigades of cavalry, under Beresford, were passed across on the same day; but a sudden rise in the river prevented the light divisions and Freyre's Spaniards from following, for the Garonne was both full and rapid, and it had become necessary to take up the pontoons to save them from being swept away by the flood. Beresford was thus very dangerously isolated; but Soult did not avail himself of the advantage which accident had thrown in his way, and thereby lost the opportunity of striking a serious blow against his adversary. Probably he was a little puzzled at the change of plan, and uncertain whether his assailant was to be expected from the right or the left of the British army, while he was intent on completing his works on Mount Rave, to make that position as impregnable as possible. On the 8th the state of the river admitted of the pontoons being replaced, and Freyre crossed and joined Marshal Beresford, and Wellington also passed over on that day to assume the command, and advanced to Fenouillet, within five miles of Toulouse, to make his reconnoissance. The hussars, under Vivian, were pushed forward to St. Croix Daurade, where the 18th Hussars secured the stone bridge over the Ers by a gallant charge, in which their leader was wounded seriously. Although Wellington was now advancing upon Toulouse from the north, he still persevered in the desire of assailing the south, which he thought he could do by making a flank march along the banks of the Ers; but he was again baffled in this by the state of the cross-roads, and by the knowledge that all the bridges, except the one he had secured

across the rivulet, were either mined or destroyed. There was, therefore, no choice now left him but to attack the east or west fronts of the position. It was now found necessary to move the pontoon bridge nearer to the city, in order to shorten the communication with Hill, who was ordered to menace the suburb of St. Cyprien; the bridge was accordingly taken up and laid at Seilt on the 9th, when the Light Division and other troops crossed there, but at so late an hour that the British Commander-in-Chief was induced to defer his meditated attack till the morning of the 10th.

Wellington's plan was, as we have said, to assail from the northern and eastern fronts of the defences, while he threatened the western. The first required the canal to be crossed in the teeth of the *têtes-de-pont* and the fire from the ramparts of the city; the second had a mountain to be assailed, naturally strong and rugged, and presenting on its summit a plateau fortified with large redoubts connected by open entrenchments. This last duty was entrusted to Beresford, who was directed to make his way along the bank of the rivulet that he might turn the enemy's right flank beyond the fort of St. Sypierre, while Freyre's Spaniards, supported by the British cavalry under Ponsonby, were to attack the great redoubts upon the plateau Calvinet. The 3rd and Light Divisions were to threaten the *têtes-de-pont* across the canal by the route de Montauban; and Sir Rowland Hill, who had a perfect citadel in his front, was to keep the enemy alive in the suburb of St. Cyprien. The defence of this last was entrusted by Soult to General Maransin. The division Maricau defended the route of Montauban, and Darmagnac the route d'Alby, while Villatte was posted in command on the Mamelon de la Pujade; Harispe commanded on the plateau Calvinet, and Taupin at St. Sypierre. The cavalry general Breton was directed to observe the whole country on both sides of the Ers, but was effectually restrained by Cotton in command of the British horse. The defences of the suburb St. Michel were manned entirely by the conscripts and young levies under General Toravot.

It was 6 in the morning of the 10th, when Beresford, preceded by some cavalry, moved in three columns from the bridge of Croix Daurade, and thence continuing his march along the valley between the Ers and Mount Rave, over most difficult ground, reached the point at which he was to turn the position, where, deploying his columns into line, he advanced to its attack; and then Alten moved with the Light Division and Picton with the 3rd. Freyre marched in two lines under a heavy cannonade against La Pujade, which his Spaniards, from error or impatience, assailed while Beresford was yet on the march, and thus mounted the hill under great disadvantages. They were encountered by the brigade Lamorandière, whom they forced to retire under the redoubt; but there the brigade Saint Pol gave them such a terrible reception of grape and musketry, that they were unable to endure it, and madly jumped for protection down a hollow road 25 feet deep, on which the French sallied from behind their entrenchments, with loud cries, and poured an incessant stream of fire upon the helpless crowd in the hollow,

while the guns from the *tête-de-pont* at Matabiau and from the great redoubt on Calvinet covered the mass with grape, so that the whole corps was almost destroyed and compelled to retire. The fugitives fell hastily back as far as the Croix Daurade, which the French might at this time have recovered, but that Ponsonby's cavalry and a brigade of Alten's division went down to its defence; and the Spaniards, after having lost more than 1,500 killed and wounded, were rallied by their generals, formed again, and led back to the brink of the fatal hollow under the fire of the reserve artillery.

Meanwhile, Beresford sent forward the 4th Division under Cole, and the 6th Division under Clinton, protected by a well-directed fire of Congreve rockets (whose noise and fearful aspect, unknown to the French before, dismayed their soldiers and, for the moment, staggered them); the skirmishers immediately ran forward with spirit and plied their antagonists with their fire, while Lambert's and Anson's brigades charged them with a triumphant shout. The marshy bottom between the rivulet and Mount Rave, however, impeded the movement, for the ground was so soft that the guns could not be brought forward, while the French divisions, supported by all their artillery, were strong in Soult's hands. He accordingly sent Tangier forward with his division, sustained by the brigades Leseur and D'Armagnac, while, at the same time, Vial's horse went down the Lafilacre road to threaten Cole's right flank, but Beresford threw his second and third lines into square to repel the cavalry, and Tangier being killed his men wavered and fled. Lambert's brigade also coming up turned back the attack and won the summit of the platform; and Cole, meeting little resistance, followed the fugitives down the reverse slope of the hill and effected so complete a rout that the conscripts did not stop till they reached Salaris. Two of the redoubts, abandoned from panic, were carried by Packe's brigade; while Soult stood on the hill astonished at this weakness in troops from whom he had expected better things, and now even feared lest Cole should carry the Pont des Demoiselles across the canal and gain the outskirts of the city. Some time, however, elapsed before Beresford could get up his artillery from the village of Monthleu, when it was carried forward to aid the Spaniards in their renewed attack against the Pujade hill, which they now gained, and went against the Calvinet redoubt most nobly; but were again put to flight by the stoutness of the defence, and the French in the end remained masters of that entrenchment. Picton, regardless of orders, had turned his attack against the *tête-de-pont* of Jumeaux into a real one, but the height of the profile rendered his attempt to escalade impossible, and his men were literally crushed by the stones which General Berlier caused to be cast upon the troops in the ditch. Accordingly, he was repulsed with a loss of 400 men and officers, including General Brisbane wounded. Soult brought Tangier's artillery and called up D'Armagnac and the brigade Rouget out of St. Cyprien, who, in concert with Clausel, took up a new line to protect the bridge of Demoiselles on the right, and the forts of Calvinet on the left of this flank,

which was still *appuyée* on Harispe's division in the great redoubt of Calvinet. This new order of battle required fresh dispositions for attack. Lambert's brigade wheeled to assail the Calvinet, and Arrentschild, with his cavalry, menaced the open ground about the Pont des Demoiselles.

At half-past 2 Beresford renewed the action with Packe's Scotch brigade and Douglas's Portuguese, who, scrambling up the steep banks under a wasting fire of cannon and musketry, carried all the French redoubts. Harispe, leading his men with extraordinary vigour, retook some of the works; but the 42nd and 79th Scotch and the 11th and 91st Regiments were not to be very easily driven back, and ultimately retained possession of them, the enemy leaving Generals Harispe and Bocusot severely wounded. Beresford, following up his advantage, seized the Pujade, notwithstanding all the opposition offered by the brigade Lamorandière. Wellington was now master of Mount Rave, for the whole range of heights had by this time come into his possession; and at 5 o'clock the French army withdrew behind the canal. The garrisons of forts Sacari and Cambou, however, held out till 7 in the evening, when General Lamorandière was also added to the wounded, and they were all relinquished. Hill, with his three divisions, had advanced against the outward line of works defending St. Cyprien and had driven the enemy within the interior works of the ancient wall, but did not consider that his order permitted any further advance. The total loss of the French amounted to 4 generals wounded, and about 3,234 men placed *hors de combat*. The Allies lost 4 generals and 4,609 killed and wounded. During the night Soult re-organised his men, augmented his field artillery, and made dispositions for defending the line of the canal. He despatched a letter to Suchet, apprising him of the result of the day, but proposing, with singular firmness and pertinacity, a new series of operations. "March with the whole of your forces by Quillar on Carcassonne, I will meet you there with my army, and we can transfer the seat of war to the Upper Garonne." The British chief was not indifferent to such a course of proceeding, and accordingly sent his light cavalry on the 11th to intercept the communications that he suspected to be open for Suchet's approach, and to menace Soult's proposed line of march. As soon, however, as he saw unequivocal indications of a determination to shut him up in the city, and heard of the appearance of British troops on the heights above Baziége, Soult discovered that he could not hold his position without having to fight his way out, and accordingly ordered a retreat in the night of the 11th, abandoning Toulouse and leaving Generals Harispe, Bocusot, and St. Hilaire, with 16,000 men, prisoners at the generosity of the conqueror.

Wellington made no effort to interrupt Soult's retreat, but at midday on the 12th entered the city of Toulouse in triumph. The *drapeau blanc* was unfurled and loud cries of *Vive le Roi* were echoed on all sides. The same afternoon, however, Colonel Cooke, accompanied by Colonel St. Simon, arrived from the provisional government at Paris, to make known to the two armies the events

which had taken place in the capital ; and St. Simon went forward on the 13th to communicate them to the Duke of Dalmatia, but the Marshal demurred to his authority, and sent into the British lines a proposition for an armistice till letters should be received from Napoleon himself. Wellington, however, refused any armistice ; but, fearful lest it should be Soult's intention to inaugurate a civil war, he ordered a portion of his army to march on Castelnaudry, in order to watch him. The same day, however, Berthier communicated a formal injunction from the deposed Emperor to put a stop to the war. The Duke of Dalmatia accordingly sent Comte de Gazan to Wellington to renew the demand for a suspension of hostilities, expressing his intention to acknowledge Louis XVIII. ; and a cessation of arms was accordingly signed on the 18th, to include the two armies of Soult and Suchet ; but it was subsequently found that the Marshal Duke of Albufera had hastened to give in his adhesion to the Bourbon government some days previously. Soult, however, has declared that in order that he and his army might be free to act according to circumstances, he had solicited a suspension of arms to learn the sentiments of his troops.

It has been a common accusation against Soult, and one extensively circulated and for some time believed, that he was in full possession of a knowledge of the events which had already taken place at Paris before the battle of Toulouse. The calumny had been long denounced in France by both the friends and enemies of that marshal ; and, when the accusation was repeated in the English House of Lords, Wellington rose in his place on the instant, and emphatically declared that " Marshal Soult did not know, and it was impossible he could know, of the Emperor's abdication when he fought the battle."*

35. THE SALLY FROM BAYONNE.

The military convention concluded between Wellington and Soult included the troops of both nations, at Bayonne and Bordeaux, and it is scarcely possible to believe that General Thouvenot, the governor of the former place, was ignorant on the 14th of the events at Paris, which had occurred a whole fortnight previously, and had become known to both sides on the 12th at Toulouse not many leagues distant. A most lamentable and needless bloodshed has, nevertheless, now to be recorded, for which the French writers show a sense of regret by omitting all mention of it. After the departure of the main army to the Upper Garonne, Sir John Hope had conducted the investment of Bayonne with the utmost zeal and diligence. He had collected gabions and fascines, and was constructing platforms for the siege of the citadel, when rumours

* Brialmont and others have left on record that the French armies claimed the battle of Toulouse as a victory, and it has been often asserted that this object was perpetuated on a stone erected on the field. By reference to " Murray's Handbook of France," however, it will be seen that this monument is of brick, and was erected by the town " aux braves morts pour la patrie," and not claiming any victory.

reached him on the 7th of what had happened at Paris. Although these were not of a sufficiently precise character to warrant a formal communication to the garrison, the general made them known at the outposts, and they were, it is believed, communicated to those of the enemy, yet the governor paid no attention to reports which, it is fair to admit, he might very reasonably have thought to be intended to deceive him, because such *canards* have been common and deemed justifiable in war; but the English have always considered Thouvenot as one of those *vieux moustaches* of whom they had afterwards sad and extensive experience — men who sought to retaliate for their national reverses by unwarrantable language and conduct upon the officers of the Allied armies (and more especially the British), which produced many private quarrels and duels, in which the lives of many estimable and gallant young soldiers were sacrificed. Be that, however, as it may, a deserter, at 1 o'clock in the morning of the 14th, made known to General Hay, who commanded at the outposts, that a sally from Bayonne was projected. Hay, not understanding French, sent the informant to General Hinuber, who put his own troops under arms and transmitted the intelligence to Hope. Hay, unfortunately, did nothing except to order that his brigade should form in case of alarm at the village of Boueant, when at about 3 o'clock (or some considerable time before daybreak), the French poured suddenly out of the citadel to the number of 3,000 combatants, and fell upon the picquets on the left and centre of the British line. These being surprised, fell back to the village of St. Étienne, and, in the act of giving directions for the defence of the church of that village, Hay was shot dead. The enemy took immediate possession of every house in the place, except one in which a detachment of the 38th Regiment threw itself, under the command of Captain Forest, who contrived to render it defensible by some ready expedients, and here maintained himself stoutly till Hinuber arrived with a battalion of the German Legion, which, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Bock, succeeded in recovering the village and securing the post. The centre of the line of blockade was occupied by the Guards, whose picquets fell back before the French attack, when the Honourable Colonel Townsend brought up the Grenadiers in support, and becoming wounded, was taken prisoner; but the second brigade of Guards, under the Honourable General Stopford, charged the assailants and re-established the British post, although that General also was wounded in the performance of this duty. On the right the combat was more disastrous. The picquets and reserves, when driven back by the fury of the onset, breaking into small bodies to get through some enclosures, were unable to recover their order again, so that they fled, and all became tumult and disorder. In the midst of it the guns of the citadel opened, guided only in the darkness by the flashes of musketry; and some gun-boats also, dropping down the river, sent random shot and shell booming through the lines of fight; so that before day broke 100 guns were in full play, causing great consternation, and setting fire to the *fascine dépôt*, cast a horrid glare

over the scene. Hope ordered up the supporting columns, and a battalion of 1st Guards under the Hon. Colonel Steward, and the Coldstreams under Lieut.-Colonel Woodford, came into action; but, in endeavouring to bring them up to the assistance of the picquets, the General's horse was shot under him and fell upon him. His staff endeavoured in vain to release him, for both the General and his horse were of large build and not very active; and some of his aides-de-camp also getting wounded, they all, as well as himself, became prisoners in the confusion. As soon as light began to dawn, the reserve brigades of the Guards, led by General Howard, advanced in compact order, and, raising a shout of defiance, drove back the French into their works with great slaughter. The aim and end of their attack, whatever it may have been, was therefore completely frustrated; though, from the quantity of fire of every description which had raged during two hours of darkness, the loss could not be inconsiderable. That of the British was not much less than 1,000 men and officers, including killed, wounded, and missing. The casualties on the side of the garrison have been admitted to reach 900 men.

A considerable force had been collected by the Imperial authorities on the opposite side of the Dordogne near Bordeaux, and Lord Dalhousie, who had succeeded to the command of the British troops when Beresford withdrew from that city, crossed the river on the 4th of April to attack them. They constituted a body of about 15,000 men, under General L'Huillier, and were posted in a position near Etauliers, having an open column in front of the village, and woods on each flank. Admiral Penrose at the same time entered the estuary with his squadron on the 21st of March, and on the 2nd of April the "Porcupine," Captain Coode, ascended the Gironde above Pouillac and detached his boats under Lieutenant Dunlop in pursuit of a French flotilla which they saw on shore. On the 6th the "Egmont," 74, with the Admiral's flag, in company with the "Centaur," 74, Captain Chambers White, made preparations to attack "Le Regulus," 74, the brig-corvettes, and other vessels attached to the batteries. This operation was effected without any loss, and before the 9th the batteries were successively entered and destroyed by the seamen and marines under Captain Harris, of the frigate "Belle Poule," 38; but the enemy set fire to their shipping. General L'Huillier retired subsequently without fighting, leaving 300 prisoners in the hands of the British army.

An interesting incident closed the military occurrences at Bordeaux, which has escaped the notice of historians. The "gentlemen of England, who live at home at ease," had burned to share in the honours and dangers of the war, and three battalions of militia, under the command of the great and noble names of the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Walkin Wynne, and others, generously volunteered for foreign service. The offer was accepted, and they, forming a complete brigade, embarked for the seat of war; but on their arrival at Bordeaux, they found that the rapid course of events which had occurred since they embarked on the high seas had

already terminated the contest. The readiness with which this military brigade proceeded on foreign service shows very proudly for England the spirit which pervaded the higher ranks at this period, and merits honourable notice in "the Annals of War."

36. END OF THE PENINSULAR WAR.

The Spanish troops now returned to Spain, the Portuguese to Portugal, and the British prepared to take their departure out of France; of these, the infantry embarked at Bordeaux, some for England, some for America, and the British cavalry marched across France and took shipping at Boulogne to cross the Dover Strait; and on the 4th of June the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces took leave of his army in a General Order. His address, dated from Bordeaux, was short and to the purpose, but dry and jejune, and did not give much satisfaction. It was wholly unlike those stirring effusions which, in the course of the present age, have been so often lavished on conquerors. Yet his veterans had won nineteen pitched battles and fought innumerable combats, had made or sustained ten sieges, had captured four great fortresses, had twice driven the enemy out of Portugal and once out of the Peninsula, had penetrated into France, and killed, wounded, or captured 200,000 enemies, leaving 40,000 of their own number dead on the plains and mountains of the Peninsula.* Moreover, it has been calculated that this war cost England upwards of one hundred millions sterling, exclusive of the subsidies to the Spanish and Portuguese governments.†

Wellington, created Duke and loaded with every earthly honour, was accepted as an equal in the galaxy of Allied generals with whom he now consorted at Paris. He had, it is true, conquered all the French marshals in turn; but he had not, like them, measured swords with Napoleon. In his own country, and by the army and people of England, he was regarded as in the very first line of the illustrious commanders who had adorned its history; but no claim was at this time made for him for any supremacy over the great Russian and German chiefs who had toiled through the burthen and heat of the late encounters, and had successfully hunted their quarry to his earth. This claim was, however, asserted in words by the Speaker of the House of Commons, whose address from the chair in giving him the public thanks, although a little stilted, was a stirring piece of military panegyric, and will form a fitting conclusion to our history of the Peninsular War. His Grace asked permission to thank the House in person for the munificent money grants bestowed upon him for his successive battles, when Mr. Speaker Abbott rose and said:—

"My Lord Duke,—Since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed, but none without some mark of your rising glory.

"The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon

* Napier.

† Brialmont and Gleig.

the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless on this day to recount. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children. It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause; it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendancy of character which, uniting the energy of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires.

"For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this House, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments; but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction that, amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present unto them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence; and when the will of Heaven and the destinies of our nature shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name and example as an imperishable monument, exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this kingdom among the ruling nations of the earth."

37. CAMPAIGN IN ITALY.

We left the Viceroy of Italy, at the end of the previous year established in the celebrated Quadrilateral, with his head-quarters at Verona. He had with him 36,000 combatants, of which nearly 3,000 were cavalry, and 66 guns. A small detachment in the field under Borfant covered the débouches from the side of the Alps into the Breschino, and Alexandria, Turin, and Genoa were garrisoned by French troops, as well as Ancona, Cività Vecchia, Leghorn, and the fort St. Angelo at Rome. There were also many minor forts and batteries garrisoned along the shores of the peninsula. The Prince also held, with a portion of his army, the castle of Piacenza, and the *tête-de-pont* at Borgoforte. Field-Marshal Bellegarde commanded the Austrian forces opposed, on the part of the Allies, to the Viceroy in Italy. They were calculated to number 55,000 men of all arms. They were in force in the passes of the Tyrol under General Sommariva, and they had pushed forward their advance to Toscalina. Generals Statremberg and Nugent were with the head-quarters behind the right bank of the Adige, resting on Lendinara near the Po. Venice and Pal-

manova were already abandoned to their garrisons, and blockaded by the Austrians under Marschall. The Neapolitan army yet maintained its threatening position in the Abruzzi, between Rome and Ancona. Murat, himself apparently undecided, still rested at Naples, leaving it uncertain what was to be his line of policy, and wavering between a desire to consult his own interest with the Allies, and not altogether to lose the Napoleonic influence of his wife. He had endeavoured to work upon the Emperor's alarms for the loss of his empire by urging him to "make one single power of all the states to the South of the Po," and to place this new kingdom in his hands; and at the same time he had represented to the Allied governments that the ambition of Napoleon was insatiable, and that he would join the Coalition if he were guaranteed his kingdom. At length this last proposition prevailed, and in the month of January he concluded a treaty with the Allies, by which he undertook to unite a force of 30,000 with the Austrian army. With this view, on the 19th he entered Rome at the head of 20,000 men. The Viceroy, seeing his right flank menaced by this very serious defection, fell back, on the 3rd of February, behind the Mincio, and the Austrian army came forward to Rivoli, Villafranca, and Mantua, blockading a French garrison which had been left in Legnago, and Bellegarde established his head-quarters at Villafranca. The Viceroy, unwilling to give up the position of the Quadrilateral without a blow, resolved to re-cross the river on the 7th and attack the Austrian army. Accordingly, a considerable contest took place about Valeggio and Roerbella on the 8th, in which the Austrians are said to have had 5,000 casualties, and the French but 3,000; but the result of it was that the Viceroy re-crossed the Mincio on the 9th. Had Eugène only had the Austrian army to watch, no position could have been more advantageous than this; but the affairs in the Italian peninsula were becoming seriously complicated. The castle of Verona surrendered to the enemy on the 14th, and Ancona yielded on the 16th to Murat, who was already at Modena. The Viceroy, therefore, resorted to the civil arm, and issued a proclamation, calling on all French soldiers to abandon the ranks of the army of Naples and join the Emperor's standard under him, which a great many did; while on the other hand, whole Italian regiments went over from the Franco-Italian army to the ranks of the King of Naples. Fouché, Duke of Otranto, under the character of Commissary for the Emperor in Trans-Alpine France, conferred secretly with both Murat and Eugène, and entered into a treaty for the evacuation of Tuscany and the Roman States on condition that the French garrisons should be permitted to return to France by sea. The Austro-Neapolitan forces having made some advances in his rear, the Viceroy, on the 1st of March, repaired from Borgoforte to Guastalla, and drove them back again across the Po to Reggio, and crossing that river on the 2nd of March, drove the enemy out of Parma and passed the Taro; but the Austrians, under Statremberg, crossed the Secchia on the 6th and re-occupied Reggio, and on the 9th again

entered Parma. These opposing armies consumed the entire month of March in countermarches and encounters, without any very great advantage to either side.

Meanwhile, a considerable expedition had been organised in Sicily under Major-General Lord William Bentinck, which consisted partly of Sicilians and partly of Hanoverians, with a sprinkling of British, and amounted to about 8,000 men, of whom 1,500 were cavalry. These sailed from Palermo on the 28th of February, and arrived off Leghorn on the 8th of March. The expedition was accompanied by the Hereditary Prince of Sicily, who on setting foot on the Italian shore issued an injudicious proclamation, which gave such offence to Murat, that he ordered his army to suspend military operations against the Viceroy. Bentinck accordingly had an interview with King Joachim, but failed to appease his wrath, which was rather increased by the proposition of the English general to him to evacuate Tuscany with the Neapolitan troops. The seasonable interposition of the British Government, however, who disavowed the Hereditary Prince's proclamation and relinquished the demand for the evacuation of Tuscany, set matters right with the hero of the "Snow-white Plume," and Lord William directed his army to advance to Lucca in order to co-operate with the second division of the British expedition, 4,000 strong, which had landed in the Gulf of Spezzia on the 29th. He had been informed at Leghorn that the French had only 2,000 men in the important city of Genoa, and as the possession of that harbour and fortress would have been of great value to the ulterior operations of the Allied armies, he resolved to take advantage of its defenceless state and move thither as rapidly as possible. He accordingly advanced through the romantic defiles of the Apennines to Sestri-de-Levante, where, to his surprise, he found 2,500 of the enemy in position. On the 7th of April he attacked them at Chiavari, and drove them back to Rapallo, and on the 8th the enemy was dislodged from all the strong country about Sestri, De Levante, and De Ponente.

A fleet of 9 ships of war, 7 frigates, and other ships, at this time appeared off Neni, under Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, and excited the utmost consternation in Genoa. General Frezia, in command of the fortress, was almost without any means of defence, but he called in all the outlying detachments, and General Callier was brought up from Savona and placed in position to check Bentinck at Sestri de Ponente. On the 16th, therefore, Lord William concentrated his whole force and made dispositions for an attack. Two divisions marched at daybreak on the 17th, under Generals Montesor and Macfarlane, to attack the right of the French, while Lord William moved the 3rd Italian regiment, with a body of Calabrese, against the forts Richelieu and Tecla, on which the French right flank rested. False attacks were at the same time directed to threaten his rear between Sestri and San Pietro d'Arena. The Italian battalion, under Colonel Ceravignac, stormed the heights in front of the Tecla, where they drove away the enemy and took 3 guns. Lieutenant-Colonel Travers, descending from

Mont Tabia at the same time, got possession of the height above Fort Richelieu, and the governor, afraid of its being taken by escalade, evacuated it. General Piat, however, marched his garrison away to the Biseguo in good order, to aid in the defence of Genoa. The fortunate possession of these strong forts, together with the range of heights on which they stood, enabled the British army to move forward at noon of the 18th to within 600 yards of the valley of the city, when preparations were immediately made by the officers of artillery and engineers to destroy the defences, and batteries were forthwith constructed against the place while the fleet commenced a bombardment from the sea. Some bombs and shots had already fallen in the city, when a deputation, headed by the Bishop and the Mayor, and accompanied by a French officer, waited on Lord William to solicit him to spare the town, and agree to a suspension of arms. The British general was, however, firm, and would listen to none of their propositions, until at length General Frezia, who commanded the French garrison, concluded a convention for the possession of Genoa. This was signed on the 20th, and the fortress was given up to the combined English and Sicilian troops at 5 in the morning of the 21st, when the British fleet entered the harbour. This magnificent fortress, which had resisted Massena for so long a period in 1800, now fell into the possession of the Allies, with a loss of only 40 killed and 160 wounded. The British were accused of ill faith in not insisting upon the re-establishment of the Republic of Genoa, which their general, Lord William Bentinck, held out hopes would have been done; but in this Bentinck had departed from his instructions, for it was not for Great Britain, but for the Allies in Congress, to make any final disposal of the territories acquired by the fall of Napoleon.

The Viceroy had been apprised of the reverses which had befallen the Emperor in France, but would not abandon Italy without receiving express orders to that effect from Napoleon himself. Accordingly, he directed General Maucune to take post at Piacenza, with the brigades Sonlier and Vandeleur, and the cavalry of General Rambourg to take post behind the Taro. Murat, on the 13th of April, advanced against this position with a combined force of Austrians and Neapolitans. The combat was stubborn, and notwithstanding their superiority in number, the Allies had difficulty in forcing the passage, but at length Maucune was obliged to order a retreat, and his troops retired in good order on Fiorenzuola, and thence behind the Nura. The next day the King of Naples forced the Nura and advanced on Borghetto, when General Maucune thought it best to withdraw his forces under the guns of Piacenza on the 14th, when the further prosecution of hostilities was prevented by the intelligence of the capitulation of Paris and the dethronement of Napoleon. Commissioners were forthwith appointed for the evacuation of Italy by the French, who, by the first days of May, finally repassed the Alps, and quitted that classic land over the loss of which France never ceases to lament, and still covets.

38. NAPOLEON NEGOTIATES AT FONTAINEBLEAU.

Immediately on his arrival at Fontainebleau, the ever active mind of Napoleon was given to the re-organisation of his little army. He had not yet succumbed to fortune. If he could not drive the enemy from Paris he could rally round his eagles Soult, Suchet, and Augereau, while the two corps of the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa were still with him, posted on the little river Essonne; and although many of the regiments were dissolved, he took immediate steps that they might be reconstructed and reorganised. It is true that he had lost nearly all his artillery, but he had sent orders for more, and now already received 30 guns apiece from each of the imperial arsenals within his reach. Orders were also sent to the Duke of Tarentum to march towards him, and establish himself between Sens and Montereau; the army that had followed him from Champagne was also daily arriving, so that he might count nearly 60,000 men at present under the walls of Fontainebleau, with all the organisation of an army, in undiminished confidence upon themselves and of fanaticism for their Emperor. There was stuff enough yet left in the Empire to enable it to stand upright. On the 3rd of April, Napoleon mounted his horse and reviewed his guards in the *cour du cheval blanc*, when he addressed to them a spirited harangue, concluding, "Our cockade is tricolor, before abandoning it we will all perish on the soil of France." To which they replied, with a sort of excited clamour, raising aloft their arms and exclaiming, "Vive l'Empereur! à Paris! à Paris!" No longer doubting the energy of his soldiers, he returned to the palace, and, taking his pen in his hand, ordered his army to be put in motion, and that his head-quarters should be advanced to Essonne. The Guard was accordingly marched away from Fontainebleau to join the army behind the Essonne, and he for the moment resolved to sacrifice his life or reconquer his imperial crown. The Generalissimo, accordingly, not certain of the intentions of Napoleon, who, it was reported, was disposed to advance on Paris, ordered the army of Silesia to march out of Paris by the Orleans road, and that of Bohemia, at the same time, to march to Versailles, leaving only the guards and reserves behind for the service and protection of the capital. But the sword had already yielded up its influence to the pen, and public opinion had become more influential to control the future than even the determination of the mighty conqueror. Caulaincourt had, in fact, now returned from Paris with the most desponding accounts of the feelings of the people towards him. On the 4th, Marshals Ney, Oudinot, and Lefebvre followed Napoleon into his cabinet, where Berthier, Caulaincourt, and the Duke de Bassano already were, and resolved to give their unasked advice to their sovereign. On entering his apartments he ordered, with a determined voice, that his head-quarters should be advanced to Ponthierry, on the road to Essonne. Macdonald, on alighting at the château from his army, had a letter delivered to him addressed Marshal Macdonald,

Duke of Ragusa. The letter had been forwarded to him by Marmont. It was from their friend Bournonville, urging him to consider his young family, and to quit the Emperor; and he now joined his brother marshals in the palace and was in the presence of the Emperor with this open letter in his hand. "Quelles nouvelles nous apportez-vous?" said Napoleon to him in reference to the letter. "Sire, je n'ai rien de caché pour vous, lisez la," said Macdonald. "Ni moi, pour nous tous," replied Napoleon. A discussion arose from this circumstance, when the Marshals told their chief that the soldiers would no longer follow them in resistance, and Ney, confirming this belief, added that not a single sword should leave the scabbard to effect the useless and insane crime of a desperate ambition against the country. Napoleon was thunderstruck and disconcerted at truths which thus came suddenly and unbidden on his ears. The word "abdicate" at length came harshly forth as the advice of his oldest companions in arms. He heard, though he feigned not to hear, words which had not been altogether hidden in the depths of his own soul. He crossed his arms on his breast, appeared to reflect a long time in silence, and then said with an habitual hauteur which did not admit of reply: "Retirez-vous, Messieurs, je fais aviser et je vous ferai connoître mes résolutions."* When he subsequently found himself in his cabinet with Berthier, Caulaincourt, and Maret, he complained of the indignity offered him by reading De Bournonville's letter before him, and of the language of the Marshals in his presence. His council, however, saw that it was time to undeceive him as to his altered position, and at once declared that nothing short of his abdication in favour of his son would now be entertained by the sovereigns, and that the public voice already spoke of it. He instantly caught the idea as "une satisfaction à donner à des âmes troubleés," and consented that Caulaincourt should return forthwith to Paris to offer to negotiate on the basis of his abdication of the Empire in favour of his son and a regency. After a time, he drew up a formal renunciation of the throne in favour of his son, written with all the pompous language of his customary state papers; and then ordering the Marshals to be re-admitted, he signed the paper in their presence, and despatched Ney and Macdonald to accompany Caulaincourt, with a view of recommending this conditional abdication to the Allied sovereigns. In passing through the army on the Essonne in their way to Paris they encountered Marmont, and imparted to him the message with which they were intrusted. They found him, to their surprise, cold, embarrassed, and unwilling to accompany them on their mission. The truth was soon told. The Marshal Duke of Ragusa frankly acknowledged to his comrades that he had entered into terms with the Allies, and had agreed to march away with his *corps-d'armée* from the Essonne the next morning, and to go into Normandy. He had abandoned his friend and sovereign, but, however, he now listened to the urgent remonstrances of his *compagnons d'armes*, and went away with them to

* Thiers and Lamartine.

Petit Bourg; but when he arrived there he could not make up his mind to take part in the conference with the sovereigns and their ministers. It was at 2 o'clock on the 5th that the Czar received the Marshals with the courtesy and refinement of manner which especially belonged to his character. He complimented them on their devotion to their master and on their brilliant exploits for his cause in the field; but with some dissimulation, while he affected regret that he could no longer call himself Napoleon's friend, he at once entered into politics and told them they were at liberty to elect another chief in his room. The meeting, after much altercation rather than discussion, terminated by a disclaimer against the return of the Bourbons, and an earnest desire for the acknowledgment of the King of Rome. Macdonald and the Marshals roundly denounced the acts of the senate, and declared that they would have no concern whatever with the provisional government.

In the meantime Napoleon had sent his aide-de-camp Colonel Gourgaud to Essonne to order Marmont to come to Fontainebleau to receive instructions for the advance of the army; but the Marshal had, as above stated, accompanied his brother Marshals to Petit Bourg. Gourgaud accordingly saw General Souham, and ordered him, with the peremptory manner that staff officers sometimes assume, to repair immediately to the imperial presence. Souham, Compans, Bourdessaule, and Meynardier had every one of them become parties to Marmont's defection, and concluded that as this order appeared to have reference to it, that they might have been now summoned by the Emperor perhaps for the purpose of being tried and shot. Accordingly, they resolved to keep themselves clear of this danger, and, instead of obeying the imperial commands, they at once issued orders for the march of the 6th corps at 4 in the morning of the 5th, while the Duke of Ragusa was yet absent, crossed the Essonne, and passed over to the Allies in a body, acting upon the old military adage: "Il vaut mieux tuer le diable que de laisser tuer par lui."* The news of this defection excited the indignation of Napoleon, as may be well conceived, beyond all bounds, and its effect upon his negotiations was of the most injurious character. In the midst of the meeting an aide-de-camp rushed in and announced to the Czar this fact, when Caulaincourt at once exclaimed, "Qu'alors tout est perdu!" This unforeseen defection of the troops broke off all further discussion, and when the Czar announced the final decision of the council it was in the hopeless words, "It is too late." The murrain soon spread: Ney's mind had undergone a complete change during his conference with the Czar, where he had openly avowed that the marshals and soldiers of the army were tired of Napoleon. Bold and undaunted in the field, he was mild and easily swayed in council, and, worn out by these discussions and swayed by the conversation of his friends in Paris, he avowed his conviction that "to avoid a civil war to our beloved country no course remained but to embrace the cause of our ancient kings;" and his

* Thiers.

formal adhesion appeared next morning in the columns of the *Moniteur*. Ney, with his honest daring character, was the first to repair to his chief's presence and boldly stated the step he had taken. What he said to Napoleon has not been recorded, but it is thought that he employed strong language to force his sovereign to give in an abdication *pure et simple*. The historian only records of this proceeding, "que cette âme guerrière était plus forte que délicate." Soon after Ney had quitted Napoleon Caulaincourt arrived from Paris with the definitive resolution of the sovereigns, and after the great conqueror had shown much of the unwillingness to divest himself of his honours which he had evinced all through the discussion, he at length drew up his act of absolute resignation of the throne of France, and duly signed it on the morning of the 6th of April.

After this every hour was marked by those tergiversations which always accompany the fall of princes. The universal object with every member of the Imperial household at Fontainebleau was how to get to Paris as decently and as quickly as he could, and no sooner was the abdication known, than the desertion became universal. Even Berthier, Prince of Neufchâtel and Major-General of the army, quitted the master whom he had so long served without taking leave of him. Marshals Oudinot, Victor, Lefebvre, and a host of generals, sent in their adhesion to the Bourbons without delay. The ministers attendant upon the Regent Empress at Blois did the same, and among the first the Archchancellor Cambacères. The absent Marshals, Soult, Suchet, Augereau, and Davoust had done nothing as yet either way, but all were expected to follow the example, except the sturdy Prince of Eckmühl, Marshal Davoust.*

39. NAPOLEON SELECTS ELBA FOR HIS RESIDENCE, WHITHER HE REPAIRS.

Napoleon had requested that, in the arrangements about to be made respecting his future condition, the island of Elba might be made over to his sovereignty and appropriated to him for his residence; and the Czar had, with somewhat hasty generosity, conceded this point, which was very strongly supported by the Emperor of Austria in behalf of his son-in-law. But while the treaty was in progress, Fouché, Duke of Otranto, whom we have lately heard of in Italy (where, by the by, he had made a good bargain for himself by the surrender of his duchy), arrived in Paris. He was chagrined at having been shut out of the negotiations by his absence, and jealous to find coadjutors in power. He now endeavoured to give himself some consequence by raising a clamour against the indiscretion of giving his fallen master a residence so immediately proximate to the France and Italy of which he was yet styled sove-

* In the general scramble the Emperor's private valet, Constant, who had served him faithfully during his whole career, took the opportunity to secrete 100,000 francs, which he buried in the forest of Fontainebleau; but the theft was detected and the money restored.

reign ; and Alexander hinted through Caulaincourt that no needless delay should be interposed to the conclusion of the treaty, lest compliance with the Emperor's wishes should be recalled. In consequence of the absence of Count Metternich and Lord Castlereagh from Paris, the conference could not be fully assembled till the 11th, when the treaty was concluded, which preserved to Napoleon the Imperial title, and gave him an intermediate station between the condition of a sovereign and a private man : "too great if he were only still a soldier and a general ; too narrow and too menacing if he were still to be deemed a monarch." The treaty bore the signatures of the Duke of Vicenza and the Marshal-Dukes of Elchingen and of Tarentum, "as plenipotentiaries of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon." It was conveyed back the same evening to Fontainebleau by Caulaincourt and Macdonald, and the Emperor received it from their hands and read it in their presence, thanking them both very cordially for this last act of fidelity and service. Count Orloff was sent down by the sovereigns to Fontainebleau to receive the ratification of the treaty ; but Napoleon excused himself that evening, and promised to sign it in the morning. It was natural enough that he should regard this act as most humiliating, and he brooded over it intensely, so that it was evident, from his conversation to those around him, that he was tired of life, and that his mind was bowed down under the weight of the many reflections which would intrude themselves during the increasing solitude which the daily desertion of his customary *entourage* imposed upon him. The ready relinquishment of his service by those who had been most favoured by him, and whom he had most trusted, cut him to the quick. After the manner of many persons when overwhelmed with deep affliction and hopeless of escape, he thought he had lived long enough, and saw nothing but dismay and misery in his future. Like the great Frederick, he had always experienced a dread of the indignities that would certainly follow his being ever made a prisoner, and during the Moscow retreat, while the Cossacks hovered daily round him, he had in consequence directed his surgeon, Dr. Ivan, to prepare for him a sure and certain poison, to which he might in such a contingency have resort, and which he had ever since carried round his neck enclosed in a silk bag. On the night of the 11th, when he had retired to rest, knowing that with another morning's light he must give his adhesion in form to the decision of the sovereigns, he dissolved this in a glass of water and swallowed it. He then lay down awaiting the result, until about 3 o'clock in the morning, when he became impatient at its slow operation, and summoned Caulaincourt to his bedside. The faithful minister suspected at once, from the pale, haggard look and depressed conversation of the Emperor, especially when he saw the emptied wine-glass on the night-table, that something was wrong, and without remark sent for Dr. Ivan, who in a short time arrived. Soon afterwards the Emperor was seized with a pang which resulted in sickness, that thoroughly cleared his stomach of the poison. Napoleon did not attempt to deny the act, and said : "C'est le destin qui en a décidé. Il faut vivre et attendre

ce que veut de moi la Providence." This remark was perhaps more the conclusion of a fatalist than a Christian. Yet how remarkable was the way of God in Napoleon's career! He had covered his head in a thousand battles, He had exalted him to a lofty position, but the creature had never before either acknowledged that he was an instrument of Providence, nor given to his God the glory of his exploits. Now, however, he was brought to an open sense of his dependent humanity.

On the very day that Napoleon tried to terminate his existence, on the morning of the 12th, the Count d'Artois made his public entry into Paris. The Bourbons had now resumed possession of the Tuileries, and Fontainebleau was no longer a place for Napoleon. It also happened that on this same day he received the first letter from the Empress Marie-Louise since his fall, conveying most satisfactory news of herself and her son, and of all that had befallen her in the interim:—

"And she, proud Austria's mournful flower,
Thy still Imperial bride!
How bears her breast the torturing hour?
Still clings she to thy side?"*

It has been said that, with a sense of conjugal duty, she did once think of rejoining him at the palace of Fontainebleau to console him in his sorrow, as a good wife should have done, but that she had been so treated by the Imperial brothers at Blois, and had become so convinced that the only object the entire family now had in view was to make her and her son hostages for the Bonaparte retention of greatness, that she hastened to remove herself beyond their power, and repaired to Rambouillet, there to await the advice of her father, which she had applied for through M. de Champagny, a man whom she thought reasonably devoted to her interests, who had some consideration in both camps: but she had no other resource; for so shameless was the desertion of the Empress after the abdication of the Emperor had become known, that on quitting Blois on the 9th, no one but de Champagny remained to hand her into her carriage!† The Emperor, her father, did not join the conference of sovereigns at Paris until the 15th, but during her stay at Rambouillet she was visited by him and others, including that pink of all that was courteous and courtly, kind, attentive, and polite—the Czar Alexander, and on their advice she did not return to her husband. The treaty, of which the preliminaries had been signed, assured to her the independent sovereignty of some Italian principalities, and she therefore, by direction of her father, gave up all thoughts of accompanying Napoleon, and resolved to repair at once to Vienna with

* Byron.

† To the honour of Carnot, though Napoleon said of him that "he was always in the wrong," he continued faithful to his trust to the last; and though no soldier, he kept firm hold of the ramparts of Antwerp more like a military man than a civil jurist, until he received official notice of the abdication of the Emperor, when he surrendered it to the new government with the memorable words which, as Alison remarks, comprise so much of a soldier's duty: "*The armed force is essentially obedient; it acts, but never deliberates.*"

her son, and content herself with sending to the Emperor, by means of Caulaincourt, the assurances of her affection and constancy (which, however, she did not fulfil), and the promise of attending to the care and education of her son, which she ever assiduously and nobly executed.

Some curiosity will very naturally be felt as to the status of Josephine under the new dispensation. Did she ever send consolation to, or make inquiries after, the husband of her youth; and did he remember in his fall the affectionate wife who had at the first helped him to rise? Alison quotes these beautiful lines from Lucan in allusion to her at this period:

“ Conjuge me lætos duxisti, Magne, triumphos,
Fortuna est mutata toris.”

Josephine did not long survive the fall of the heroic general with whose marvellous fortune she had linked her destiny. It is not stated that any direct communications ever passed between her and Napoleon while he remained at Fontainebleau, but he had scarcely set his foot upon his new sovereignty at Elba, when his repudiated wife was suddenly taken from life as if to remind him of his base and unholy desertion of her. She was seized with a putrid sore throat at her residence at Malmaison, of which she died there, after a few days' illness, on the 28th of May, while the revellers were yet singing round the coffin of the deceased empire.

But if neither of his wives lent their consolations to allay the bitterness of adversity, he had a mistress who was desirous at least to evince that sympathy so inseparable from women in all our joys and sorrows. Though the sex had no permanent power over his imperious nature, he had been extremely amorous in his disposition as far as the coarser senses were concerned. “ Among the numerous and fugitive objects of his capricious and illegitimate attachments, Napoleon is thought to have loved once, and for the moment with a really tender passion. At the summit of his glory (when at Warsaw in the Friedland campaign), the Countess Walewski, a Polish beauty of high distinction, the young wife of a noble Sarmatian already advanced in years, ardent and enthusiastic in her youthful temperament, and warmed by the genius and glory of the Emperor, adored in him the hero who seemed destined to revive the independence of her country. The feeling thus commenced in vanity or patriotism was soon fanned into a passion, and she quitted her husband, who had raised her to her position in society, and her country to which she professed to be so much attached, in order that she might be installed as the mistress of the Emperor, in a handsome residence at Paris, where he from time to time visited her, and where a son was in due course the result of her illicit connection. When all the world had left him, she wished, by devoting herself to the fallen exile, to prove that she was worthy of the love of the conqueror. She wrote to Napoleon to request an interview, and he consented, appointing the last night but one before his departure from Fontainebleau for her visit. She was introduced by the confidential valet to a room adjoining the bed-chamber of her

lover, and heard him walking about his room all through the night, but though the attendant frequently reminded his master of her presence, the night passed away without any message or notice for her, and at the dawn of day she was re-conducted to her carriage in mortification and tears at not having been admitted to his presence. In truth, the recollection of the circumstances under the influence of which she had cast away her scruples and her duty acted at this moment upon his vanity, and he was ashamed in his selfish coldness to show himself as the cast-down captive before the eyes of her who had loved him as the victor and arbiter of the world.

At length the morrow came on which he was to proceed to the place of his exile. The four commissioners appointed to accompany him were already arrived at the palace. General Koller on the part of Austria, Colonel Campbell on that of Great Britain, Count Walburg on behalf of Prussia, and General Schouvalov on that of Russia. At noon on the 24th of April, the fallen hero, with his attendant retinue, descended the great stair of the palace, and passing the array of carriages prepared for his conveyance advanced into the midst of the Old Guard drawn up in the courtyard, who saluted the Emperor with all the customary honours. With a gesture he silenced the drums, and evinced his desire to address the veterans who stood before him struggling with their emotions. Amidst breathless silence and tearful eyes, he thus spoke:—
"Soldats, vous mes vieux compagnons d'armes, qui j'ai toujours trouvé sur le chemin d'honneur, il faut enfin nous quitter. J'aurais pu rester plus longtemps au milieu de vous, mais il aurait fallu prolonger une lutte cruelle, ajouter peut-être la guerre civile à la guerre étrangère, et je n'ai plus me résoudre à déchirer plus longtemps le sein de la France. Jouissez du repos que vous avez si justement acquis et soyez heureux. Quant à moi, ne me plaignez pas. Il me reste une mission, et c'est pour la remplir que je consens à vivre,—c'est de raconter à la postérité les grandes choses que nous avons faites ensemble. Je voudrais vous serrer tous dans mes bras, mais laissez moi embrasser l'aigle qui vous représente."
At these words General Petit advanced towards him with the eagle in his hands, and the Emperor received the general in his arms and kissed the standard, in the midst of the cries and tears of the surrounding old soldiers and of many bystanders. His emotion almost overcame himself as at length, covering his face with both his hands, he threw himself into the carriage, which immediately drove off, conveying General Bertrand and himself the first stage of his exile. This is the most pathetic page of Napoleon's life. His greatness had lifted him above the common weaknesses of humanity, but now with a broken spirit he was forced back on to our common nature, and found true greatness in an act of softness. This farewell to his army has gained for him the pity of the world, and drawn a transient veil over his many selfishnesses.*

The artillery General Drouot, so often mentioned in these Annals for his great military distinction, also accompanied his chief in

* Alison, Lamartine, Thiers.

the first carriage, and the Allied commissioners in the last. In the beginning of the journey the *cortège* was attended by an escort of cavalry, but as they proceeded, this was no longer found waiting at the stations on the road; a paltry indignity perhaps of some mean official. As far as Lyons the Emperor received kind attentions and acclamations from the people as he passed along; but at Moulins he was received with the ominous cry of "Vivent les Bourbons," instead of "Vive l'Empereur," and as they proceeded still further south the cry arose, "A bas le tyran! A mort le tyran!" The commissioners, who were responsible for the life of Napoleon, became seriously alarmed, and thought it their duty to persuade him to put on a foreign uniform: but this was not the limit of the mortification to which he was exposed; for to save him from the violence of the increasing excitement when he reached St. Cannat, it was necessary to get him out of the inn through a back window, and he only at last escaped the fury of the people by adopting the disguise of a courier with the white cockade on his breast! He is recorded to have been found in a back room of the post-house in this disguise, with his elbows on his knees and his hands on his forehead, sunk in the deepest affliction at this cruel reception from a people,

"the page of whose story,
The brightest, or blackest, is filled with his name."

But even torture has an end; on the 27th the blue sea of the Mediterranean brightened the horizon, and showed him his freedom. On the next day he threw off all disguises, and in his accustomed uniform embarked at Frejus on board the British frigate "Undaunted," 38, Captain Usher, which vessel, accompanied by the "Euryalus," Captain Napier, quitted the French coast on the 28th at 8 at night, and set sail for Elba. While preparing to embark, a French frigate, "La Dryade," arrived in port, when Captain Moncabret at once offered his services to convey the fallen Sovereign, supposing that Napoleon would prefer a French ship for the voyage; but he was informed that the Emperor preferred the "Undaunted."* It was bright moonlight when he stepped on board, and as he was never the least seasick, he spent the greater part of the night on deck conversing. As he proceeded, he passed the distant coast of Corsica, and related many anecdotes of his early life. As soon as he reached Porto Ferrajo, a deputation of the inhabitants came on board to pay homage to their new master. He inquired what flag it was that was floating on the batteries, and requested Captain Usher to cause two new flags to be made for him by the crew, which were to be white with a horizontal red stripe, and on the stripe three bees. This was now made the acknowledged standard of the exiled Emperor. When Napoleon landed, on the

* Napoleon, dressed in a frock uniform, wearing a star and carrying a book in his hand, was received by Captain Usher with all the honours due to a crowned head; the yards were manned, and every possible respect shown him. Such was the impression produced by this reception from his enemies, so different from that he had just experienced from his own subjects, that the monarch and hero was unmanned and burst into tears.

3rd of May, on his new territory, one of these flags was run up to the masthead, and was properly saluted by the British vessels, as also by a French corvette lying in the harbour. In a few days afterwards some English transports reached the island, having on board 400 of the Old Guard, which remnant of his French sovereignty had been conceded to him in the treaty. Thus did Napoleon commence his reign as the Imperial monarch of Elba.*

40. NAVAL WAR.

We must now revert to the military annals upon the watery element, which have been so long passed by. On the 12th of February a French squadron of 3 sail of the line and 3 frigates, under the command of Rear-Admiral the Baron Cosmao-Kerjulien, sailed from Toulon, and on the following day the squadron was sighted by the look-out vessels of Sir Edward Pellew's fleet. As soon as the enemy saw themselves discovered they put about to return to harbour, but the British fleet of 15 sail at the same time advanced to cut them off. The leading ship, "Boyne," 98, Captain Burlton, opened fire upon "L'Adrienne" frigate, which was immediately returned by the whole French squadron; but the "Boyne," carrying a press of sail, was enabled to overtake the sternmost ship, "Le Romulus," and getting alongside of her within pistol-shot poured a steady and well-directed fire upon the 74, to which she scarcely returned a shot until she approached the shore batteries. Being nearly unrigged by the "Boyne's" fire, she hauled dead in to run on shore between the batteries of Cape Brun and S. Marguerite, which opened a destructive fire upon the British ship that carried away some of her spars and rigging. The Admiral, however, seeing that the ship would get on the rocks if she persevered longer in pursuit, signalled Captain Burlton to haul out. The French boasted much of this action, and "Le Romulus" was undoubtedly manœuvred in a very skilful manner, and showed great prudence in declining to contend with such a powerful opponent as the "Boyne."

In the course of January and February this year, every place that had shown the tricolor flag in Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, and the Friuli, with all the islands adjacent, had lowered it to the British naval squadron in the Adriatic under Rear-Admiral Freemantle, who was there aided by the Austrian troops. Cattaro surrendered to Captain William Hoste in the "Bacchante," Ragusa to the "Saracen," and Paxo to Captain Taylor in the "Apollo" and some troops under Colonel Church. On the 5th of January, Captain Rainier, of the "Niger," 38, in company with the "Tagus," 38, Captain Pipon, when off the Cape de Verd Islands with a convoy, gave chase to the French frigate "La Cérés," 40, commanded by the Baron de Bourgainville, who was in company with another ship of war of the same force, called "La Clorinde," Captain Lagarde. A running fight for 238 miles ensued, when "La Cérés," having

* Thiers, Alison, Brenton.

lost her maintopmast, surrendered, but "La Clorinde" escaped. On the 16th, the British sloop "Cyane," 22, Captain Forrest, being in company with the "Venerable," 74, Captain Worth, signalled two strange sail in the offing, whom she was sent to reconnoitre. They proved to be two French frigates out of Cherbourg on a month's cruise, in which they had made some valuable prizes, "L'Iphigénie," 40, commanded by Captain Emeric, and "L'Alcmène," 40, by Captain Alexandre de Villeneuve. They had already been to the Western Isles, then to the coast of Africa, and were now seen off the Canary Isles. Chase was immediately given, and the "Venerable" had got up with "L'Alcmène," when Captain Villeneuve, expecting that his colleague would second him in the bold attempt, prepared to board the line-of-battle ship; but "L'Iphigénie" hauled sharp up, leaving her consort to her fate, and after a very short struggle "L'Alcmène" found herself a captive, with the loss of 80 killed and wounded. The "Cyane" was now sent with the prize brig "Jason," Lieutenant Moffat, to follow "L'Iphigénie," but it was the 20th before the "Venerable" got up, when a short action ensued, and this French frigate also struck her colours.

On the 18th, the British frigate "Severn," 40, Captain Nourse, escorting a convoy in the Channel, came across the two French frigates "L'Étoile," 40, Captain Phillibert, and "La Sultane," 40, Captain Du Petit-Thouars, and immediately chased them. A running fight ensued, which did no injury to the "Severn," but which lasted till the morning of the 19th, when the two strangers hauled to the wind. They were seen again on the 23rd in the Cape de Verds by the British frigates "Creole," 36, Captain Mackenzie, and "Astræa," 36, Captain Eveleigh, who came up with the enemy and exchanged several broadsides, in the course of which the "Creole" was set on fire and very roughly handled, so that she abandoned the contest. Both French frigates then fell upon the "Astræa," and the action had only recommenced a few minutes when Captain Eveleigh fell mortally wounded, and the command devolved on Lieutenant Bulford, who continued the contest until his ship had lost her mizenmast, and had become greatly damaged in rigging and sails. "La Sultane" likewise had lost one of her masts, and both ships having been sufficiently punished were glad to get away from each other, when "L'Étoile" stood away also after her consort. On the 26th of March, however, the same two French frigates were met with near San Malo by the British frigate "Hebrus," 36, Captain Palmer, in company with the brig-sloop "Sparrow," Captain Loch. They soon came under fire, and the "Hebrus" gave signals to her consort ship "Hannibal," 74, Captain Sir Michael Seymour, who soon came down under a press of canvass to assist in the fight. The two French frigates accordingly separated, and while the 74 pursued one, the "Hebrus" followed the other. The frigate came up with "L'Étoile" in the Race of Alderney, and a close engagement ensued. The British vessel lost her fore-topmast and had her mainmast crippled, and received considerable injury in other spars and rigging; but at length, after a close com-

bat of two hours and a quarter, the French frigate struck her colours. The "Hannibal" was not long in overtaking the disabled "Sultane," and after a short resistance forced her to surrender.

It has been stated above that "La Clorinde," 40, Captain Denis Lagarde, parted company with the "Cérès" before she surrendered to the "Tagus." On the 25th of February this French frigate was descried by the British frigate "Eurotas," 38, Captain Phillimore, on her way back to Brest. Chase was immediately given, and "La Clorinde" bore away under a press of sail. The wind shifted, but nevertheless the "Eurotas" gained on her, and in about two hours and a half Captain Phillimore came up with his adversary, passed under her stern, hailed her to surrender, and sent in a broadside. In return, the "Eurotas" received from "La Clorinde" so close and well-directed a fire, that her mizenmast fell by the board, and in its fall nearly brought down the foretopmast of the French frigate. Captain Phillimore ordered the helm to be put down in order to lay the enemy on board, but this failed, and he could only pour in his larboard broadside. The two frigates then got side by side, and cannonaded each other with redoubled fury for more than half an hour, and under this fire the mainmast of the "Eurotas," and the mizenmast of "La Clorinde," came down. The fight continued till the mainmast of the French frigate and the foremast of the British also fell; but "La Clorinde" had still her foremast standing, while the "Eurotas" had not one left. Accordingly the French vessel was able to get up foresail and stand away out of gunshot. Captain Phillimore had been severely wounded by a grapeshot in the shoulder in the early part of the action, but kept the deck till he saw the enemy withdraw, when the command was taken by Lieutenant Robert Smith, who immediately set about clearing away the wreck of the masts, and made preparations, by rigging jury-masts, to follow after the enemy, so that before mid-day on the 26th this gallant young officer succeeded in coming fast upon the French frigate, which he soon perceived had done nothing in the interval to clear away her wreck. At this moment, however, to the mortification of every one on board, the British frigate "Dryad," 36, Captain Galway, and the brig-sloop "Achates," 16, Captain Morrison, hove in sight, depriving the "Eurotas" of the victory which would in all probability have declared in her favour. On the "Dryad's" getting up alongside "La Clorinde" and firing a gun, the latter at once hauled down her colours, and Captain Lagarde went on board to present his sword to Captain Galway, who very honourably refused it, as being the just reward of Captain Phillimore. The British had 60 killed and wounded, and the French double that number.

On the 2nd of February, the British ship "Majestic," 56, Captain Hayes, on her passage from St. Michael's to Madeira, sighted a cruiser, which proved to be the American privateer "Wasp," and immediately made sail in chase, which he continued through the night and until daylight on the 3rd, when he discovered three

ships and a brig of suspicious appearance in the offing. Captain Hayes accordingly gave up the pursuit of the privateer and went after the strangers. When he got up to them, he found them to be the two French frigates "L'Atalante," 40, Captain Mallet, and "La Terpsichore," 40, Captain Breton, having two prizes with them; one a large richly laden Spanish ship, named the "San Juan de Baptista," carrying 20 guns, and the other an unarmed merchant brig. The British captain hoisted his colours, when "La Terpsichore" signaled to her consort, "The enemy is inferior to us," to which "L'Atalante" immediately responded, "Make more sail." The "Majestic," nothing daunted by her inferiority, bore up for "La Terpsichore," but "L'Atalante," still keeping her signal flying, crowded sail, and the prizes also kept their way under a press of canvass. At about 2 o'clock, the "Majestic" and "La Terpsichore" were left alone, when the chase continued until, after a running fight, which lasted nearly three hours, the French frigate was approached within musket-shot distance, and struck her colours. The wind however increasing, Captain Hayes was obliged to stay by his prize, so the other ships escaped; but the "San Juan" was met with and captured on the 25th by the British frigate "Menelaus," 38, Captain Sir Peter Parker.

A very unfortunate encounter occurred on the 12th of March between the brig-sloop "Primrose," 18, Captain Phillot, and the British mail-packet "Duke of Marlborough," Captain John Bull, carrying the mails between Falmouth and Lisbon. The post-office captain was known to be a considerable fire-eater, but he now so blundered his signals that the King's ship necessarily fired upon him, thinking him an enemy. The fight took place for the most part through the night, but it occasioned a sad waste of human life before the error was discovered.

It may be remembered in the Naval Annals of 1812, that the U.S. frigate "Constitution" captured two British frigates, the "Guerrière" and "Java." It does not appear that she was at all at sea in the year 1813, but on the 1st of January, 1814, she got out of Boston harbour and made prize of the British schooner "Picton," 14. She was, however, met with by the "Pique" frigate, Captain Maitland, who, after clearing for action, was disappointed by the American frigate hauling to the wind; and on the 3rd of April, off Marblehead, the two British frigates "Junon," Captain Clotworthy Upton, and "Tenedos," Captain Hyde Parker, gave her chase, when, after starting her water and throwing over her provisions and spars, she just succeeded in getting into harbour.

It has also been stated, under "Naval War, 1812," that the U.S. frigate "Essex," Captain David Porter, had been sent to the South Seas to endeavour to make prizes of British vessels in that quarter. The "Essex" proceeded round Cape Horn and reached Valparaiso, having captured many vessels, including some whalers; but on the 12th of January in this year she was found at Valparaiso with some

of her prizes in company. On the 8th of February the British frigate "Phœbe," 36, Captain Hillyar, who had been for nearly five months in anxious search for the "Essex," and was now in company with the "Cherub," 18, Captain Tucker, stood into that harbour, and anchored there at no great distance from the American. Several attempts were made to get the prizes to sea, but the vigilance of the two British vessels prevented it. Matters thus continued till the 28th of March, when the U.S. captain put in practice a good "dodge" to get rid of his troublesome neighbours. As the wind in the South Seas blows usually from the southward, any scheme that would draw the two British ships to the northward would naturally favour the escape of the Americans. About midnight of the date named, numerous blue lights and rockets were thrown up in the north quarter of the horizon, on which the "Phœbe" and "Cherub" were induced immediately to lift their anchors and sail off in the direction indicated; but finding very soon that no answer was returned to the lights they hoisted, they suspected the ruse and returned to port, where they arrived too quickly for the Yankees to carry out their scheme. The "Essex," nevertheless, did make the attempt, and had nearly accomplished her escape, when, in rounding a point of land, a heavy squall struck her, and carried away her maintopmast. The "Phœbe" immediately opened fire upon her, and the "Cherub" did the same, which the "Essex" returned; but after the contest had lasted an hour or two, she endeavoured to run on shore, in the hope of being able to get the specie and other valuables on board the ship secured, and she did in fact come to within a short distance of the beach. Captain Hillyar, however, so managed as to get possession of the American frigate in time to save the lives of many of her men, although 31 of her crew perished in the waves. Six weeks had elapsed in watching for this opportunity, but the action itself lasted less than an hour. The "Phœbe" lost her first lieutenant and 3 men killed and 7 wounded, and the "Cherub" 1 killed and 3 wounded, including her captain; 161 prisoners were rescued on board the "Essex," and 23 men were found dead on her decks.

On the 20th of April the British frigate "Orpheus," Captain Pigot, having the schooner "Shelburne," 12, in company, fell in with the U.S. ship-sloop "Frolic," Captain Bainbridge, when, after a chase of about half an hour, down went the American flag. It afterwards appeared that the ship's company were in a state of mutiny, and, having destroyed and thrown overboard all the small arms, were in the act of pillaging the stores.

On the 25th of April, the brig-sloop "Épervier," 18, Captain Wales, was in company with the "Shelburne" schooner, and on the 29th was joined by a ship under Russian colours, when a large ship was discovered apparently in chase of a convoy, which proved to be the U.S. brig-sloop "Peacock," 22, Captain Warrington. She, however, was under British colours when first seen, and so continued until the ships were within half gun-shot, when she ran up American colours at every mast and stay. The fight began at

10 o'clock, and a continual discharge of star and bar shot cut up the rigging and sails of the "Épervier" considerably, after which the "Peacock" directed the whole of her fire on her opponent's hull, and accordingly the British sloop was soon rendered unmanageable. Captain Wales called his crew aft to follow him in boarding; but they were a bad lot that had been taken out of a privateer, and to a man they refused to follow the captain, so that no other alternative remained but for the British officer to strike his colours.

On the 28th of June, the British brig-sloop "Reindeer," 18, Captain Manners, encountered the U.S. ship-sloop "Wasp," 22, Captain Blakeley. The fight began at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and a close and furious engagement ensued, which lasted till 4, when the "Reindeer," having lost her captain with nearly one half of her officers and men, became a prize to the American ship. The captain, however, who fought the British brig, proved himself a thorough hero, literally "fighting upon his stumps" to the last. The calves of his legs had been shot away early in the action, yet he kept the deck, encouraging his crew and animating them by his example. Another shot subsequently passed between his thighs, which threw him down on his knees, yet, though bleeding profusely, he resolutely refused to quit the deck, and perceiving that the enemy's fire proceeded from the marksmen in the "Wasp's" tops, the gallant officer called out to his men, "Follow me, my boys, we must board;" and was in the very act of doing so in the condition described, when two musket-balls penetrated his skull, and with a convulsive flourish of his sword he fell lifeless on his own deck. 25 of the ship's crew were killed and 42 wounded. The "Wasp" had 9 killed and 15 wounded. The same U.S. ship-sloop fell in, on the 1st of September, with the British brig-sloop "Avon," 18, Hon. Captain Arbuthnot, and an engagement ensued. The star and bar shot of the American guns again did such execution upon the rigging of the British ship, that the "Avon" was soon reduced by the loss of her masts to the most unmanageable condition, and without any power of manœuvring she could make but ill return to the animated fire of the "Wasp," so that after about an hour and a half's resistance the "Avon" surrendered; but just as the Americans were taking possession of her, the British brig-sloop "Castilian," 18, Captain Braimers, arrived on the scene of action, and, although it was already dark, the "Wasp" made off, leaving her prize behind. The "Avon" now made repeated signals of distress, for she was discovered to be sinking fast, and the "Castilian," instead of chasing the enemy, was obliged to hoist out her boats to save the crew of her consort, after which the British brig went down. Her antagonist met with no better fate, for the "Wasp" foundered about three weeks' subsequently, before she could reach a port of the United States.

The European war having by this time ended, the British government determined to throw more vigour into the conflict with the United States of America; and Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Coch-

rane, having under him Rear-Admiral Cockburn, was appointed to succeed Admiral Sir John Warren in the American waters. Henceforward the naval transactions became so very much united with the military, that we shall weave our account of the operations by land and sea into one continuous narrative.*

41. WAR IN NORTH AMERICA — NAVAL AND MILITARY.

The greatest exertions were made, during the winter of 1813-14, to augment the military efficiency of Canada, and to prepare for the ensuing campaign with a vigour which plainly denoted a serious intention of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. At the close of the preceding year, Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost was commander-in-chief of the British forces, and Commodore Sir James Lucas Yeo commanded the naval force on the Canadian lakes. The American army was under General Wilkinson, who had his head-quarters at Plattsburg. The Indians sent a solemn embassy to Quebec, to represent to the Governor-General the acts of the American government against them, and to supplicate the powerful protection of Great Britain; when, having received the strongest assurances of support, they went back to their wilds loaded with presents, determined to avenge the death of their beloved chief, Tecumseh, and to act with the British and Canadians in the war. No material movement occurred on either side of the Canadian frontier till the 30th of March, when Wilkinson made an attack at an early hour of that day upon the outposts at Collierhill, where Major Hancock commanded, who repulsed them with considerable loss. The British tried to get possession of the guns, but failed in two attempts; yet, although Wilkinson carried off his battery, he did not attain the object of his attack. Commodore Sir James Yeo, who commanded the British force on the Lakes, had made considerable additions to the naval power, while Commodore Chauncey, who commanded for the United States, had also launched and equipped an increase to the U.S. flotilla. Oswego is situated on Lake Ontario, at the confluence of a river bearing the same name. The estuary forms a safe harbour, and is protected by a well-built fort, which had become an important station as a resting-place and depôt in connexion with Sackett's Harbour on the upper part of the lake, from which it was distant 60 miles. It was, moreover, known that there was accumulated in the warehouses here a considerable quantity of naval stores, *in transitu* from New York to the seat of war. An expedition against it was accordingly organised by the British in the beginning of May, but either some direct information regarding this armament, or suspicions of its probable object, led to preparations on the part of the Americans in expectation of the attack. On the 3rd of May, in the evening, a conjunct expedition stood out of Kingston harbour, consisting of the "Prince Regent," 58, bearing the broad pendant of Sir James Yeo, and 6 armed sloops, having on board 1,080 rank and file under the orders of

* James, Brenton, Allison, Annual Register.

Lieut.-General Drummond. It was noon of the 4th before the squadron arrived off Oswego, but, as soon as it appeared in sight, such a stir was observed among the enemy on shore as proved them not to be taken by surprise. On the 5th, a reconnoissance of the defences was made by the gun-boats under the orders of Captain Collier, and everything arranged for disembarking the troops at sunset; but a heavy gale in the night prevented this from being completed, and the first detachment of about 800 men, under Captain Mulcaster, with two or three hundred seamen and marines, was not got on shore till the morning of the 6th. The landing was effected under a heavy fire from the fort, and upwards of 500 regulars and militiamen were observed drawn up on the brow of a hill, and in the woods adjoining; but they did not prevent the formation of the British on the beach. Having now to ascend a steep hill, the troops, led gallantly by Lieut.-Colonel Fischer of Watteville's regiment, suffered extremely from the enemy's fire; but nothing could retard the advance of the assailants, and no sooner had they reached the summit, than the enemy retired helter-skelter, so that in ten minutes the fort was in their possession. The British loss was, nevertheless, severe: there were 18 killed, and 64 wounded, of both services, including Captain Mulcaster dangerously. The barracks were now burned, and the guns and stores carried away. The principal advantage gained by the expedition was also accomplished, which was the hindrance to the completion of the enemy's armament on the Lakes, and to the equipment of a new ship which was calculated to carry 60 guns. Another attempt on a small scale, with the same purpose in view, proved unfortunate. Sir James Yeo having been apprised that 18 boats laden with stores were still in Sandy Creek, detached, on the 30th, Captains Popham and Spilburg, with 180 seamen and marines, to cut them out. The boats reached the entrance soon after daylight on the 31st, and armed parties were landed on each side of it; but, unexpectedly, 150 riflemen, 200 Indians, and a large body of U.S. militia and cavalry rushed upon the parties, who made a stout resistance, but were overpowered and made prisoners, and many of them were with difficulty rescued from the tomahawk of the Indians by the exertions of the American officers, who entitled themselves to the warmest gratitude from both friend and foe for their determined conduct.

42. BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, LUNDY'S LANE, AND NIAGARA.

The failure of all the enemy's attempts on Lower or East Canada began to give a new character to the war, and the offensive was thenceforth limited, on the side of the United States, to a portion of the Upper Province only. The advantages for naval warfare upon Lake Ontario were, nevertheless, greatly on the side of the Americans, in the proportion of 1,517 British and Canadians to 2,321 U.S. men; and they had obtained the exclusive command of the waters of Lakes Erie, Huron, and Superior, which had gained over to their side the Indians of the Five Nations, who had been till then

the allies of the British. The chief command of the U. S. army rested with General Brown, who had defended Sackett's Harbour against the attack of Sir George Prevost. The American forces under his command, destined for the invasion of Upper Canada, were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Buffalo, in the Niagara country. On the 3rd of July, a considerable force under the Major-General, computed at 6,000 men, crossed the Niagara river, and, having driven in the pickets of Fort Erie, summoned the British garrison, which surrendered without firing a shot. They then proceeded to the lines of Chippewa. Major-General Riall, in command of the British, had collected a force of about 1,500 men, consisting of 500 men from each of the battalions of Royal Scots, King's, and 100th regiment, with 2nd Lincoln Militia, and some cavalry and artillery. Riall reconnoitred the enemy in the course of the 4th, in the midst of a sharp skirmish with the enemy's riflemen, and made his dispositions for an attack on the evening of the 5th, when the troops moved out of the camp in three columns, the Indian warriors occupying the woods. The Indians and Militia made good their advance on the left flank of the enemy, while some guns were brought up to play upon their right flank. Then the Scots and 100th, under the lead of Colonel Gordon and the Marquess of Tweeddale, charged the enemy's front with the bayonet; but the forces were so unequal that, having had both leaders wounded, and their men suffering severely, the Major-General saw it would be unavailing to persevere against such superior numbers, and gave orders for a retreat upon the Chippewa lines, which was conducted with good order and regularity. The British loss was considerable, having amounted to 180 killed, and nearly 320 wounded. The American loss has been stated at 251 killed and wounded. Brown advanced after the action, and, by means of a cross road, was enabled to give the camp the go-by, which alarmed Riall for his communications, so that he fell farther back to Twenty-mile Creek. Brown on this pushed forward to Fort George, where he expected to meet the American flotilla. The British force in Canada had been, however, at this time augmented by the arrival of some troops at Quebec from Wellington's army in France, who were immediately sent up to the frontier; and, on the 25th, General Drummond arrived at Niagara, but found General Riall retreating before the Americans. Having collected and refreshed the troops he had brought with him at Queenstown, Drummond moved forward with 800 men to Riall's support, and, on meeting his division in retreat, assumed the command, and countermanded it. He then hastily formed up the 89th and 41st regiments, but they were scarcely in line before he was attacked by Brown, who with great resolution, and highly elated by recent success, advanced against them at the charge. A conflict then ensued which is known as the battle of Lundy's Lane. The enemy gained a momentary possession of some ground, and General Riall was wounded and made prisoner; but the Peninsular veterans were not to be so easily dealt with, and the Americans were eventually repulsed. Yet in so determined

a manner was this attack conducted, that several of the British artillerymen were bayoneted in the act of loading the guns, some of which even remained for a few minutes in the hands of the assailants. This extraordinary conflict was continued into the darkness of night, when, not only did the British recover their lost artillery, but captured two guns from the enemy, together with several tumbrils. There was a short intermission of the battle at 9 o'clock, but at midnight Brown made another effort to carry the British position. In the interval, however, Colonel Scot, with the 103rd and flank companies of the 104th, and detachments of Scots and King's regiments, had joined, when the American general, unable to force the line or to outflank it, retreated with precipitation to his camp beyond the river, which he abandoned on the following day, and retired in great disorder to Fort Erie. Both the enemy's generals were wounded, and 930 of his troops were killed, wounded, or prisoners. The British had 84 killed, out of a total of 878 casualties. The light troops and Indians were forthwith detached in pursuit, which was so pressed, that baggage, supplies, and camp equipage were precipitated over the Falls of Niagara, as Brown's army passed by them in their retreat. Drummond ordered up from Ontario some batteaux manned by seamen and marines, who captured several armed schooners which the enemy had anchored off Fort Erie, against the defences of which a heavy fire was immediately directed. The distance was too great for the guns to produce much effect, notwithstanding which, on the 15th, Drummond thought the parapets and embrasures sufficiently dilapidated to justify an assault. This daring attempt to storm an intrenched camp resting on a fort, and garrisoned by 3,500 men, very nearly succeeded. The attack was made in two columns, the one led by Lieut.-Colonel Drummond of the 104th, and the other under Colonel Scot of the 103rd, both being destined to assail the intrenchments; while Lieut.-Colonel Fischer, leading his own regiment and the 8th, with the flank companies of the 89th and 100th, attacked on the side of Snake-hill. These last succeeded, after a desperate resistance, in making a lodgement in the fort, by entering it through the embrasures of the demibastion, and had turned the guns against the enemy, when a most tremendous explosion occurred, which stopped the further progress of the assault, and dreadfully mangled almost all who had got into the place. A panic instantly spread among the troops engaged in it, and the enemy, recovering possession and pressing forward, the attack was abandoned. The other two columns, by marching too near the Lake, got entangled between the rocks and the water, and did not come up till Fischer's attack had failed. The loss in this abortive attempt was nearly 60 killed and 300 wounded, but 539 were reported as missing. General Drummond now contented himself with investing Fort Erie, and was thus enabled to coop up the large American force in one corner of the British territory during the remainder of the campaign.

43. CONJUNCT EXPEDITION UP THE CHESAPEAKE—THE BRITISH ENTER WASHINGTON.

The hostile operations on the coast of the southern states of the Union had hitherto been rather of a predatory and harassing nature, more calculated to irritate than alarm the American government, but it was now resolved to strike a blow in that quarter which might exert a direct influence on the duration of the war. The termination of the European contest had rendered the whole military and naval power of England disposable; and a large naval force, under Rear-Admiral Cockburn, having on board a considerable body of troops commanded by Major-General Ross, was despatched to the Chesapeake. Three regiments (4th, 44th, and 85th), with artillery, which left the Gironde on the 2nd of June, were embarked on board "The Royal Oak," 74, carrying the flag of Rear-Admiral Malcolm; "Dictator," 64, and "Diadem," 64, armed *en flûte*, together with 5 frigates, 2 bomb-ships, and several store-ships and transports; and were followed by a squadron of 6 frigates, having on board four more regiments (7th, 21st, 27th, and 62nd), all which vessels and military anchored in the Bay of Chesapeake on the morning of the 15th of August. Major-General Ross, accompanied by Rear-Admiral Cockburn, forthwith went on shore to look about them. The Rear-Admiral's knowledge of the country enabled this reconnoissance to be carried farther than would otherwise have been prudent. Two parties of marines marched in open order on the flanks, each marine carrying a bugle; and having in this way proceeded some distance it occurred to the Admiral and General that an attack might, with very great facility, be made upon the city of Washington itself, for the United States Commodore, Joshua Barney, with the Baltimore flotilla, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent, and was, in fact, effectually shut up there by a squadron under the command of Captain Barrie in the "Dragon," 74. This had caused great disquietude at Washington, and the Rear-Admiral was therefore enabled to appreciate thoroughly the sensitive position of that capital. He accordingly took on himself to suggest to General Ross that the ships should ascend the river, with the declared purpose of attacking Barney, while the military should invade the capital by the same route of the Patuxent, and attempt a *coup de main*.

There are two ways of approaching the Federal city: the one, up the Potomac, which is defended by Fort Washington and Fort Totneco, and thence overland, by the village of Piscataway, terminating at a bridge half a mile long, with a drawbridge at its west end, of easy defence against both troops and shipping; the other up the Patuxent and by Bladensburg, which was thought the preferable way under any circumstances. Accordingly, the frigate "Seahorse," 88, Captain Gordon, was sent to bombard the forts on the Potomac, and the "Menelaus," 38, Captain Sir Peter Parker, was sent up the Chesapeake to create a diversion towards Baltimore;

while the Rear-Admiral himself, leading the armament, proceeded up the river with the armed boats and tenders of the fleet, to attempt the destruction of Barney's flotilla. These were formed in three divisions; the first under Captains Ball and Stanhope Badcock, the second under Captains Mony and Somervell, and the third under Captain Ramsay; the whole being under Captain Wainwright of the "Tonnant."

On the 20th of August, on reaching Benedict, beyond which the water shoals considerably, the conjunct forces halted, and Cockburn, with the armed boats and tenders of the fleet, having on board the marines under Major Robyns and the marine artillery under Captain Harrison, proceeded up the river. The troops were disembarked with their stores on the right bank, and made ready to march forward by Bladensburg upon Washington. Cockburn sighted Barney's pendant on opening the reach above Peg Point, but, before he could get up with him, the whole flotilla was in a blaze, and blew up, to the number of 15 or 16 vessels. Those which could be saved were captured, but 13 vessels were destroyed. The destruction of this force secured the right flank of the advance of Ross, who, accordingly, moved his whole force on the 22nd to the town of Upper Marlborough. The army numbered about 3,500 combatants, with two small guns and a rocket brigade. They took with them provisions for three days. On the evening of the 23rd, the Rear-Admiral, with the marines, marine artillery, and seamen from the boat expedition, came back down the Patuxent and joined the General, who marched on the 24th to Bladensburg, where the United States army was discovered drawn up on a hill behind a river. The American government was not unprepared for the attack; yet, although somewhat grandiose, as usual, in their assumed means of defence, which were spoken of as 93,000 militia, General Winder had only collected in this position 6,500 infantry, 300 cavalry, and 26 guns, the latter worked by 600 seamen.

The United States army was drawn up in two lines upon very commanding ground on the north of the turnpike road leading to the capital, which road crossed the centre of the position. The advance occupied a fortified house, in which the artillery was posted so as to enfilade all the approaches leading down to the bridge across the Potomac. The President of the republic, James Maddison, was in the field. Ross's decision was soon taken, and dispositions for an attack in two columns: one of which, consisting of the 85th and the light companies of the other regiments of the army, under Colonel Thornton, was to assail the fortified house; while the other, consisting of the 4th, 44th, and Royal Marines, under Colonel Brooke, was to move against the enemy's left. The first advanced in double quick time, and was led by Thornton with so much impetuosity that, notwithstanding the heavy fire from the guns, the fortified house was at once carried, and the enemy driven to the higher ground. Brooke crossed the stream in face of a heavy fire of cannon and musketry combined, and, with the irresistible force of the bayonet, caused the enemy speedily to abandon his

guns, and fall back on the second line, where they were so plied with the well-directed discharge of rockets, that the whole got into confusion and fled, leaving their guns behind them. Commodore Barney, having lost his flotilla, had taken the field, but was now wounded and made prisoner. The American troops, knowing the country well, retreated so fast that it was impossible to attempt any pursuit, even if Ross's deficiency in cavalry and the extraordinary heat had not prevented it (for the stoutest men sank under the burning sun, and, till its fervour had somewhat abated, the army was unable to move); so that there were not many prisoners taken. The loss of the British was about 60 killed, and nearly 200 wounded. After two hours' rest, during which refreshments were ordered for the troops, Ross determined to push on; and, about 8 o'clock, went forward with Cockburn to reconnoitre. While in consultation as to whether it would be prudent, at so late an hour, to enter into the city of Washington, which was now quite open to them, a volley was fired on the party from one of the windows of the capitol, which killed the General's horse. The light companies were immediately called up and thrown into the place, which, as is well known, was at that time no town, but a mere collection of scattered houses. It was now determined to go forward the same evening, and the General and Admiral, with a sufficient escort, entered Washington, the American army quitting it on the other side as the British advanced. A proposition was made to ransom the public buildings by the payment of a sum of money, which was refused. It had, indeed, been already intimated to the Secretary of State, that the orders of the British Government were "to destroy and lay waste all towns and districts of the United States found accessible to the attack of British armaments." * This is supposed to have been resolved upon by the Court of St. James's, in retaliation for the cruel devastations of the Americans on the Canadian frontier. The first hostile act was in consequence of the treacherous shot fired at General Ross when reconnoitring, which had nearly killed him. Judging it of consequence to complete the contemplated destruction before the enemy could recover from their surprise, and assemble in sufficient force to avert the catastrophe, the order was given the same night to set fire to the capitol; the arsenal, containing 200 pieces of cannon, and an immense quantity of small arms and ammunition; and the navy-yard, containing a frigate of the largest class ready for launching, a sloop of war, and an immense stock of ship-timber, which, with the extensive rope-walks, were destroyed. The treasury, war-office, President's house, and the great bridge across the Potomac were also burned. This last was, indeed, a very prudent measure, as the Americans had themselves destroyed the two bridges crossing the eastern branch. During the morning of the 25th, the types and printing-press belonging to the government were also destroyed. It was calculated that the injury thus inflicted upon the public property of the state reached nearly

* Armstrong, Allison, James, Brenton.

4,000,000*l.* sterling: but the destruction of private property was strictly prohibited; and such was the discipline of the troops, that complete protection was afforded to the persons and goods of all the inhabitants during the occupation of the American capital by the British. It is the recorded testimony of the U. S. press, "that no peaceable citizen was molested." The object of the expedition being now accomplished, the troops commenced retiring on the night of the 25th, and on the evening of the 29th again reached Benedict, where they were reembarked on the 30th, without a single musket having been fired at them by the enemy.

The capture of Washington produced a prodigious sensation in the United States, and has brought down heavy censure upon the British character from the press of many nations. It has been said that to destroy every establishment connected with war is fair, but not edifices consecrated to the purposes of civil government, affording specimens of the advance of the fine arts among a rising people; and hard names—Barbarians, Goths, Vandals—have, in consequence of the burning of Washington, been freely hurled against the English. But it must be at once distinctly and clearly recognised that from the commencement of belligerent proceedings, at any time and in any country, destruction of life and property is the object of war; and its most legitimate exercise is the crippling of the resources of an enemy. The life of man and the private property and comfort of individuals should be of infinitely higher importance than the mere sacrifice of the wealth and property of the state, although including all that the arts and sciences can do to decorate it; and it is quite impossible to render war a child's play, in which that only which is worthless shall be broken and destroyed, and the best put away. If nations wish to spare what is beautiful or valuable, they had better follow the advice of those who would recommend arbitration instead of war, and to remember the proverb: "Not to play with sharp tools, or you will cut your fingers."

The capture of Washington was succeeded by an exploit of great brilliancy. On the 17th, as already noticed, the "Seahorse," "Euryalus," and several bomb-vessels, commenced ascending the Potomac; but the intricate channel of the river very much delayed their progress, so that it was not till the evening of the 27th, after each of the ships had been aground not less than twenty times, that the squadron arrived abreast off Fort Washington, into which they threw their shells the same evening. The garrison was soon observed to be retiring, and before night the powder magazine exploded, which destroyed all the buildings, so that, when daylight broke on the 28th, the place was found to be abandoned, and the fort and batteries were accordingly forthwith occupied. By the loss of this defence the populous commercial town of Alexandria, on the same river, was laid open; and Captain Gordon, carefully buoying the channel as he proceeded in order to insure his safe return, continued his course up the river, and placed his ships so as to enforce compliance with any terms he chose to propose to the municipality. Soon a flag of truce was seen to come off with a proposal to ca-

pitulate; but the Commodore, with great tact, referred the proposition back to the common council of the town. He insisted that the vessels which the Americans had sunk should be taken up again and restored to the state they had been in as to the merchandise and furniture of their owners, and that these vessels, twenty-two in number, besides several armed schooners, should be surrendered. On such terms he expressed himself willing to spare the town from the fate of the federal city, but if any deviation or non-compliance with them by the inhabitants should be attempted, he declared the treaty to be null and void. The conditions were thankfully accepted. The forts were destroyed with all their artillery, the shipping with all their merchandise faithfully surrendered, and the squadron returned in triumph with many prizes deeply laden. As the British had, by this time, retired from Washington, the Americans took strong measures to oppose Captain Gordon's return down the Potomac, which, as we have seen, his own forethought had facilitated; nevertheless, Commodore Rodgers, with Captains Perry and Porter and other officers, and a chosen band of seamen, together with those who had belonged to Barney's flotilla, flocked to the banks "to punish the bold invaders." Capt. Baker, in the "Fairy," had fought his way up the river to convey the Rear-Admiral's orders for Captain Gordon's return, and contrary winds compelled the British commanders to resort to the laborious task of warping their ships. Taking advantage, therefore, of these circumstances, three fire-vessels, conducted by five row-boats, under the direction of the American commodore himself, were launched against the squadron: but their object was defeated by the promptitude and gallantry of Capt. Alexander in the "Devastation" bomb-ship which had grounded; for he at once pushed off with his boats, and, being followed by the boats of the squadron, compelled the commodore to fly back to Alexandria, while Midshipman Moore of the "Seahorse," with some of the boats, towed the fire-ships safely to shore. On the 4th of September, the squadron arrived opposite the batteries, which had been increased to 11 guns, with a furnace for heating shot; and this was the moment when the Americans hoped to effect the destruction of the British squadron. The "Seahorse" and "Euryalus" anchored immediately opposite the batteries within musket-shot, and having completely silenced their fire, the rest of the squadron passed until they arrived at two other batteries, mounting from 14 to 18 guns, on a range of cliffs extending in length about a mile. The British bomb-ships, however, threw their shells with such precision that these also were silenced before night, so that, at daylight on the 6th, the squadron was allowed to pass without further molestation, and on the 9th sailed out of the Potomac, having accomplished in twenty-three days a navigation under difficulties superior to what had ever been attempted by even the United States navigators in their own waters.

Sir Peter Parker, in the "Menelaus," had also pushed his way up the Chesapeake, but, having recently arrived in the North

American waters, he was not sufficiently experienced in the warfare to which he was to be exposed. Having heard, however, that 200 American militia were encamped behind a wood, distant about a mile from the beach, he, with his accustomed boldness, landed on the 30th of August with 104 seamen and 30 marines. Colonel Read commanded the American force, and, on being apprised of the intended attack of Sir Peter upon him, he withdrew inland four or five miles, whither he was followed by the heedless seamen and marines, headed by their undaunted chief. The enemy was at length come up with, and found drawn up in line with some pieces of artillery, when the British, after delivering their fire, at once charged and drove the Americans into the woods; but in this act Sir Peter received a mortal wound, and his men, following the enemy among the trees, got struck down one after the other by foes whom they could not see, until, bewildered and embarrassed, they were at length compelled to retreat to their ship, which the adventurous little band effected, bringing back with them the body of their lamented commander and almost all their wounded. They had lost 14 killed.

44. ATTEMPT UPON THE CITY OF BALTIMORE.

Cockburn next persuaded the General to proceed without loss of time against the important city of Baltimore, because the approach of the equinox rendered it unsafe for the ships to remain long in the narrow waters. A proclamation had been issued and circulated inviting the slaves to rise against their masters and join the British standard, and considerable numbers, it was said nearly 2,000, had flocked in consequence to Tangier Island. At the head of a narrow bay or inlet of the Patapsco river, and distant from its confluence with the Chesapeake about fourteen miles, stands the city of Baltimore, containing 50,000 inhabitants, free and slave. The events which have been related could not do otherwise than occasion serious alarm in this city. The panic-stricken inhabitants expected the British troops to advance immediately upon them, and there is little doubt that, had the attempt been then made, the city would have at once capitulated; but time brought military and naval forces to its aid, and generals and commodores set to work to improve the natural advantages of its position. The city is nearly surrounded by detached hills; one of which, called Clinkapin Hill, situated on its eastern side, commands every approach by land from the Chesapeake. A chain of redoubts was marked out on these hills, and, as far as time allowed, they were given deep ditches and palisades, and were well supplied with artillery. General Winder was authorised to assemble for their defence militia and regulars, and Commodore Rodgers and Captains Perry and Porter came to Baltimore to look after its naval defences, and to collect the flotilla men.

The British squadron having taken the troops on board, anchored on the 11th of September off the mouth of the Patapsco,

and on the morning of the 12th the troops were landed and marched directly to Baltimore, while the ships moved up to cooperate in the attack upon it. The approach to the city is about 13 miles long, leading through a peninsula formed between the Patapsco and Black rivers, and it was soon made evident that the enemy was awake and in a state of activity and alarm. An intrenchment was in the act of being drawn across this neck of land, but the workmen, on sight of the British, abandoned their work, and no further opposition to the march was experienced for five or six miles. On approaching nearer to Baltimore, light troops of the enemy were observed to occupy the woods, who soon opened a brisk fire of musketry on the head of the column. Ross and the Rear-Admiral immediately rode to the front, when the General received a mortal wound through his right arm and into the breast, of which he died soon after on the field. Colonel Brooke, of the 44th regiment, immediately assumed the command and continued the advance, skirmishing with and driving back the enemy without any difficulty. At length, within five miles of the city, a corps of about 6,000 men, with 6 guns and some cavalry, was discovered behind a strong paling which crossed the main road, resting its flanks on the two rivers which at this point approach each other, and covered by a wood. The requisite orders were immediately given for the attack. The light brigade under Major Jones of the 4th drove in the skirmishers, when the Hon. Colonel Mullens of the 44th, with one brigade, and Colonel Paterson with another, advanced rapidly to the charge, against which the Americans kept up a heavy fire until the palings were reached and broken through. In less than fifteen minutes the enemy's force was dispersed and fled in every direction, leaving behind them two guns and a considerable number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. This has been called by the Americans the Battle of the Meeting-house, and, as far as it went, it was a complete victory to the British, whose army halted for the night on the ground they had won. At daybreak on the 13th the army again advanced, and took up a favourable position about a mile and a half from Baltimore, which lay to the eastward before it. Upon a reconnoissance, however, strong palisaded redoubts were seen to crest all the detached hills which surround the city, and the best information received gave 15,000 men, with a large train of artillery, as the force assembled for its defence. Arrangements were forthwith made for a bombardment, and the fire was returned with spirit from the U.S. Fort M'Henry, the Star Fort, and water batteries. The bomb-vessels and rocket-ships accordingly weighed and stood farther in, to give better effect to their fire. In the middle of the night a division of 20 boats was detached up the Ferry branch to cause a diversion favourable to the intended assault by the military upon the enemy's intrenched camp on the opposite side of the city, and they advanced under the command of Captain Charles Napier a considerable distance above the fort, and opened a heavy fire of shot and rockets upon the shore. Round, grape, and canister were poured in consequence upon

the boats, and the British were obliged to go back again. In the course of the night, however, information arrived from the Admiral that the enemy had so closed up the harbour with sunken vessels that naval cooperation was impracticable, and both commanders agreed that the mere capture of the city would not be a sufficient equivalent for the loss of life in attempting it. It was therefore deemed proper to take immediate steps for withdrawing the troops and ships. The army accordingly fell back a short distance at mid-day on the 14th, and in the course of the evening retired again three miles farther; but as soon as it was ascertained, on the 15th, that the United States army had no disposition to quit their entrenchments, Colonel Brooke embarked the troops at Northpoint without leaving a man behind, and the ships stood down the river and joined Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane and the fleet.

45. BRITISH TAKE POSSESSION OF THE PROVINCE OF MAINE.

Military operations were in the meantime carried on with varied fortune on the northern frontier of the United States. A conjunct expedition was detached from Halifax to capture a settlement at Moose Island, in Passamaquoddy Bay. Lieutenant-Colonel Pilkington, D.A.G., was placed in command of the 102nd regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Herries, with a detachment of artillery and sappers and miners, all of whom were landed from the squadron of Captain Sir Thomas Hardy, and on the 11th of July summoned the United States fort. The peaceful submission of the island being refused, the troops moved forward, when the American governor, seeing that the English were not to be trifled with, surrendered Fort Machias.

An expedition up the Penobscot river was undertaken in the month of September, for the purpose of reducing the inhabitants of the province of Maine under British dominion. The naval force was under the orders of Rear-Admiral Griffith, and the land forces were commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir John Sherbrooke. The expedition sailed from Halifax on the 1st of September; but, on their summoning Fort Castine at the entrance of the river, the fort was evacuated by its garrison and blown up. An American frigate, the "John Adams," having run up the river for safety, reached the town of Hampden, where her guns were taken out and placed in battery on the shore to oppose the British advance. Captain Barrie was directed to make arrangements for attacking the frigate, and for this object the General added 600 men under Colonel John of the 60th, with a detachment of Royal Artillery and a rocket apparatus. The troops were landed on the 2nd of September and bivouacked, but, as soon as the fog cleared on the 3rd, the enemy was perceived to occupy a very strong and advantageous position in front of the town of Hampden. The Colonel, as soon as he had crossed the bridge, deployed and charged up the hill in face of a very heavy fire of grape and musketry; and the boats, under the command of Captain Barrie, advanced in

a line with the right flank of the army. The rockets were immediately opened, and being well directed threw the enemy into the greatest confusion. The troops pushed on rapidly, and were soon in complete possession of the whole position, whence it was discovered that the enemy, being unable to save the "Adams," had set her on fire, and thus thwarted the captors; nevertheless, a battery of eight 18-pounders a short distance from her, and a battery of fifteen 18-pounders on a wharf close to her, were taken possession of, and Colonel John with the troops pursued the enemy, who fled at full speed to Bangor, which place surrendered, without resistance, with 22 guns. Formal possession was then taken of a considerable portion of the State of Maine between the Penobscot and the British frontier, about 100 miles broad, and a provisional government was established there till the end of the war. In truth, this possession should never have been restored to the United States, for anyone who will study the map will see that the State of Maine in itself is of little value to the Union, but that the possession of it by Great Britain would be very advantageous to her own prosperity, as well as to that of the future Canadian empire.

46. A BRITISH CONJUNCT EXPEDITION AGAINST PLATTSBURG FAILS.

Meanwhile, in correspondence with the vigorous measures adopted at this period for the prosecution of the war, a great expedition was preparing in Lower Canada, intended to cooperate with Sir John Sherbrooke's expedition against Maine, for the purpose of conquering the northern boundary of the United States territory. The arrival of large reinforcements from Wellington's army had its influence on the foe as well as upon the British forces in the Canadian provinces, and removed at once all danger of a successful invasion of Canada by the Americans. If anything could excite the emulation of the army beyond the accustomed height of the ordinary *esprit de corps*, it was when the Peninsular soldiers, highly proud of the reputation they had acquired, gave themselves energetically to the task of saving the British province from the daring aspirations of their American cousins; but, on the other hand, the colonists, jealous of their superior local experience, a little undervalued the assistance that their brethren thus brought to their cause. A British army, counting 12,000 men, with a most excellent train of artillery, and commanded in chief by General Sir George Prevost, took the field on the 1st of September, and entered New York state with a view of making a conjunct attack with the navy on the shores of Lake Champlain all the way from Crown Point to Ticonderoga. Unfortunately, the naval portion of the British expedition was by no means equally well directed or provided. A frigate, 3 brigs, and 12 gun-boats, mounting 48 guns, and manned by 444 men and boys, partly Canadian soldiers and native militia, constituted the entire flotilla on this lake. A change was, at the same time, unadvisedly made, by removing the commodore, Captain

Fisher, by whom the fleet had been equipped, and substituting Captain Downie, a good officer, but strange to the sailors and the service. The United States force upon Lake Champlain consisted of the frigate "Saratoga," 26, the brig "Eagle," 20, the schooner "Ticonderoga," 17, and the sloop "Prebla," 7, with 10 gun-boats, making a grand total of 86 guns and 981 men, with a comparative superiority of tonnage against the British squadron of 1,426 to 2,540.

In the expectation that the object of the enterprise was to seize Sackett's Harbour, the American General Izzard broke up from his encampment near Plattsburg and marched his troops to reinforce the garrison at Fort Erie and at Sackett's Harbour, leaving behind encamped there only 1,500 regulars and as many militia, under General Macomb. Prevost advanced to Lake Champlain on the 6th, and the further approach of his army by Odelltown was the signal for Macomb to abandon the entrenched camp, which Sir George therefore entered on the 3rd. It took three days, however, to bring up the siege-train; but yet the General would have been ready to commence the attack on Plattsburg on the 10th, if the flotilla had arrived.

The village of Plattsburg is situated at the confluence of the Saranac with Lake Champlain. At this period it contained about 70 houses and stores, but it was defended by three redoubts and two blockhouses, strongly fortified. Macomb's little army could not have resisted an hour had Prevost at once pushed forward his 7,000 men; but while the British general lingered preparing for the siege, the American general kept his garrison constantly employed in finishing and arming his fortifications on the elevated land that forms here the bank of the Saranac. Nevertheless, at 8 in the morning of the 11th, Captain Downie's pendant was seen flying over the "Confiance" as she led the Canadian flotilla into the bay, when the American flotilla and gun-boats, under the command of Commodore M'Donough, commenced a heavy and galling fire upon her. In less than a quarter of an hour after the attack commenced, a shot from the "Saratoga" laid Captain Downie low, and disabled the greater part of the guns of the "Confiance" on the larboard side. Lieutenant Robertson, who succeeded to the command, did his best to work the ship round and bring her starboard broadside to bear upon the enemy, but could not accomplish it, so that he was completely at the mercy of the "Saratoga," and, after receiving several raking broadsides, was constrained to haul down his colours to her. The brig-sloop "Linnet," 10, Captain Pring, continued the action with the "Saratoga" with spirit, but could not withstand the united force of the American squadron for more than ten minutes, when she also surrendered. The "Chubb" and "Finch" cutters had already been taken possession of, but all the gun-boats effected their escape. In this fight, which did not last much above two hours, the British had 84 killed and 110 wounded, and the Americans 49 killed and 57 wounded.

While the conflict was in progress on the waters, the batteries

which had been completed on shore opened upon the American squadron, but at too distant a range to have any great effect. Two columns advanced against Macomb's position: the one, led by General Robinson, being directed to ford the Saranac; and the other, led by General Brisbane, having orders to make a circuit and attack the position in rear. It is said (on the authority of the American general himself) that the former column lost its way, and was led by the following stratagem into the woods, which were filled with militia in ambush:—The proper road of approach had been filled up and obliterated on the previous night, and planted with young trees so as to resemble the rest of the forest, and a new road opened another way from the forts, which was so beaten down by carts as to look like a travelled wood path, so that Robinson was led roundabout, and did not reach his destination till a shout from the Americans told him of the trap he had fallen into, and the advantage they had secured. The complete destruction of the naval force, on which so much depended, and the delay in the arrival of Robinson's column, put an end to all hopes of success in the contemplated enterprise, and the General gave immediate orders for the cannon to be withdrawn from all the batteries, and for a retreat of the whole army, leaving the sick and wounded behind to the humanity of the Americans. Great quantities of provisions were likewise left behind and destroyed by the British, together with a quantity of shot, shell, and entrenching tools, which were very heedlessly buried and concealed. The actual casualties in this ill-fated expedition were about 235 men; but the indignation of the troops who had just arrived from sharing in the victories of the Peninsula at so palpable a defeat, and the dissatisfaction of the fleet at the injustice done them in the orders of the commander-in-chief, raised such a storm of reprobation against Sir George Prevost, that the Lieutenant-General resigned his command in Canada, and on his arrival in England demanded a court-martial, before which he was to have been brought on charges at the instance of the Commodore, Sir James Yeo; but, singularly enough, before the court could be assembled, both the accused and the accuser had paid the debt of nature.

It is too commonly the case that failure in military or naval operations is so prejudged by the liberty of speech and opinion in free countries, that substantial justice is never rendered to the accused officer, who, in consequence, after long and faithful services, often sinks into the grave under a load of unmerited obloquy. What might have been the result of the enquiry into the failure of the Plattsburg affair of course remains uncertain, but it must be admitted that Sir George Prevost did not exhibit in his Canadian campaigns any of the qualities of a great commander. In his civil government of the province, the mildness and conciliatory spirit of his rule endeared him to the people, but the British army retains no very high estimate of his military abilities.

47. FORT ERIE—FORT BOWYER.

On the 17th of September, a very formidable sortie was attempted against the British investing force, commanded by Major-General de Watteville, in their entrenched camp near Fort Erie. During a thick mist and heavy rain, a force estimated at 5,000 men, under cover of a heavy fire from the fort, marched round the right of the besiegers unperceived, and at the same time attacked them in front with such vigour as to gain possession of two batteries, and to do great damage to the siege works. As soon as the alarm was given, the besiegers collected their troops under Colonel Gordon, consisting of the Royal Scots, with the 9th and 82nd regiments, and marched against the assailants, followed by the 6th regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson. These met the enemy near one of the block-houses, and checked their further progress. General Drummond came to the spot as soon as he heard the firing, and immediately directed Watteville to head an attack, which he aided with the reserve and guns under Major-General Stovin. The Glengarry light infantry were at the same time thrown into the woods, and the enemy was charged with such intrepid bravery that they were driven out of the redoubts and entrenchments, and forced into a precipitate retrograde movement, leaving many wounded and prisoners behind them to the number of 200 men. Drummond, however, broke up the siege, and retired upon Chippewa; but about the middle of October, when the season was almost over, the British flotilla under Sir James Yeo again appeared on Lake Ontario, and brought reinforcements and supplies to Drummond, who accordingly returned to Fort Erie. On the 5th of November General Izzard blew up Fort Erie, and recrossed the Niagara, when the whole of the American troops were withdrawn out of the British territory.

On the 12th of September, early in the morning, the "Hermes," 20, Hon. Captain Percy, having with him "Carron," 20, Hon. Captain Churchill, "Sophie," 18, Captain Lockyer, and "Childers," 18, Captain Umfreville, anchored near Mobile Point, West Florida, for the purpose of making an attack upon Fort Bowyer; but, owing to the intricacies of the navigation, they could not attain to its vicinity until the afternoon of the 15th. The vessels having anchored in line, a detachment of marines and Indians under Major Nicholls was disembarked. The fire of the fort proved too much for that of the shipping; and the "Hermes," having had her cable cut by the shot and having been carried away by the torrent, got into a position in which she was raked cruelly, and at length grounded directly in front of the fort. Not being able to get the ship afloat again, Captain Percy abandoned and burned her, removing the crew to the "Sophie," and carried back the expedition out of the river. The loss on board the ships in this untoward business amounted to 32 killed and 40 wounded.

It only remains to record the treaties of peace which, before the

close of the year 1814, put an end to the prodigal bloodshed which had so long disgraced and afflicted the world. The treaty of Paris, the parties to which were the five great Powers, Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, was signed on the 30th of May. The second article assured to France its boundaries as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792. An extended sovereignty was declared for the House of Orange; the German states were to be united by a new federal league; Switzerland to return to its old independence; Italy to be composed of separate sovereign states; Malta, Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France, to be ceded in full sovereignty to Great Britain; the kingdom of Norway to be added to Sweden; and the duchy of Warsaw to be secured to Russia. A congress was appointed to be assembled in the autumn to settle further details.

The treaty having been publicly proclaimed on the 31st, General Sacken, the commandant of Paris for the Allies, gave up possession of all the posts to the National Guard; Prince Schwarzenberg, as the generalissimo, issued an order of the day recognising the bravery and exertions of the Allied army he had commanded, which had obtained the peace; and the Emperor of Austria, the Czar, and the King of Prussia took their leave of the French capital and kingdom.

48. SWEDISH-NORWEGIAN WAR.

A strife which obtained considerable proportions unexpectedly arose in the North of Europe out of the stipulations of the secret treaty of Abo, made in 1812, that now required to be carried into effect between Norway and Sweden, by which Bernadotte was to receive the former kingdom; and the proposed transfer had been guaranteed to Sweden by Great Britain. The Norwegians loudly protested against this forcible transference of their territory to their hereditary enemy without their consent, and despatched envoys to England to interest her people in their cause. In the meanwhile, a Swedish army assembled on the frontier under the command of the Crown-Prince, and Great Britain despatched some ships of war to blockade the harbours of Norway. The resistance of the Norwegians was quietly fomented by the Danes, who were desirous of retaining that kingdom under their sceptre, in spite of the treaty by which they had surrendered it and obtained an equivalent in Pomerania; and in consequence the heir-presumptive of the Danish Crown went from Copenhagen, and was declared King of Norway. Nevertheless, the King of Denmark addressed a letter to the States disavowing the act of Prince Christian, and forbade all the officers in his suite to remain in the country, while he counselled the people to submit. No respect was paid, however, to these proceedings, and Prince Christian, as he traversed the mountains, was everywhere met with enthusiastic ardour by the peasants, crying: "We will live or die for old Norway's freedom. Thou shalt not leave us." The Danish flag was taken down at Drontheim, the Nor-

wegian banner was hoisted amid shouts of acclamation, Norway was declared independent, and on the 19th of April the Diet conferred the crown on Prince Christian and his male descendants. Envoys from all the Allied powers were sent to Drontheim to endeavour to effect a pacific settlement, but their efforts were fruitless, and preparations for war were made on both sides.

The Norwegian flotilla was met near the Hwalo Islands by the Swedish fleet under the General Admiral Puke on the 26th of July, and was defeated and dispersed without scarcely any loss to the latter, and on the 30th of the same month the second Swedish army crossed the frontier, under Count Essen. On the 2nd of August the Crown-Prince ordered General Gahn to force the mountain passes, who met with much resistance, until Bernadotte, with great military skill, drove back the mountaineers and occupied Frederikstad and Kongstein on the 4th. On the 10th the strong position of Jaebro was forced, and General Vegesack overthrew a body of 6,000 mountaineers, who were forced to abandon Sleswick. The passage of the Glommen was subsequently won, and preparations made for the bombardment of Frederikstein, "the petty fortress on a barren strand," where Charles XII. lost his life. The rapidity of the Swedish advance, and the impossibility of resisting it, soon brought the contest to a termination, and therefore Prince Christian made proposals to the Crown-Prince, by which the former resigned all pretensions to the crown of Norway, and the latter accepted the constitution as it had been fixed by the Diet of Esbold. Although the terms agreed on were in the highest degree favourable to the Norwegians, they nevertheless submitted with grievous heart-burnings. On the 5th of October, however, the Diet at Christiania accepted their new King, and consented to the union of Norway with Sweden.

49. WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA — BOLIVAR.

Intestine disorders had continued to rage in the Spanish South-American provinces with little or no military distinction until about this time, when a leader arose whose name and actions deserve to be recorded in the "Annals of War." Simon de Bolivar y Ponte, a native of Caraccas, first came on the scene as the conqueror of Ocana, in January, 1813, and, having defeated the royalist chief Correa, he was declared "Liberador" of Venezuela in the August following. In 1814, after various fortune, he defeated, on the 12th of December, the dictator Alvarez at Bogota, and established the independence of New Grenada. These two provinces he subsequently united into one state, to which he gave the name of Colombia; and afterwards, in the distractions of Peru, in which he took a prominent part, a portion of that vice-royalty was formed into a separate republic, which was named Bolivia in honour of him. His object was to form all South America into one immense republic; but he found the jealousies of the different States so insurmountable, that he was worn out

by the labours and calumnies involved in the attempt, and died a young leader with a great name, and almost the only distinguished military character that has yet arisen in Spanish South America.

50. WAR IN INDIA. — CAMPAIGN IN NEPAUL.

The Earl of Moira had been appointed Governor-General of India in succession to Lord Minto, and had assumed the reins in October, 1813. This nobleman was possessed of much military reputation, having acquired it in the American war, in which, at a time when others failed, he had obtained great success. He was a man of lofty character, who had embarrassed his circumstances by his lavish generosity and hospitality to the French emigrants at the commencement of the French Revolution; and, having been through life a personal friend of the Prince-Regent, he was now sent to India to seek a few years of repose, and to recruit his fortunes. He found, upon his arrival at Calcutta, that the State finances had been given over to him in a most dilapidated condition; that the military force of the Company was inefficient and discontented; and that he had succeeded to not less than six hostile discussions with different native powers. Among the most important and urgent of these disputes, was that with the state of Nepaul, where the Ghoorka tribes had, within a comparatively short period, established a very formidable power, and had pursued an aggressive course of policy with no inconsiderable success. Lord Minto's government had demanded the immediate evacuation of the two districts of Bootwal and Shevraj, belonging to the East India Company, and no reply having been received before December, Colonel Bradshaw was ordered to proceed in person to the spot. The Governor-General at the same time addressed a letter to the Rajah, which, being contemptuously regarded, the Colonel was directed to resume possession of the usurped lands by force, and a body of troops at once marched in and occupied them without impediment. In consequence, however, of the approach of the sickly season, Sir Roger Martin, the magistrate, advised the troops to withdraw on the 14th of April, and, after their departure, the Nepaulese surprised the British outposts at Rourah on the 3rd of June, killed 4 men, wounded 2, and reoccupied the lands. Since, then, it was clearly hopeless to settle the dispute otherwise than by arms, a declaration of war was issued on the 1st of November, 1814.

The frontier which was now to be the scene of war stretched to a distance of about 600 miles. The Ghoorkalese, by adopting for fifty years a policy closely resembling that which has made the British masters of India, had extended their dominions along the entire northern frontier of Hindostan, where at length they occupied the whole of the rich valley of Nepaul, in the centre of the Himalaya mountains. In order fully to understand the nature of the conflict about to open, it is requisite to give a general idea of the situation of the contested territory. The northern boundary,

which divides the valley from that of the Burhampooter, is occupied by a magnificent forest composed chiefly of the *sâl* tree. The plain itself, which is named the Turace, is an open district watered by 100 streams, and is valuable for the exceedingly rich pasture which it yields in the months of April and May, when the periodical heat destroys the herbage of Southern India. Accordingly, bullocks are sent there for pasturage from the Deccan, but the number of wild elephants, rhinoceroses, and buffaloes which find shelter in the adjacent forests, render the safety of domestic animals precarious. The climate is, moreover, so insalubrious, as to prevent the existence of any considerable towns in the district, and the population is, accordingly, for the most part migratory; nevertheless, cultivation has of late years made rapid progress, and it is hoped that its extension will render the district less unhealthy, as the existence of ancient ruins would justify the belief that it was once salubrious. The natives depended for defence against the British chiefly on the impracticability of their hill territory, which had baffled even the great Alexander. No Englishman, prior to 1793, had ever entered the State: some ineffectual attempts to establish relations of amity with them had indeed been made by the Marquess Wellesley, but from that period no intercourse whatever had occurred between the British and the Ghoorkalese.

War being inevitable, the Governor-General did not await its formal announcement, but took immediate measures for commencing it with activity and vigour. He resolved to act at once on the offensive along the whole line of the enemy's frontier, from the Sutlej to Assam. The forces were divided into four grand divisions. The first of these, at Dinapoor, consisting of 8,000 men, and 26 guns, was commanded by Major-General Marley, and was accompanied by the political agent Colonel Bradshaw. This division was intended to force the pass at Mukwanpoor, and to seize Katmandoo, the capital. The second, from Benares, about 3,000 strong, under Major-General Wood, was to penetrate through the midst of the usurped lands, and proceed by Bootwah to Palpa, to clear the Turace, and reestablish the British authority. Fifteen pieces of ordnance were attached to it. The third consisted also of 3,000 men, and was commanded by Major-General Gillespie. It was formed at Meerut, and had for its object to occupy the valley of the Deyhra Dhoon, and to seize all the passes leading thence to the Jumna and Ganges. About 6,000 or 7,000 irregulars were attached to this division, and it received 20 guns. The fourth division, consisting of 7,000 men and 22 guns, with an irregular force of 4,500 men, was intrusted to Colonel Ochterlony, who was to manœuvre from Loodiana upon the strong posts in the hilly country bordering on the Sutlej, which were occupied by the Goorkha army led by Ummur Singh Thappa. It could not be doubted but that a serious struggle impended, perhaps more arduous than any in which the British had hitherto engaged, owing, not alone to the physical obstacles to success, but to the character of the enemy, who possessed high military qualities, and were endowed with an obstinacy

and determination altogether uncommon in India. Moreover, there was no alliance to be depended upon either with the Pindarries or the Mahratta tribes, who were known to be rather hostile than friendly to the English; indeed Scindiah was, at this moment, engaged in an alliance with them to crush the Nabob of Bhoparol, whom, therefore, Lord Moira wisely resolved to befriend, by entering into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with him, notwithstanding the umbrage it might give to the Peishwah. The Governor-General also proposed, in aid of his military operations, a series of political arrangements, the object of which was, to endeavour to win to his side the chieftains who had been driven out of their principalities by the Ghoorkalese, and Colonel Ochterlony was furnished with a proclamation, declaring the intention of the British to expel the Ghoorkas from their lands and restore the ancient state of things. Subsidiary, in some degree, to the grand divisions, there was appointed a separate force, to act principally for the defence of the British frontier in rear of the attacking columns, which might also form a sort of reserve and rallying-point, in case of any reverse. This was placed under Captain Barré Latter, and amounted to 2,700 men.

51. FAILURE AT FORT NALAPANEE.—DEATH OF GENERAL GILLESPIE.

Ever the foremost where danger was to be encountered or glory to be acquired in the field of honour, Gillespie opened the campaign on the 20th of October, when he despatched Lieut.-Colonel Carpenter to seize the Timley Pass in the Deyhra Dhoon, who made himself master, without opposition, of Deyhra, the principal town of the valley. On the 24th Gillespie entered the Dhoon and marched upon Kalunga, where was a steep insulated hill called Nalapanee, on which stood a fortress occupied by Bulbuddeer Singh, who had been despatched by Ummur Singh with about 600 men to defend it, and who was now, on the very night of the General's arrival, summoned to surrender. This summons, it was said, the Ghoorka chief tore up contemptuously, observing that it was an unseasonable hour to answer letters; and, accordingly, Gillespie, who is believed to have been ignorant of the additions which had been made to the defences of what was originally little better than a hill fort, sent forward a detachment in the morning, under Colonel Mowbray, to take it by assault. This being found impracticable, the Colonel sent back for fresh instructions, and the General gave orders for the advance of the whole division, at 3 in the afternoon of the 30th of October. Colonel Carpenter took possession, without any resistance, of the table-land on which the fort is built, and forthwith formed a hasty battery for such guns as he had, which shortly after nightfall opened with 10 pieces of ordnance. Gillespie gave orders to prepare for the storm on the following morning; when, on a concerted signal, the assaulting columns were to move simultaneously from the battery, under cover of its fire, and to escalate the walls. The enemy had, however, in the meanwhile been diligently occupied in strengthening

the walls, and was well prepared for the attack. Every point where the works were approachable or weak was covered by stockades, a species of fortification in which the Ghoorkalese were highly skilled, and guns were placed on all the most commanding elevations to sweep the approaches.

The report of the gun which was to set the columns in motion (never a good signal, something to attract the sight being always preferable to an uncertain sound dependent on the weather and other things) was not heard by two out of the four divisions. The other two, having carried the stockades, pushed on to the walls under a heavy fire of musketry; but here their progress was stopped, for stockades within stockades checked the rush by the bayonet, and showers of grape swept away the divisions, together with the officers who led them. The British were consequently obliged to retire, after sustaining a frightful loss. The General, on witnessing this check, and apprehensive of the unhappy effects likely to follow a repulse at so early a period of the war, ordered a second advance, with 3 companies of the 53rd, assisted by two 6-pounders, but this assault was made with no better success. Gillespie then placed himself at the head of about 100 dismounted men of the 8th dragoons, and had reached within thirty yards of the gateway, when, as he was waving his hat to cheer on his followers, he was mortally wounded through the heart. His aide-de-camp was shot by his side, and all the officers who followed him were amongst the casualties. On the death of their greatly lamented leader, the command devolved on Colonel Mawbey, who deemed it expedient to return to Deyhra; and accordingly the troops were ordered to retire. Further operations against Fort Nalapanee were suspended until the arrival of a battering-train from Delhi, which did not come up till the 24th of November.

The division under General Marley, which had assembled at Dinapore, did not cross the Ganges before the end of November. The Nepaulese Soubahdar was surprised and slain on the 25th, in the Turace near Tinhort, and his troops dispersed. Colonel Bradshaw, the political agent, accordingly occupied the Turace, and it was annexed by proclamation to the British possessions: but Marley did not arrive to take the command till the 11th of December, and then deemed it necessary to wait for a battering-train. This postponement of all offensive operations emboldened the Ghoorkas, and retarded the further progress of the campaign till the ensuing year.

General Wood began to move from Gooruckpoor on the 15th of November; but his march was retarded by the want of means for transporting the stores and supplies; at length, however, he reached the Bootwah pass on the 30th without seeing an enemy. The column under Ochterlony penetrated the hills in the direction of Nalagurgh within a few days after Gillespie had entered the Dhoon. On the 31st of October, he reached Plaseea, which he approached by a pass from the Sutlej. On the 1st of November he sat down before the fortress, and batteries were forthwith opened

against it with such effect, that on the 5th of November it surrendered. The capture of Taragurgh followed. These forts occupy the outermost ridge, which commands the principal roads through the hills. There are successive broken ridges stretching in the same direction, N.N.W., on which stand other forts, and between these ridges lies a comparatively fruitful valley whence Ummur Singh could draw his supplies so long as he occupied his position at Urkee behind them. They are all so many steps to the Heemachal (or Himalaya), and on the highest of them stood Ramgurgh, which formed the right of his position, and here he concentrated a force of 3,000 men. Colonel Ochterlony had well studied, not only the ground, but the nature and character of the enemy to whom he was opposed. He was convinced that the warlike qualities of the Ghoorkas had been underrated, that their stockaded forts were extremely formidable, and that they possessed such hardihood and activity in war, that they would resist as long as possible in the weakest of them, and defend to the uttermost those which they thought really defensible. Aware, therefore, of the kind of enemy with whom he had to deal, Ochterlony determined to leave nothing to chance, and to risk a battle only when the advantages of position and numbers were at least not against him. His adversary, as soon as he learned the loss of his two forts, took post the same day on the Ramgurgh ridge, a steep mountain fastness. This the British General reconnoitred, and, estimating its strength as it deserved, gave orders for surveying and improving the roads leading up to it, that he might turn it by its flanks. The news of Gillespie's death and the failure before Nalapanee confirmed him in his wary tactics, and, having the promise of a reinforcement, he was induced to defer any attack upon the enemy till after its arrival. The additional troops and guns came up to him on the 27th of December, when he reopened the campaign with continued caution. Ummur Singh's right rested on the fort of Ramgurgh, his left on a high and nearly inaccessible hill called Kote. This position was so steep that the Major-General determined to try and turn it, and so to operate on its rear; and Colonel Thompson was detached, with 14 strong companies, to get possession of the road from Belaspore. The docility of the elephant was relied upon for achieving a passage through the hills, that could not otherwise have been accomplished, and six of these animals became the bearers of as many pieces of ordnance, while 700 coolies were put in requisition to carry the ammunition; and by this means a road, characterised as "indescribably bad," was successfully traversed, the rugged hills passed in safety, and a descent effected into the plain in the enemy's rear. By this operation a post was obtained which entirely intercepted the supplies sent to the enemy by the Urkee road. Seeing this, the Ghoorkalese General shifted his ground, and deserted all his stockades to the left of Ramgurgh. A different plan of operations was then, in consequence, adopted by Ochterlony. Leaving Colonel Arnold to watch Ummur Singh, the British General made a long détour in the direction of Belaspore, and his Ghoorkalese opponent, thinking he was moving to take up the stronger position of

Maloun, moved away with his whole force, and Arnold immediately occupied the abandoned head-quarters on the 18th of January. Ochterlony persisted in making it a war of manœuvre, and although, while executing these masterly evolutions, he repeatedly came *aux prises* with the enemy, he carefully abstained from bringing on a general action, and his arrangements were usually made with so much decision and skill, that in these engagements the victory commonly rested with his sepoys.

Before concluding the military operations in Nepal of the year 1814, it will be necessary to return to Nalapanee, where, on Gillespie's death, the command had devolved on Colonel Mawbey, who remained inactive till the arrival of a train of siege artillery. This was forthwith brought into battery, when the 18-pounders opened against the fort on the 25th of November, and effected a breach on the 27th. A storm was immediately ordered, but every effort to carry the breach by assault ended in defeat. The storming party succeeded in crowning the top of the breach, but the Ghoorkas mounted the ruins with reckless courage, and served the guns with extraordinary precision. The descent from the top of the breach proved so deep and rapid, that the most daring of the assailants would not venture to leap down, and the storming party was driven back with the loss of almost all the European officers. Mawbey found that the sepoys were affected by a superstitious conviction that the place was impregnable, and, therefore, instead of renewing the attempt to storm it, he turned upon it the fury of a bombardment. The garrison suffered dreadfully from the fire, and in a short time found itself reduced to 79 persons. The repeated assaults, though they had not succeeded, were not without effect on the Ghoorkas; the accumulation of dead created apprehension of a pestilence, and they had lost all their principal officers. On the morning of the 30th, therefore, the place was evacuated. Bulbuddeer carried off his reduced garrison with admirable skill, and evaded all pursuit. A force deemed sufficient for the occupation of the Dhoon having been left under Colonel Carpenter, Mawbey quitted Nalapanee on the 5th of December, and marched for Nahun by the pass of Kolapanee. The strong post of Barat, near Kalsee, was abandoned by the enemy; and on the 19th the army encamped at Mogarnud, seven miles from Nahud, where, on the following day, Major-General Martindell arrived in camp to take the command. With as little delay as possible, he forthwith made arrangements to attack Nahud or Nahir, a hill fort 2,000 feet high, where Runjoor Singh, the son of Ummur, commanded. The Ghoorka did not afford him the opportunity of fleshing his sword, but abandoned it on the advance of the invading force, and withdrew to Jyethuck, or Jytok, a fortress placed on a height 3,600 feet above the level of the plains. Having placed a garrison in Nahir, Martindell moved forward against Jytok, on which it was determined to make the attempt at a surprise; and on the 27th, Major Ludlow with 1,000 men, and Major Richards with 700, advanced against it from different sides, but the two columns did not attack simultaneously,

and were, therefore, successively repulsed, with the loss of 400 men and officers. Lord Moira saw, in the reverses which had attended three out of his four columns of attack, the natural effects of overconfidence, rendered excessive by a long career of victory over troops less disciplined than the Ghoorkas; and while, therefore, he looked with perfect confidence to the issue, he called on every department for renewed exertions. One of the first proceedings of his Lordship after he assumed the reins of government, was to make a tour through the western provinces, and in passing through Rohilcund, he ordered the organisation of the warlike inhabitants of that district, who might make a diversion in the ensuing spring from that side of Nepaul, under two active officers, accustomed to partisan war, Lieut.-Colonel Gardiner and Captain Hearsay.

1815.

1. GHOORKA WAR.—2. GENERAL OCHTERLONY DEFEATS UMMUR SINGH—PEACE WITH NEPAUL.—3. AMERICAN WAR—BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW ORLEANS.—4. NAVAL WAR—CAPTURE OF THE U. S. FRIGATE "PRESIDENT."—5. AMERICAN WAR CONCLUDED—PEACE OF GHENT.—6. WAR IN CEYLON—THE KING DEPOSED.—7. CONGRESS AT VIENNA.—8. NAPOLEON AT ANTIBES AND GRENOBLE.—9. TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO LYONS—NEY JOINS HIM AT AUXERRE.—10. THE KING QUILTS THE CAPITAL.—THE EMPEROR ENTERS PARIS—11. CHAMP DE MAL.—12. MURAT TAKES THE FIELD AGAINST THE ALLIES—BATTLE OF TOLENTINO.—13. THE DUCHESS D'ANGOULÈME DRIVEN FROM BORDEAUX.—14. THE DUKE D'ANGOULÈME, MADE PRISONER, IS SENT TO SPAIN—THE DUKE DE BOURBON DRIVEN OUT OF LA VENDÉE.—15. BOTH ARMIES MUSTER THEIR FORCES.—16. NAPOLEON QUILTS PARIS, AND FALLS UPON THE PRUSSIAN AND BRITISH.—17. BATTLES OF LIGNY AND QUATRE BRAS.—18. BATTLE OF WATERLOO.—19. BATTLE OF WAVRE.—20. NAPOLEON AT PARIS—SECOND ABDICATION.—21. NAPOLEON IS CONSIDERED A PRISONER OF WAR TO ST. HELENA.—22. ADVANCE OF WELLINGTON AND BLÜCHER TO PARIS.—23. RESTORATION OF WORKS OF ART—RETRIBUTION—LABÉDOYÈRE—LAVALETTE—24. FATE OF MURAT.—25. EXTENSION OF THE ORDER OF THE BATH IN ENGLAND AND MILITARY DECORATIONS.—26. NEGOTIATIONS—TREATY OF PARIS—27. CONCLUSION.

1. GHOORKA WAR.

GENERAL WOOD with the second column had, as related, reached the Bootwah pass at the end of last year, but was again hindered there from further advance by the difficulty of ascertaining the shortest and least exposed route to Palpa. At last he was led by the advice of a Brahmin, in whom he had confidence, to cross the Tenavee and oc-

cupy Bussimpore, ten miles distant from Simla, and thence push on to Palpa, but he recommended that the redoubt at Jeetgursth should be first attacked. The troops were, accordingly, moved forward on the 3rd of January with this object, but came upon the stockade before they were aware, and instantly received a volley, which did great execution, and created considerable confusion. Colonel Hardyman of the 17th regiment promptly restored order, and succeeded in turning the position on both flanks and in gaining a hill on the right of the redoubt; but, while expecting the signal to charge and secure the post, the troops were ordered by the General to retreat, for it was believed that the Brahmin had given treacherous advice. After this feeble effort, no movement of Wood's force took place for many months. The division was attacked by sickness, and separated at length without attaining a single object for which it had been brought together.

The first column, under the command of General Marley, had as yet done nothing, when on the 1st of January three of his advanced posts, 40 miles asunder and 25 miles from their support, were surprised by strong parties of the Ghoorkas, and the commanding officers and men so totally destroyed that scarce one fugitive remained to tell the tale of his comrades' slaughter. Marley, although aware that the Governor-General looked for a successful termination of the war to his movements more than those of any other column, adopted the mistaken opinion, after this reverse, that he could make no head against the Ghoorkas. He knew that he was expected to advance, but, on receiving a rebuke for exposing his advanced posts so unwisely, he could not bear up against the anguish of self-condemnation, and, although he moved forward on the 6th towards Pursah, he almost immediately retrograded on receiving reports of the designs of the enemy, who soon acquired such confidence that they threatened an attack on Barra Gurry, where 1,000 men were in garrison, and even threw up a stockade a short distance from the post. At length, on the 10th of February, the dissatisfaction of the Commander-in-chief at the General's inactivity so increased Marley's despondency, that he suddenly quitted the camp without leaving any instructions behind him, and made the best of his way to Calcutta. Of course he was immediately struck off the staff, and Colonel Dick temporarily assumed the command of the column.

Major-General Wood was now ordered to unite his division with that which had been General Marley's and assume the command, which he did on the 20th of February; but the change of generals failed of accomplishing the object most ardently desired by the Governor-General. The division did not advance to Katmandoo, nor make an attempt to do so. On the other hand, Colonel Gardiner, with great energy and activity, got his irregulars into action by the 17th of February, and occupied the Chilkeeah pass. The Ghoorkas withdrew before him, and he followed them to a commanding position on a hill called Kampire, which being too strong to justify the risk of an attack with such troops as he had, he awaited the junction of an additional force which

had been raised in the Doab, and which might bring up his strength to 1,000 men. On the 28th of March he again attacked the enemy, who withdrew with so much precipitation as to leave part of his arms and baggage behind him, and Gardiner occupied the abandoned position. Captain Hearsay was not so fortunate. He had secured the Timlee pass and advanced and occupied Chumpawa, but he entangled himself in the siege of Kutoolghur, when his Rohillas were totally destroyed by Hustu-Dul, and he himself wounded and taken prisoner. The Ghoorka chief on this marched to Almora, where on the 23rd of April he was observed by Major Patton, who was serving under Colonel Jasper Nicolls, and by him was intercepted and slain, and his followers routed. Colonel Nicolls on the 25th followed up his advantage by attacking the heights and town of Almora, which opened its gates on the 26th, and the whole province was surrendered to Nicolls, and Major Hearsay restored to liberty without ransom.

2. GENERAL OCHTERLONY DEFEATS UMMUR SINGH—PEACE WITH NEPAUL.

During the progress of these events, Ochterlony was pursuing a career at once substantial and brilliant. Although, by the above-mentioned masterly manœuvres, he had obtained possession of the stockaded position at Ramgurgh, Ghoorkalese garrisons were still left in the stone redoubts of Taragurgh, Ramgurgh, Chamba, and Joorjooree. Some time was, therefore, consumed in reducing these forts, especially Ramgurgh, but an 18-pounder having been dragged up to the heights, the face of that fort was laid in ruins, and the garrison capitulated, together with that of Joorjooree; but, for surrendering them, both governors, on joining Ummur Singh, were punished with the loss of their noses and ears.

Taragurgh was breached on the 10th of March and evacuated in the night. Chamba surrendered on the 16th after a day's battering, and on the 14th of April the Major-General made arrangements for a combined movement, which he had been long preparing, in order to bring on a battle that might produce a decisive effect. The position where Ummur Singh had now concentrated his forces consisted of a line of fortified posts upon a lofty and difficult ridge, which projects into the valley of the Sutlej between the small rivers Gumba and Gumrorah. The extreme of the position was occupied by the stone forts of Maloun and Soorughur; and there were several intervening peaks crowned with stockaded redoubts, one of which was called Ryla, and two others Deorthul or Deonthul. One of these was attacked and occupied without any opposition by a British detachment, and a column under Thompson, with the 3rd and 7th Native Infantry, advanced against the second Deonthul, which was not gained till after a severe contest. Ryla was conveniently situated for operations against Soorughur, and was occupied without resistance by three British divisions. The British attempted to assault Maloun, but failed after a con-

siderable loss; and during the night of the 15th every exertion was made by the enemy to throw up works for the defence of their cantonments. Bukhthyar Thappa, Ummur Singh's principal officer, advised an attack to dislodge the British from the positions they had acquired; and, accordingly, the *élite* of the Ghoorkalese army were collected, and 2,000 (as many as could stand on the broken ground) placed in ambush. At daybreak on the 16th the British position was attacked at once and on every side. The Ghoorkalese particularly aimed at getting possession of the cannon, and directed all their efforts against the artillerymen who served them, and with such effect as at one time to put almost the whole of them *hors de combat*, bayoneting or cutting to pieces several close to their very guns. For two hours a contest was maintained more intense and furious than it often falls to the lot of modern armies to witness. The officer commanding on Ryla Peak, perceiving the desperate nature of the struggle, sent down reinforcements, and Ochterlony observing that the enemy had already begun to slacken their vigour, resolved to assume the offensive by a daring charge. Bukhthyar was killed by a musket-ball, and Ummur Singh, dejected at the loss of his friend and seeing 500 dead within the compass of a few yards from the British line, fled away in confusion. "Taken altogether, it is remarked that this fight approached more nearly to a general action than any event which had occurred in the campaign, although not more than one half of Ochterlony's army was engaged, and that the British loss in the two days was not above 350 killed and wounded."* The victory, moreover, procured for General Martindell an escape from the difficulties with which he had proved himself incompetent to struggle.

The enemy's continuous chain of posts was now effectually broken, and the Ghoorkalese withdrew their garrison from Soorughur, a place of some strength, though they concentrated a strong force still around Maloun. Ochterlony, therefore, pushed his success vigorously, and batteries were erected against the fort. It was soon found that the governor was not inaccessible to indirect influence, and the whole of the outworks were surrendered. The Ghoorkalese Sirdars, in the meanwhile, endeavoured to persuade Ummur Singh to come to terms with the British general; but the old chief obstinately refused to listen to them for some time, until the whole of them, officers as well as men, came over to the British camp and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Ummur Singh was thus left with only about 250 men, with whom he shut himself up in the fortress, against which the batteries were ready to open on the 15th of May, when the proud chief, yielding to his fate, signed a capitulation, and the British obtained undisputed possession of the country from the Kalpee to the Sotlej. The rainy season was now approaching, so that the campaign could, under no circumstances, have been protracted much longer.

Lord Moira was disappointed in a great degree by the general results of the Nepalese campaign. Generals Marley, Wood, and

* Prinsep and Fraser.

Martindell had all proved themselves incompetent to the duties assigned to them in acting against the Ghoorkas. Bum Sah and the other chiefs of Kumaon had offered to become agents for the restoration of peace, but the capitulation made by Ummur Singh and other circumstances put an end to the necessity of further negotiations. It formed no part of the Governor-General's plan to encumber the Anglo-Indian empire with a number of useless provinces inadequate to the pay and expenses of their administration. He, however, made up his mind to retain possession of Kumaon and Doun, and nominated Sir David Ochterlony to exercise general superintendence over their affairs. The duty assigned to the administrator was to enable the rajahs of these petty states to preserve internal order, and to act towards them as the head, as it were, of a federation of chiefs to whom they might apply when wronged, and be a referee capable of keeping them and their people in proper subjection. At length, after the year had almost passed away in negotiations, a treaty, proposed to and accepted by the Ghoorkas, was ratified at Fort William. The red seal was affixed to it at the Court of Katmandoo, and the Ghoorkalese negotiator finally presented the treaty on his knees in presence of all the vakeels.

3. AMERICAN WAR—BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW ORLEANS.

It must be confessed that the military strategy of the British Cabinet at this period was not of a very exalted character. To make war as Paul Jones might have done, was not only unworthy of the military character that Great Britain had at this time obtained in the world, but was ill suited to the end of all war, which should be limited either to the act of resisting aggression or to the attainment of some solid advantage. To run up to Washington to do mere mischief to property, and run back again; to run up to Baltimore, and do nothing at all; and then to make a similar attempt at New Orleans, which, had it been successful, could have accomplished no definite object, met with that just reprehension such military filibustering deserved, and inflicted a wound upon the public mind of the people of the United States which has not healed to this day. If, when the troops from Wellington's army had become available for extensive operations, a campaign upon a considerable scale had been organised to repel the unwarranted aggression upon the Canadian frontier, it would have been as fair as advantageous to that British colony to make the possession already obtained in the province of Maine a base of operations, and to combine with the expedition to Plattsburg and the shores of Lake Champlain an advance, subservient to the conquest of territory, which might secure to Canadian commerce the course of the St. Lawrence to its very confluence with Lake Ontario, and thus enable the mother country at all seasons to communicate with Montreal and Quebec. The great expense of the armaments employed might have been repaid by such an acquisition as this, and there could have been no reasonable expectation that

the United States Government would have hesitated to accept such a compromise, rather than risk the chances of a war single-handed against Great Britain. It was thought, however, but in my opinion erroneously, that the capture of New Orleans, as commanding the navigation of the Mississippi, would have proved a very severe blow to the resources of the United States, and (it is lamentable to add, as one of the principal objects of a great military expedition) would furnish a rich booty to the captors. The instructions from the British Government for undertaking this operation arrived at the moment when the expedition directed against Baltimore was in the very act of setting out.

The conjunct force would appear to have been placed under the chief command of Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, who, when he had completed all his arrangements, quitted the Chesapeake in the "Tonnant" on the 18th of December. At the same time, Rear-Admiral Cockburn, in the "Albion," separated from the commander-in-chief, and sailed with the "Dragon," "Hebrus," and "Regulus," accompanied by the "Orlando" and "Rota," 38, "Devastation" and "Terror" bombships, and some smaller vessels, to Cumberland Island on the coast of Georgia, where they arrived on the 10th of January. The troops were instantly landed there, and ascending the river on the 13th, obtained, after a smart action, possession of St. Mary's, with the shipping in the harbour and the merchandise in the stores. On the 15th, the Rear-Admiral established his head-quarters at Point Petre, where he destroyed the fort and barracks. From this time the troops and marines remained encamped here till the 22nd of February, when the ships' boats, containing 186 seamen and marines, under Captains Phillot and Bartholomew, ascended the river 120 miles, where they were encountered by the Americans, and after a spirited action got back to their boats without effecting any object whatever, with the loss of 4 killed and 25 wounded, and amongst the latter the two captains. Cockburn after this evacuated St. Mary's, where he blew up the works and withdrew to Cumberland Island. It is now very well known that, by the means of an American merchant resident at Kingston in Jamaica, the important information of the combined manœuvre contemplated against New Orleans and St. Mary's had been made known to General Jackson, who commanded the southern army of the United States. In consequence of this, he paid little attention to Cockburn's descent, but prepared entrenchments and other means of defending New Orleans, about which he was enabled to assemble 12,000 men. The city stands on the left bank of the Mississippi, at about 100 miles from its mouth. The Lake Pontchartrain protects it from attack from the eastward, but several bays, inlets, and rivers furnish avenues of approach from the south and westward. These are, however, obstructed by so many shoals and bars, that, except directly up the river, a landing could only be effected by means of small boats, a great number of which accompanied the fleet. The place of rendezvous determined on by the Admiral commanding-in-chief for the assembling of the conjunct expedition was the Chandeleur Islands, lying northward of the mouth of the Missis-

issippi, and here the men-of-war and troop-ships anchored on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of December. As some of the vessels were passing down to this anchorage, they were fired upon by the enemy's gun-boats, and it became necessary to capture or dislodge these, as a preliminary step. The bayou Catalan, at the head of the Lake Borgue, about 62 miles from this anchorage, was the projected place of disembarkation. There were no ships of war or frigates building or lying blockaded at New Orleans, which was rather the great emporium of the cotton trade, than an arsenal of any kind; and owing to the war, the accumulation of that commodity in the warehouses was so vast, that the enormous sum of three millions was not an over-estimate of the spoil that even the temporary occupation of the city might insure to the captors. It was, however, impossible that any movement of the troops could take place until these gun-boats were destroyed, and it was also an object to get possession of them in a serviceable state, that they might assist as well in the transport of the troops as in the attack of the enemy's ports and entrenchments. Accordingly, on the night of the 12th, 42 launches, armed with 980 seamen and marines, under the command of Captain Lockyer, and assisted by Captains Montresor and Roberts, pushed off to attack them, and after a hard chase of six and thirty hours, and an obstinate struggle, 6 of the gun-boats, manned by 240 men, under Lieutenant-Commandant Catesby Ap Jones, were secured. In the fight, Captain Lockyer, 5 lieutenants, 10 midshipmen, and 94 men were killed or wounded. The loss in the American flotilla was comparatively trifling, but their commandant likewise was wounded.

The obstacle to a passage through the Lakes being now removed, the disembarkation of the troops commenced. Various causes occasioned delay, so that although this operation was commenced on the 16th, it was the 22nd before the advance of 1,688 men, under the command of Colonel Thornton of the 85th, ascended the bayou Mezant, a principal branch of the Catalan, and landed at Isle-aux-Rois, a marshy spot at the mouth of the Pearl river. Incredible difficulties were overcome both by the soldiers and sailors in effecting the disembarkation and commencing the march in such a swamp and at such a season. During its progress, a schooner dropped down the river and opened a flank fire upon the troops, and a simultaneous attack was made in front by a portion of the American army, which was met by Major-General Keane, who advanced, keeping his left flank on the river and his right upon the swamp, and succeeded in beating back the assailants with considerable loss. The schooner was set on fire on the 27th by the red-hot shot of the artillery, and blown up. Thus matters stood on the 25th of December, when Major-General Sir Edward Pakenham arrived and took the command; and next day the army advanced in two columns to within six miles of New Orleans. The United States army was posted behind an entrenchment, about 1,000 yards in length, extending from the river Mississippi on the right to an impassable swamp on the left. This entrenchment was constructed of cotton-bags, hav-

ing deep ditches, strongly palisaded; and heavy guns were mounted on the ramparts, which were defended by flanking bastions. On the opposite bank of the river, which is here about 800 yards broad, a redoubt, mounting 20 guns, enfiladed all the approaches. Attempts were at first made to commence regular approaches against entrenchments manifestly too formidable for a *coup de main*, and great guns were brought up from the ships by the indefatigable exertions of the naval service, so that a battery, armed with sixteen 18-pounders, was prepared to open upon the enemy; but the enemy's guns were found to be superior in calibre, and it was therefore proposed to deepen a canal in rear of the British position, along which boats might be brought up direct from the fleet, by which means the power of crossing the Mississippi, as well as of getting up guns and supplies, would be facilitated. This took time; but as reinforcements were coming up under Major-General Lambert, and were hourly expected, the canal, although a work of extraordinary labour, was continued until completed by the evening of the 6th of January, when the cut was declared passable. The 7th and 47th Regiments were accordingly brought up to the army by the boats of the fleet on the 7th.

Dispositions were now made for an assault of the enemy's position; and it was decided that about 50 gun-boats, barges, pinnaces, and cutters should be brought up by the new cut, unperceived by the enemy, to assist. The following were the dispositions for the attack, which was to be made at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 8th:—Colonel Thornton was to cross to the right bank of the Mississippi, with 1,400 men, and to storm the redoubt. Afterwards, in the event of success, he was to advance by the same bank of the river on New Orleans. This attack was to be supported by the armed boats, containing the 85th Regiment, with a division of seamen, under Captain Money, and a division of marines, under Major Adair, who were to move up the stream simultaneously with the division on land. At the same time, another attack was to be made in two columns; the one under the command of General Gibbs, and the other under that of General Keane. Including seamen and marines, the entire force consisted of about 6,000 combatants, and it was intended that both attacks should be simultaneous; but the patience of Pakenham being exhausted, he ordered Gibbs to attack before Thornton had got across the river. No sooner, however, did the morning dawn display the advance of the British columns, than a tremendous fire of grape and round shot opened on them from every gun on the entrenchments. The 4th, 21st, and 44th moved, nevertheless, steadily forward, and reached the very edge of the works, when it was found that the scaling ladders and fascines had been forgotten, so that it was impossible to effect an escalade; and while they were sent for, the troops stood still, riddled by a most terrible fire. Pakenham, thinking to make up for the blunders of his subordinates by his own ever-buoyant dash, rode to the front, led the troops forward, had reached the slope of the glacis, and was in the act of cheering the men on with his hat in his hand, when he fell, mortally wounded. Gibbs was at the same time borne

away from the field mortally wounded, and Keane was struck down, so that all three leaders being *hors de combat*, the whole of the British line was thrown into confusion. The 93rd Highlanders, however, entered the works, and rushed with frantic valour, mounting each other's shoulders to get in; but so deadly was the fire that received them, that they were cut off to a man. At this juncture, Major-General Lambert, on whom the command now devolved, came up with the reserve, and finding the attempt to carry the works impossible, drew off the troops.

About 8 o'clock an officer arrived to report the success of Thornton's attack. This able officer, with 1,400 men, had repaired to the river side on the evening of the 7th, but found that the boats he expected had not arrived. About midnight, however, a portion of them appeared, and, deeming it of importance to co-operate at the appointed time, he employed them to transport about a third portion of his men across. By a rapid and immediate charge he made himself master of the redoubt with little loss, though defended by 1,700 men and 22 guns, and he was preparing to carry out his further instructions when he received tidings of the state of affairs on the left bank of the river. When General Lambert was asked by the officer what was to be done with the guns, he replied, "Spike them, or what you will, for I have not the means of keeping them. We have now 2,000 men killed or wounded." He nevertheless sent over an engineer officer to examine the redoubt, and report as to whether it was tenable, but he did not deem it defensible, except by a larger garrison than the force at General Lambert's disposal would justify. The British were, in truth, reduced to a very critical position, and Lambert, being thus deprived of any *point d'appui*, and not considering his force strong enough to renew the attack, ordered the army to retreat in the night of the 18th. This was effected with such ability, that the whole field artillery, ammunition, and stores were brought away. Eight heavy guns were, however, left on the ground destroyed, and the British troops were safely re-embarked on the 27th, with all the wounded except about 80 men, who would have perished if they had been moved, and were therefore left to the compassion of General Jackson, who discharged that duty with attention and kindness. Having abandoned New Orleans, the Vice-Admiral and Major-General thought to console the two services for their disappointment and disasters by the capture of Fort Boyer, near Mobile, a little more to the eastward, on the shore of West Florida. A landing was effected on the 12th of February, by a body of troops, seamen, and marines, under the fire of the "Vengeur," Captain Ricketts, with a small squadron; when a combined attack having been made, the officer in command of the fort agreed to surrender, and the garrison, amounting to 360 men, became prisoners of war, and were carried on board the fleet. The fort was found in a complete state of defence, and mounted 22 heavy guns.

4. NAVAL WAR — CAPTURE OF THE U. S. FRIGATE "PRESIDENT."

The American Government, having been so successful in many single actions with the British navy, had determined, towards the close of the year 1814, to fit out an expedition to the East Indies, and a squadron was accordingly prepared and laden with stores at New York with this object, consisting of the "President," "Peacock," and "Hornet," under the command of Commodore Decatur. The British squadron, which towards the close of the previous year cruised off the port of New York, was commanded by Captain John Hayes, of the "Majestic," 56, who had under his orders the "Endymion," 40, Captain Hope, and the "Pomone," 38, Captain Lumley, and on the 13th of January the "Tenedos," 38, Captain Hyde Parker, joined the squadron.

On the 14th, Commodore Decatur weighed and put to sea with the "President" and one store-ship, and shaped his course along the shore of Long Island. At daylight on the 15th, he found that his escape out of port had been discovered, and that he was already chased by four frigates. The "Endymion" was taking the lead, and got alongside at about half-past 5 o'clock the same evening. These two ships were well matched, and in about two hours came to close action in a parallel line of sailing, not more than half musket-shot apart. The "President" was soon much damaged in the hull by her opponent's fire, but the "Endymion" had her sails cut from the yards, and while repairing this damage the U.S. frigate got ahead and endeavoured to effect her escape to leeward. She then renewed the engagement, and tried the effects of her fire upon the "Endymion's" masts, but the latter trimmed sails, and hauling up gave her antagonist a raking fire, which did so much damage as to reduce the "President's" further fire to the discharge of a gun or two at intervals of ten minutes, which at length, at about 8 at night, ceased altogether. Just at this time the "Pomone" came up, and fired her larboard broadside, when the American frigate hailed that she surrendered, but not understanding her the "Pomone" fired a second broadside, when the "President" hauled down her light. It was when the question of surrender was quite set at rest that the "Tenedos" came up, and Captain Parker despatched a boat to the frigate and took possession. The "President" was at this time the largest frigate in the world, having 52 heavy guns on her deck, and 6 light cohorns in her tops. She had 35 killed and 70 wounded in this action, which did the greatest honour to Commodore Decatur. The shattered hull and lower masts of his ship spoke to his defence most eloquently, her starboard side was riddled from end to end, and several shots had entered between wind and water. The court of inquiry summoned to investigate the matter at New York pronounced that "he evinced great judgement and skill, perfect coolness, the most determined resolution, and heroic courage." The "Endymion" had 11 killed

and 14 wounded. Her foretopmast was struck badly, but none of her other masts in any serious degree. In a storm on the 17th, she lost her bowsprit and fore and main masts, and the "President" all three of her masts; but both ships reached England in safety on the 8th of March. Captain Hope supported the honour of the British flag, and gave a bright example of national character in the peculiar modesty of the official letter which he addressed to his superior officer, who himself saw the engagement, and reported: "When the effect produced by her well-directed fire upon the 'President' was witnessed, it cannot be doubted that Captain Hope could have succeeded either in capturing or sinking her, had none of the squadron been in sight."

On the 17th of February, the U.S. frigate "Constitution," 50, Captain Stewart, put to sea from New York, and stood across the Atlantic, and on the 20th, when off Madeira, discovered the British ship "Cyane," 22, Captain Gordon Falcon. Notwithstanding the extraordinary disparity of power, Captain Falcon thought fit to engage in order to save two valuable convoys, which he knew were on their way to Gibraltar. Just before the action began, the "Levant," 20, Hon. Captain George Douglas, appeared in the offing, and the two British ships joined company. The "Constitution" immediately gave chase and came into action, when all three ships hoisted their colours. Broad-sides were exchanged liberally, and much manœuvring and seamanship exhibited; nevertheless, in less than an hour the "Cyane" was so punished that she submitted, and after a struggle of four hours more the "Levant" also struck her colours.

The "Constitution," with her two prizes, then pursued her course, and on the 8th of March anchored off the Isle of Mayo, one of the Cape de Verdes, where she was discovered on the 11th by the "Leander," 50, Captain Sir George Collyer, "Newcastle," 50, Captain Lord George Stuart, and "Acasta," 40, Captain Kerr. The "Constitution," as soon as she had sighted the British squadron, cut her cables, and the three ships tacked in chase; and in the course of it the "Cyane" bore away and was seen no more, and the "Levant" ran into the port of Porto-Praya, and was taken possession of. The "Acasta," as the best sailer, followed after the "Constitution," but somewhat unaccountably discontinued the pursuit, and followed her consorts into Porto-Praya. Captain Stewart steered towards the coast of Brazil, and in the month of May "lucky old Ironsides," as he was called, anchored safely in Boston harbour.

When the "President" sailed out of New York she left behind her the U.S. corvette "Hornet," 22, Captain Biddle, who got to sea on the 23rd of January, and, proceeding to the appointed rendezvous, fell in with the British brig-sloop "Penguin," 18, Captain Dickinson, near the island of Tristan d'Acunha, on the 23rd of March. The two ships, notwithstanding their disparity, engaged; and, after about half an hour's struggle, Captain Dickinson received a mortal wound, and the command of the brig

devolved on Lieutenant M'Donald. Aware of the state of his vessel, the hull of which was much battered and the rigging in great disorder, the Lieutenant thought that the only chance of success was to bear up with the intention of boarding his antagonist, and accordingly the "Penguin" ran her bowsprit between the "Hornet's" main and mizenmast; but the bowsprit broke in two owing to the heavy swell, and the vessel soon became so unmanageable that she surrendered.

At the same time, when the other ships of the United States squadron quitted New York harbour, the "Peacock" frigate, Captain Warrington, went also to sea, and coming across the "Cornwallis," 74, Captain Bayley, was chased; but, having soon outstripped her unwieldy pursuer, held on her way to the East Indies, and on the 30th of June found herself in the straits of Scinda, off Anjier, alongside of the East India Company's brig-cruiser "Nautilus," 14, Lieutenant Boyce, and hailed, "Haul down your colours instantly." The Lieutenant, in reply, inquired if the Captain knew that peace had been declared, and sent a boat on board the "Peacock," with the master, to show him the President's proclamation of peace. But Captain Warrington directed the officer to be taken below, and ordered the guns to open upon the Indiaman, who was soon compelled to haul down her colours; but did not do so until her gallant commander lost his leg and his first lieutenant received a wound of which he died, and 6 of the crew were killed and 5 wounded. The American captain has been justly denounced for this unwarranted butchery; and during the period in which he held possession of his prize, which was not more than 24 hours, he is said to have proved himself totally destitute of feeling and commiseration for the sufferers, and unworthy of his name and rank.

5. AMERICAN WAR CONCLUDED—PEACE OF GHENT.

Conferences had for some time been going on at the city of Ghent between British and American commissioners, under the mediation of the King of the Netherlands, to bring about a termination of hostilities between Great Britain and the United States. The former belligerent was represented by Admiral Lord Gambier, Mr. Goulburn, and Mr. William Adams; the latter by Mr. John Quincy Adams, Mr. Bayard, Mr. Clay, Mr. Russel, and Mr. Gallatin. The question of neutral flags and of sailors' privileges in opposition to the right of search, which had occasioned the war, had lost all its interest when the United States found themselves face to face in single combat with Great Britain, and were now taken no notice of. The President of the Republic, Mr. Madison, who had made war to ingratiate his country with Napoleon, was treated with perfect indifference by the present royal occupant of the Tuileries. Of the terms of peace it is not within the province of this work to speak, but the question of the general restitution of conquests and acquisitions on both sides was so grossly blundered that it became

the subject of much angry discussion subsequently. The American negotiators completely deluded the British; and by inserting in the treaty, "the high lands lying due north from the source of the river St. Croix, and the head of the Connecticut river not having been ascertained," and "part of the boundary between the two powers not having been surveyed," and "the islands in Passamaquody Bay remaining in *statu quo*," threw "dust in the eyes" of the British negotiators, and left the great question of the frontier line of Maine undecided, so that when 20 years later the award was made upon the subject by the King of the Netherlands in virtue of this treaty, it satisfied neither side, and was by common consent repudiated. For many years after peace was concluded, disputes which almost threatened a new war arose out of these very vague conditions of boundary; and the opportunity of enforcing a settlement of the question, which Great Britain with her large military force at this time possessed, may perhaps never again return.

6. WAR IN CEYLON — THE KING DEPOSED.

From the time of the unfortunate termination of the conflict with the King of Kandy in 1803, that Sovereign had carried on occasional hostilities against the Colonial frontier, and exercised such sanguinary cruelty against British traders when captured, and such oppressive tyranny upon his own subjects, that Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Brownrigg, the British Governor of Colombo, saw the time was arrived to assist the natives in throwing off the yoke of his government. He therefore prepared an expedition, of which he was ready to assume the command, for the purpose of dethroning the despot, and placing the whole island under the dominion of the British Crown. He accordingly declared war on the 10th of January, and on the 14th of February entered the capital of Kandy, which was found entirely deserted, the Adijaars having removed their families to a place of safety, and having themselves joined the British standard. On the 18th the King was captured in the mountains of Donobora, and on the 2nd of March a solemn conference was held by the native chiefs, who proclaimed the dethronement of the King; and it was unanimously agreed to vest the sovereignty in the King of Great Britain, on condition that the national religion should be maintained and justice impartially administered. The King was removed to Vellore, in the province of Madras, in which fortress he died on the 30th of January, 1832. It has been stated that the Singhalese throne had existed without any material interruption for 2,357 years! The King, though represented as being in character "without one redeeming virtue," and "destitute of any amiable quality," is recorded to have made one remark that is worth recording: "Your English governors have one advantage over us Kings of Kandy—they have councillors near them who never allow them to do anything in a passion; but

unfortunately for us, the offender is dead before our resentment has subsided."*

It may be noted here *in memoriam*, since it admits of no better claim, that on the 16th of February a Spanish expedition of 10,400 men was despatched from Cadiz to South America, and that on the 11th of March the insurgents of the new world were defeated by Ramirez at Cusco, on the river Huncachiri, and that other battles were fought between the Royalists and insurgents at Montelineux and Corpero in March and April.

7. CONGRESS AT VIENNA.

The events of 1814 had paralysed a large portion of the Continent, whole districts were palsied from having lost all action of government by the fall of the great Conqueror who had gathered so many states under his sceptre. It became necessary, therefore, that some agreement should be arrived at by the chief Powers, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, as to the disposal of the territories wrested from France and her allies, and a Congress with this object had assembled at Vienna in the end of September 1814. Territories numbering 31,691,000 inhabitants, † were at its disposal; and there were many claimants for the spoil. The Czar demanded the whole of Poland, Austria claimed Lombardy and the Milanese, Prussia desired the entire kingdom of Saxony. Great Britain asked nothing for herself, and expressed her readiness to restore her many conquests, but required, as a preliminary security towards restraining the ambition of France, that Belgium should be united to Holland to form the kingdom of the Netherlands, and that Hanover should be restored to the Brunswick family. Soon dissensions arose about the respective claims; Great Britain, France, and Austria resisting the pretensions for the lion's share of Russia and Prussia; and to such a height did the divisions arrive, that both parties prepared for war. Russia stopped her retiring armies, and Austria put hers upon a war footing, while France was invited to discontinue her disarming. Indeed on the 3rd of February a secret treaty was concluded by which the whole of Western and Southern Europe was arrayed against Russia and Prussia, and on the 15th of February Lord Castlereagh, the British negotiator, quitted Vienna. Murat, as King of Naples, had a certain claim for interference; but, nevertheless, whatever course the dispute might take, he saw that his throne was in danger, and he therefore sought the advice and co-operation of Napoleon, to whom at Elba he communicated the state of things at Vienna. The correspondence which had existed between that island and the adjacent shores of Italy became, in consequence, so much increased that the attention of the Congress was drawn to the danger of this close proximity between the deposed Emperor and the disaffected of both France and Italy. All heads at Vienna were, however, so engrossed by the gaiety, splendour, and dissipation which prevailed in

* Emerson Tennent.

† Allison.

a capital where such an amount of grandeur, talent, wit, and beauty was assembled as was never collected before, that danger to be apprehended from that quarter was only appreciated by a few; and, as it was wittily remarked by the Prince de Ligne on the occasion, "The Congress dances, but it does not advance." The wily man of Elba, who know profoundly all the puppets of the great European stage, heard with delight the approximation of the crisis on which all his hopes and wishes were founded, and might have apostrophised France in the words of the noble poet:

"There are links that must break in the chain that has bound us,
Then turn thee and call on the chief of thy choice."

Napoleon and his sister Pauline Borghese had established themselves with their little court in the château of Porto Ferrajo, having 1,500 of the "vielle garde" in the barracks adjoining; and here he passed the autumn of 1814 and the whole winter in the full enjoyment of all the luxuries of a palace, ordering improvements and suggesting grand ideas for the future, as though he had disarmed Fortune of her frowns by the aspect of a happy ambition easily gratified by trifles. Works of art, furniture, books, and journals arrived from the continent incessantly. Travellers even looked in upon his imperial capital, to gaze upon this "Prometheus of the West," who received them with ease, dignity, and grace, as one who had lived rather in the court than in the camp, and desired nothing more in this world than a favourable souvenir in the hearts of all. His sister, the most beautiful woman of her time, transferred her residence to the Isle of Elba, and adorned the exile of her cherished brother with her attractions, while she gave life and soul to it by the charm of her conversation, and made it touching by her steady fidelity. Concealing thus, under the guise of pleasure and trivial occupations, a more serious political devotion, she crossed from time to time to the Italian peninsula, under the pretext of visiting her relations, and was a frequent guest both at Rome and Naples,—an ambassadress without any seeming importance, whose very volatility and frivolity disarmed the serious observer, and shielded her from the imputation of any sinister intentions.*

Napoleon was too crafty to have any confidant at home, and concealed even from his two lieutenants in exile, Bertrand and Cambonne, the thoughts he nourished in his inmost heart; while he watched intently, but ostensibly without interest, the attitude of Europe, of France, and, more especially, the proceedings of the Congress at Vienna. Three devoted partisans, Maret, Savary, and Lavalette, residing at Paris, found means to make him acquainted with all they could see or learn at the capital; and watchwords were established with a small number of old adherents in France, by means of which a tacit conspiracy was concentrated in few hands, without correspondence, without meetings, without arms,

* Lamartine.

without witnesses, without soldiers, in short, a conspiracy of old attachments, which only awaited the signal that was to announce the return of "the violets" in the spring.

So experienced a negotiator as the Emperor had the sagacity, as stated above, to perceive the many sure grounds of difference which must introduce discord amongst the conquerors over a division of the spoil. He could safely leave these disputes to ferment from natural causes, although the ennui he really felt weighed upon him as upon a spirit which had long borne up against the frowns of the world, but had at length sunk under the accumulated load of disappointment and regret. "He had upon him the fever of thought and the mute phrenzy of adventure," which revolted at the acquiescence of France in her present littleness, after she had under his eagles overrun, conquered, and possessed the entire face of Europe, and he burned for that excitement of the saddle again, that he might run a fresh career of glory. Queen Caroline of Naples took advantage of her sister Pauline Borghese's visits at Naples to convey to her brother all the information concerning the Congress which had been obtained by her husband, and also assurances of the sincere remorse of his old comrade, who was ready to unite in any enterprise that might complicate the settlement of European affairs. It had also transpired at Vienna that Talleyrand was sedulously filling the minds of the statesmen at the Congress with grave apprehensions for the future security of France and Italy, and continually preaching the danger of the close proximity of Napoleon's court to the European continent, and the absolute necessity of removing him from Elba to some remote island, where he might be the more easily watched and surrounded. The island of Malta, and even that of St. Helena, had already passed the lips of some of the negotiators. The Prince of Benevento was, as they were all well aware, a declared enemy of the Bonaparte family, and intent on their destruction by every open attack or dark suggestion of his fertile genius.

It was under these circumstances that M. Henry de Chaboulon, believed to be an emissary of the trio at Paris, arrived, and was ushered immediately to a night audience with Napoleon. It does not appear who sent over this young man to Elba, but the verbal reports he brought appear to have been mingled with the knowledge of facts only known to the Duc de Bassano and the Emperor himself, and he was therefore readily admitted to a conference, but to no confidence. On the contrary, after remaining two days on the island, he was despatched in an open felucca to Naples, carrying with him a verbal announcement that the 1st of April was the period fixed by the Emperor for great events, although that date was employed by him purposely to put false friends on a wrong scent. After this visit Napoleon assumed in public, more than ever, the appearance of a resigned indifference, for he knew that among the numerous strangers who visited his island there were many spies who mixed in the reunions, *converzazioni*, and *fêtes* at the Château, which were now multiplied, so that his court had

become apparently busied with these social trifles. On the evening of the 26th of February, with a serene brow, a mind apparently relaxed, and with a conversation of more than accustomed freedom and buoyancy, he attended a ball given by the Princess Pauline. He left the ball-room at a late hour, taking with him no other attendants than Generals Bertrand, Cambronne, and Drouot. "We depart to-morrow," he said; "let all the vessels at anchor in the port be seized, and let no vessel whatever leave until we are at sea; prepare everything for the embarkation of the troops, and let no one besides yourselves be acquainted with my intentions." The generals passed the night in the execution of the Emperor's commands, and at sunrise the officers and soldiers received without a question the order to prepare for embarkation. They had all been too long accustomed to confide in the name, which to them was as destiny, to reason on any point of obedience. At midday the launch of the brig "L'Inconstant" came to shore, and Napoleon stepped on board under a salute of cannon, leaving Madame Mère and his sister to tears and anxieties. There was taken on board with himself about 400 grenadiers, the most sure and trustworthy of his guard, of which the remaining 1,000 were embarked in three small merchant vessels, which had been seized during the night, and prepared hastily for the accommodation of the soldiers. The squadron of British ships stationed in the Mediterranean had no particular charge to obstruct or even watch the proceedings of the monarch of Elba, and France had altogether neglected the precaution of having even a single cruizer to watch a captive who had such distracting claims against any allegiance. The sea, therefore, was free, and at sunset the signal was given to Napoleon's flotilla to weigh and put to sea. The generals presented the same disciplined aspect as in those days when they had surrounded the Emperor on the field of battle. The soldiers carried their accustomed observation no farther than the resolution implicitly to obey commands. Thus it happened that, with habitual respect and veneration, no one ventured to interrogate the Emperor regarding his designs. They say, however, that he himself, addressing Cambronne, asked him if he knew where he was going to; to which his cautious follower replied: "Non, Sire, et je ne veux pas le savoir; car si j'en étais informé, peut-être ne vous suivrai-je pas." Now, however, it was necessary to speak, and Napoleon addressed to them the few words: "Soldats, nous allons à la France, nous allons à Paris." The brave 400 responded with one voice, "A la France! à la France! Vive La France! Vive L'Empereur!"*

The inconstant wind, which favoured the departure of the brig out of port, fell, on reaching Cape St. André, to a dead calm. Leaving Captain Chautard and his crew, therefore, to their own reflections, the Emperor descended to his cabin with his generals, and there unfolded to them the preparations he had made and the documents he had carefully composed for the expedition. These

* Lamartine.

were all written with his own hand, for he had not dared to confide to any secretary or to any confidant the mystery of his project. He now called upon his associates to write from his dictation, for it was not without difficulty that his writing was legible at any time, and, indeed, he could sometimes scarcely read it himself. At all times rapid, it was now more than usually obscure. From the quick succession of ideas, his thoughts had flowed too freely for his pen, so that the words and the sense were frequently incongruous and could scarcely be unravelled. The first night was therefore spent in this occupation, but at length the proclamations intended to be addressed to the army and to the French people were drawn up carefully and legibly, and were then carried on deck, where some hundreds of hands were speedily occupied in making thousands of copies to be ready for distribution at the first moment of debarkation. The wind sprang up towards noon on the 27th upon nearing Leghorn, when a sail hove in sight, which proved to be the French brig-of-war, "Zephyr," Captain Andrieux. About 6 in the evening the two brigs passed within hail, and the two commanders, happening to be acquainted, exchanged some words through speaking-trumpets. The grenadiers had implored the Emperor to allow them to board her, that she might be added to his fleet; but, too wary to risk the entire success of his enterprise by such a puerile act of bravery and uncertain issue, Napoleon ordered them below, with instructions to conceal themselves and to keep silence. The ships being on different tacks were soon distant from each other; but at daybreak of the 28th a 74-gun ship became visible in the offing, which made the chief for a moment uneasy. She, however, soon sailed out of sight, and left a clear horizon to his fortunes.

The coast of Antibes and the island of St. Margaret at length appeared, and "La belle France" was saluted with general acclamation. "Let us now," said the Emperor, "display the tricolor, that the country may recognise us." The flag of Elba (white and red with gold bees) was accordingly torn down and cast into the sea; every one assumed the tricoloured cockade; and the "Inconstant," with her three consorts all carrying the flag of the Empire, came to anchor at 5 in the evening of the 1st of March in the gulf of Juan, near Cannes. The boats were now lowered and rowed to the shore; but, proud of the burthen, the Emperor was carried in the arms of his grenadiers, that he might under their escort touch the soil of France. Superstitious above most men of his age, Napoleon cherished a mysterious affection for this coast of Provence; for the same shore had received him on his furtive return from Egypt, and had introduced him to the sovereignty of France, and he now said it was destined to lead him to the throne again with greater certainty and rapidity.

8. NAPOLEON AT ANTIBES AND GRENOBLE.

Napoleon's bivouac was established in an olive wood at some distance from the beach, and the astonished and hesitating peasantry

timidly approached the camp, awed by his familiar name, yet unwilling to compromise themselves with an adventure for which they were not prepared; but they did not evince the least enthusiasm. An officer and 25 men with the tricoloured flag were ordered to march into the town of Antibes, to try to gain over the soldiers, and obtain some *point d'appui*. General Corsin, the Commandant, happened to be absent at the adjoining islands; but the second in command, Colonel d'Ornano, without hesitating as to his duty, ordered the drawbridge to be raised and the gates to be closed upon the detachment as soon as it entered, and without scruple made prisoners of the officer and men. The *vieille garde*, indignant at this hostile act, demanded to be led against the town, that they might deliver their captured associates; but Napoleon sent a second officer, who had orders not to enter the town, but to give a message to the General, that he was returned at the call of France, and that Lyons and Grenoble were hastening to meet him. This messenger, however, returned without having been able to execute these orders. This commencement of the enterprise was not encouraging, but the Emperor feigned indifference to an act which inwardly dismayed him, and he resolved to seek by the rapidity and energy of his actions that success which he could no longer hope for from the mere popularity of his name. Having refreshed his troops, he broke up his camp at midnight, and commenced his march with four pieces of artillery. So experienced a general had carefully studied the map and determined which military road best suited his enterprise. The mountains of Dauphiny, although still covered with snow and in many places impassable for wheels, nevertheless offered the advantage of positions, and therefore he directed his steps along the foot of the French Alps. No district could be more favourable to the Emperor's designs, for it was devoid of towns, and was inhabited by a hardy peasantry, resembling the Swiss in their ideas of independence. Withheld by no hesitating loyalties, they at once received him with open arms. Had he adopted the lower road by Toulon and Marseilles, he would have created alarm among well to do officials and merchants, who would from self-interest have been all dead against any change of dynasty. Cambronne was appointed paymaster, with strict orders that no violence should be done to property, but that every expense should be met *en argent comptant*. He purchased horses as he went along, and on these he mounted the Poles of the guard, who had marched with their saddles and accoutrements on their backs, and by this means he soon got together a little display of cavalry. Having passed by Cannes at daybreak, he proceeded on the 2nd to the village of Cernan, 20 leagues distant from the coast, and on the 5th reached Gap, the capital of the Department of the Upper Alps. As he advanced, he caused his proclamations to be scattered; but, although the warlike population of this mountain district were excited by his name, he had not as yet, during the five days of his march, recruited a single man. The people came to the doors of their houses, and even flocked around, gazing at him with sur-

prise and astonishment, but none followed him. The Mayor of Sisteron refused provisions, but the inhabitants themselves furnished them. It was not far from this little town that, on the 4th, General Cambronne, with an advance of 50 men, found himself in front of a battalion sent from Grenoble to stop Napoleon's progress; but the sight of the little army marching with firmness and confidence induced this detachment to fall back three leagues upon a main body of 6,000 men to which they belonged, leaving the formidable pass of the Saubee, between the Durance and an overhanging precipice, unguarded, and through this Napoleon marched on. A collision, however, seemed inevitable, for there was the defile of Vizille between him and Grenoble, which the Royalists were prepared to defend. He accordingly halted at the village of Corps, deeply meditating what course to adopt to reach the capital city of Dauphiny, where he had reasonable hopes of being received, through the instrumentality of two adherents there—Dumoulin, who had visited him in Elba, and Labédoyère, a young colonel whose regiment was at Grenoble. He had in his suite a surgeon, a native of Grenoble, Doctor Emery, and him he sent forward to see if he could excite any feeling in his favour in that city. The Doctor had the good fortune to meet on the high road, as he approached Grenoble, General Mouton Duvernet, commanding the military subdivision of Valence, who having questioned him, let him pass without obstruction.

It was the 6th of March. Napoleon decided in his own mind that the moment had arrived for proving the ascendancy which he thought he still possessed over his old soldiers, and resolved to put it to the test. He ordered Cambronne to strengthen his vanguard to 100 men, and to push forward through La Mure to secure the bridge of Ponthaut. Then, passing through this body, he rode forward at a gentle pace, followed by Bertrand and Drouot, to within a hundred yards of the bayonets of the 5th royal regiment, drawn up in line. There he dismounted, and gave his horse to his Polish orderly. He then crossed his arms on his breast, and advanced with measured steps, like a man who marches on death. He had carefully put on the uniform that recollection, legend, and picture had alike engraven on the memory of all: the square cocked hat with the small tricoloured cockade; the green uniform of the light infantry of the guard; the overcoat of dust-coloured cloth, open and displaying the under dress; the high military boots and spurs, which rang upon the ground as he stepped. It was, as it were, a vision of the conqueror and of the glorious past which suddenly burst upon their sight. Napoleon had calculated beforehand the effect of this appeal on the heart of the French soldier, and he was not mistaken. It was indeed a part of his peculiar genius to attempt a *petite surprise* of the kind, and to accomplish it. His grenadiers were halted at some distance off, and stood with their arms reversed, in token of peace. The officer in command of the 5th regiment ordered the battalion to fire, and they levelled their muskets as if to obey. "Soldiers of the 5th regiment," he said, elevating that

spell-like and resounding voice of command which had been often so wonderfully effective on the field of battle, "Quel est celui de vous qui voudroit tirer sur son Empereur ? Me voilà !" The effect was electric ; the soldiers raised their caps in the air, crying, "Vive l'Empereur !" and the grenadiers replied by a shout, "Vive le 5ème Regiment de Ligne." The soldiers rushed into each other's arms, and surrounded the Emperor, who opened his arms wide to receive them. "I have come," said he, "with only a handful of brave men, because I depend on the people and you."

The Emperor was unwilling to let this flame of enthusiasm subside, and he at once resumed his march to Grenoble, the 5th regiment acting as vanguard to his grenadiers. It was night when he approached ; but he reckoned upon the confusion of darkness to induce the city to pronounce in his favour. The defile of Vizille was passed without further opposition, and Grenoble now lay open to him. Acclamations loud and long startled the silence of the night, and word came from the front that a regiment of the line, with the Colonel at their head, stood before them. It was Labédoyère with his regiment, escorted by the country-people carrying torches to light them to their Emperor. Shortly afterwards Dumoulin came out to meet the Emperor ; and this nocturnal triumph was already seen and heard from the ramparts of Grenoble, which were crowded with the people of the city. The torches lit up the march, which was enlivened by patriotic songs and the incitements of the people cheering the defection of the soldiers. The clamours of this armed and unarmed multitude at length reached the ears of the Prefect and the General, but they had no means left to defend their charge save the bare walls and gates. These last were ordered to be closed, when the people within responded to the impatient cries of the people without to force an entrance. Labédoyère's sappers advanced to blow open the gates, but were checked by Napoleon, who had resolved to use no force but the pressure of public opinion. The inhabitants upon this burst open the gates themselves. Through this voluntary breach the march was now resumed by the light of torches ; the people and the soldiers fraternising together till day broke, when it was found that both General and Prefect had abandoned their posts, and that 8,000 more soldiers were marching in from Chambéry. Napoleon rested 24 hours at Grenoble, and then incorporating all the troops who had pronounced in his favour with his army, he marched forward on Lyons.

The knowledge of these portentous events was carried the same day to Paris, and it so happened that the King was the first person to receive the intelligence of the Emperor's landing, on the morning of the 3rd of March. He immediately summoned Marshal Soult, the Minister of War, who was at first incredulous, and, when at last convinced, treated with utter contempt all idea of its being a military danger, declaring that he would be answerable to the King for the consequences. Monsieur de Blacas, the King's Minister, also the Bourbonist as well as the Bonapartist, treated the enterprise as that of a madman. Troops were immediately ordered to be concentrated

at Lyons, and the Count d'Artois, the King's brother, and, as his presumptive heir, the person most interested in the preservation of the throne, was ordered to assume the command. With him was associated Marshal Macdonald, who, although among the very last to quit the service of the Emperor, was known to be a man whose fidelity could be relied on; and the Duke of Orleans also was invited to accompany Monsieur to Lyons. A hereditary dislike of the Royal house for this Prince, founded on his antecedents and on the character of his father, had made the King equally unwilling to employ the Duke of Orleans in command of an army, or to turn his suspicious popularity to account in the Bourbon interest, by retaining him in the capital. But these were unworthy prejudices, and there is no reason whatever to doubt but that the allegiance of this Prince to his kinsman on the throne was of the truest at this period.

Marshal Soult, as Minister of War to the King, published an order of the day to the army, reprobating in no tender terms his former chief, and he appointed Marshal Ney, who emulated Soult in his contempt of Napoleon's expedition, to the command of the army in Franche Comté. Ney took leave of the King on the eve of his departure for the army, and promised His Majesty, in terms not quite in accordance with his long friendship and attachment for the Emperor, to bring him in an iron cage, conquered and in chains, to the Tuileries.

The Congress of Vienna was still in session when Napoleon, who exclaimed as he touched the beach, "Voilà le Congrès de Vienne dissous," landed on the shores of France. The first news of his departure from Elba is said to have been conveyed to Prince Talleyrand by a secret emissary, who placed the despatch in the hands of his niece, the Duchess de Dino, with an intimation that it was most important that the Prince should receive it immediately. The Prince was in the bath at the time, and not in a state to receive even his niece; but when the arrival of an important messenger was made known to him through the door, the lady was desired to bring in the communication, that she might read it to him. As soon as he learned the contents, the wary old diplomatist saw the necessity of keeping the important information to himself, that he might make it subservient to his own political purposes; he therefore, "sans phrase," and "saving her presence," got out of his bath, left the apartment, and turned the key upon the young lady standing by the bath with the note in her hand. A courier from Leghorn had, however, already brought the news to Lord Castle-reagh, and it was soon circulated; for it happened that Prince Metternich had a ball the same evening, by which means it was known before night to every one that Napoleon had secretly quitted Elba and landed in France. The report came like a thunderbolt upon the brilliant assembly, for nothing could have been better calculated to excite terror and consternation at such a time and place than this seeming explosion. An energetic proclamation, signed by the representatives of the five great Powers, was immediately issued and

promulgated as an act of Congress, in which it was declared that "Bonaparte has placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relations," and that, "as the general enemy and disturber of the world, he is abandoned to public justice." Nor were the Allied sovereigns in a mood to confine themselves to mere denunciations of the man "who had destroyed his sole legal title to a political existence." Vigorous measures were immediately agreed upon, and undertakings were at once interchanged to assemble a powerful force in the field. Contingents to the amount of a million of soldiers were promised by the four great military Powers, to which Great Britain, with a lavish hand, added troops, money, and *matériel* of every kind; and thus was verified the saying of Châteaubriand, that "if the cocked hat and surtout of Napoleon were placed on a stick on the shores of Brest, it would cause Europe to run to arms from one end to the other."

9. TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO LYONS—NEY JOINS HIM AT AUXERRE.

In the meantime, the whole country appeared, to the Royalist government at the capital, to be disposed to rally round the constitutional King, for the maintenance of peace and for the liberty and dignity of France. Benjamin Constant with his pen, M. Lainé as President of the Chamber of Deputies, and M. de Montesquieu in the Upper Chamber, all exerted themselves *de bonne foi* to serve Bourbon royalty; and great efforts were made by the Court to stimulate a sincere Royalist resistance. The Chambers were convoked. The Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême were already at Bordeaux, to rouse the southern provinces; and the Duke de Bourbon was in La Vendée, endeavouring, by the great name of Condé, to revive the ancient fidelity of the peasants there; while to the Duke de Berry was intrusted the formation of an army of reserve at Essone and Fontainebleau for the defence of the capital. The Bourbon Princes and Marshal Macdonald arrived at Lyons on the 8th, and did all they could to uphold the royal authority in that city, and to induce the army to remain faithful to the King. The garrison was reviewed by Monsieur, whose exceedingly gracious manner was calculated to win the hearts of men: but when, addressing some veterans, he said, "Comrades, I expect to hear from your mouths the cry that attests your faithfulness to your oaths and your standard;" "Non," replied an old dragoon, whose right arm carried the chevrons of good service, "nous ne combattrons point celui qui nous a si souvent conduits à la victoire: nos cœurs et nos lèvres sont habitués à répéter une autre cri." Measures were taken to erect some barricades, and to cut the bridges across the Rhone and the Soane; but it was soon found that the National Guard were not to be relied upon, for, indeed, they bluntly refused to obey the orders for putting the city in a state of defence. Macdonald, who was adored by the old soldiers and respected by all, headed a feeble column, which, leaving Lyons on the morning of the 10th, directed its march towards Bourgoin. The bridge across the Rhone leading to the

faubourg de la Guillotière was broken, and the approaches to the city by this high road were prepared for defence by the erection of a tête de pont; but Napoleon was too consummate a general to think of entering a great city, under such circumstances, by a high road, and had, accordingly, directed Bertrand to move to Miribel, and there to collect all the boats he could find, in order to cross the Rhone in the night, and enter from the opposite side. The Emperor had slept on the night of the 9th at Bourgoin, and was already nearing the city, when, about 4 in the afternoon, the Duke of Tarentum, who had not advanced far on the road, saw an immense concourse of soldiers, National Guards, and peasants, crowding the way leading up from Pont-Brauvoisin. He hastily retired towards Lyons, in the hope of opposing some resistance at the Pont de la Guillotière, but the first cry of "Vive l'Empereur" from the assailants was taken up and repeated by the defenders, and the Marshal had barely time to put spurs to his horse to escape from the kindly meant endeavours of his own soldiers to carry him prisoner to the Emperor to give in his adhesion. Monsieur and the Duke of Orleans, as soon as they had been apprised by Macdonald that the cause was hopeless, quitted Lyons with an escort of a few dragoons, and took the road to Paris, while the Marshal hastened by the same road, in order to join Ney, who was marching up from Auxerre. Everywhere the marshals were busy assembling troops: Augereau in Normandy, Massena at Toulon, Oudinot at Marseilles, Soult at Besançon. The fidelity of the last was deemed so doubtful, that he had been removed from the post of War Minister, which was given to Clarke, Duke de Feltré. But the defection spread so rapidly, that the melancholy conviction had reached the King's mind that all was lost.

At 7 in the evening of the 10th of March, surrounded by his faithful Old Guard, the Emperor, no longer on horseback, but in an open carriage, entered the suburb of La Guillotière amidst the enthusiastic cheers of an immense crowd, that almost impeded his passage. The Mayor of Lyons, the Count de Farques, presented to him the keys; generals and officers of all kinds came forward to render their respectful homage, and the tricoloured flags and cockades, waving to martial music, hailed the new avatar. He caused himself to be conducted to the splendid archiepiscopal palace, which had been once the residence of his uncle, Cardinal Fesch. On the 11th, the Emperor reviewed the troops, and immediately ordered the division Brayer to lead the march forward to Paris. He knew that the Royal army was advancing against him from Bourg, towards the Upper Rhone, but now, with the garrison of Lyons, he could count 12,000 men, and a good parc of artillery, which was as much as any Royal army could collect to oppose him, and he therefore resolved to go straight to the capital. He doubted for a moment whether to proceed through the province of Burgundy or through La Bourbonnois, but he chose the former, in order to anticipate Ney and to direct his march *sans relâche*. The Emperor followed his little army out of Lyons on the 13th, sleeping at Villefranche, and

on the next night, after resting some hours at Mâcon, he slept at Chalons sur Saône, passing Lons le Saulnier without scruple. No one knew better than Napoleon the weak points in the character of his friend the Prince of Elchingen, who was now threatening the right flank of his march through Franche Comté, and he had, accordingly, employed every means he could think of to seduce him from the cause of the Bourbons, which his emissaries represented as irrevocably ruined, assuring him, at the same time, that his old master forgave him all which had passed, and would stretch out his arms to receive him again. At length he sent him an autograph missive, addressing him by his familiar appellation of *le brave des braves*, and reminding him that a short year could not have altered their respective relations; and he added, as if they continued still the same: "Vous marcherez sur Mâcon ou sur Dijon, en vous faisant suivre par beaucoup d'artillerie. Si vous en manquez, j'ai trouvé à Grenoble plus de 500 pièces de canon." These earnest appeals were too much for an unreflecting mind altogether unable to comprehend the intricacies of a disputed allegiance, and on the 13th of March, when Ney had reached Lons le Saulnier, he addressed to the troops which he commanded for Louis XVIII. an order of the day, assuring them that the cause of the Bourbons was irrevocably lost, that he was about to unite them to that immortal phalanx which Napoleon would lead to Paris, and that to him, as sovereign, it alone belonged to reign over this beautiful land. Ney himself read this proclamation to his troops, and, at the end of it, threw his hat in the air, and waving his sabre, and crying out "Vive l'Empereur!" The defection of Ney was followed by that of the whole army, and now there was no obstacle to the march on Paris.

On the 17th, Napoleon entered Auxerre, where he was received according to the imperial régime by the prefect, who happened to be Ney's brother-in-law, and who conducted him to the prefecture, where his portrait and the bust of the King of Rome were already in their accustomed places. The Duke d'Elchingen was somewhat shy and nervous at his first interview, and desired Bertrand to prepare the Emperor to receive his justification. "Qu'ai-je besoin de justification?" said Napoleon, "dites lui que je l'aime toujours et que je l'embrasserai demain." The defection of Ney deprived the Bourbons of the last hope of the fidelity of the army; the troops everywhere joined the Imperial standard; and there could no longer be the least chance to the old family of recovering the throne, but through all the intricacies and hazards of a Revolution.

10. THE KING QUITS THE CAPITAL—THE EMPEROR ENTERS PARIS.

Affairs in the north and east of France followed the impulse given from the south. Lefebvre-Desnouettes won over the garrison of La Ferté and roused all Picardy. D'Erlon, at Lille, led out his troops to march on Paris; and had he not been met by Marshal Mortier, and his march arrested in consequence, no means of escape

would have been left open to the royal family. On the 20th, Napoleon was already in Fontainebleau. The King, having been now deprived of his entire army, had only the Swiss Guards left him to defend the palace of the Tuileries, for it was scarcely to be expected that the National Guard would maintain his cause in the capital. The infirm old man, who could not mount a horse, reviewed the *beau reste* of his army from his carriage-windows in the Champ de Mars; but, although 20,000 in number, they did not appear in the guise that betokened any cordial service against the cause of the conquering eagles, and accordingly Louis XVIII. arrived at the conviction that all possibility of resistance was dispelled, and that Paris lay completely at the mercy of Napoleon. M. Thiers relates an extraordinary proposition made to the King at this time by Marmont. "Son plan consistait à fortifier les Tuileries, à y amasser des vivres et des munitions, à s'y renfermer avec tous les royalistes fidèles, à y attendre Napoléon et à lui opposer l'embarras d'assiéger un vieux roi dans son palais, de l'y bombarder peut-être, au milieu de l'indignation universelle." The sense of the ridiculous was such a characteristic of the old Count de Provence, that he sharply replied to this absurd proposition; nor did he better relish that of his brother Monsieur, to put himself at the head of a movement in La Vendée; but he adopted the advice tendered him by Marshal Macdonald, whose character impressed him with the greater respect, to retire to Lille, where he could, in the last resort, either shut himself up within the strongest fortress of France, or cross the frontier immediately adjoining, and retire to some city of the Netherlands. He therefore resolved to close the Chambers, in order that the conqueror should not, on his arrival, avail himself of the existing assemblies as an engine against him, and to convene a first session of the Legislature in whatever part of the kingdom he might fix his residence. "We might," said the King, in the order in council he himself drew up, "have disputed with the rebels the entrance to our capital, but we shudder at the misfortunes that a combat within its streets would draw down on Paris, and we will, therefore, retire to a distance to collect our forces, and will return and bring back a second time hope, happiness, and peace." The Royal resolution to depart was not, however, given out, or known even at the palace. It was not till after the review of the 19th that the King announced to the few faithful friends who attended his dinner, that he was about to quit the Tuileries that night. As the carriages had been prepared in secret, and did not enter the courtyard till midnight, there were, except a few of the wakeful curious, none to witness the flight who should enlighten the public on the subject in the morning papers. The moment of solitude and silence was adopted to mislead the people, who might have perhaps opposed the passage of the King in an hour of daylight; and, none but some officers and citizens were permitted to enter the palace, where they ranged themselves on the stairs and landing-place adjoining the royal apartments. At the sight of the venerable monarch, preceded by a single chamberlain carrying a flambeau, and supported

by the Count de Blacas and the Duke de Duras, the few people who were thus assembled fell on their knees, and burst into tears and expressions of grief. The good old man was overcome with this unlooked-for affection, and said: "Mes enfans, en grâce épargnez moi; j'ai besoin de force: votre attachement me touche." Monsieur and the Duke de Berry assisted him into his carriage, which drove off without any escort to St. Denis, so that the inhabitants of the streets he traversed knew not that the wheels they heard in their dreams carried away from them a royal dynasty. At St. Denis the Swiss guard met the royal carriage, and escorted the further progress of the King, who reached Abbeville the same night, and Lille the next day.

When day broke, the white flag still waved on the *Tour de l'Horloge*, but there was no *garde du corps*. Nevertheless, the news of the abandonment of the palace by the King soon transpired, and naturally excited all classes. The state of Paris, under the circumstances, can only be described in the eloquent words of the *Annals of Tacitus*: "Non tumultus, non quies; quale magni metus et magnæ viæ silentium est;" but it was a mine charged to repletion.

Lavalette, the Directeur-général des Postes, who had now openly espoused the Imperial cause, forthwith sent a courier to Napoleon at 8 in the morning, with the news that the palace of the Tuileries was abandoned by the King and open to him, and that he had made arrangements along the road for his prompt arrival at the capital. The intention of the Emperor had been to advance only to Essone, but when he heard that the coast was so fortunately clear for the possession of his palace, he made ready his forward march. In the modest berlin in which he had travelled from Cannes, accompanied by ten post-carriages with an escort of Polish lancers carrying lights, he reached Paris at half-past 9 the same night, amidst the cheers and cries of an immense concourse of people, who rushed into the Tuileries before he could reach it, bordered the stairs, and took possession of *La Galerie de Diane* and the state apartments of the palace. Presently the familiar figure so well known to those apartments, was borne up the stairs, and through them in the arms of the grenadiers, the military drawing their swords and waving them in the air with reiterated cheers, while unanimous shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" from men and women, young and old, gentle and simple, made the welkin ring again with those words of welcome. Never was such a scene witnessed in history, and before sleep could close the eyelids of any on that night, a hundred guns were discharged from the Invalides, and reechoed from all the fortresses of France, to inaugurate the Emperor's new reign. It has been recorded to his honour, that not a drop of blood, for or against him, had stained his restoration to the Imperial throne.

The excitement in England on the news of Napoleon's escape out of Elba resembled that of one suddenly roused from repose, while smarting under a deep personal injury. It was a startle of alarm and anger. On the 6th of April, the Prince-Regent announced the fact by a message to the two Houses of Parliament, who almost

unanimously agreed to the immediate necessity of augmenting the forces of sea and land. The supplies voted for the navy in consequence of the message were 18 millions sterling, and for the army, including ordnance, nearly 28 millions. The subsidies voted in aid of the military preparations of foreign Powers amounted to no less than 11 millions! The whole expenditure of the year reached the enormous sum of 110 millions. The Duke of Wellington was, of course, the first person looked to in this moment of emergency, and the telegraph recalled him from his embassy at Vienna to take the command forthwith of the British army in the field; and, on the 10th of April, the Prince of Orange resigned his command of the Belgian army, which the King his father conferred upon the Duke.

Louis XVIII. had, as related, reached Lille, where he was surrounded by a very small army or body-guard, which Marshal Marmont commanded, while Marshals Berthier, Macdonald, and Mortier attended in the suite of the fugitive Sovereign. The people of Picardy and Flanders, unlike those of Provence and Dauphiny, evinced a marked fidelity and preference for the Bourbons, receiving Louis XVIII. with the cry of "Vive le Roi" and refusing any reward for their services. Supplies were furnished for the King's cortége and cars and horses were voluntarily placed at their disposal. The peasantry, as well as those of higher degree, uncovered their heads respectfully as his Majesty passed; but the soldiers looked askance, and no exertions of the Marshals could excite the slightest acclamation in favour of the Bourbons, whom they regarded with an evil eye. A tumultuous meeting in the barracks pronounced without hesitation their resolution to oppose the further entrance of the King's troops, and they persistently refused to give up the citadel and ramparts of the fortress to the royal guard. The King, therefore, resolved at once to quit Lille and cross the frontier, which he accordingly did on the 23rd of March. He first went to Dunkirk, and then to Ostend, and was very much urged to cross the sea and take refuge again in England; but he steadily repelled this advice, and sent the Duke de Blacas to request an asylum in the territories of the King of the Netherlands, who assigned for his residence the city of Ghent, where the French royal court established itself for the remainder of the 100 days.

While the Congress of Vienna was passing resolutions, and the combined armies were again preparing to take the field against him, Napoleon continued to delude France, and to deceive himself into the belief that Europe would not be roused to action, and that the coalition against his name and person could never again be reconstructed. He neglected no means, direct or indirect, to induce the Sovereigns to enter into negotiations with him once more. As early as the 1st of April, he addressed a circular to each of them, commencing in the customary style of royal correspondence, "Sir, my brother," and concluding with the strongest protestations of a desire for peace. The prolonged residence in Paris of the Austrian ambassador, Baron Vincent, after the rest of the Corps Diplomatique

had quitted the French capital, was seized upon to give the public reason to credit that there were already some secret relations with the Emperor Francis; but that functionary repelled all Caulaincourt's attempts to open with him official intercourse. The medium of female hands was next attempted. Madame de Souza, a Frenchwoman and mother of General Flahault, and now, *en second nocces*, the wife of the Portuguese ambassador at Paris, tried all her influence over Baron Vincent, but all she could obtain was, that such letters as came through her should be delivered into the Emperor's own hands. In like manner, Queen Hortense, who was at the time in Germany, was directed to avail herself of the friendship with which she had inspired the Czar, to address a letter to him on the subject of negotiations for peace; but she experienced a rather rough reply from the Russian autocrat. "No peace—not even a truce with him," said Alexander. Thus all Napoleon's efforts at getting into personal negotiations with the Allied Sovereigns were ineffectual, and none of M. Caulaincourt's couriers who had been despatched with the circular letters were allowed to reach their destinations. One was stopped at Kehl, another at Mayence, and another near Turin. Convinced at length of the determined hostility of Europe, and that all hope of a pacific arrangement was at an end, there remained no other alternative but to provide with the resources in his hand for all the hazards of a contest.

It was necessary, however, not only to prepare for the exigencies of war, but to conciliate parties in the State, of which, against every principle of the Revolution, he had so marvellously reached the supremacy. These principles had been restrained by the ascendancy of the Empire, but had recovered some life under the short government of the Bourbons. Napoleon must now change his nature, and condescend to flatter the instincts of Liberty, which he had not only stifled, but insulted, during his previous reign. Fouché and Carnot were therefore called to his ministry, and Benjamin Constant to his familiar council. A commission was even formed to frame a new constitution. The first proposal to the Emperor was so democratic, that even in his present necessity he absolutely rejected it. It was followed by another, called "L'Acte Additionnel," which excited such difference of opinion, that Napoleon took Carnot aside, and said to him, "You are a strong-headed man, with sagacious intellect. I have no disguise with you. Let us deliver France, and after that we will arrange everything." From this moment, Carnot made no opposition to the supreme power necessarily placed for the time in the hands of Napoleon, and, such was the charm of the Emperor's conversation and address, that he in like manner succeeded in detaching many of the leading men of talent from his opponents, and winning them over to neutrality at least, if not absolutely to his cause, but L'Acte Additionnel was necessarily conceded.

From the moment that Napoleon entered his old palace of the Tuileries, he seemed to have returned to all his old habits of business, and resumed that extraordinary activity in his military preparations which had been so remarkably his characteristic. He

devoted 16 hours of the day to the ordinary duties of his station, and to the task of reorganising his troops, and collecting stores and military equipments for the approaching war. Unceasing exertions were made to assemble a powerful artillery, which was always an important feature in his elements of war, as it has since become of the first consideration with all armies. The Imperial Guard was re-established, and now comprised 80 battalions of infantry, 50 squadrons of cavalry, artillery, engineers, &c., amounting to a complete army of 40,000 men. Napoleon consulted some of his old comrades upon the policy of fortifying Paris; and Haxo and Lery received directions to put in hand a partial execution of this project. The former, by earthworks and inundations, laid down a *tracé* mounting 700 guns in battery before the Allies arrived the second time before Paris, and the latter presided over commissions at Lyons and other places with exemplary zeal and efficiency. Other engineers were sent in different directions to see that the fortresses were placed in a condition of defence; and the 5 strong passes of the Vosges, the forests of Mormale and d'Argonne, and the defiles of the Jura, were all reconnoitred, and new earthworks thrown up at their gorges, that might offer a stout resistance against the entry of the Allied armies across the eastern frontier. The manufacture of small arms was pushed forward with a degree of activity that had not been known since his abdication, and it now produced about 4,000 muskets a day. Napoleon's mind was wonderfully furnished with the knowledge requisite to carry out these preparations. He required from the manufactories a daily report of their progress in the work; for he knew how much it required to carry out every detail. He also knew, with some approach to exactness, what each arsenal could supply of all effective munitions of war. He writes at this time to the Minister of War: "Vous trouverez dans tel arsenal de vieux fusils et tant de démolitions; mettez-y cent ouvriers et dans huit jours armez moi 500 hommes." He knew likewise the nature of the fortifications of every fortress, and could instruct the engineers respecting the defences of each in a way that astonished the ablest of them.

11. CHAMP DE MAL.

He not only gave prominent commands to the companions of his early triumphs, who came in daily, but he sent lieutenant-generals and officers of every degree with commissions into the provinces to raise free corps; and, to provide still further the means of attack and defence, he reorganised the National Guard throughout the length and breadth of France, but all men beyond the ages of 50 and 60 were set aside for garrisons. By these various expedients he assembled an army, ready for the field, of 217,400 effectives. To each regiment was attached a *depôt*, the united force of which was 146,100 men; and the National Guards, veterans, and *militaires en retraite*, together, constituted an army of reserve of 200,000 additional; so that the standing army of the Empire, collected in less than two months, counted more than half a million of men. It was,

however, necessary to captivate the capital by some overt ceremony that might recall to the Republican party the popular demonstrations of the Revolution, and at the same time excite the military enthusiasm of the people. On the 30th of April, a decree was passed to revive at Paris a great assembly known to the ancient monarchy of France as the "Champ de Mai," to which deputies from all the departments of France should repair to give in their adhesion to, or rejection of, the "Acte Additionnel."* The day originally fixed for this meeting was the 26th of the month, but it did not take place till the 1st of June. Aware how strongly the French nation is influenced by theatrical displays, no pains were spared by the Emperor to render the ceremony as imposing as possible. For above a month, workmen were seen engaged in the preparations. The most glowing descriptions of its intended magnificence were from time to time given to the public through the newspapers. It was to be on a scale recalling the famous assembly of the same name, held on the same spot, in July, 1790. The morning was ushered in by the sound of all the bells of Paris, and on every side drums beat, trumpets sounded, and men, women, and children were seen flocking in crowds to the Champ de Mars. About midday the coronation carriage, drawn by eight horses, containing the Emperor and his brothers Lucien and Jerome, and having a Marshal on horseback, at each window, passed out of the Tuileries, through the Champs Élysées, and across the Pont d'Jéna to the scene of the pageant, where, on one hand, were ranged 25,000 of the Imperial Guard, and, on the other, 25,000 of the National Guard of Paris. Proceeding to the École Militaire, he there descended, and stepped upon the platform of the throne. But the people, who expected the well-known apparition of the martial chief of Imperial history, were astonished to see him "en habit de soie, en toque à plumes, en manteau Impérial." His brothers were clothed in long white tunics, resembling the effeminate sacerdotal costume of antiquity. "From the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step." The great man had sunk into the comedian. In wishing to recall himself to his people as their Sovereign, instead of the general of a hundred battles, he paraded himself before their sight as an impostor and a mountebank. The hat, the coat, the boots of the camp were more characteristic of a Bonaparte than the mediæval garniture of an ancient dynasty. The whisperings of surprise and raillery, as the Emperor took his seat in this guise, almost superseded the acclamation of the crowd. A pyramid, with broad steps, was raised in the centre of the Champ de Mars, with its summit terminated by a platform, supporting a throne. In the

* It had been thought desirable that Napoleon should frame a constitutional act which might satisfy the people that his return to supreme power was not an affair of mere self-glory, but that it had brought with it a new civil institution to the country. It was determined, after much deliberation, that the new constitution should be attached to the old one, so as to possess all the prestige and sanction of the past years of glory and success. Benjamin Constant was the *Redacteur*, and the title of the new grant was "L'Acte additionnel aux constitutions de l'Empire." M. Thiers gives his opinion of it in these words: "La constitution la meilleure et la mieux écrite qu'ait été accordée à la France dans la longue série de ses révolutions."

centre was erected an altar, surmounted by a canopy, and encircled with seats for the clergy, and a grand orchestra for the music opposite. The marshals, the generals, the courtiers, were ranged upon the steps of the throne, which, placed in a semicircle, formed into seats, sufficient for 18,000 persons. This was for the accommodation of the deputies from the 87 departments; and upon it were also introduced, as decorations, the eagles to be distributed to the army on this auspicious occasion. 50,000 men, of all arms, occupied the space between the throne and the altar. A cardinal, two archbishops, and several bishops presided at the ceremony. M. de Barral, archbishop of Tours, performed mass. At the elevation of the host, the whole assembly, Emperor, grand functionaries, soldiers, and citizens, prostrated themselves to the ground! After divine service, the forms of accepting the new constitution were gone through, and Napoleon, rising to swear to his observance of it, spoke with unusual force and expression the well-known address, beginning:—

“Empereur, Consul, Soldat, je tiens tout du peuple. Dans la prospérité, dans l’adversité, sur le champ de bataille, au conseil, sur le trône, dans l’exil, La France a été l’objet unique et constant de mes pensées et de mes actions.” And he concluded thus: “Français, ma volonté est celle du peuple, mes droits sont les siens; mon honneur, ma gloire, mon bonheur, ne peuvent être autre que l’honneur, la gloire, et le bonheur de la France.”

The civil ceremony was concluded with the oath of the Emperor and all the civil functionaries, when Napoleon, doffing his robes, stood in the simple uniform of his ordinary life upon the platform, on which were ranged the eagles which he was to distribute. It was easily seen, at the conclusion of this pompous ceremonial, that its real object was the gratification of the soldiery with these warlike emblems, rather than the establishment of any new guarantees of liberty for the people. Many who were present saw through the tinsel decree, and the estimate of the great solemnity in Paris may be found in the contemporary remark: “Quoi! c’est-la ce qu’on appelle un Champ de Mai? Nous n’avons rien vu de nouveau dans cette solennité annoncée avec tant d’emphase. La Révolution nous à habitués à des pareilles fêtes.” While, however, dissensions, disappointments, and great disquietude pervaded the mass of those who were assembled on this occasion, Napoleon finished the pageant as he should have commenced it, in his natural every-day character. He descended from his throne, and delivered to each deputation of the regiments the sacred standard with his own hands, addressing, with his most winning expression, those stirring words which electrify the breasts of all soldiers. To one he recalled Arcole, to another Marengo, to a third Egypt, to a fourth Austerlitz; and when the Imperial Guard advanced last of all, and shook the welkin in the madness of their adoration, he was sensibly moved as he thus harangued them: “Et vous, Soldats de la Garde Impériale, vous jurez de vous surpasser vous-mêmes dans la campagne qui va s’ouvrir, et de mourir tous plutôt que de souffrir que les étrangers viennent dicter la loi à la patrie.”

12. MURAT TAKES THE FIELD AGAINST THE ALLIES—BATTLE OF TOLENTINO.

But at the moment when the hopes of Napoleon fluctuated between negotiations and preparations for war, an event independent of his will and opposed to his policy precipitated the catastrophe. Murat, King of Naples, distrustful of the Congress of Vienna and afraid of the interest which the Bourbons of Sicily possessed in that assembly, thought that he was sufficiently strong in the love of his subjects, the patriotism of Italy, and the quality of his troops, to retain his throne in spite of all the adverse measures of Great Britain, Austria, and France; and, having become reconciled to his great brother-in-law, he rushed into the field to save his crown, which he conceived the chances of war afforded him better hopes of retaining than all the promises of the Allies. He no sooner heard of Napoleon's safe landing at Cannes, from an Imperial messenger who arrived at Naples on the 4th of March, than, without waiting to learn the result, he declared war on the 15th. As soon as his army was ready to move, he sent his first corps of 12,000 men to Rome, which sudden irruption obliged the Pope to fly to Genoa, while he himself marched away at the head of a corps of 30,000 men to fall upon the Austrians before they could be prepared for resistance. In this way he reached Rimini on the 31st, whence he issued a proclamation to the Italian people calling them to the deliverance of their country and to constitutional liberty, which he promised under the ægis of his sword. On hearing of Murat's outbreak, the Austrian government immediately despatched reinforcements into Italy. General Frimont was sent to take the command at Milan, General Nugent was ordered to cover Tuscany, and General Bianchi to defend Bologna. The Neapolitan King marched boldly against this latter division, and drove them out of Bologna behind the Panaro; and, following up this first success, at once occupied Modena and Ferrara. In the exultation of victory, he thought to cross the Po and seize the iron crown at Milan, and it is probable that a bold step of this kind might have been for the moment successful, and he might even have marched to Napoleon's assistance across the Alps; but, intent on his own partial interests, he parleyed with Lord William Bentinck, who naturally demanded his right to take the offensive, and more especially how he could justify his assumption of the style of King of Italy. Impatient at being schooled he fell back, and tried to force a passage at Occhiobello on the 8th of April, eventually making his way southward by Cesena and Rimini. His other column, checked by the attitude of Nugent, was surprised and shut up in Florence, unable for the time to pass the Apennines. This untoward event disconcerted Murat; for, as might have been expected, the Italians had not responded to the proclamation by joining his intrusive standard, and he very soon perceived that the Austrians were assembling too strong for him. He accordingly resolved to fall back

again towards his own frontier, and he ordered the troops in Florence to join him at Ancona by way of Arezzo and San Sepolcro. Murat himself, pursued by Count Neipperg, arrived on the 30th of April at Macerata, when he found his Florence division at the place and hour he had appointed.

Murat had selected Macerata for his battle-field; and, as it commanded the point of junction of the two divisions of Bianchi and Neipperg, he resolved to beat them in succession before they could unite. Accordingly, he advanced against Bianchi in person on the 2nd of May, at the head of 16,000 men, dispersed the Austrian advance, whom he obliged to retire to Tolentino, and immediately sent orders to his best general, Carascosa, to advance against Neipperg with the 11,000 men of which his division was composed.

The morning of the 3rd broke heavily over Tolentino with a dense fog, under cover of which and of the darkness of night Bianchi had reinforced his army unknown to King Joachim, who was already on horseback, prepared to follow up his victory of the previous day, when the curtain lifted and showed 25,000 or 30,000 bayonets occupying two steep spurs of the mountains. Murat, astounded, dared not order an attack; and Bianchi, seeing his indecision, advanced upon him. In a moment he was again the king, the general, and the soldier of Imperial fortune. He led forward his battalions, charged at the head of his squadrons, broke the Austrian squares, captured their batteries, and dispersed their cavalry, until the prudent Bianchi recalled his troops, and fell back to his strong position of the morning. King Joachim, on this, despatched orders to Carascosa to send him up fresh troops, which he did; but this weakened him so much that, when attacked by Count Neipperg, he was obliged to yield his position. Fresh reinforcements under General Maio now came upon the field; but at the same time couriers arrived from Naples announcing a rising in the Calabrias in aid of the Bourbon king, and the irruption of Nugent with 12,000 Austrians, through the defile of Antrodoco into the Abruzzi. The enemy was now, therefore, between him and his capital, which was threatened as well from Capua as from Salerno. King Joachim accordingly abandoned a useless struggle, and resolved to fly at once to the rescue of his family. He therefore called in Carascosa, but remained awhile with him to dispute, in his character of hero, the advance of the Austrians through the defiles of Macerata. Leaving, however, Carascosa in command, he quitted his army in the night, and reached, by private paths and almost alone, the royal palace of Caserta. Here he learned that the garrison of Capua had revolted from him, and that King Ferdinand was actually about to return to the kingdom of his fathers. He mounted a fresh horse, and galloped into Naples, where he embraced, once more and for the last time, his wife and children, saying, with great truth, "*Madame, ne vous étonnez de me voir vivant, car j'ai fait tout ce que j'ai pu pour mourir.*" He found, however, that the British ship of war "*Tremendous*," 74, Captain Campbell, had arrived in the bay, and

had threatened to bombard the city. There was, therefore, not a single moment to be lost, and it was necessary for him to fly for his life. He had no army and no party in his favour, and therefore he at once quitted his queen and his palace in the early morning light, and took his way alone to the little harbour of Pozzuolo, whence a fisherman's boat conveyed him to the isle of Ischia. Here a merchant vessel, provided by the care of his friends, received him and carried him to the French coast, where he thought to unite his fortunes again with those of Napoleon.

The sight of the British line-of-battle ship and the threat of the British captain threw the city of Naples into open insurrection, and they rushed with furious cries to the palace, which was still occupied by the Queen, Cardinal Fesch, and the Princess Pauline Borghese. The Prince Cariati was therefore despatched to the British captain, with the offer of an immediate surrender of all the Neapolitan ships of war, the arsenal, and the naval stores, on condition that a vessel should be placed at the disposal of the Queen, for the reception of her family and property. Accordingly, the "Tremendous" received Madame Murat with all her family and suite on board, and sailed for Trieste, thus clearing the way for the Admiral Sir Edward Pellew to bring back the legitimate king and his family to Naples. The two royal families are said to have passed each other in the night, on board the two respective British vessels. M. Thiers thinks proper to charge the British with a violation of the terms granted to the sister of Napoleon; but she had been spared the certain danger which menaced her from the population over whom she had reigned, and certainly could have had no claim upon any of the legitimate authorities, but for her life.

13. THE DUCHESS D'ANGOULÊME DRIVEN FROM BORDEAUX.

The march of Napoleon to Paris had been so rapid that the provinces scarcely knew of his having landed, before they were apprised that the Imperial government had displaced the royal one, and that Louis XVIII. had fled out of France. The Duke and Duchess of Angoulême were at Bordeaux in the midst of fêtes given to the daughter of Louis XVI. on the occasion of her visit of gratitude to the first city that had recognised the Bourbon cause. The enthusiasm of its inhabitants had been roused to the highest pitch on the 12th of March, when the oriflamme was first hoisted on its towers and steeples. In the midst of the excitement, in which the troops under the command of General Decaen participated, a courier of Macdonald's arrived in the city from Lyons with the news, and at the same time the Duc de Guiche brought to the Duc d'Angoulême an order from the King that he should depart without a moment's delay to unite with Marshal Massena, and act against the intrusive Emperor on the banks of the Rhone. The Prince therefore secretly quitted Bordeaux for Nismes, in the night of the 9-10th of March, before the evil reports had obtained any

wide circulation; but his Duchess remained, to maintain by her presence the fidelity of the city and of the south of France. She assembled around her the superior military officers, and fearlessly announced the services expected by the King from them in the present emergency. The generals and colonels did not hesitate to answer for their troops as for themselves; and indeed for some time the enthusiasm of the people for the royal cause suppressed any wavering spirit in this army. It was thought prudent to keep the soldiers continually employed, so that constant occupation might prevent their loyalty from cooling; accordingly, reviews and fêtes were incessant, and the daughter of kings, whom deepseated grief for the horrors she had witnessed in her youth had hitherto restrained from public demonstrations, now mounted her horse, and galloped at the head of the troops in a manner that astonished those who saw her for the first time in the character of a heroine, and had expected very different things from one previously regarded as rather a nun or a saint. Such was now the ardour of her character and her chivalrous bearing, that 15,000 national guards in that city and department declared for her, and even the regiments of the line caught the generous flame, and seemed inclined to support the royal cause.

On the 26th of March a rumour, industriously spread by the secret partisans of Napoleon, induced the army to apprehend that they were suspected by the King's party, and were about to be disarmed. At a grand review held by General Decaen to clear up these doubts, symptoms of disaffection were manifested; for a regiment which was ordered to march to Blaye, where a sedition had broken out in the garrison, refused to obey. A few days later, on the 29th, General Clausel, sent by Napoleon from Paris, arrived at the gate of the city with 200 men and 80 dragoons. A warrior made for such an enterprise, he knew, from long experience of revolutions and war, what can be done by audacity and promptitude; and that a handful of men, compact and resolute, were more than a match for a population of 100,000 inhabitants, with an army of 10,000 hesitating and ill-affected ill-cemented forces. Preceded by proclamations and secret emissaries, he advanced to force the bridge over the Dordogne, where he was encountered by Decaen with a small body, who for a moment checked his advance; but to his surprise Decaen saw that the Fort de Blaye, at the confluence of the Gironde and Dordogne, had hoisted the tricolour. M. de Martignac, whose courage was equal to his eloquence, upon this demanded a conference with Clausel at the bridge, who apprised him that the royalist cause was utterly undermined in Bordeaux, and that, whatever might be the appearance on the surface, the troops were all for the Emperor, that correspondence between him and them already existed by signals, and that he was prepared to enter the city. The Duchess, with all the spirit of her grandmother, Maria Theresa, immediately repaired to the *caserne* of Château Trompette, descended from her carriage and walked into the midst of the soldiers of the line, whom, with a tone of authority and dignity, she asked

the short simple question, "Êtes-vous disposés à séconder la garde nationale dans les efforts qu'elle veut faire pour défendre Bordeaux contre ceux qui l'attaquent? Répondez franchement." The eyes of the soldiery were seen to be turned upon the ground; none dared to look up, and not a sound escaped their lips. A few words more could only obtain from them the assurance: "Nous ne souffrirons pas qu'on vous fasse du mal. Nous vous défendrons: mais nous ne nous battons contre nos frères." At this the Duchess exclaimed with vehemence, "Il ne s'agit pas de moi, mais du service du roi; voulez-vous le servir?" From the one barrack she went to another and another, in which last was quartered the 5th regiment of the line. "Eh quoi," said she, "est-ce bien au régiment qui porte le nom d'Angoulême que je parle? Moi que vous nommiez votre princesse. Ne me reconnaissez-vous plus?" But the soldiers remained silent, unmoved, inaccessible alike to pity or generosity. "Oh Heaven!" she at length exclaimed, "it is too much. I am myself French; but I keep my oath, and believe in honour." Then turning round she said: "Vous n'êtes plus Français. Allez! retirez-vous." When she returned to the palace, the national guard and the people besought her that they might be led against the barracks. With the same calm demeanour that she had evinced towards the soldiers she commanded silence, and requested that they would show her one last proof of their affection. This, of course, they readily conceded. She had, she told them, seen the troops, but that neither her presence, her voice, nor her reproaches could recall them to their duty, and that it would, under those circumstances, be useless to contend any longer; but she thanked them for their attachment to the King, and told them that they had done all that could be required to satisfy honour. She therefore took on herself to command that they should lay down their arms. The whole scene was like one in Shakspeare, where the two armies are represented on the same small stage; for within ear-shot, on the two opposite banks of the river, stood the soldiers joining in the enthusiastic cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" "Vive Madame!" So strong were the passions of the contending factions, that they actually commenced a brisk fusillade from the opposite sides of the quay, and some of the national guard even turned their arms against their own fellows who were suspected of Bonapartist opinions. On the 1st of April the Duchess quitted Bordeaux at 8 in the evening, escorted by mounted national guards, and repaired to Pauilhac, where she embarked at daybreak on board the British ship "Wanderer," 20, Captain Dovers, who carried her to Spain, where she was offered a hospitable reception by the King; but she preferred to continue her course to England, whence she repaired to join Louis XVIII. at Ghent.

14. THE DUKE D'ANGOULÊME, MADE PRISONER, IS SENT TO SPAIN — THE DUKE DE BOURBON DRIVEN OUT OF LA VENDÉE.

The Duke d'Angoulême, at the same time, evinced in another part of the south the bearing of a soldier, though with no better fortune. This Prince had summoned to his side all the regiments still faithful, or supposed to be so, in the valley of the Rhone, and had concentrated about 12,000 men at Sisteron and Pont St. Esprit. The Duke visited Toulon and Marseilles, where he was received with so much transport that he was led to entertain a hope of gaining the marine population of France to the royal side. General Ernouf and the Marshal Prince of Essling aided him with all their influence, but the murrain spread around them so rapidly that on the 4th of April the Duke learned that Nismes and Montpellier had declared for the Emperor, and that Generals Brielle and Pelissier had been arrested by their own troops and forced to assume the tricolour. By this defection both flanks of the Duke's army were uncovered and exposed, and, hearing that Grouchy was advancing with a powerful force against his post, he ordered his troops to fall back behind the Durance. The Prince had arrived at Montelimart on the 13th, when he heard that the Imperialists from Nismes had advanced and taken possession of Pont St. Esprit, and he was therefore shut up with an inferior force between the Alps and the Rhone and Drôme. The only escape left was by the valley of Aspres, where he could unite with General Ernouf and his Provençaux; but the despair of the royal cause was now so complete that he was recommended to open negotiations with the general commanding. The convention that ensued, called De la Palud, was refused ratification by Grouchy, and the Duke remained a prisoner; but the Emperor, on the matter being referred to him, immediately directed by telegraph, "Que vous donniez des ordres pour que le Duc d'Angoulême soit conduit à Cette, où il sera embarqué." Here he got on board a Swedish vessel on the 18th of April, and was carried to Barcelona. Immediately Marshal Massena learned the submission of the Duke d'Angoulême, he raised the tricolour at Toulon and Marseilles. Napoleon was delighted to get rid so easily of the Bourbon Princes, who had now all succumbed, and whom he rather regarded as troublesome insects than formidable rivals: but to mark the upper hopelessness of the royalist cause, rather than from any great military merit in the apprehension of the Bourbon Prince, he forthwith nominated Grouchy a Marshal of the Empire; and it was under this officer, bearing the last bâton of Napoleon's creation, that the last shot was fired and the last gun sacrificed in the Imperial cause, amidst the denunciations and execrations of the Imperial troops, who loudly insisted that it was entirely the fault of the last Marshal that his master's last battle had been lost.

Before the King quitted the capital he had sent the Duke de

Bourbon into La Vendée, in the hope of reanimating a feeling for the royal cause in that province, and this Prince had already arrived at Angers on the 14th of March. Of the ancient chiefs of La Vendée there still survived MM. d'Autichamp, de Suzannet, de Sapinaud, Dandigné, and Auguste Laroche-Jacquelin; who, notwithstanding all they had suffered in the royal cause, were still affectionately attached to the white cockade, and still commanded influence in the provinces. These chiefs agreed that on the 15th of May the tocsin should be sounded everywhere simultaneously. Arms, ammunition, and money were again supplied from England, and they calculated on raising 56,000 men in the various departments of the province. Napoleon lost no time in sending down General Morand to keep watch upon the proceedings of these royalists, and on his report he despatched General Travot with some regiments of the line. When the insurrection broke out, on the 15th, the brigades Brayer and Corbineau were hastened to Poitiers and Angers, and a corps of 12,000 men was collected under General Lamarque. Laroche-Jacquelin, Sapinaud, and de Suzannet were surprised on the night of the 26th near Aizenai, and their followers totally dispersed. The rapidity of the Emperor's proceedings completely stopped the Duke of Bourbon's projects, and that Prince embarked on board an English vessel at Paimbœuf and sailed away for Spain; but the insurrection was not quelled, blood was still shed ineffectually and without result to either party at St. Gilles and Mathes, where, on the 4th of June, fell Laroche-Jacquelin, another member of the illustrious family that had given such proofs of their fidelity, and the last martyr to the cause of the Bourbons.

15. BOTH ARMIES MUSTER THEIR FORCES.

After a new alliance had been concluded amongst the Sovereigns at Vienna on the 25th of March, and before the Congress separated, the Duke of Wellington set off for England, and reached Brussels on the 5th of April, where he found Lord Hill in harness, who had been despatched by the British cabinet on the 29th of March to counsel the Prince of Orange, and prevent any injury to the common cause from a premature collision with the French across the border. Some British and Hanoverian troops, who were with the Prince of Orange's army, were withdrawn from Tournay towards Brussels, and communications opened with the Prussian forces on the Rhine, commanded by Kleist, in the absence of Blücher. Application was made by the Duke on the 16th to the Prince Regent of Portugal, that Marshal Beresford, with the élite of their army, should be sent up to join his standard; but his request failed through the blunders of the negotiators, and the troops of that nation did not take any part in the Waterloo campaign. Towards the end of May 220,000 British, Prussians, Saxons, Belgians, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers were, however, concentrated in the Low Countries; of which 92,000 were under Wellington, and 117,000

under Blücher.* The Bavarian, Baden, and Würtemberg troops were assembled in the Black Forest; the Austrian army was in full march to cross the Rhine; and the Russians were coming up in hot haste through Franconia and Saxony. On the other hand, at the same period, Napoleon had 180,000 men armed and equipped ready for the field, of which some were on the Rhine under General Rapp, some in La Vendée under Lamarque, some at BÉfort under Lecourbe, some on the Var under Brune, some in the Pyrenees under Decaen; but 122,370 infantry, 24,750 cavalry, and 7,520 artillery, with 296 pieces of cannon, were, according to a French return, collected to act under his own immediate orders on the northern frontier of France. These he now assembled between Maubeuge and Philippeville, and divided into five *corps-d'armée*. The first, consisting of 25,640 men, was commanded by Drouet Count d'Erlon, and was stationed at Lille; the second, of 30,840, by Reille at Valenciennes; the third, of 24,250, by Vandamme at Mezières; the fourth, of 17,700, by Gerard at Metz; and the fifth, of 17,840, by Lobau. There were, besides, two divisions of the Guard under Friant and Morand. Thus the right wing counted 16,000 men on the side of Philippeville, the centre 60,000 at Beaumont, and the left 40,000 near Maubeuge. Wellington's army was cantoned from the Scheldt to the Dyle; Hill commanding the right at Ath, and the Prince of Orange the left at Braine-le-Comte and Nivelles. Blücher took post behind the Sambre and Meuse; his right at Charleroi, his centre at Namur, and his left at Liége. The Allied army occupied a tract of country 75 miles long by 20 miles deep, but the French army was concentrated in a space that did not exceed 4 square miles. The plan of campaign intended to be adopted by the Allies was, of course, to march from all sides on Paris; the British and Prussians from Mons and Namur, the Austrians and Russians from BÉfort and Hunningen: but for this operation it was necessary to have time to close up all the contingents that were coming up. Wellington's head-quarters were at Brussels, and his immediate army mustered on the 16th of June 78,500 men; but it was "a green army," that is, a force composed of different nations. The Belgian levies were raw troops, and not to be depended upon for either their discipline or their loyalty; but round his standard were collected several of his old Peninsular regiments of whom he had 12,000 cavalry and 180 guns, admirably equipped; and of his old comrades, Picton, Hill, Cole, Clinton, Kempt, Packe, and Ponsonby had come to renew service under their old chief. Blücher's head-quarters were at Namur, and his army mustered 110,000 veterans of one nation, inspired with a bitter hatred against the enemy, and filled with a well-founded confidence in their gallant commander.

* Brialmont and others. The apparent discrepancy of some of these numbers may be reconciled by allowing for the difference between "returns" on paper and the troops actually in the field. It is the most difficult thing in the world to determine correctly the number of combatants in any military operation.

16. NAPOLEON QUITS PARIS AND FALLS UPON THE PRUSSIAN AND BRITISH.

Napoleon meditated very gravely the plan by which he should oppose the hosts advancing on every side to destroy him. It was open to him to make the war on his part defensive or offensive. The former would require that his works around Paris should be so far advanced as to turn the capital into a vast entrenched camp; and he calculated that, by thus delaying operations till the middle of August, he should be enabled, by the exertions making throughout France in his support, to bring 240,000 men into the field for the protection of Paris thus fortified. But this would be to deliver over to the enemy in the meantime three fourths of France, to bring him armed to the very gate of his capital, and thus to alienate the population of the provinces which he abandoned, to the discouragement of his troops. The alternative of an offensive campaign was to rush into the field before the several Allied armies could assemble or take up their positions. This had the disadvantage of precipitating hostilities before his own preparations were completed, but he desired above all to drive the British out of the field. The two main columns of attack threatening France were marching upon lines 100 leagues apart, and even that composed of the British and Prussians was not so concentrated but that he might succeed in forcing himself between the two armies, and fight and beat them in detail as he had succeeded in the previous year against the Prussians and Austrians. Moreover, if he could obtain ever so slight an advantage over Wellington it would destroy the confidence of the other Powers in the stability and might of England. He had reason also to know that, in the very heart of the British army, the Belgian troops were disposed to fraternise with the French soldiers, with whom they had long served under his eagles. He hoped to reap some fruit from this discordance of feeling in the English army, and if he could separate the British and Prussians, he might overcome each in succession and drive them out of the circle; he could then return and measure his strength with all his disposable forces against the Austrians and Russians, who were only at this time on their march to the French frontier. "The plan of anticipating the several armies and dealing with them singly," he says, in the *Mémoires de Napoléon*, "was alone in conformity with the genius of the nation and with the spirit and principles of the war in which he was engaged." Marshal Soult, whom he had adopted to be his Major-General, gave his voice for delay, but the Emperor rejected his counsel and followed his own.

Napoleon had already early in June directed the initial movements of his several detached *corps-d'armée*. He had, on the 7th, ordered Gerard with the 4th corps to advance with as much secrecy as possible from Metz to Philippeville. Two days later (that is, on the 9th), D'Erlon had orders to move forward with the same secrecy from Lille to Valenciennes, whence General Reille was to march out to

Maubeuge, and at the same time Vandamme at Mezières was to cross the frontier at Hainault and close up in the circle. It is said (although no British accounts notice the movement) that, in order to deceive the Duke of Wellington, who, he thought, would be alarmed by any movement that might threaten him from the seaward, he had ordered bodies of the national guard to march out of Dunkirk along the shores of West Flanders.

The Emperor himself, having made his political arrangements, suddenly quitted Paris at half-past 3 on the morning of the 12th of June, and, stopping a few hours at Soissons, arrived on the 13th at Avesnes, where he found himself in the midst of his guard, who received him with all their wonted acclamations. His new Major-General Soult had anticipated his arrival at the army by a few days, in which he had issued a proclamation more turgid and bombastic than heretofore, and which was ludicrously antithetical to that which he had issued two months previously as Minister of War to the King. On the 14th the Imperial head-quarters were removed to Beaumont, but as yet Napoleon's plans were as little known to his own officers as to the enemy. The movements he had directed had been accomplished to his satisfaction; and the nature of the country, which is here much covered with wood, had screened them from observation by the Allies. It has been made a grave charge against both Wellington and Blücher, that they were in complete ignorance of the whereabouts of the French army, and of the arrival of the Emperor. We have, however, the authority of a memorandum of the Duke himself, that "he had been fully informed of the augmentation of the enemy's force on the frontier, and of the arrival of Bonaparte at the army;" and there is not the least reason to suppose that the Duke was occupied with apprehensions of being cut off from Amsterdam (1), as M. Thiers would insinuate, and that in consequence he had not his eye sufficiently intent on the ground which intervened between himself and Blücher, upon which Napoleon now directed his attack. The evening of the 14th brought in the account that Lieut.-General Bourmont with Colonels Clouet and Villontreys had deserted to the Allies. This rendered some changes in the Emperor's dispositions necessary, lest the information they could have carried with them should have jeopardied the success of his plans; but, as he had correct information of the disposition of the forces of his adversaries, he had no difficulty in giving out new and precise orders for an advance forward at early morning of the 15th, so that before daylight all the French infantry was already in motion, except the *corps-d'armée* of Vandamme, which did not march till 6. The several columns were preceded by detachments of light cavalry, who the same day attacked and overthrew the outposts of General Ziethen's Prussian corps at Thuin, and General Pajol entered Charleroi about 10. General Rogniat, who accompanied this advance, with a few engineers, threw himself with great activity on the bridge across the Sambre, and prevented its destruction. Napoleon, impatient at what he thought the tardy advance of his infantry, put himself at the head

of 4 squadrons of his horse-guard and entered that town at the same moment as Pajol. Gerard moved so rapidly on the bridge of Châtelet that he took some hundreds of men prisoners. Reille with the 2nd corps came upon the enemy at Mortigny le Tilleul, and having taken some hundred prisoners, pushed on rapidly to Marchiennes, where he secured the bridge across the Sambre. D'Erlon, marching up from Solre, had no difficulty in passing the upper river, where the stream was no obstacle. Marshal Grouchy, who had just come to the front with the 5th corps, marched forward to Gilly, while the 2nd corps pushed forward to Gosselies, at which place Marshal Ney joined the army in the midst of the conflict, and was directed by the Emperor to assume the command of his entire left wing. The whole French army was firmly established beyond the Sambre that same evening, with the Imperial headquarters at Charleroi. The artillery had availed themselves of the bridges at Charleroi, Marchiennes, and Le Châtelet, and the cavalry had crossed by the fords between Thuin and Lobbes, so that the outposts were established the same night near Sombreffe and in the direction of Namur. Field-Marshal Blücher was not so much taken by surprise as he was astonished at the vigour of the attack; but the Prussians everywhere retired before the enemy in perfect order, and directions were issued for the immediate concentration of the army about Fleurus and Ligny.

It has been asserted over and over again by the French, that the Allied Generals were in ignorance of the movements of Napoleon, and some have gone so far as to particularise that this was entirely owing to some treachery on the part of Fouché, who kept them purposely misinformed; but Wellington himself denied that either he or any of his officers ever trusted to information sent by the Duke of Otranto. If the Allied Generals were indeed taken by surprise by the sudden irruption of Napoleon on the morning of the 15th, it has been remarked by high authority "that they were at all events well prepared for such a contingency, happen when it might." *

General Dornberg, who commanded a German division at Mons, had apprised the English Commander-in-chief at midnight, before the passage of the Sambre commenced, "that he had no enemy left in his front:" but the first notice of the actual crossing of the river came to Wellington as he sat down to a hasty repast at 3 in the afternoon of the 15th, and he immediately sent orders "for the assembling of his whole army to its left;" directing the troops to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice, while he waited with great good sense and prudence to see whether the next movement of Napoleon would be on Mons or Fleurus, since it was of course uncertain whether the Emperor would select the British or the Prussians for his first antagonists. Such was the calmness of his mind under danger, that, as if nothing had happened, he went to the famous ball given by the Duchess of Richmond at Brussels that same evening, and "the sound of revelry by night" has been rendered a classic prelude to the ensuing battle.

* Jomini.

A second courier reached Brussels at 7 the same evening, bringing information from Blücher himself which satisfied Wellington as to the future direction of Napoleon's march, so that, before he went to the ball, the cavalry and all the regiments left within the city were ordered to march out of Brussels at 4 in the morning, by the roads leading to Enghien and Nivelles. Quatre Bras, more to the left than either of these two places, had been given to all the scattered divisions of the British army that lay more away to the right as their point of convergence, for at this point the great *chaussées* leading to Namur and Brussels unite and cross. Wellington was on horseback early in the morning, and at the trysting-place before 11 o'clock. Having reconnoitred the enemy and ascertained the success of his movements, he immediately rode to Frasnes, where he arrived at 1 o'clock, to assure Blücher in person that he and his army were on the alert and ready to assist him, if requisite, in the attack which it was now evident would be made upon the Prussian army, and he then set off again to rejoin his own army at Quatre Bras, which he reached at 4 in the afternoon. A characteristic anecdote is related of Wellington on this occasion. After parting from Blücher at the windmill of Bry, he met General Gneisenau, and ventured to point out to him that the force collected at the extreme right of the position appeared scarcely sufficient for its defence. The chief of the staff happened to be gifted with a considerable share of self-sufficiency, and treated the English General's criticism with indifference. When, however, the Prussian Quarter-master-General rode away, Wellington, turning to Hardinge, the British Commissioner with Blücher, said, "I fear your fellows will get well thrashed there when the French advance;" and the event justified his sagacity. This opening of the campaign by Napoleon was one of those admirable combinations so beautiful when successful, but, at the same time, so easily disordered and consequently so difficult to carry into effect. "Nine corps of infantry and cavalry which had been stationed between Lisle and Metz were so admirably handled, and their marches so justly calculated, that they had all arrived simultaneously before Charleroi at the same moment of time with the Guard, whose starting-point was Paris." *

17. BATTLES OF LIGNY AND QUATRE BRAS.

Blücher had collected all his army, except Bülow's corps (which had not come up from the neighbourhood of Liège), upon ground about St. Amand and Bry, occupying Ligny and its enclosures with four battalions. His left wing rested on the heights

* It is hardly worth while to discuss probabilities; but it has been stated that, if Napoleon's orders had been obeyed to the letter, he would have been in possession of the important strategic points of Sombreffe and Quatre Bras on the evening of the 15th, which would have hindered the march of the Prussians from Namur, and would have prevented the British from coming up to their aid from Brussels. From the Duke's memorandum it would appear that Wellington, in Napoleon's place, would have turned all the rivers by their sources, and advanced against Mont St. Jean from Halle by the road from Mons to Bruxelles.

of Pontovieux and Sombrefe, thus standing across the *chaussée* leading from Namur through Fleurus. A brook called the Ligny-bach ran in front of the entire position. Blücher had been apprised by Ziethen, who was the first attacked on the 14th, of the advance of the French army against himself in force, and had forthwith ordered the concentration of his troops, who arrived in position in the forenoon of the 16th. His force in position counted 84,000 men, of whom 12,000 were cavalry, with a very large proportion of guns. If Napoleon then had acted with the promptitude and vigour of former days, he might on the morning of the 16th have been at Ligny before the Prussian corps had reached and occupied this position; but it has been explained that his strategic point being without question Quatre Bras, it would not have been prudent in him to have rushed into a fight before Ney's cannon could be heard making his concurrent attack on the left. Ney had a corps of 42,000 men under his command, and had received his orders, both verbally and through the Major-General, that he should advance with the whole left wing at early morning; but he had a considerable round to make to reach Quatre Bras, because it was farther from head-quarters than Ligny; and indeed, on reaching Frasnes, he had felt the enemy before he had half collected together his attacking force. He was perhaps as little like his former self as his master is thought to have been; for, leaving there the division Bachelu and the cavalry of Piré under Lefévre-Desnouettes to watch the enemy, he rode back to Charleroi to obtain further instructions!

The clock in the church tower of St. Amand struck half-past 2 just as Ney's guns first boomed from the side of Quatre Bras, and instantly three cannon shots fired in quick but measured succession from near Fleurus signalled General Vandamme to engage. The brigade Lefol immediately marched against St. Amand with drums beating and colours flying, unchecked by the fierce fire of the Prussian battalions in the village. The leading subdivisions dashed into the gardens and enclosures that surround it and engaged their enemies at short range, which compelled the Prussian defenders, after a brief but vigorous resistance, to give way. General Steinmetz, who commanded them, sent for assistance, and rallying his men, assailed the French in the village in his turn, and was enabled by the aid of some fresh battalions to reoccupy a great portion of it; but Vandamme now sent down the brigades Berthezene and Girard, upon whom the Prussian fire opened so vigorously that they broke their formation and were withdrawing, when Vandamme's guns covered them so well that the conflict became fearful, and raged still more furiously when Blücher, seeing the condition of things, despatched to the recovery of the village the whole division of Pirch, with 3 brigades of cavalry under Jürgass. The fight now extended along the brookside to the hamlets called Hameau St. Amand and St. Amand la Haye. Jürgass carried his cavalry to the open ground about Weguelee, and tried to act upon the flank of the infantry; but

Daumont's division of French horse came to the opposite side of the brook, and these two forces checked one another. The struggle soon indeed became so keen, that every gun and every battalion was employed. Girard fell mortally wounded, as well as two brigadier-generals; and both Blücher and Vandamme might be seen rousing the passions of their men by their gestures and by stimulating words.

In the same interval Gerard, with the divisions Vichery and Péchaux, was attacking Ligny, which was defended by 9,000 Prussians with 32 guns, under the command of Generals Jagon and Henekel. But, as Thielmann's entire corps stood across the great *chaussée* leading up from Gembloux almost at right angles to Gerard's advance, the division Heulot and a strong force of cavalry were formed across the road *en potence* to the attack, in order to prevent any interruption from that side. The 4th corps advanced in three columns by the two extremities and centre of the village at the same time, but these were united by one long street, down which Prussian batteries plied on each hand and the leading masses of the French quailed as soon as they came within their reach. The French guns were brought forward to silence those of the Prussians, and some shells alighting on the thatch of the stone cottages soon put the whole place in a blaze; but the fight continued in the midst of the fire. Gerard struggled hard to force his way through; and at length he did reach the château, and obtained possession of that and the portion of the village on the French side of the brook. The Prussian General Krafft, however, now came down with the division Langen and more guns, and the combat became deadly in the confined space amidst the houses, out of which all the endeavours of the French could not force the Prussians. Grouchy on the right at last succeeded in crossing the Ligny rivulet, and in obtaining ground from some of Thielmann's corps at Borgnée and Batalre, but upon his receiving orders from the Emperor to send away Subervie's cavalry to assist Vandamme, the new Marshal's advance was brought to a stand.

The Imperial Guard, young and old, horse, foot, and artillery, had been formed in one dense column near Fleurus; the entire Young Guard and Milhaud's cuirassiers had, however, been marched away to aid Vandamme at St. Amand. But now meditating a formidable attack against the Prussian centre, Napoleon ordered all the collected mass of the Imperial Guard, counting 18,000 infantry, 4,800 cavalry, and 100 guns, to move away from Fleurus in a body to the right. They were already in full march, when they were suddenly halted and the attack suspended, in consequence of a report sent in by Vandamme that a large British force was advancing from the left to lend support to Blücher. The mistake arose thus. The Emperor, as soon as he found that the resistance he experienced at Ligny was more than he expected, had sent an order to Count d'Erlon, which reached him at Frasnes, to come up immediately to his assistance: but, instead of marching upon Fleurus and St. Amand

direct, the Count took the old Roman road that led away to the north; and it was the blink accompanying his march that occasioned the alarm which had induced Vandamme to send notice that he believed that he saw a portion of the British army coming up to aid the enemy in the attack against him, and caused Napoleon to countermand his Guard, who in consequence remained upon their arms, awaiting further orders, which were not given till near 7 in the evening.

Ney, as soon as he had received his orders and got his troops together, advanced with his usual impetuosity against the Allies; and, as stated, first fell upon the Belgian division Perponcher in position at Quatre Bras, about 2 o'clock. The Prince of Orange, who had come upon the ground, received Ney's attack with 7,312 men, consisting of the brigades of Saxe-Weimar and Bylandt, with 16 pieces of artillery. Physical force, however, prevailed, and the Belgians were driven back into the Bois de Bossu: but, at this instant of time, Picton's English division came up with 7,282 combatants, making a gross total of 16,000 men and 30 guns, who were soon followed by 6,658 Brunswickers and Germans. Foy's division, supported by a regiment of *chasseurs à cheval*, fell vigorously upon the newly arrived British; and Ney, who was pushing his advantage at this crisis, resolved, notwithstanding the strength of his adversary, to assume the offensive. It was about 4 o'clock, when Wellington, bringing up with him Van Merlen's brigade of cavalry, came upon the field and took the command. Ney, seeing the accumulation of enemies suddenly opposed to him, changed his mind and awaited an attack, sending urgent and imperative orders to Count d'Erlon, who had been attached to his command in the morning, to bring up his *corps-d'armée*: and he could not now do without them; for English discipline and valour soon proved superior to every effort that he could make, and in all of his attacks he had been already roughly repelled. The *chasseurs de Piré* were now launched against the Belgian cavalry, who could not be brought to face the enemy, although led forward by their Prince in person, and fled with such precipitation that they nearly swept away the Duke and his staff. The Brunswick hussars however stood firm and renewed the fight, which gave time to the British brigades of Kempt and Packe to advance and check the enemy. It was now about 6 o'clock when Ney received the order from Napoleon, dated half-past 3 o'clock, which ended thus: "L'armée prussienne est perdue si vous agissez vigoureusement. Le sort de la France est entre vos mains." At the same moment arrived General Delcambre, chief of the staff to Count d'Erlon, to report that the latter had received a pencil order from the Emperor to move immediately to aid the attack on Ligny! Ney was, however, under the circumstances, indisposed to part with the Count's assistance, and, notwithstanding the Emperor's orders, insisted on his return to his command, and sent back an order to this effect by the general. Indeed he was in somewhat of a strait how to carry out the Emperor's urgent request and yet retain a reserve; for at the moment he could

only order the cavalry brigades of Valmy and Piré to charge the British infantry. Kellermann's cuirassiers, nevertheless, advanced with 800 sabres and fell upon the British regiments, who were compelled to form squares in haste, and soon presented such a serried line of glittering bayonets as neither lancer nor cuirassier could ever hope to penetrate. It was at this moment, and under these circumstances, that the first British division, commanded by Generals Cook and Maitland, came upon the ground from Enghien, after a march of fifteen hours. The native courage of the Guards kindled at sight of the enemy, and as soon as they got into line they charged Prince Jerome's division, which held the wood of Bossu with 8,000 combatants, but notwithstanding all their endeavours the British infantry could not get beyond the wood, within which they remained hemmed till dark. The French cavalry, however, having been most severely treated in their repeated efforts to break through Picton's division, were now dispersed and galloping wildly across the plain; and M. Thiers relates that General Kellermann, who had been dismounted, was seen without his hat, carried along in his flight by holding on to the bridles of two dragoons! It was clearly high time for Ney to bring up the division of Lefébvre-Desnouettes to cover the escape of the flying horsemen. The contest continued for three hours longer, while Ney still looked in vain for the arrival of D'Erlon's division; but he had now adopted the defensive and withdrawn his line, retiring slowly and firmly behind a crowd of skirmishers, himself and his staff following on horseback in their rear, until at 9 o'clock the entire corps entered their bivouac at Frasnes for the night. The veteran *brave des braves* had sought death on every side, and, seeing darkness set in upon his retreat, was heard to exclaim, boiling over with rage: "Voilà ces boulets, je les voudrais tous avoir dans le ventre."

Colonel Masvitz, who had been ordered by Blücher to feel his way to the British army, crossed the eccentric path of Drouet towards Ligny, which has been noticed above, and thus learned authoritatively that it was the first French *corps-d'armée*, and not a British division, which was thus advancing to the rear of the Prussian right flank. It was at this juncture, too, that Napoleon satisfied himself, on the other hand, that the troops which had been seen were not, as Vandamme had supposed, a British reinforcement to Blücher, and he immediately ordered forward the eight battalions with the numerous cavalry of the Imperial Guard, which stood ready to renew the attack upon Ligny and St. Amand. It was then that the veteran General Friant, commanding the Guard, ventured a piece of advice to his Emperor. "Sire, nous ne viendrons jamais à bout de ces gens-là si vous ne les prenez à revers." "Sois tranquille," replied Napoleon; "j'ai ordonné ce mouvement trois fois, et je vais l'ordonner une quatrième." He had, in fact, despatched Labédoyère to D'Erlon with the pencil order mentioned above, with directions that he should quit the Roman road and move upon the Prussian rear at the mill of Bry. The sun was just descending to

the horizon when the impatient Friant was ordered to lead the Guard to the rear of Ligny. Three battalions of the division Pécheux renewed the attack on the village and overcame all the opposition of the Prussian divisions Krafft and Langen, supported by a numerous cavalry, under a perfect shower of shot, shell, and grape. Blücher received the attack in person, and, as it was 8 o'clock and the day declining, he at once determined upon a retreat for his whole army upon Wavre by Tilly. The march was covered by the Prussian horse, who restrained the French cavalry between Ligny and Sombreffe. From some cause or other no attempt was made at pursuit. It was at this period of the day that Marshal Blücher's horse was shot under him, and in the *mêlée* the enemy's dragoons rode completely over him as he lay on the ground unrecognised. As soon as they had passed, however, the veteran got upon his legs, and mounting the horse of his aide-de-camp, Colonel von Nostitz, quietly resumed his way at the head of his troops. The loss of the Prussian army in this day's conflict was very severe. It has been variously stated at 14,000 men and 15 guns and 11,706 men and 21 guns. The loss sustained by the British at Quatre Bras amounted to 3,750 *hors de combat*. This included the brave Duke of Brunswick, who fell fighting nobly at the head of his own countrymen. A Belgian battery was taken by the French but recovered again, so that no guns were lost by either army at Quatre Bras; but it is said that 15 guns were left behind by the Prussians in battery at Ligny.

It may now reasonably be enquired, "What about Count d'Erlon's *corps-d'armée*?" With a zeal worthy of Drouet's distinguished reputation, he was marching and countermarching the entire day. At 11 in the morning he received orders at Gosselies to march on Frasnes and Marbais, to place himself under the command of Ney; but scarce had he gone a league when a staff officer from Ney commanded him to join his *corps-d'armée* at Quatre Bras. About half-past 3 in the day, Labédoyère arrived with the Emperor's orders to march on Bry; but he had not gone far when, between 5 and 6 o'clock, General Delcambre arrived with a renewed order from the Prince of Essling to join him at Quatre Bras. In this emergency, he took counsel of his second in command, General Durutte, who recommended that they should endeavour to fulfil both orders, by dividing their forces each marching different ways. Accordingly, Count d'Erlon on the left, reached Ney when his camp at Frasnes was already in repose, and Durutte on his right, reached Bry at 9 or 10 o'clock, after the Prussians had long since marched away to Tilly. It would be uncandid not to admit that this accident was the main cause of the failure of Napoleon's great operation, which, from its intrinsic strategic excellence, merited a different result; but, on the other hand, in compensation, Blücher had fought the battle without the entire army of Bülow, which had not yet come up from Liège.

The Emperor passed the night at St. Amand and the Duke of Wellington at Quatre Bras. Blücher passed the night of the battle at Mellergh, a very short way on his retreat, Thielmann holding still the mill at Bry and the post at Sombreffe till past midnight,

when he marched to Gembloux, where, not finding himself pursued, he rested with his division till midday on the 17th. Napoleon persisted in the idea that Blücher had fallen back towards the Meuse, so that, when Grouchy arrived at the Imperial headquarters after the battle was over for orders, he was directed to send Pajol with the cavalry and the division Teste on the Namur road. Between 8 and 9 in the morning Napoleon, according to his constant custom, was on his horse reviewing his troops and visiting the field of battle, and he sent to desire Marshal Grouchy would accompany him. It was scarcely worthy of his greatness that he also at this time desired Soult to write to Davoust, the Minister of War at Paris, to announce "that the Emperor had succeeded in separating the British and Prussian armies, and that Wellington and Blücher had saved themselves with difficulty; the effect of which had been so theatrical that the firing had immediately ceased, and that the enemy had been routed in all directions." It is altogether unaccounted for why Napoleon's pursuit of Blücher was so late and so languid. He had not even entered Ligny by 12 o'clock on the 17th; but, when about 2 o'clock he rode up to join Ney on the left and took leave of Marshal Grouchy, he again left directions with him to follow the Prussians: "Qu'on croyait en retraite sur la Meuse." When Grouchy quitted the Emperor he rode to Gembloux, and there heard that a considerable division of Prussians had passed through before his arrival. He immediately ordered patrolling parties to be despatched in the two opposite directions of Wavre and Liège, and while waiting their report he concentrated his divisions and placed them in position near the town. It was 6 in the afternoon before he learned that the march of the enemy who had passed through had been on Wavre; but it was already so late that orders were issued to his corps to bivouac for the night, and the forward march was given out for early morning. This force turned out to be Bülow's army marching in from Liège. Napoleon had, however, already observed, as he rode from the field of Ligny, that the corn was very much trodden down, which proved that numerous Prussians must have marched along that country; and this first convinced him that Blücher had inclined his retreat towards the British, and not, as he had sanguinely imagined, towards the Meuse, like a defeated force driven altogether out of the field. It so happened that the officer sent to announce to Wellington the retreat of Blücher on Wavre was shot, and Colonel Sir Henry Hardinge, British Commissioner at the Prussian headquarters, had also been wounded and lost his right hand; so that the British Commander did not learn the real state of affairs on his left until 7 in the morning of the 17th, when the Duke's aide-de-camp, the Hon. Colonel Gordon, who had been sent with two squadrons of hussars to make his way towards Sombreffe, luckily encountered the Prussian General Grethen on the road, from whom he ascertained all the circumstances, and that Blücher's line of retreat was on Wavre. As soon as the correct movements of the Prussian army were known to the Duke, he proceeded to break up from the

position he still held at Quatre Bras, and to fall back on Mont St. Jean, as agreed upon in the plan of campaign. Ney, by his action of the previous day, had fully accomplished Napoleon's object of hindering the English general from sending any support to Blücher, yet he had failed in driving Wellington back, who had indeed collected such a force together, that he could not be hurried away by any pressure the Marshal had it in his power to exercise. It was therefore noon before the British army retired from their ground, collectedly and firmly, in presence of an enemy who could offer neither interruption nor molestation. It was about the same time of day that Napoleon was apprised that the English still maintained their ground at Quatre Bras, and he accordingly wrote to Ney that he ought to attack them immediately and force them away from that post.

Ney was however already joined by the Emperor before he could obey his orders and commence any pursuit of the British. The Marshal made some excuses: but there was evidently a screw loose somewhere; and the soldiers, who have generally much shrewdness, thought the Marshal had either received a rap on the knuckles or had got "*une scarlatine*," for that even *le brave des braves* seemed afraid of the red-coats. It was 3 in the afternoon before the 6th corps arrived at Quatre Bras, when a dozen guns, having been placed in battery, opened fire; but it was promptly responded to by the English artillery, which had not yet moved off. Throughout the day the sky had been overcast, but probably from the concussion of the guns, the heavily charged mass above now opened, and the rain fell in torrents, so that it was not easy for the French army to ascertain in the mist what troops still remained in front. Count d'Erlon was, nevertheless, ordered forward by Napoleon, and was speedily followed by the 2nd and 6th *corps-d'armée*, and by the cuirassiers of General Milhaud and the light cavalry under General Subervie; but the roads were soon so cut up by the wet, that neither men nor horses could make their way very fast. At length, on approaching the forest of Soignies near Genappe, the French cavalry came up with that of the British, commanded by General Lord Uxbridge. At this village the road crosses the Dyle by a bridge commanded on the farther side by some high ground, on which the British rear-guard was now posted. A heavy battery of 10 guns opened upon the French as they approached the village, which was still occupied by the 7th hussars; nevertheless, Subervie's lancers attacked under the protection of four batteries, and a conflict took place in the narrow street of the village, from which the British were driven out with loss, and both the French leader and the commanding officer of the 7th, Major Hodge, were killed. Lord Uxbridge immediately brought forward the household brigade, who soon restored the fight and drove Milhaud's cuirassiers back through the town.* A cannonade, however, continued on both sides till

* M. Thiers gravely asserts that in this affair the French colonel Sourd, having had his arm hacked to pieces and half separated from his body, dismounted to submit to an amputation, and, returning to the saddle, continued to command his

dark, when the French army formed up in front of Planchenoit and bivouacked opposite Mont St. Jean. The Imperial head-quarters were established for the night at the Ferme du Caillou, while the Duke placed his head-quarters in the village of Waterloo, some distance behind the British position.

18. BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

In the meanwhile the British army concentrated, and took up its position in good order and in three columns. The first, under General Lord Hill, marched upon the *chaussée* leading from Nivelles to Braine le Leude, behind which town he rested his right flank, extending his line leftwards across the Nivelles road. The second column consisted of the reserve under the Prince of Orange, which marched along the great *chaussée* from Charleroi through Genappe, and passing behind Hill's corps formed up in and about Merbes Braine. The third column, under Prince Frederick of Orange, consisting of 17,500 men under Chassé and part of the 4th British division under Cole, formed the extreme right of the Allied army as far off as Halle, where they guarded the roads leading from Mons and Tournay to Brussels. Hougoumont and its garden enclosure were ordered to be placed in a state of defence; the doors and windows were blocked and barricaded, and the walls créneléed, while the British Guards, with some companies of Nassau riflemen, were directed to occupy it. Hougoumont covered the return of the right flank, which stood *en potence* with the rest of the army, which occupied the ridge in front of the village of Mont St. Jean, extending two miles towards the farm of La Haye Sainte, where it crossed the high road from Charleroi to Brussels and thence in front of the hamlet of La Haye. The main body of the army was therefore formed up in this manner:—19 battalions in a connected line between the two great roads, and 24 battalions to the left of the Charleroi road. A second line of 24 battalions, with all the cavalry, was arranged just at the back of the dip of the ridge behind. To Picton was intrusted the command of the left wing and the defence of the farm of La Haye Sainte. A road with a hedge-side leading to Wavre ran along the entire top of this ridge. The main Prussian army stood at Wavre across the *chaussée* leading from Namur to Brussels; but its right wing, under General Lieutenant Von Ziethen, was already encamped about Ohain. On the morning of the 18th, a little before the fight commenced, Graf Bülow von Dennewitz, whom we left marching from Gembloux on Wavre, received orders to incline to his left and occupy the defile and chapel of St. Lambert, by which the entire valley of the little brook of La Lasne to Planchenoit was threatened, and this amply secured the left flank of Wellington, whose solicitude for his

regiment! The tale, perhaps, ought to have been related in the French historian's own words; for, to English ears, a *bounce* would be too mild a term to describe such ridiculous impossibilities, which very probably do great injustice to some dashing high-spirited young officer who was here engaged, and acted heroically.

right flank, where he all along considered himself most vulnerable, still existed. Many anxious inquiries were directed towards this quarter, and continual cavalry patrols were sent throughout the day along the Nivelles *chaussée*. It had rained incessantly from mid-day on the 17th, and as evening closed in the weather became still more wild and stormy. The wind was violent, thunder rolled, lightning flashed, and a more cheerless bivouac could not have been occupied by armies intent upon that immortal struggle which was to prove the decisive battle of the age. The troops accordingly awoke in the morning light in much weariness and discomfort; the corn-fields were everywhere beaten down and sodden with wet, and the ways were cut up and muddy, or, as the French term it, *dégradés*. The sun did not break out till 8 o'clock, and it is said that Napoleon, in consequence of this state of things, deemed it necessary to delay his attack, since his engineer officers reported that in the condition in which the ground was the guns could only be manœuvred with great difficulty, and that at this season of the year an hour or two of sunshine might give the surface of the soil a little consistency. Influenced by that restless spirit with which he always seemed imbued, notwithstanding his apparent external calm, Napoleon allowed himself but short repose, and at 1 or 2 in the morning he walked forth from Bougveau's farmhouse in company with General Bertrand. He had expected to see his enemies preparing to retreat, for he could not conceive it possible that the English and Prussians would dare to fight him with the great Forêt de Soignies in their rear; and he exclaimed, as Soult had done at Orthez: "Ah! je les tiens donc, ces Anglais. Nous avons quatre-vingt-dix chances sur cent sur notre côte." He was told that "the English infantry are the very devil to fight," and "qu'il fallait chercher à les vaincre par des manœuvres plutôt que par des attaques directes;" but he treated with contempt the notion that because other French armies under his lieutenants had been beaten, they could resist his skill and resources, adding, however, "Je le sais; aussi vais-je manœuvrer." Nevertheless, his own observations and the reports of his spies convinced him that the enemy was resting without the slightest appearance of slinking from the conflict, and at 8 in the morning he called his generals around him, announced to them his intention to attack, and explained his plan.

He had seen that Wellington's position was well chosen and suitably occupied, and that its slight elevation and gentle slope towards the front which was most opposed to his observation were exceedingly favourable for the play of artillery. No part of the position was remarkable for natural strength, but he perceived that in some places artificial defences had been applied. He had seen that along the entire length of the ridge a quick hedge, bordering the by-way above spoken of, afforded a sort of rampart to the troops posted behind it on the summit of Mont St. Jean, and that an abbatis was placed near La Haye Sainte, where the *chaussée* mounts the hill. Hougomont, and the little farm-houses called La Haye and Papelotte, all three of which lay at the bottom of the slope,

were also visibly barricaded and garrisoned. Immediately beyond this point the ground formed a deep natural ravine, which only a few troops appeared to be left to watch and defend; but his reconnoissance, so far as he had been able to carry it, did not enable him to discover that the greater part of the British cavalry were formed in two or three lines behind the infantry, and could sally forth to scour the entire left flank of the position.

The Emperor ordered his army to form in 11 columns: 4 as a first line, 4 as a support, and 3 as a reserve. The divisions Durutte, Marcognet, Donzelot, and Guyot, together with the light cavalry of Jacquinet, followed by the cuirassiers of Milhaud and the lancers of Daumont and Subervie, were to compose the main attack upon the three advanced posts that comprised Wellington's centre and left—namely, La Haye Sainte, La Haye, and Papelotte. This grand division was placed under the command of D'Erlon; but the supreme direction of the attack from that flank was under Ney. The divisions Bachelu, Foy, and Jerome Bonaparte, with the light cavalry of Piré, supported by all the cavalry under Count Valmy, composing the attack on the left flank, was marched upon the farm of Hougoumont; and this grand division was intrusted to General Reille. The Imperial Guard, under Friant, Morand, and Barrois, with the 3 divisions composing the corps of Comte de Lobau, forming the reserve, were placed between Rossomme and Planchenoit. The *corps-d'armée* of Gerard and Vandamme, and the cavalry of Excelmanns, constituted the separate command of Marshal Grouchy, to whom the Emperor now sent the most pressing orders, that, while he kept close watch upon the Prussian army at Wavre, he should have some 7,000 men ready to march to his aid. It is asserted that Napoleon was then for the first time aware that the Prussians had not been so much shaken as he had supposed by the fight at Ligny on the 16th, and that they were actually in position in a line with, and very close to, the British. No troops had, up to this time, been sent to watch or defend the defile of Saint Lambert, through which it was already clear that an advance could have been made against his own right wing; but it is asserted that this was the duty of Marshal Grouchy. What is certain, however, is, that after the battle commenced, and while Marshal Grouchy was still beyond the Dyle, General Gerard, as soon as he heard the sound of heavy artillery, which his judgement and experience convinced him betokened a contest very much resembling a general action, he went direct to Grouchy and asked permission to march away with all his division to occupy Saint Lambert; but at that time the Marshal, who had been very much imbued with the Emperor's own persuasion that the British would not stand and fight in front of the Forêt de Soignies, was indisposed to use any discretion in opposition to the orders of the Emperor, as far as up to that time they had reached him.* After having despatched these orders to the

* Marshal Gerard has published a pamphlet, showing that, if his advice had at this moment been listened to, he might have averted the disaster which befell Napoleon by the flank march of the Prussian army, and he verbally gave the same

several *corps-d'armée* and divisions, Napoleon is represented to have lain down for an hour to take some repose, trusting to his brother Jerome, who stood by him, to awaken him at 11 o'clock. He slept soundly until he was roused according to orders, when, mounting his horse, he rode to the farm of La Belle Alliance, whence he could command a general view of the attack he had directed. By half-past 11 the French army was everywhere in movement, and the division Jerome Bonaparte had already reached the orchard boundary of Hougoumont, marching forward under the fire of a tremendous cannonade, preceded by the fire of a host of tirailleurs, who drove the Nassau yagers through the wood and to the rear of the château. Colonel Lord Saltoun, who commanded what may be termed the garrison, immediately brought up the light companies of Major-General Byng's brigade of Guards, and repelled the attack; but the French divisions Foy and Bachelu soon arrived in support of the Prince, when Colonels Macdonnell and Home were obliged to sally out of the farm buildings and charge several times; but at length the brigade Baudouin, after a stubborn fight, compelled the Guards to withdraw withinside the château. A cloud of tirailleurs then pushed immediately through the wood, under the fire of 30 heavy guns, which poured both round and grape shot into the enclosure on every side. The Guards, however, aimed with fatal certainty from the loopholes of the créneléed walls and from the windows and summit of the building, so that the enemy, who had forced the outward gate, were driven out again and the gate closed. General Foy's division still chased the Nassau troops before them through the wood and orchard, until Wellington, witnessing their distress, ordered the howitzer brigade to open vigorously upon these groves; but as it was clearly impossible for the troops to hold their ground in them, Byng sent down other light companies from the brigade of Guards, and though the French actually held possession of the hedge of the orchard, these troops opened fire upon them from the top of the garden wall, and compelled them to slink for shelter into the ditch which ran parallel with the hedge fronting Mon Plaisir. General Baudouin was here struck down dead, and Reille, seeing the determined opposition he met with and the loss that had already ensued, and not deeming the object worth the deadly sacrifice, now gave orders to his divisions to desist from the attack.* Thus matters stood at Hougoumont till 2 o'clock, when Saltoun was relieved in its defence, and there was a lull in the battle; but at this attack of Hougoumont General Baudouin, commanding the 1st brigade, had been killed, and Prince Jerome and Foy wounded.

In the meantime Ney's attack had commenced upon the centre of the British line, preceded by the martial music of those ex-

account to the Author when he had the honour of meeting him at the palace of Compiègne at the marriage of the King of the Belgians in 1834.

* All those who visited Hougoumont after the battle will agree with Alison's account, that the trees in the garden and orchard bore singular proof of the stubbornness of the conflict for its possession.

citing airs which move all soldiers, but more particularly Frenchmen, to a state of high enthusiasm. Napoleon rode along their ranks and roused the feeling almost to madness, as, with his usual terse eloquence, he addressed to them a few words. Remaining to witness their effect, he dismounted near the spot, manifestly anxious, and with his glass commanding the field on every side. As he looked about him at this time, he first thought he espied troops moving in the direction of Saint Lambert, and called Soult's attention to it, who saw the dust, and considered that it must certainly be that of Grouchy's division. He instantly ordered the cavalry divisions of Daumont and Subervie to move rapidly in the direction of Saint Lambert, in order to communicate with the troops arriving; and with a view, if they were friends, to hasten their advance, or, if they should prove to be enemies, to form up *en potence* below Frischermont, in rear of the extreme right of the French army, in order to restrain their further approach. General Bernard, one of the Emperor's aide-de-camps, who had been despatched at the first discovery, hastened back at this time with the alarming report: "Sire, ce sont les Prussiens, je n'en doutais point." The patrols soon brought in an orderly hussar, who had been intercepted, bearing a despatch to the Duke of Wellington from General Bülow, which apprised him of his arrival at Saint Lambert, and that he there awaited further orders. This was about 1 o'clock, when another staff officer was at once despatched in haste to Marshal Grouchy, to require him to march up with all speed *pour écraser* Bülow. Orders were at the same time sent to Count Lobau to carry forward forthwith his two infantry divisions of reserve to oppose the march of the Prussian general, whom the verbal report of the prisoner stated to be coming up at the head of 30,000 men; but at the same time it was believed that the Prussians had decidedly halted to await further orders, as mentioned in the despatch.

Napoleon, in consequence of these alarms, had delayed Ney's attack, but Drouet was ready formed up to commence it, and his men eager to avenge their being out of the battle of the 16th; but it was nearly 2 o'clock when Count d'Erlon's *corps-d'armée* advanced under the fire of 78 guns, some of them 12-pounders. The brigade Alix, under the command of Quiot, was led forward by Ney himself along the *chaussée*, and fell with great vigour upon La Haye Sainte, which was occupied by the Hanoverian brigade of Vincke, which the battalion of Lüneburg was afterwards sent down to reinforce. D'Erlon, however, first came in contact with the Belgian brigade of Perponcher, who could only oppose 2,000 men to resist the advance of this very superior force coming forward under a murderous fire. But Picton immediately sent up to their support the brigades of Kempt and Packe, and it was while leading forward the 42nd and 92nd regiments by an able movement upon the left of Drouet's column, that this most distinguished general of the "fighting division" received a musket-ball in the head and fell to the ground. Wellington, perceiving that Drouet's attack

was getting in advance of the column which was directed against La Haye Sainte, debouched Ponsonby's brigade of heavy cavalry consisting of the Royals, Greys, and Enniskillens, who were now led against the head of the column by General Lord Uxbridge, and these horse rushed on the infantry in march with such terrific violence as to bear down all opposition; the two eagles of the 45th and 105th regiments were captured, and getting into the midst of the batteries, 7 guns were overturned, while the cannoners were dispersed on every side. The English squadrons pushing on through the interval between the divisions Donzelot and Marcognet, upset 15 more guns, and sabred the gunners. Napoleon witnessed this irruption; and Lacoste, the guide who attended him, relates that he exclaimed, "Regardez ces chevaux gris! quelles braves troupes! comme ils se travaillent!" However, it was no time for idle remarks, and he instantly galloped to the spot, sending forward Milhaud's cuirassiers, consisting of the brigades of Travers and Farine, with the lancers of Jacquinet. The cavalry of the British, who were much scattered in the heat of this encounter, were readily repulsed, and the guns released; when Drouet, with his flank secured, at once set to work to rally his men. In the hurried retreat of the heavy brigade into their position, they lost their chivalrous leader, Sir William Ponsonby, who, while endeavouring to reform his men, was pierced to the heart with a lance. The dragoons, however, soon reformed under cover of Vandeleur's brigade, consisting of the 10th, 12th, and 16th light dragoons, who fell vigorously upon the French lancers, making many of them prisoners, and driving them back to Papelotte; but in this *mêlée* the colonels of both the 12th and 16th fell to the ground grievously wounded. The result of the charge was to put *hors de combat*, for the time, almost every gun in the French line; and never, perhaps, did the charge of an equal number of horse achieve greater success.* It has been alleged that D'Erlon's line was brought forward under a new formation of eight deployed columns, massed without any intervals, so that when the British cavalry came down upon the flank, it could neither form squares nor fire with any effect. Of course, while the horse attacked this agglomeration, the guns played havoc with the mass, so that the French infantry were for the moment put entirely *hors de combat*. In the meanwhile, under the cover of the cavalry sent up by the Emperor to D'Erlon, the divisions Alix and Donzelot, led by Ney with his accustomed impetuosity, again assailed the farm-house of La Haye Sainte. The attack was stoutly repelled by Kempt's brigade of the 28th, 32nd, and 79th, supported by the Germans under Baron Alten.

Wellington was at this period of the day posted by the side of

* The "Annals of War" would not be complete without allowing them to include the account by a French statesman and historian of the reason of this famous cavalry success. M. Lamartine says of this affair: "Il ôte les freins des brides des chevaux pour empêcher qu'ils les arrêtent dans le charge. Il fait distribuer de l'eau de vie aux cavaliers pour enivrer l'homme de feu pendant que le clairon enivre le cheval, et il les lance lui-même, ventre à terre, sur les pentes du Mont St. Jean!"

a tree, long afterwards known by the name of the Wellington tree, but now destroyed. From this elevated point it is believed that he saw the advance of D'Erlon's columns of attack on both sides of La Haye Sainte in their agglomerated formation,* and that his naturally clear vision at once detected its cumbrous character, "too deep for attack, and too close for deploying."† With ready decision he sent forward, as we have seen, the cavalry of Sir William Ponsonby, supported by that of Vandeleur, who came down rapidly and unexpectedly, in the manner stated, both against the infantry and the artillery; but they found no horse to check them, for the two cavalry divisions of Subervie and Daumont had gone to the right with Lobau. Napoleon saw with dismay the deficiency that existed in that arm, and galloped off in person to direct Milhaud to send up his cuirassiers. In a very short time the brigades Farine and Travers arrived on the spot, when, as above related, the British cavalry were readily driven back; but no less than 5,000 men had been left on the field, and D'Erlon was glad to withdraw his entire column, shaken and disorganised, back even to the heights about La Belle Alliance, nor were they capable of being employed again with any efficiency for the rest of the day. Not only in and about the farm, but on the left of it, a conflict still continued, and a Hanoverian brigade, driving the French in disorder down the hill, was suddenly set upon by the French cuirassiers before it could form square, and almost destroyed. Wellington, however, ordered forward the household brigade of heavy cavalry under Lord Edward Somerset, and these splendid horsemen, fresh and overflowing with strength and vigour, led on by Lord Uxbridge in person, bore down upon the cuirassiers, who were fairly overwhelmed by their weight; and the lancers of Jacquinot, who had pursued the German infantry up to the very plateau, were soon brought back by the sight of the Life Guards, and got down the slope again without difficulty. Ney, with the divisions Quiot and Donzelot, still fought on amidst the buildings of La Haye Sainte, which were set on fire more than once; but happily its German garrison, commanded by Baring, kept down the flames, and repelled successive assaults until their ammunition failed, when they were obliged to yield the farm to the enemy. The Prince de la Moskowa, now looking about "for other realms to gain," sent his aide-de-camp, Colonel Heymes, to Napoleon for more infantry; but the Emperor, fully aware of the destruction of D'Erlon's column, and of the imminence of Bülow's advance, replied with some irritation: *D'où veut-il que j'en prenne? Veut-il que j'en fasse faire? Voyez ce que j'ai sur les bras, et voyez à qui me reste.*" It was half-past 3 or about 4 o'clock when the French won the farm of La Haye Sainte.

Another and more determined attack was made about this period of the battle upon Hougoumont, into which Colonel Woodford with the Coldstream Guards had now entered, while Colonel Hepburn had succeeded to the reoccupation of the orchard. Here the French

* Charras, Thiers, Muffling, Hooper.

† Brialmont.

assault failed totally; although the cross discharge of artillery into and over the enclosure, and the incessant shelling from the mortars and howitzers, set the buildings in flames, which extended to the chapel and the stables; and many wounded defenders perished in the conflagration, which only terminated at the foot of the crucifix of the chapel. The gallant Guards, nevertheless, held the burning ruins to the last against repeated and desperate attacks, in which, it is thought, 8,000 men must have perished. At this period of the day the whole of the 1st and 2nd *corps-d'armée* had been brought into action, and had suffered immense losses. The 6th corps, under Count Lobau, was, it is true, intact, but, although it had not been employed, it was fully occupied in face of Bülow. Reille, though unsuccessful against Hougoumont, had with him 3 divisions, of which those of Durutte and Bachelu were comparatively uninjured, but these could not readily be made available elsewhere. Wellington speedily detected that he had no longer anything to fear for his right flank, against which there was no appearance of any attempt by the Halle road, and consequently now resolved to withdraw troops from that side to strengthen his centre. It is a favourite fallacy of the French historians to suppose that at this period there was great disorder in the rear of the British army, and that Wellington even meditated a retreat. It is scarcely necessary to repeat that there is not a tittle of evidence to justify a belief that a retreat of the British army was ever thought of; and if any man of common sense will ask himself the question why at this period of the day Wellington should have deemed a retreat necessary, he can readily arrive at the conviction that it must be a delusion. He had, it is true, lost the farm of La Haye Sainte, but he still had hold of Hougoumont. No hostile attempt had as yet been made upon the position of Mont St. Jean or the right flank, where the whole Prussian army was actually moving in very great force upon the French attack, which had ceased to be very threatening after the calamity that had befallen its infantry. Be that as it might, Wellington at this time ordered up Baron Chassè with a Belgian division from Braine la Leude to the assistance of his left wing, and directed Lord Hill to prepare Mitchell's brigade of Clinton's division to follow the Belgians in the same direction.

It was half-past 4 o'clock, and Bülow's advance was now becoming menacing. General Duhesme, with 8 battalions of the Young Guard, was sent to reinforce Count Lobau, and the Emperor, though he could not send infantry to Ney's requisition, was very desirous that the Marshal should make a determined attempt to force through the British centre, now that he seemed to have the key by the occupation of the farm of La Haye Sainte. The Prince de la Moskowa desired no better task, and, having no infantry at his disposal, resolved upon attempting it by a crushing attack of cavalry. The divisions Delort and Wathier of the carbineers of Milhaud, and the chasseurs and lancers of the Guards under Lefébvre-Desnouettes, were consequently united with the heavy cavalry of the Guard under Guyot, and reinforced, by order of the Emperor, with the two divi-

sions L'Héritier and Roussel of the cavalry of Kellermann. By this means, 21 squadrons of cuirassiers, 7 squadrons of lancers, and 12 squadrons of *chasseurs de cheval*, in all 40 squadrons (or about 5,400 sabres), were seen to set off at a trot; and as many more horsemen were formed up in columns of attack in support to the left of the Charleroi road, between that and Hougomont. An immense power of artillery was collected, which opened from the elevated ground near La Belle Alliance to cover the projected movement. Wellington saw the preparations making below, and knew that he had no force of cavalry to confront this imposing body after the events of the morning, which had very much shattered his efficiency in that arm, and he knew likewise that he was overmatched by the French artillery; nevertheless, he had no misgivings, for he could rely with the greatest confidence on the steadiness of his infantry, and on their ability to resist the threatened irruption of cavalry.

The enemy's guns, though opening with great force and fury, were, however, some 1,200 yards distant, and the ground was somewhat in favour of the British position, so that the fire did not produce any very serious effect beyond the *éblouissement* of a cannonade, and its noise is reported to have been stunning; but as Ney led forward his horsemen up the slope of the position the British batteries opened their guns, which told with fearful effect upon the enemy, as, advancing at a trot to the very top of the ridge, they neared them and came under their fire. Suddenly some bugles were heard to sound, and all the artillerymen, abandoning their guns and tumbrils, ran back into the infantry squares, which were now solidly formed to receive the attack, unshaken by the glittering display of cuirasses and dazzling helmets. The French cavalry, proud of the facile acquisition of the British guns, dashed against the masses, who opened a fearful and deadly fire, that scattered them in every direction. A multitude of squares, placed chequerwise, flanked and defended one another, and while it was death to attempt to pass through them, it was death alike to stand still upon the plateau. The angles of the squares were of course more vulnerable than the sides, and at these the horsemen rushed, but only to their destruction. Silently and sternly they delivered their fire, covering the salients by flanking them on every side. Scarcely a word was heard but "close up," "close up," "close ranks," as here and there a gap was occasioned by some casualty or another. The cuirassiers, confident in their coats of steel, ran upon the bayonets and almost bounded back from them with the impulse. Saddles were emptied on all sides, and wild riderless horses, taking flight, were followed by whole ranks of dragoons raising their sabres in air, or with heads down, galloping by entire squadrons from off the plateau. In a moment the artillery gunners quitted the protection of the squares, and running up to their guns, which were most of them ready loaded, opened heavily with grape and with every species of projectile, so that many of the unfortunate horsemen rolled heels over head as they descended the slope of the hill. All this time the British

infantry formations on the plateau remained unbroken; not one of them had yielded an inch.

As soon as they recovered breath, the daring gallant cavaliers, smarting with anger and with shame, rallied as best they could, and, at the well-known voices of their intrepid leaders, again mounted to the plateau; again the gunners abandoned their guns and took refuge within the squares; but of course, having failed in their first formation, the succeeding attacks, when *en débandade*, were less formidable. The wild exciting combat was renewed. The indignant cuirassiers gnashed their teeth in impotent rage against the unremitting iron shower that fell in a pitiless storm upon and around them, until, to complete their discomfiture, the British hussar brigade, under Sir Hussey Vivian, was seen to pour through the intervals of the serried squares and to fall upon the disordered crowd, capturing or slaying them on every side. Ney, who had led the squadrons nobly in a dozen attempts against the squares almost alone, escaped harmless; but L'Héritier was wounded severely, Delort was both shot and sabred, Guyot was dismounted and trampled upon by both friends and enemies; Milhaud, Roussel, and others, had horses killed under them. Ney, already on the fourth horse he had mounted that day, meeting D'Erlon, embraced him, saying: "Tiens bien, mon ami, car toi et moi, si nous ne mourons pas ici sous les bates des Anglais, il ne nous reste qu'à tomber misérablement sous les balles des émigrés." In the midst of this extraordinary scene, a bitter infantry conflict was raging at the bottom of the slope, where the division Donzelot was opposed by the 52nd, 71st, and 95th regiments, with a Brunswicker and Belgian regiment, all of whom resisted stoutly every attempt of D'Erlon to carry up his men to assist in the *mêlée* above. And now, as the torrent of fugitive cavalry poured down the slope for a third and fourth time, and rolled in agitated waves over the field, Colquhoun Grant, with a fresh brigade of light dragoons, met the discomfited French horsemen, their horses blown and themselves fatigued, and at length relieved effectually the enduring infantry both on the plateau above and in the valley below.* All this time a sustained combat continued for the possession of Papelette and the farm La Haye, both which still remained to the French division Durutte; and a fight surged in the enclosures and house of Hougoumont, which had no result on the battle but to induce Wellington to bring up more and more troops from the side of Merbes Braine to the plateau.

Since half-past 4 cannon shot had been interchanged between

* M. Thiers, quoting General Foy's opinion, remarks, "que jamais dans sa longue carrière militaire il n'avait assisté à un tel spectacle;" but the historian altogether misstates the general's inference, which was—not the cutting to pieces of a single regiment (if that had been true, which it was not)—but the enduring and devoted courage and steady discipline which pervaded the British squares, crushed by a murderous artillery, and with lancers and cuirassiers riding hither and thither like drunken men around them. It required something out of the common to "feed death" thus inactive and unmoved, and it was this wondrous *solidarité* of the British infantry which excited the admiration of one to whom war's awful sacrifices had been familiar. Napoleon is reported to have said, as he crossed the threshold of his palace, "It was Ney, who behaved like a fool, and sacrificed all my cavalry."

Bülow's Prussian advance and Lobau's corps, near Frischermont ; but about 5 o'clock Blücher himself, with a force consisting of his 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th brigades, crossed the little brook Lasne, where it forms the defile of Saint Lambert, and came upon the field, followed at 6 o'clock by General Ziethen, who marched down from Ohain to the left of the British position and deployed, while two Prussian batteries opened fire against two French divisions near Smohain, under which the divisions of Losthen and Hiller carried the castle of Frischermont. It is said that Napoleon, surrounded by the 15 battalions of his Guard and all the reserve of his cavalry, saw the arrival of the Prussians with calmness, convinced that it only heralded the arrival of Grouchy, and thinking that by putting on a firm face at that crisis, and not precipitating it, he could take the Prussian army in front and rear and still snatch the victory. The Prussians came upon the field *en échelon*, left in front, and skirting the Bois de Paris attained the village of Agria. The Count Lobau, a fine lofty old soldier, rode in the midst of his *corps-d'armée*, charging Lowther's and Hiller's infantry, at the head of the advancing line, and opposing Subervie's cavalry to that of Prince William, by which means he hoped to crush the Prussian advance in detail, as it had been considerably disarranged by the march across the deep and boggy country : but without heeding the French attack, which was boldly and successfully put aside, Blücher moved perseveringly onward, so that at half-past 6 some of his gun-shot actually fell into the midst of the Imperial Guard at Rossomme. Napoleon accordingly ordered Duhesme, with the Young Guard and 24 guns, to move on Planchenoit. General Pely was also sent into the Bois de Chantelet with the Imperial command, "Général, tenez fortement, car vous appuyez tout le mouvement." The French troops, from the houses of the village of Planchenoit and every line of hedge of its gardens, and from behind every tree and bush that could afford cover in the wood, opened a continuous and well-sustained fire, while the artillery covered the plain with shot, shell, and grape. These vigorous measures checked Bülow's advance, and succeeded, for the time, in silencing his batteries.

The Emperor, thus menaced seriously on his right flank, and not having succeeded in establishing his left upon any portion of the English line, resolved upon the great manœuvre which is distinguished as the last effort of his military genius,—the entire change of his line upon the centre, where he had obtained some slight advantage, so as to throw forward his left, where still remained the Old Guard, who had not as yet fired a shot. The report was at this time circulated in the French army, designedly, and by a succession of staff officers sent for this purpose through the lines, that Grouchy was arrived, and that victory was no longer doubtful. 10 battalions of the Old Guard, the last reserve of the French Emperor, were forthwith ordered up from La Belle Alliance, to which they had been already advanced, and thrown into the somewhat peculiar formation of 4 battalions in line and 3 on each flank in close column ;

of which Friant took the command, and led the entire Guard forward, while Reille was ordered to bring up every regiment that he could find still remaining to the left wing to aid the meditated attack, on which this last hope of success rested. As they marched past Napoleon, waving their fur caps, brandishing their arms, and shouting at the top of their voices "Vive l'Empereur," Marshal Ney came up, and Napoleon desired him to accompany them. At this moment the British general stood upon the ridge and regarded the movement; anxious doubtless at the sight, yet calm and composed, he expressed confidence in the final result after his own peculiar fashion: "Hard pounding this, gentlemen; but we will pound the longest." Riding to the right, which was the threatened point, he ordered the troops to lie down on the crest they occupied, in order to obtain some shelter from the enemy's tremendous cannonade, which now opened to herald the advance of the Guard. This was the constant prelude of every great attack made by the French Emperor. The Duke directed the fire of all the English guns to be turned upon the dense mass of the Imperial Guard as they moved up to the hill, who were already, according to the French habit, shouting loudly, "Vive l'Empereur;" but he ordered his own men to maintain the most rigid and soldierlike silence, and not to rise from the ground till they were ordered. "Be cool, my boys!" was sufficient to restrain their impatience. Hill had been brought up from the right wing with Sir Frederick Adam's brigade to flank the defence of the position, and Maitland's brigade of Guards occupied its summit; but Adam's brigade, consisting of the 52nd, 71st, and 95th, and Halket's brigade, consisting of the 73rd, 30th, 33rd, and 69th, on the other flank of the Guards, were made ready to receive the attack, and were all formed four deep, while 60 guns, coolly and admirably served, played upon the enemy's mass. The Imperial Guard mounted the hill with their accustomed gallantry, preceded, as was usual with the French, by a cloud of tirailleurs. The divisions Foy and Bachelu at the same time, one at each side of Hougoumont, moved to attack the reverse of the hill, where the German legion brigade were ready prepared to receive them. It was a quarter past 7 o'clock when the first of the fur caps topped Mont St. Jean. The British, resting on the ground, received the stirring command (whether from their colonel Lord Saltoun, or from the Duke himself, it does not in the least signify), "Up, Guards, and at them!" and immediately springing to their feet, like men rising out of the earth, at once poured in a volley so close and well-directed that the first ranks of the Imperial Guard, taken in a heap, reeled back, and were shaken in their formation, positively staggered by the leaden blow; until at the word "Charge" following rapidly upon the action of fire, and before the smoke could clear away to show them their opponents, a most sonorous and terrific "Hourrah!" rang in their ears, which so embarrassed and dumb-founded even the veterans of Wagram and Austerlitz, that they turned and fled at the shout, and rolled down the hill amidst con-

fusion and slaughter. The British Guards, with the most admirable discipline, only followed them a few paces, and falling again into rank returned to their position on the ridge prepared for another assault, if the wonderful leading of Friant and Michel could have accomplished it; but both these highly esteemed generals of the Guard had fallen in this murderous onslaught; a loss sufficient to have damped the ardour of the best troops in the world.

According to his accustomed plan, Napoleon had supported this main attack by false ones on the flanks, and D'Erlon's division, being now reformed in the centre of the line, had again united with Donzelot's, and moved up against the position behind La Haye Sainte, where they were encountered by Ompteda's brigade of the Hanoverian legion, and by the 4th, 95th, 27th, and other battalions of British infantry. The Prince of Orange gallantly advanced to meet this projected assault upon Mont St. Jean at the head of 2 Nassau battalions, but he was struck down by a wound in the shoulder almost at the first discharge, and the Nassau troops recoiled in disorder. Upon this, 5 Brunswick battalions came up to the front; but they likewise fell back in confusion. Wellington, however, who was everywhere, instantly hastened to the spot, and succeeded in rallying the Germans, who reformed and opened fire on the French advance with such effect that it was checked until Kielmansegge came forward with his brigade of the German legion in double quick time, while the British regiments held their ground with a cool hardihood that astonished their foes; the 27th regiment, in particular, stood obstinately where it was posted, and the place remained afterwards marked by the heaps of dead which they left there behind them. At length, by the combined efforts of British, Hanoverian, and Nassau troops, D'Erlon was, after a fierce struggle, driven back. The 10th hussars and the skeletons of other cavalry regiments added their endeavours to animate and give heart to the Belgian soldiers, who only wanted the encouragement of good leaders, for they cheerfully and gallantly returned to the charge at their appeal, loudly cheered by the horsemen, who followed them in close support. Thus then the Allied line recovered its place on the ridge, and the Prussian corps of Ziethen coming up at the same moment securely established the left flank of the Allied army.

The repulse of one column of the Guard did not arrest the movement of the other, which, marching down from La Belle Alliance, pursued its way towards the British position across the open field. It consisted of 4 battalions of the Moyenne Garde and 2 of the Vieille Garde, 3,000 strong, commanded by Generals Roquet, Petit, and Christiani. The formation of the column is thus described by Quinett:—"C'est Napoléon lui-même qui cette-fois range les cinq nouveaux bataillons presque encore intacts qui viennent de la Belle Alliance. Ce qu'il ne faisait jamais dans les guerres précédentes il le fait à ce moment suprême. Il marque aux soldats leur place, il forme deux bataillons en bataille, deux autres comme arcs-boutants en colonne sur la droite et sur la gauche. Le second brigade suivra en échelons." These marched unshrinkingly

through the cross fire of the batteries until they encountered D'Aubrun's (or D'Aubigne's) brigade of Belgians, who gave way before them and fled under the protection of Vandeleur's horse, who were thrown into some confusion by their presence, so that the General ordered the 23rd light dragoons to charge the pursuers. Napier's guns also opened upon the advancing column from the ridge. In this *mêlée* Jamin was killed and Guyot severely wounded. Colborne, whose brigade stood in the path, steadily observed the formation and progress of the Guard, and, with the inspiration of true military genius, ordered the 52nd regiment to wheel upon its left flank company, which brought it nearly at right angles to the French column. "What are you going to do?" demanded his superior officer. "Make those fellows feel our fire," was the prompt reply; and in a moment afterwards the regiment brought every barrel to bear full and telling upon the heavy mass. This and the intense fire from Bolton's battery of 9-pounder guns, double-shotted, shook the column from front to rear; when Colborne, leading forward the 52nd from a little hollow above the north-east angle of Hougoumont, carried the regiment to the charge, followed by the 95th and 71st. Before its irresistible force the Imperial Guard gave way, and the Duke, who was stationed near the battery above, was heard to exclaim, "Go on, Colborne!" In this way the British, driving the broken column before them, pushed them back clean across the Charleroi road. At the same moment Vivian came down the road with the hussar brigade, and ordered the 10th and 18th hussars to charge the column, and the German hussars to follow in support. The cuirassiers and cavalry of the Guard encountered them, but they were overthrown by the British squadrons formed *en échelon*, who came up and charged in succession, and Ney was again brought to the ground, with the loss of his fifth horse shot under him.* This has been often styled "the decisive charge of Waterloo," but such a distinction is not merited. It was at this period, as with undiminished courage the débris of the Imperial Guard fell back, that General Cambronne is said to have given vent to the famous apophthegm, "La Garde meurt mais ne se rend pas," and was himself shortly afterwards struck by a shell in the head and brought to the ground. But, unable to form squares, the brave veterans could no longer be rallied, and a cry arose from the troops around, "La Garde est repoussée—tout est perdu."†

It was about half-past 6 o'clock when 6 battalions, under the Prussian General Bülow, assisted by a Saxon detachment under General Pirch, succeeded in carrying the village of Planchenoit from the 6th corps, and establishing themselves firmly in the churchyard, where they captured many prisoners and guns. Soon afterwards all Ziethen's corps debouched by the road from Smohain, and 36,000 Prussians emerged into sight with a swift step and

* Thiers says: "Ney à pied, sans chapeau, son épée brisée à la main, court à une poignée d'hommes armés, et leur dit, 'Venez, mes amis, venez voir comment meurt un maréchal de France.'"

† Hooper.

in the double-necked column then peculiar to Prussian tactics, spreading over the entire plain in rear of the French line, while 100 guns, formed up *en amphithéâtre*, opened a tremendous fire, which told on the scattered French troops as they came flying from the defeat of the Guard along the open country. Wellington, seeing the failure of Napoleon's great movement with his Guards, and knowing the effect that it would necessarily have upon the French army, now ordered a general advance of the whole line in the formation in which it stood; and the light cavalry at once dashed forward upon the plain in every direction, driving all before them, and cutting right and left at the unfortunate fugitives. Despair soon seized upon the French; they saw that all was lost; and the cry arose "Sauve qui peut!" which was obeyed by the fugitives, and even by some regiments yet in their formation.

Napoleon, Soult, Ney, Bertrand, Drouet, Corbinau, Flahault, Labédoyère, Gourgaud, &c., had only just time to throw themselves within the squares into which the Old Guard and General Reille's regiment immediately formed, and as the squares retired along the Charleroi road, the dauntless cuirassiers of Milhaud came up to protect both flanks of the retreat. The artillery of the Guard also at this time opened fire with considerable effect upon the 10th and 18th British hussars, who were charging the cuirassiers. Napoleon retained his accustomed calm demeanour until at length he saw the bayonets of the Old Guard mingled with the British horsemen, when his experience told him that it was high time for him to seek his safety. Turning to Bertrand he said, "Tout à présent est fini; sauvons-nous;" and they fled together along the *chaussée*, attended by a small escort, as fast as their horses could carry them. The last he heard of the battle was the British cheering on every side, as one French battery after another came into their possession. Wellington, with his hat in his hand, bounded across the field in pursuit, as though he had been in the midst of a fox-chase, leading 40,000 men joyfully forward, and merely saying, as he rode, "Go on, my men; go on, my men; don't give them time to rally." Before night closed, 150 pieces of cannon, 350 caissons, and 6,000 men had been captured; in fact, there were scarcely two companies of the enemy to be anywhere found together.

Blücher had accompanied Bülow to Planchenoit, and the Prussian army now streamed also along the open in succeeding waves and with resistless force, driving the flying French before them to the Charleroi road. Here it happened that the two chiefs met and congratulated each other on the brilliant and decisive victory their united forces had obtained.* The Prussians have

* It has been made a matter of much dispute between the nations whether the two chiefs did meet at the farm of La Belle Alliance, but the question has been conclusively settled by a letter, dated June 8, 1816, and published in the tenth volume of the "Supplementary Despatches," in which the Duke writes: "A remarkable instance of the falsehoods circulated through the medium of unofficial despatches is to be found in the report of a meeting between Marshal Blücher and me at La Belle Alliance, and some have gone so far as to have seen the chair in which I sat down in the farm-house. It happens that the meeting took place after 10 at night at the village of Genappe; and anybody who attempts to de-

called the great conflict "The Battle of La Belle Alliance," while the British, from immemorial custom, have called it after the place from which the despatch announcing it is dated, "The Battle of Waterloo," and by this name it will be universally known as long as the English language shall endure.

19. BATTLE OF WAVRE.

It has been positively asserted, and it is believed, that Napoleon, conceiving that he had entirely cowed and driven the Prussians out of the line at Ligny, had directed Grouchy to keep an eye upon their retreat on Liège. The Marshal, therefore, did not quit hold of the old Roman way leading from Mons to Liège until the Prussians under Blücher had already taken post at Wavre. He, however, eventually moved in that direction, and had reached Walhain, when the sound of heavy firing was heard to the left. Gerard, as above stated, endeavoured to induce Grouchy to permit him to march off with his corps towards Napoleon, or, at all events, to allow him to march to the left in the direction of the firing; but it was then already 1 o'clock, and it would have required three hours to reach Planchenoit, even if he could have passed the Dyle without opposition. General Vandamme persuaded him, therefore, to push forward and attack the Prussian position. Napoleon's first orders to follow and fight the Prussians at Wavre reached him on this march, but it was 4 o'clock before he was in a condition to make his attack; for which, thinking he had still the whole of Blücher's army of 27,000 or 28,000 men before him, he at once made arrangements. 3 batteries of heavy guns opened upon the town of Wavre, and under their fire the entire corps of Vandamme advanced, which succeeded in forcing its way across the bridge and into the very town, while Excelmanns with the cavalry followed in support. The brigade Vicheux, of Gerard's corps, marched down to the Dyle at the mill-stream head of Bierge, while the brigade Pajol was directed to cross the river opposite Limalle. General Thielmann with his corps, consisting of about 24,000 men and 6 batteries, had been left by the Prussian marshal to oppose Grouchy; and, although he could not prevent the taking of Wavre, yet he brought his guns to bear with such effect, that the French troops could not permanently establish themselves in that town. Colonel Von Kernshen at Limalle, with 3 battalions and 3 squadrons, was also obliged to give way before Gerard, until Colonel Stulpnagel with his brigade arrived to his support; who, leaving a battalion to protect the right wing of the army in the wood of Pointe de Jour,

scribe with truth the operations of the different armies will see that it could not be otherwise." On the other hand, French writers are unanimous in asserting that Napoleon and Ney were in the midst of the fugitives at Genappe at 11 at night, and that the soldiers were barricading the narrow street leading down to the bridge, with a view to some resistance to the pursuit. The matter is of very little consequence either way. It is manifest that the two chiefs did meet, and arranged together the order of advance for the two armies, and that Wellington rode back to Waterloo, whence he dated his despatch.

marched down to the river side at once, to prevent the passage of the French. In the conflict that ensued, Gerard was struck down wounded, having, it is thought, sought death from the mortification of his conviction that at this moment the Emperor's battle was failing from want of succour. It was 7 in the evening when Grouchy received, through Colonel Zenowitz, the latest orders of Napoleon to send up to his aid, as quickly as possible, the division Gerard and Pajol's cavalry, marching up by their left across the Dyle. Vandamme's corps would in that case have alone remained to carry on the fight at Wavre, where the Prussians nobly resisted 13 attacks, and still remained at night in full possession of the place. At daybreak the French appeared in such force opposite Thielmann's right flank, that he at once thought it best to withdraw his army on the Louvain road; but when he reached Achlenre, he perceived that he was not followed by the enemy, and at the same also received information of the victory of Waterloo, for at 10 o'clock the brigade of Borke arrived at Wavre, whither it had been sent by Blücher as soon as the battle was gained to reinforce Thielmann. Grouchy has been saddled by all French historians with being the occasion of Napoleon's defeat, by his "sheer indolence" in not keeping the Prussians separate from the British. But Napoleon was himself the occasion of this Marshal's delay in his attack of Thielmann, from his fixed, though much-mistaken idea, that he had driven Blücher out of the field at Ligny, and driven him towards the Rhine. In the course of the night Grouchy learned the Emperor's defeat, and lost no time in marching away from the field, covered by the cavalry of General Excelsmans, and moving with such rapidity, that on the 20th he had passed Namur, and even reached Dinant.

It was nearly 10 o'clock at night when Wellington and Blücher met, and with ready vigour the brave and energetic veteran at once expressed his readiness to pursue the enemy; when the British general, feeling that his soldiers had been sharply engaged for twelve hours and required rest, and that it was impossible for both armies to pursue by the same road, ordered the British troops to bivouac for the night. Blücher forthwith summoned all the commandants of corps to his side, and said to them: "My children, let this night finish the enemy, that the sun in rising to-morrow may only show us the open road to Paris." The Prussians came quickly down upon the fugitive French at Genappe, where they captured some 60 guns, together with Napoleon's carriage, luggage, and, of course, took a great many prisoners. General Gneisenau, commanding the Prussian advance, hung upon the enemy's rear, and with great activity and determination prevented every attempt to rally. The bright moonlight gave him the means of making most effective charges, and he followed the French all through the night with right goodwill, taking the most ample vengeance on the unfortunate private soldiers for the misfortunes of Jena, Auerstadt, and Ligny.

All the military critics of the Jomini school in every language,

and of course those of the defeated nation in their own,* have apparently agreed to regard the campaign of Waterloo with more favour to the genius of Napoleon than to the generalship of Wellington; and have sought excuses for the Emperor's defeat in the lack of vigour in his instruments rather than in the mental superiority of his great antagonist. I claim, however, for the victor in this battle of battles, unquestionable superiority over his opponent, both as a strategist and a tactician, and I will state my reasons with very great submission, but with much urgency and confidence. No one denies for an instant that the Emperor's plan for the campaign — the quiet concentration of the right wing of his army, with a view of forcing a way between the Prussian and British armies, and, at the same time, seizing the great strategic points of Quatre Bras and Sombreffe, was worthy of the best days of General Napoleon Bonaparte; but, let the fault be placed where it may, the fact is incontestable, that he neither succeeded in separating the hostile armies, nor in obtaining possession of the strategic points of Sombreffe and Quatre Bras, until they had altogether ceased to be strategic points. If Blücher was surprised, at least he collected on the battle-field of Ligny an army in a position which Napoleon had not force enough to push him out of; nor could he anticipate or overcome the British concentration at Quatre Bras. Both armies retained their free communications intact on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, and retired to the several positions previously agreed upon for the occupation of the joint forces, so as to prevent all access to Brussels by the high roads from Namur, Charleroi, and Mons. I have no intention of claiming for the British army one whit more bravery, courage, or pluck, than belongs to the soldiers of other nations; but I claim that peculiarity of its formation, which the French have termed *solidarité*; that is, the discipline or influence which the officers and non-commissioned officers have always shown to be capable of exercising over the private men with the most successful effects, whether they were Asiatics, Europeans, Indians, Mahometans, Spaniards, Portuguese, &c.; so that in all modern military history, from Gibraltar to Inkermann, there has never been an army commanded by any British general, which has been driven out of a *defensive* position. Now, it has been made a marked characteristic of Wellington, that he was never carried away by a blind idolatry or apprehension of the superiority of Napoleon's capacity to that of other leaders, but had always exercised a calm observation of the arts and skill by which he had successfully overcome other men. He had, consequently, well studied his adversary's strategy, and especially his last campaign of 1814, where he so successfully separated and foiled the Prussian and Austrian armies, and doubtless he had talked it over with his colleague, and carefully considered the means of thwarting that favourite manœuvre of the French conqueror. He saw clearly, in his sound good sense, that IF, IN ANY STRATEGICAL COMBINATION

* M. Thiers can throw no heavier stone at Wellington than his AMBITION! save the mark! Sure I am that it may be averred with the most signal truth, that no man ever lived with such most wonderful fortune more free from this sin of the angels than Arthur Wellesley. He cannot even be accused of pride.

TO ASSAIL TWO ARMIES IN SUCCESSION, SHOULD ONE OF THEM STAND FIRM, THE OTHER WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE THE POWER TO FALL UPON THE FLANK AND REAR OF THE ASSAILANT. He also had entire confidence in the firmness of the British army; and, although he had said openly, that "the one he now commanded was the worst army and the worst staff that had ever taken the field," he had no misgivings that they would stand with true British *solidarité*, notwithstanding the Forêt de Soignies in his rear; and the issue justified this confidence. Napoleon strove hopelessly to force Mount St. Jean; but Wellington stood firm, and Blücher came down upon his flank and rear, and utterly destroyed him. Moreover and independently of this, every impartial historian must acknowledge that there was no single incident of the battle of Waterloo worthy of the victor of Rivoli, Austerlitz, or Friedland. There was no flash of genius in the conception of the attack. It was merely to threaten the flanks and force the centre. None of his attacks were even supported by the ordinary practice of war. That of Hougoumont was in point of time anticipatory to that on La Haye Sainte. D'Erlon and Ney made their first onslaught without a proper accompaniment of cavalry, and their second attempt was entirely without the cooperation of infantry. There was also much eccentricity and no corresponding merit in the strange formations of the columns of attack all through this battle. The French artillery, moreover, played a very inferior part to that of the British artillery in the battle of Waterloo. The line of heights about La Belle Alliance was too distant from Mont St. Jean to cover with any telling effect of their gun-fire the advance of the columns of attack. The wonderful coolness with which the Guards received the charge of one column of the Imperial Guard, and the very clever manœuvre upon the second column by Colburn, were all so many overcomings above Napoleon's old mastery, which combine to refute the long and tedious reasonings of the French historians, whose claims in behalf of Napoleon are one and all of them founded upon "ifs," whereas the circumstances named above are *faits accomplis*, proving without any gainsaying that it is impossible to refuse to Wellington the meed of victor of Waterloo by right of mastery in the art of war, and that both as a strategist and tactician he was superior in this last scene of the Revolutionary War to his great antagonist.

20. NAPOLEON AT PARIS — SECOND ABDICATION.

The Emperor had much difficulty in making his way through Genappe and crossing the bridge which there passes the Dyle, at about 11 at night, when he at length disengaged himself from the crowd of soldiers, and thence proceeded, as quickly as he could, through Quatre Bras, which he reached at half-past 1 in the morning, and then proceeded to Charleroi, which he hastily passed through, then crossing the Sambre by the bridge, he at length attained to a farmhouse called Mareville, where he dismounted, and, for the first time since morning, took nourishment from the store of some soldier

he met, remarking, with almost laughable philosophy, "Confrère, il faut peu de choses à l'homme pour vivre." It was necessary now for him to deliberate what course remained for him to pursue. He resolved that this time he would be beforehand with his enemies, and try the effect of his influence on the population of Paris before he again renounced the throne. During the four hours he rested here, he expedited orders to Rapp, Lecourbe, and Lamarque, to march down from their distant quarters, with all their forces, and meet him in the capital. Pursuing his course, he again stopped some hours at Philippeville, where he drew up the bulletin he was desirous of despatching to Paris. He also issued orders from this place to Soult, to rally the army at Laon, and there to await the junction with Grouchy's *corps-d'armée*. Maret, Duke of Bassano, the secretary of his cabinet, and an old witness of his prosperous days, here joined him, having lost his carriage and baggage, which included his portfolio.

Napoleon now took post for Laon, which he reached in the afternoon of the 20th, and charged M. De Bussy, one of his aide-de-camps, to remain to defend that important position, while he sent M. de Flahault, another of his staff, to Guise, and General Dejean to Avesnes, with his instructions. He was interrupted in the midst of these occupations by the report that some troops were in sight, and he sent an officer to reconnoitre; but it proved to be about 3,000 of his own soldiers, who were escaping under his brother Jerome, with Generals Morand, Colbert, Petit, and Pelet. Napoleon would have wished for a moment to remain and resume the command of his little army at Laon, but he was dissuaded by Maret, who strenuously insisted on the necessity for his presence at Paris. He therefore finished the bulletin he had been preparing, and having sent it forward by estaffette, to precede his own arrival in the capital by a few hours, he threw himself upon a bed, and, for the first time since the doze at Rossome, slept for a few hours soundly. On the 21st, he entered Marshal Soult's carriage, which had been saved from pillage, accompanied by his brother Jerome and Marshal Bertrand, and followed by the Duke de Bassano and others in a second carriage, he pursued his way, endeavouring so to calculate his distance as to arrive in Paris in the middle of the night. He had sent a messenger to have the Elysée prepared for his reception, and there he descended at early morning of the 22nd, when he found his old friend Caulaincourt on the threshold, prepared to receive him with outstretched arms of pity and attachment.

In the meantime, Paris had already become violently agitated. The first news that had transpired of the Emperor since his departure was his own bulletin of the battle of Ligny, and, singularly enough, salvos from the Invalides for that victory corresponded in time with the thunder of cannon that awakened the echoes of Belgium on the field of Waterloo.* Rumours of a great reverse had,

* The air must have been full of gunpowder on the morning of the celebrated 18th of June—thunders of death on the battle field, salvos of rejoicing in the French capital—and to such a wondrous extent were the re-echoes carried this day, owing

however, reached the capital, when at daybreak on the 21st, Napoleon's bulletin, which had been indited at Philippeville, arrived, followed, a few hours after its publication, by the Emperor himself, who was soon known to be at the Elysée. A deep lamentation spread through the city as the inhabitants gradually awoke to the reality and extent of the disaster. The ministers were summoned to a council as soon as he had taken a bath and obtained some hours' repose, sufficient to rally his thoughts and proceed to business. Caulaincourt, Fouché, Carnot, Maret, Decrès, and Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, together with his brothers, Joseph and Lucien, attended the discussion; but in the midst of it, a message arrived from the Chamber of Representatives (which Fouché had induced Lafayette, the President, to call together), who had, with little discussion, adopted four resolutions, in not one of which did Napoleon find his name even mentioned, though they concerned him deeply. The Chamber, however, had adjourned, to reassemble at 6 in the afternoon: Napoleon, notwithstanding this slight, authorised Lucien to attend it, in quality of his extraordinary Commissary, in order to endeavour to calm the excitement against him which was already manifest, and to do his utmost to uphold his throne. The Chamber, however, treated the imperial Commissary with disdain, and it was resolved to demand the Emperor's abdication, and, in the event of his refusal, to pronounce the forfeiture of his throne.

Napoleon could not at once submit to the summary appeal thus made upon him, notwithstanding the urgent advice of Caulaincourt and Maret. Fouché says of this discussion, "Il y eut un foule d'allées et venues, de pourparlers, d'objections, de répliques, en un mot des évolutions de tout genre; il y eut du terrain pris, abandonné, repris de nouveau." Lamartine says Napoleon walked incessantly backwards and forwards from his cabinet to his garden, and from his garden to his cabinet, uttering a thousand contradictory resolutions. At length it was announced to him that the Chamber could only give him one more hour to decide, and that the Chamber of Peers had adopted the five articles decreed by the Chamber of Representatives, declaring the country in danger, and the permanence of the Chambers, passing by, however, all allusion to his name; when he exclaimed: "Soit! s'il le faut j'abdiquerai!" An address to the French people was forthwith drawn up by Lucien, in which Napoleon abdicated the empire in favour of his son, and this was immediately conveyed by his ministers to the two Chambers, who nominated the Dukes of Vicenza and Otranto, the Baron Quinette, and Generals Carnot and Grenier, as a commission to carry on a provisional government. Napoleon soon discovered that in his retreat at the Elysée he was already in solitude, for although in the midst of a crowded excited city, no one scarcely came near him until Davoust arrived from Fouché to order his departure out of Paris.

to some peculiarity of atmosphere, that the rector of Margate assured me the reverberation was heard on the English coast, near that watering-place.

21. NAPOLEON IS CONSIGNED A PRISONER OF WAR TO ST. HELENA.

On the 25th of June, therefore, at noon, Napoleon withdrew, humbled and chagrined at this summary treatment, to Malmaison, where Queen Hortense Beauharnais awaited him, and there he remained till the 29th, when the cannon of the Allies could be heard, who had by this time reached St. Denis; on this he was sanguine enough to think he might again be wanted, and ventured even to propose to the executive government that he should take the command of the troops, and repel the Allies from the capital. With this object he dressed himself in his uniform, and ordered his horse to be caparisoned, some of his old staff were also sent for, to be ready to attend him to take the command as a general: but when this idea was reported to Fouché, he sent word: "Qu'il parte — car on nous demande sa personne et nous ne pouvons répondre de sa sûreté au delà de quelques heures." On the 29th, therefore, he was again forced to quit Malmaison for Rambouillet, where he remained till the 30th, and he ultimately reached Rochefort on the morning of the 3rd of July, where he expected to find some vessel to carry him to America; but the vigilance of the British cruisers on the coast preventing all escape, the Emperor gave himself up to Captain Maitland, of the British ship of war "Bellerophon," who carried him to England, whence he was, after a short interval, consigned a prisoner of war to the island of St. Helena. Volumes have been written to prove that he ought not to have been treated as a prisoner, because he had voluntarily given himself up; but he was assuredly as much a prisoner as the 10,000 times 10,000 who cry out, "Je me rends!" to save themselves from having their brains blown out on the field of battle. Napoleon had condescended to become a grenadier instead of an Emperor, and was to be treated accordingly. His character was indeed already wofully changed, for his conduct in his confinement was not that of either a hero or a gentleman. The evils he had brought upon the world rendered some better reparation from his many years of leisure and reflection than the very untrustworthy memoirs which he amused his solitude by dictation to his companions at St. Helena, and his fretful undignified treatment of the British Commissioner. At length the seeds of a disease, which appears to have been hereditary, brought him to an early grave, and he died on the 5th of May 1821, to the regret of no one; for his wife and child had learned to do without him, his kinsfolk and acquaintance were afraid of him, and those who shared his captivity were glad to be rid of the discomfort of a querulous man; while those who paid for his security rejoiced at the termination of the heavy tax of his captivity; while his adherents in France and elsewhere already regarded him as *homme usé*, so that he ceased to inspire their affections, and yielded nothing to their hopes.

22. ADVANCE OF WELLINGTON AND BLÜCHER TO PARIS.

We left the Allied army pursuing the defeated French with all the vigour of which it was capable. Gneisenau, leading the advance, arrived at break of day on the 19th at Gosselies, where Blücher placed his head-quarters the same day, and passed the frontier of France on the 21st. Thielmann pursued Grouchy vigorously through Gembloux; and the French Marshal, in order to get his *corps-d'armée* through the long defile leading to Dinant, ordered Vandamme to hold Namur, and restrain the Prussian advance; but the Prussians gallantly escalated the works, though with the loss of 60 officers and 1,600 men killed and wounded. On the night of the 21st-22nd, General Lieutenant Ziethen stormed and carried Avesnes. The Duke of Wellington, knowing by his own experience the necessity which existed for impressing upon victorious soldiery the paramount consideration of the strictest discipline, issued the following general order before entering the enemy's country:—

“As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations which are at present under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are the allies of His Majesty the King of France, and that France ought therefore to be treated as a friendly country. It is therefore required that nothing should be taken either by officers or soldiers for which payment be not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner, and it is not permitted either to officers or soldiers to extort contributions. The commissaries will be authorised, either by the Field-Marshal or by the generals who command the troops of the respective nations, in cases where their provisions are not supplied by an English commissary, to make the proper requisitions, for which regular receipts will be given; and it must be strictly understood that they will themselves be held responsible for whatever they obtain in way of requisition from the inhabitants of France, in the same manner in which they would be esteemed accountable for purchases made for their own government in the several dominions to which they belong.”

This order was rigorously enforced, and faithfully obeyed; and the forbearance of the Allied soldiers in the hour of victory must have exhibited a striking contrast to the general conduct and utter want of principle in the French troops in the days of their success, and it is as just an element of military glory as the attainment of the palm-branch on the field of battle.

On the 23rd, Wellington and Blücher had a conference at Châtillon as to their order of march upon Paris; and it was agreed that both armies should march with all speed to the capital, the British by the right bank of the Oise, and the Prussians by the left; that the former should undertake the siege and capture of the frontier fortresses to the east of the Sambre, and the latter of those to the westward; that the British cavalry should push forward

towards Pontoise, and the Prussian cavalry to Guise. With these objects Kleist was ordered to move on Mezières, to look after the fortresses beyond the Meuse, and the corps of Pirch to besiege Maubeuge, Landrecies, Philippeville, Rocroy, and Givet; while the Duke despatched the second Netherlands corps, consisting of three brigades of foot and one of horse, to blockade Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The citadel of Cambray, on the other side, was carried on the 25th, by Colville's division, and King Louis XVIII. entered it on the 26th. On that day Maitland, with the brigade of Guards, also carried by assault Peronne, styled La Pucelle, from its never having been previously captured. On the 28th, the Prussian advanced guard already came up with and defeated the rearguard of Grouchy, on the road from Soissons to Paris, with the loss of 6 guns and 1,000 prisoners; and other French troops, taking the road by Meaux, were there met by Bülow von Dennewitz, who took from them 500 men, and drove them across the Marne. The same day Blücher took Villars Cotterets by surprise. Between the 29th and 30th, the British army crossed the Oise and occupied a position to the right, upon the height of Richebourg, and the left upon the Bois de Bondy; and Blücher crossed the Seine at St. Germain, and established his right at Plessis and his left at St. Cloud. The difficulty now was to restrain the impetuosity of the Prussian veteran, who desired to take signal vengeance upon Paris for the indignities inflicted by the French upon his country, and for their aggression upon Berlin. Wellington, indeed, had great trouble in preventing him from marching at once into Paris, and on the 2nd of July frankly gave him his opinion that the Allies had not the means at hand of succeeding in a hostile attack upon the capital. These prudent counsels held back the Marshal; but at the same moment Soult and Massena, with Davoust, Grouchy, and Vandamme, inside of the capital, were labouring to persuade Carnot and Fouché that the city could not be defended an hour, and accordingly, upon the evening of the 3rd, the provisional government sent Lafayette, Sebastiani, and Laforêt to the head-quarters of the Duke of Wellington, and Davoust to those of Blücher, to learn the dispositions of the Allied Sovereigns with regard to the future government of France, and to a negotiation for a suspension of arms.

Blücher, in his movement round Paris, had been sufficiently opposed by the enemy, and being interrupted in establishing a bridge at Argenteuil, he marched by the bridge of Neuilly, when, after a short conflict, Ziethen succeeded in establishing himself upon the heights of Meudon and the village of Issy. The following day the French attacked the Prussians at Issy, but a British corps had now crossed to the left bank at Argenteuil, and all the defences that had been prepared by Napoleon against admission into Paris having been effectually turned, an urgent demand was made that the firing might cease on all sides, and that the Commissioners might meet at the palace of St. Cloud with a view to draw up a military convention between the armies, under which the French forces

should evacuate Paris. In the meanwhile, Davoust had met Blücher, who positively insisted that the French army should lay down their arms, which the Marshal declared they could never submit to. Wellington had received the agents who had repaired to his headquarters with every politeness, but with great frankness. The deputation proposed an equitable arrangement for the throne of France upon the choice of Napoleon II. or the Duke of Orleans; but the British General at once rejected such an overture, giving his opinion, as *an individual*, that he would insist on the immediate and unconditional restoration of the legitimate king.

The commissioners who assembled at St. Cloud on the 3rd of July, were Colonel Sir Felton Hervey for the British, the Baron de Muffling for the Prussians, and the Baron Bignon, in charge of the foreign portfolio, for the Provisional Government; Count Guilleminot, Chef de l'Etat Major-General, and the Count de Bondy, Préfet de Paris, were at the same time received as commissioners for the French army. The terms were comprised in eighteen articles. They were to the effect that in three days the French army should surrender the capital, and remove within a week, with its stores, artillery, and baggage, behind the Loire; * and were approved and ratified the same day by the Duke of Wellington, the Prince Blücher, and the Marshal Prince of Eckmühl. This convention only decided the military possession of the capital, and touched nothing political. The Allies therefore, in virtue of it, placed their guards at the barriers on the 5th, and on the 7th, the victorious armies, headed by Wellington and Blücher, made their public entry into Paris, "in which an English drum had not been heard for nearly 400 years." The white standard of the Bourbons again displaced the tricolour, but the inhabitants "gave no sign." The French people regarded the stern grave air of the conquerors in their soiled coats and with their standards riddled with shot and blackened by fire, with respect, but with melancholy hearts. Few persons were to be seen in the street, and hardly a voice was heard, as with proud step and beating hearts, but with looks erect to the clash of military music, the British soldiers entered Paris by the Champs Elysées and the Boulevards, and defiled through the conquered capital of France. It may be permitted to the English to stand aloof from their allies and feel some national enthusiasm at their proud destiny, which could bring them to look back to the period of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, as they marched to the triumphant close of a war which they neither commenced nor hastened forward. Naturally enough, the French did not share this enthusiasm, but, on the contrary, reflected with mortification and hereditary animosity upon "the tide in the affairs of men," that had again brought their old rivals to so brilliant a triumph. However, notwithstanding that the French gave them

* Marshal Davoust conducted the army behind the Loire, having left in Paris Generals Gerard, Kellermann, and Haxo, as negotiators and commissioners, to convey to the Government the wishes of the army, and to discuss its separate interests. By their intervention the army in a few days addressed Louis XVIII. an act of submission, and hoisted the white flag.

their blackest looks, the reception of the British and Prussian army was infinitely better than that of the legitimate King, who made his entry into Paris on the following day, in abject silence and rather as a captive than a conqueror.

23. RESTORATION OF THE WORKS OF ART.—RETRIBUTION.— LABÉDOYÈRE.—LAVALETTE.

True to his character, Wellington behaved to the French people with the greatest moderation in this proud moment of triumph, and with all the consideration that was due to honourable enemies, on whom Fortune had at length turned her frowns after so many favours. He took all possible pains to enforce obedience from the British army to his proclamation, and as often as his implacable colleague proposed some new act of hostility or violence, he earnestly strove to soothe him, and at least to gain time for an ultimate appeal to the Sovereigns at Paris. The Austrian soldiers demanded with loud cries that the pillar of Austerlitz should be pulled down, as Napoleon had destroyed the pillar of Rosbach; and Blücher was so resolved to blow up the bridge of Jena, that he at once commenced operations with that intent. At midnight on the 8th, Wellington sent a letter to the old Marshal, suggesting to him that as the Allied Sovereigns had left these monuments standing on the former occupation, it was right, at least, to delay their destruction till they arrived in person, and told him frankly how painful it would be to the restored King; that it was not a measure of military, but of political importance, and might occasion a disturbance, more particularly as it was inconsistent with the promise made to the French army, that all political matters should be left to the decision of the Allied Sovereigns; at once, therefore, to prevent the act from being perpetrated in defiance of his remonstrances, the Duke ordered British sentinels to be placed upon the bridge, and declared that any attempt to force them should be treated as an insult to Great Britain.

When, at length, the Allied Sovereigns arrived in Paris, although the public monuments of the city were spared, restitution of the objects of art in the museum of the Louvre, which had been pillaged from their respective owners by the armies of Napoleon, was peremptorily insisted upon. The pictures, statues, bronzes, marbles, and books were reclaimed, and they were removed and taken back in the open day by the armed soldiers of the several nations to whom they had belonged. Conquest most justly took away that which conquest had obtained, and the trophies which had been carried away from Vienna, Berlin, Turin, Madrid, Florence, and Rome, as spoils of war, were, to the inexpressible mortification of the French people, given back to their rightful owners. The principal odium of this measure was of course directed against the British General; but, in truth, nothing was more disinterested than the part taken in the matter by the British army, for they had not one single trophy of their own to claim or to recover. Nevertheless, the bronze horses in the Place de Carrousel were taken down under

their especial auspices, to be restored to Venice. Those master-pieces of art, the Transfiguration, the Apollo Belvidere, and the Lapoon were packed up under the guard of their bayonets to be restored to the galleries of the Vatican; and the Descent from the Cross and the Medicean Venus were given back by them to Antwerp and Florence, without a desire that they whose arms had rescued them from the spoiler should receive them. The Prussians looked after their own property; for it was stated that there had been violently taken from the Prussian states, statues, paintings, cameos, manuscripts, maps, gems, antiques, rarities, and other valuable articles, the catalogue of which occupied 53 closely-printed pages. Claims began soon to be made for indemnity by states and cities on account of the exactions levied by the French generals when in the military occupation of them, and the amount claimed under this head was still more extraordinary. Blücher had already on the day he entered Paris, demanded a contribution of a hundred millions of francs for the pay of his troops, as Napoleon had done from the Prussians at Berlin, and had paid himself; but the city of Hamburg had, during the eleven months that Marshal Davoust had occupied it, been mulcted in contributions to the amount of three millions and a half of francs, which they demanded back from France. When such was the amount of the claim of a single city, it may be well imagined how immense was the amount claimed by the nations which had suffered under French spoliation on many successive occasions, all of whom now demanded redress in the day of reckoning. Nor had the Great Powers only paintings to reclaim or spoliation to retaliate — the cession of French provinces was required, as well to prevent new aggressions on the part of France, as to deal to her the same measure "which she had meted withal." Austria claimed back Lorraine and Alsace, Spain required the Basque provinces, Prussia the cities of Mayence and Luxemburg, the Netherlands the barrier fortresses. It was essential, before anything could be settled, that a definitive treaty of peace should be the situation of France, in face of its Bourbon King, with the Allied Powers, and the Congress which had been interrupted at Vienna by the return of Napoleon was now resumed at Paris, where Talleyrand on behalf of France was constrained to confide in "perfidè Albion" and the impartial friendliness of the Duke of Wellington, to combat the enormity of the demands now made by the Powers of Europe upon Louis XVIII. whom they had restored. But while vengeance was demanded on one side and pledges on the other, there remained also a grave requital to public justice in the blood of traitors, to the breach of whose solemn oaths and engagements the vitality of the war had been solely owing. The universal voice of Europe demanded that the stern law of retribution should be carried out. A very long list of proscriptions was at first delivered to the conquerors, which, after some discussion, was reduced to 68 persons, and these were banished. But there were three offenders of greater delinquency, who were fixed upon to pay with their lives for their more flagrant treason. The first

who had set the example of military defection was Colonel Labédoyère. He had followed the army behind the Loire, and was perfectly safe in its ranks, when — with a rashness which his friends fruitlessly strove to restrain — he took a place in the public diligence and arrived without any disguise in Paris. There he fell under the observation of a government spy, and was arrested on the very night of his arrival. He was brought to trial on the 14th of August, found guilty, and condemned to death, which he suffered by military execution under a garden wall on the plain of Grenelle.*

The trial of Monsieur de Lavalette immediately followed the execution of Labédoyère. In the interregnum that followed the departure of Louis XVIII. from Paris on the 20th of March, he had taken possession of the administration of the Post Office, and forthwith, on his own authority, addressed the following circular to all the departments:—"L'Empereur sera à Paris dans deux heures, et peut-être avant. La capitale est dans le plus grand enthousiasme, et quoi qu'on puisse le faire, la guerre civile n'aura lieu nulle part. Vive l'Empereur!" which he signed as "Conseiller d'Etat, and Directeur Général des Postes." This was a bold and unauthorised act, which certainly assisted the Imperial cause, and was regarded as an act of treachery to the civil department of Government. After two months' suspense he was tried, convicted, and condemned to death. The name of Lavalette was popular in France, and as he had not been an *employé* of the Royal Government, he had not been guilty of the crime of treachery. He had been a soldier on the staff of Bonaparte, and through life his personal friend. Amongst other persons, his fate inspired with a generous interest the Princesse de Vaudemont, a lady of influence, with all parties in the court and state. After having failed to obtain for him a pardon, she determined to effect the escape of the prisoner; and for this object took counsel with Madame de Lavalette. The evening before the day fixed for the execution, she obtained, with some difficulty, permission for the wife to have a last interview with her husband, accompanied by her daughter, a child fourteen years of age. It had been arranged that the prisoner should by this opportunity attempt an escape in disguise, and with much celerity and address a transfer of apparel was effected. With great forethought and presence of mind he was warned "to stoop at passing through the doors, and walk slowly like a person exhausted with grief and suffering." The jailors did not recognise the prisoner in female attire, and through the thick veil under which he affected to be sobbing bitterly, he and the child reached the sedan-chair in waiting outside, leaving the heroic wife in the prison. It speaks but little for the romance of the French character, that, in spite of this successful escape, the substitute lady (wife as she was) was subjected to the most rigorous detention in solitary confinement for 26 days in the prison, during all which time she was kept ignorant of her husband's fate, and

* Marshal Ney, on his arrival in Paris, was apprehended, tried, and convicted before the Chamber of Peers; and the sentence was carried into execution on the morning of the 5th December.

the anxious suspense so affected her mind that she did not recover her sanity for twelve years!

Lavalette took refuge, by the assistance of the friendly Princess de Vaudemont, in an apartment of the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères, then occupied by the Duke de Richelieu, where he remained concealed for three weeks, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the police to discover him, and he eventually made his escape from Paris into Germany, in a manner at once most original and extraordinary. Three Englishmen of singular boldness of character and love of enterprise happened to be in Paris at this time: the one a British general officer, Sir Robert Wilson, had obtained great notoriety, as well in the continental as in the British armies, for a daring and bravery in the battle-field which astonished the soldiers of every nation; another, of the name of Hutchinson, was an officer quartered with his regiment in the encampment of the British army near Paris; the third, Michael Bruce, Esq., was a private gentleman on a visit at the French capital. It does not appear that any of them knew Lavalette even by sight, but Bruce learned by an anonymous letter that Lavalette was still in Paris, and suggested to Wilson the attempt to save him. They were none of them either Bourbonists or Bonapartists; it was sheer love of adventure and a general agreement in liberal politics that induced them to regard political prosecutions as odious, and determined them to give their services towards the escape of one so well known to be a liberal politician as M. Lavalette. The plan agreed upon was, that the prisoner should put on an English uniform, and be conducted in a carriage with Sir Robert Wilson beyond the barriers, for which object a passport had been obtained under fictitious names from the British Embassy. Wilson put the fugitive into his cabriolet, and, attended by Hutchinson on horseback, they passed the barrier of Clichy without observation and without being stopped. Proceeding on their course they reached Mons early the following morning, where Wilson took his leave and returned to Paris. The news of Lavalette's escape excited the whole of Paris, and an indiscreet letter written by Sir Robert Wilson, describing the circumstances of the event, was intercepted by the police, when he was accordingly arrested and committed to the prison of La Force. All three gentlemen were brought to trial on the charge of being accessory to the concealment and escape of Lavalette, and being found guilty, were sentenced to imprisonment, but this was generously reduced to the lowest term allowed by the law — namely, three months.

The chivalry of the act, its success, and its entire disinterestedness, excited the admiration of Europe; but nothing can warrant the deliberate infraction by foreigners of the laws of a country which receives and protects them; and, although Sir Robert Wilson was not at the moment on active service, neither he nor Hutchinson had the shadow of justification for risking the honour of his cloth by using the dress of its warriors to cover that which was unquestionably a flagrant civil crime. National generosity, and the rescue

of a man from certain death, are very good motives in themselves, but ought not to be exercised in violation of the duties which all men owe to society, to order, and to the law.

24. FATE OF MURAT.

Subsequently to the battle of Waterloo and the reestablishment of the royal authority in France, the King of Naples, after some adventures, reached Corsica. Here he collected together, by the popularity of his name and character, a number of partisans, by whom he was urged to seize on Bastia, the capital of the island, which was at the moment fluctuating in a sort of intermission of allegiance to all the three parties of Bourbonists, Bonapartists, and partisans of England, which had successively possessed it. The white flag had been floated on the island, but there was little royal authority yet established within it. In the midst of his perplexity as to what course to adopt, his old aide-de-camp, Colonel Macirone, found out the fugitive, and brought him the safe conduct of the Allied Powers, which permitted his retirement, with the assurance of his life, wheresoever he chose to go to reside. But he could not abandon his love for a throne, was convinced that he was adored at Naples, and declared he must live or die for his people; and that for a King who has lost his crown, nothing remains but the death of a soldier. Accordingly, he would not be restrained from making another attempt to recover his kingdom. He mounted his war-horse and marched to Ajaccio, which he entered in triumph at the head of a little army, and there he embarked with his fellow-adventurers for the re-conquest of his kingdom, on board six light vessels, under the direction of Baron Barbara, who had been captain of a frigate in his service. After a hazardous voyage he at length arrived on the coast of Calabria on the 6th of October. Barbara, however, refused to proceed any farther, and Murat therefore landed, accompanied by two generals and 25 followers. A guard of native marine artillery, still wearing the uniform of his Neapolitan army, were met by the adventurer, who persuaded them to acknowledge him, and to cry, "Long live King Joachim!" The authorities in the adjoining town of Pizzo, however, had no mind to be compromised, and forthwith roused the population to arms, when, perceiving that he had *manqué son coup*, could gain no adherents, and had not the shadow of a chance, he sought to reembark, and with this object made across the fields to the shore, calling with all his might on Barbara to return and take him on board; but the captain was deaf to all appeals, and was already in full sail, carrying away the proclamations, the arms, the treasure, and the munitions of the unfortunate King. A conflict now took place with the population on the shore, and Murat, with his few followers, for some time resisted all efforts to capture him; but at length he was overpowered, and thrown with all his adherents into the casemates of the castle of Pizzo.

The Sicilian General Nunziante, who commanded for the King in

Calabria, hastened to Pizzo, having telegraphed Murat's capture to his government, and had the courtesy to remove the ex-King to an apartment of the castle distinct from the other prisoners, where he caused him to be treated with the consideration due to one who had occupied a throne. But Nemesis was not more stern nor more implacable than Ferdinand of Sicily. On the 9th of October, 24 hours after Murat had placed his foot on the coast, an order was expedited which directed an immediate military commission for his trial, and, without admitting the supposition of an acquittal, the same paper ordered the execution "within one half hour." King Joachim appears to have expected as much; for when Nunziante announced the royal order on the morning of the 12th, the ex-King remarked, "Since it is so, I am lost; the order for my trial is that for my death." He refused to appear before any civil tribunal, upon the plea that Kings were not amenable to their subjects; but demanded to be tried as a soldier by a court composed of Marshals, that he might appear before them as a Marshal of France. When informed that sentence of death had been pronounced against him, he for a moment lost his firmness and burst into tears; but he asked not for pardon, for delay, or for appeal, but at once and of his own accord moved towards the door, which opened on a narrow esplanade lying between the interior tower of the castle-keep and the outer walls. Here he found 12 soldiers drawn up with muskets loaded with ball, but the rampart was so narrow as scarcely to allow of his kneeling down upon it clear of the muzzles. He would not allow his eyes to be bandaged; but taking in his left hand a small medallion, which contained the pictures of his wife and four children, and placing his right hand on his heart, he gave the command to fire, saying, "Spare the face—straight to the heart." He fell pierced by every one of the bullets, and was buried privately in the church or cathedral of Pizzo.

25. EXTENSION OF THE ORDER OF THE BATH IN ENGLAND.

The martial glory acquired by the British nation in the wars now about to be concluded had shed over the military character, in the eyes of the British people, a lustre equal to that which had ever adorned the more favourite naval service, and the Prince Regent was induced to signalise the conclusion of the arduous contest, in which both services had alike distinguished themselves, by a dispensation of honours which should mark his sense of the meritorious actions of his officers by sea and land. The military Order of the Bath had been originally instituted for the reward of Admirals and Generals who had successfully commanded British fleets and armies in the early wars of the eighteenth century; but the more extended field which the revolutionary war had opened for distinction, had produced a very large increase of individuals deserving of its honours. Accordingly, the Order of the Bath was enlarged, and directed to be henceforth composed of three classes differing in rank and dignity. The members of the highest class

were to be termed Knights Grand Crosses, the rights and privileges of whom were to be the same as those formerly belonging to the Knights Companions of the original Order, and their number was limited to 72, independently of Princes of the blood royal and such foreign Princes or distinguished commanders as the Sovereign might, for special reasons, appoint Extra Grand Crosses. Those of the second class received the name of Knights Commanders, and were entitled to assume the distinctive appellation of knighthood, and to take precedence before all civil knights whatever. Those of the third class were styled by the old name of Companions of the Order of the Bath, but were not to be entitled to the name or precedence of knights. The lists of each class, as first nominated after the new statutes, comprehended all the eminent naval and military characters of the three kingdoms; but subsequent circumstances have demanded so lavish a dispensation of all the classes, that it would be difficult to determine what degree of merit attaches to three fourths of those who now bear this "blushing" distinction, since a long peace has diminished all strong claims for the honour, and the Victoria Cross has superseded it.

26. NEGOTIATIONS. — TREATY OF PARIS.

The diplomatic conferences were reopened as soon after the return of the King of France as the plenipotentiaries could be assembled, when the Duke of Wellington, to whom, as conqueror, was left the paramount direction of affairs, with the several ministers and confidential advisers, assisted by the great publicist, M. de Gentz, and MM. Capo d'Istria and Pozzo di Borgo, assembled at the residence of Lord Castlereagh, and discussed the various and most intricate matters which arose at this important juncture, for several hours a day for many weeks. They commenced their duties by assigning military districts to the various Allied armies now daily pouring into France. The united forces of Austria and Russia, 350,000 strong, occupied all the eastern provinces; the Austrians and Piedmontese, 100,000 more, were camped on the banks of the Rhone, between Geneva and Lyons; 80,000 Germans were in the Rhenish provinces; and the armies of Wellington and Blücher, now reinforced to 200,000 men, occupied Normandy and Picardy, as well as Paris: so that 800,000 foreign troops were at this time quartered on the inhabitants of France, making requisitions according to their own will and pleasure, to the great detriment of economical consumption, and to the grievous discontentment of the people of the land. Great Britain and Russia had no demands to make for themselves, and, accordingly, the Czar and the Duke of Wellington nobly interceded with the other Powers not to abuse victory to the oppression of the inhabitants. The troops were ordered to be withdrawn from the interior of the kingdom, that France might resume the management of her own affairs; but the terms on which she was to be re-admitted into the European community created a long and anxious suspense, and the ultimatum of

the Conference did not transpire until the beginning of September; indeed, it was the 20th of November before any document was reduced into the form of the treaty, with all the conventions arising out of and relative to it, which form the Peace of Paris. Very onerous conditions were necessarily imposed upon the conquered country, which threw Louis XVIII. into consternation, and he exclaimed, in bitterness of heart, "My place should be at Hartwell, or with the army of the Loire: my allies ruin, in affecting to save me." The basis laid down by the Allies was, "that the indemnity due to the Powers for the expenses imposed upon them by the enterprise of the Emperor Napoleon, cannot consist wholly either in cessions of territory or in pecuniary payments, without greatly injuring the essential interests of France with Europe; and therefore that it is better to unite them, and to make it consist partly in cessions of territory, and partly in pecuniary payments. For the first, that the French frontier should be restored to the boundaries of which it was limited in 1790, by which means a very considerable territory, which the Allies had gained in 1814, was to be resumed by them." This cannot be readily understood without maps, but the principal portion of the territory thus resumed was on the borders of Belgium and the Upper Rhine. The second consideration involved "an assessment to be made upon France of seven hundred millions of francs (about 28,000,000*l.*), to be divided amongst the Allies for the expenses of the war." In order to retain a powerful hold upon the French nation during a certain period of time allowed for its probation, seventeen of its fortresses on the frontier were to be occupied for a term of five years by a force of 150,000 men, composed of 30,000 men from each of the Great Powers, which large force was to be maintained by the French government. The different Powers were, moreover, to be reimbursed for the spoiliations committed by the French during the whole period of the revolution, so that the entire sum that France had to pay under the treaty now concluded, was 1,535,000,000 of francs, or about 61,500,000*l.*; besides the cost of maintaining the army of occupation. Such was the bitter cup of humiliation to be drained by that country, who had enjoyed so many triumphs over her neighbours, and gathered in the spoil without the shadow of moderation; now, by a severe but just retribution, she was made, in her turn, to feel from war some of the miseries she had so recklessly inflicted on the great nations of Europe, by making it feed itself.

The Allied Powers unanimously agreed to confer upon the Duke of Wellington the command of the army of occupation, and the hero who had fought the great fight and conquered a forty years' peace, was constituted Field-Marshal in the armies of Austria, Great Britain, Hanover, the Netherlands, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Portugal—an honour never before bestowed on any military commander, and which was, at the same time, accompanied with the orders and decorations of every sovereign in Europe.

The army of occupation, by which the unruly empire of France was to be held in subjection, and the peace of Europe maintained for

five years, consisted of 25,000 men each from the armies of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, together with contingents of 10,000 men each from the forces of Denmark, Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg, forming a magnificent military array, contributed by the Great Powers who were parties to the peace of Paris, and was placed under the sole command of the Duke of Wellington. On the 30th of September, 1818, the term having been reduced to three years, 51,000 men of all the above nations, veterans who had assisted in the overthrow of Napoleon, stood on the heights of Famars, near Valenciennes, with the great conqueror at their head, holding the recognised rank of Generalissimo. Here they marched past the Czar and the King of Prussia, accompanied by a most brilliant and unequalled galaxy of chiefs, "whose names have been recorded by their conquering swords in the annals of Europe," and who had now become the heroes of peace. Such a scene as this had never before been witnessed upon the face of the earth. It was a concourse of mighty warriors, not assembled for any aggressive object, but got together, in the plenitude of their fame and prowess, to warn the Gallic legions who had insulted Europe, that they were henceforth "set at nought," and that, if they dared again to carry their eagles in search of conquest beyond the confines of France, they would meet with an united Europe which would again prove too strong for their ambition or their fame. Let us fervently hope that this may prove no idle vaunt, and that a renown nobler than that of any victory will be retained by the field of Famars, where the swords returned to their scabbards and were converted into ploughshares and the spears into pruning-hooks; nor did "they learn war any more," for the armed hosts who quitted that review were never again summoned to mortal strife.

27. CONCLUSION.

And now the stately portal of Peace revolves on its stiff and rigid axis, and closes on the wars of the Temple of Janus. The golden hinges creak from long disuse, and it requires the concord of all the nations upon earth to force its olive panels to the groove.

The two-faced god is left within, alone, to gloat over the miseries he has occasioned to mankind, and to cleanse his foul cell from the heap of dead men's bones which the wars of a quarter century, the bloodiest in all the records of glory, have piled up to the very ceiling of his sanctuary.

Ah! when will the faith of Christ within the heart of man be strong enough to place an adamantine bolt upon this door, which opens to such dread pollution?

"And the land rested from war."—*Josh. xi. 23.*

"And the land had rest forty years."—*Judg. iii. 11.*

To be published in the course of next year, by the same author,

LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF THE WARRIORS OF ALL NATIONS

WHO HAVE COMMANDED FLEETS & ARMIES BEFORE THE ENEMY

1600—1853.

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'Then, then, ye lawrelled warriors,
Our feast and song shall flow;
To the fame
Of your name,

When the storm has ceased to blow,
When the fery fight is heard no more, and the storm has ceased to blow.'

CAMPBELL.